

Transnational revolutionary: Noel Mukono's navigation of Zimbabwe's fractious liberation struggle, 1957–77

Brooks Marmon^{a,b} 

^aMershon Center for International Security Studies, The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio, USA; ^bDepartment of Historical and Heritage Studies, University of Pretoria, Pretoria, South Africa

ABSTRACT

This article recovers the role of Noel Mukono in Zimbabwe's liberation struggle. The defence chief of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) from 1964 to 1973, his pioneering role in instigating the armed struggle against the white settler government in Rhodesia is largely overlooked today. Mukono is a leading casualty of 'patriotic history', the contemporary Zimbabwean state's manipulation of the independence struggle narrative. A journalist, Mukono left behind an unfinished memoir and personal papers which facilitate a deep examination of his political engagements. This material highlights Mukono's status as a transnational revolutionary, instrumental in the internationalisation of Zimbabwe's independence struggle. Through Mukono's personal journey, this account explores transnational networks linking Zimbabwean nationalism with Zambia, the United Kingdom, Malawi, and Ghana. It provides new information regarding the extent of ZANU's collaboration with the Mozambican nationalist movement, Frelimo. Finally, Mukono's case illuminates an enigmatic period of ZANU infighting in exile which saw the Nhari Mutiny and assassination of Herbert Chitepo, the party's National Chair. During this time, his globetrotting lifestyle was strategically used against him.

ARTICLE HISTORY

Received 13 March 2023
Accepted 19 April 2023

KEYWORDS

Frelimo; Herbert Chitepo; pan-Africanism; Nhari Mutiny; ZANU

The legacy of Zimbabwe's armed liberation struggle (1966–1979) has loomed large over that nation since independence in 1980. When a power struggle within the ruling Zimbabwe African National Union – Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) peaked in 2017, the country's deposed Vice-President, Emmerson Mnangagwa, prevailed.¹ Mnangagwa's success was aided by his historical role in the guerrilla action against the white regime in what was then Rhodesia.² Mnangagwa was arrested in 1964 after conducting sabotage action in Rhodesia. While Mnangagwa surmounted party infighting to ascend to the presidency of Zimbabwe, the individual who 'directed and co-ordinated' Mnangagwa's first guerrilla operation, Noel Mukono, suffered an ignominious downfall at the hands of his party (then known as ZANU) many decades earlier.³ An examination of Mukono's political rise and demise not only recovers the activities of an underacknowledged African revolutionary, it illuminates dynamics around the transnational and exile politics of southern African liberation struggles.

Mukono was ZANU's defence chief from 1964–73 and the party's foreign secretary from September 1973 until early 1975 when he was purged from the party amidst severe factional infighting.⁴ With most of ZANU's leaders jailed in Rhodesia after 1964, Mukono was arguably

CONTACT Brooks Marmon  eb.marmon@up.ac.za; marmon.15@osu.edu

© 2023 The Author(s). Published by Informa UK Limited, trading as Taylor & Francis Group
This is an Open Access article distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives License (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/>), which permits non-commercial re-use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited, and is not altered, transformed, or built upon in any way. The terms on which this article has been published allow the posting of the Accepted Manuscript in a repository by the author(s) or with their consent.

one of the three most prominent party officials free to actively prosecute the liberation struggle in exile over the next decade. Mukono claimed to be one of just two ZANU central committee members devoted to full-time work for the party on the eve of white Rhodesia's unilateral declaration of independence from British rule in 1965.⁵

This paper, drawing on his privately held personal papers, employs Mukono's experience as an anti-colonial nationalist abroad to illuminate wider international dynamics around Zimbabwe's liberation struggle. The key contributions are threefold and are explored in this article in rough chronological order. Firstly (and most narrowly), Mukono's personal radicalisation and early political trajectory highlights the confluence of domestic and international factors that heralded the 'wind of change' in Africa. Secondly, as he became an established political force, Mukono's extensive foreign networking highlights the internationalisation of southern African liberation movements and their expansive revolutionary networks in the 1960s and 1970s. In particular, Mukono's experience illuminates transnational connections linking Zimbabwean nationalists to the UK, Malawi, Ghana, Tanzania, Zambia, and Mozambique. Finally, Mukono's perspective on his abrupt excision from ZANU enhances understanding of the complex dynamics surrounding internal conflicts in exiled southern African liberation movements. These insights are particularly pronounced regarding ZANU's internal turmoil in Zambia in 1974–75, including the 'Nhari Mutiny' and the assassination of the party's National Chair, Herbert Chitepo, in March 1975, while Mukono was in hiding to escape threats on his own life.⁶

This article unfolds with a contextual section that further introduces and situates Mukono's political position. It provides background, explaining the source material for this analysis and situates Mukono in the historiography. It then explores three key themes, which proceed in rough chronological order: Mukono's politicisation and early political career, his activities as a transnational revolutionary in exile, and his rupture with ZANU. The first of these sections covers the period from 1957–63 and explores the international dimensions that politicised a young Mukono, leading him to immigrate to Northern Rhodesia (renamed Zambia in 1964) in 1957. There he became politically active and quickly ascended the nationalist ranks. By mid-1963 he was the lead representative for Zimbabwean nationalists in the UK.⁷ The second section broadly spans the latter half of the 1960s. In 1964, Mukono fled Rhodesia and began operations as a revolutionary in indefinite exile. From approximately 1965 to 1969 he was primarily based in Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania. He then relocated to Lusaka, Zambia.⁸ He cultivated extensive international contacts during this time and travelled widely. The final component of the paper examines regionalism and ethno-centrism in ZANU, which Mukono identified as emerging in the late 1960s, but which flared most significantly from 1973–75. The paper concludes in 1977, when Mukono returned to Rhodesia to participate in the short-lived Zimbabwe Rhodesia government. Aside from a few years in the early 1960s, Mukono spent this entire period abroad.

Context and methods

Noel Gabriel Mukono was born on Christmas day, 1929 at St. David's Mission, Bonda, in the Nyanga District in Rhodesia's eastern highlands, of 'peasant, Christian parentage'.⁹ He passed away due to complications from diabetes and kidney failure days after his 62nd birthday in independent Zimbabwe. At the time of his death he was Secretary-General of ZANU (Ndonga), a 'residue faction' of ZANU-PF.¹⁰ Despite his illustrious pedigree as one of the principal architects of Zimbabwe's armed liberation struggle, he was not declared a national hero after his death. A brief story in the state newspaper emphasised that various government officials at his funeral (the highest ranking was Victoria Chitepo, Minister of Information, Posts, and Telecommunications) attended 'in their personal capacities'.¹¹

The lack of state respect accorded to Mukono stoked some murmurs of discontent. An obituary in an independent newsmagazine, *Moto*, was provocatively titled, 'Noel Mukono, No Hero?'¹²

A letter to the editor of a government weekly, praised Mukono as 'one of our gallant freedom fighters...[who] devoted a significant fraction of his lifetime to the liberation of his country.'¹³ The writer queried a cryptic memorial speech by Victoria Chitepo which implied that Mukono was not fit to be a hero as he did not belong to ZANU-PF at the time of his passing.¹⁴ Mukono was the victim of what the doyen of Zimbabwean historical scholarship, Terence Ranger, subsequently identified as 'patriotic history', the manipulation of historical narratives to serve ZANU-PF interests.¹⁵ Writing in 2004, Ranger identified this politicisation of the history of the liberation struggle as transpiring 'over the past two or three years'.¹⁶ However, Mukono's experience with the party points to this being more of a *longue durée* phenomenon, a view taken by Norma Kriger in a reconsideration of Ranger's seminal thesis.¹⁷

Southern African liberation movements are particularly susceptible to historical manipulation. Beyond official propaganda outlets, documentary material is limited. ZANU's Publicity Secretary, Edson Sithole, told a white Rhodesian writer, 'we do not like written documents or letters. We prefer word of mouth from trusted sources because letters can be intercepted and 'doctored' by our enemies.'¹⁸ Before nationalist parties went underground, Rhodesian security officials raided their offices and confiscated records.¹⁹ Once underground, resources to store and preserve records were limited. Even from the relative safety of exile, many ZANU documents were destroyed when the party's offices in the Zambian capital, Lusaka, were bombed in 1974.²⁰ The archives of its peer competitor, the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), were seized by ZANU-PF after independence.²¹ In the early 1960s, Rhodesia boasted a national newspaper catering to a black audience, the [*Central*] *African Daily News*. As Mukono's political career rapidly took off in the early 1960s, that newspaper provided some insights on his activities. However, it was banned in 1964. For the next decade, the height of Mukono's revolutionary activism, references to African nationalists were generally verboten in the Rhodesian press. Consequently, scholars of southern African liberation movements are often forced to rely on retrospective interviews (which often evolve to align with changing political scenarios) or documentation produced by external actors, especially Western journalists and diplomats.²²

Perhaps as a result of this deficit of source material, despite the prominence ascribed to Zimbabwe's armed struggle, biographical accounts of its key proponents are relatively scarce, as the chronicler of Solomon Mujuru, the first black head of Zimbabwe's army attested.²³ While white Rhodesia's military exploits have been richly documented, over a decade after independence, only one guerrilla fighter had published a memoir.²⁴ In the international sphere, the exile politics of Zimbabwe's liberation movements remain significantly underexplored. Gerald Mazarire has provided a tentative 'appraisal' of ZANU's external networks, but one of the most comprehensive accounts of internationalism in Zimbabwe's liberation struggle remains an account from the 1960s.²⁵ This state of affairs starkly contrasts with the comparatively vibrant literature around South Africa's African National Congress across Africa or Namibian and Mozambican liberation movements in Tanzania.²⁶

Milford et al. have advocated for biographical approaches in uncovering the transnational dimensions of mid-twentieth century African activists.²⁷ Mukono is a particularly apposite individual for the pursuit of this mission. Before he directed military operations against white power structures in Rhodesia, he worked as a journalist from 1957 to 1963. Until mid-1960 he was a reporter with *Luntandaya*, a newspaper of a mining conglomerate, Rhokana, in Northern Rhodesia.²⁸ He returned to Southern Rhodesia and became the Central and East Africa editor for *Drum* magazine, a South African based newsmagazine with a significantly more progressive outlook.²⁹ This journalistic background likely helped propel Mukono's political career while also inculcating a devotion to recordkeeping and documentation that distinguished him from many of his political peers.

This article is largely informed by two tranches of Mukono's personal papers preserved by his family. His widow, Mabel, who married Noel in December 1956, provided one collection of papers. A second set of materials was furnished by their nephew, Humphrey Malumo. In the

mid-1960s, a young Malumo was recruited by Mukono to assist in the production of *Zimbabwe News*, a ZANU periodical produced in exile in Lusaka.³⁰ Mabel, Malumo, and Mukono's daughter, Neo, all contributed their reminiscences of Noel *via* in-person interviews. Most of Mukono's preserved written material is from the mid-1970s or later. However, within months of Zimbabwe's independence, Mukono began to contemplate writing his autobiography.³¹ One document indicates that he provisionally entitled it: *The Liberation of Zimbabwe: The Cause was Above Everything*.³² Several preliminary documents outlining his vision for the manuscript were scripted. An incomplete, rough handwritten draft of three and a half chapters was composed, covering the period to the early 1970s. Mukono passed away without completing his memoir but bequeathed several hundred pages of material documenting his political activities.

This study's reliance on material curated by Mukono or his family thus resembles Tendi's Mujuru biography.³³ Such relationships inevitably raise concerns of scholarly bias.³⁴ However, such accounts are impractical without the cooperation of relatives. While Mukono likely aimed to position his accomplishments in his unfinished memoir in a positive light, there are no obvious indications of embellishment. As a one-time practicing journalist, he would have been aware of the profession's code of ethics. Furthermore, relying on his own writing eliminates vagaries that may arise in interviews with scholars where the positionality of the interlocutor comes into play. While it is unclear exactly when Mukono began to write his memoir, it was probably less than a decade after the period in which this article concludes. He was describing episodes relatively fresh in his memory.

Despite his role in shaping the armed struggle, Mukono is not a prominent figure in the historiography. A key, and otherwise comprehensive contemporaneous biographical reference source, the *Who's Who of Zimbabwean Nationalists*, omits Mukono. The autobiography of its co-author, Diana Mitchell, partially explains this neglect, noting that Mukono was one of just two nationalists she approached who refused to engage with her.³⁵ Malumo describes Mukono as a 'quiet, organisational' type.³⁶ Judith Todd, a contemporaneous activist also recalls that Mukono was 'very quiet' in a post-1980 encounter.³⁷ Shortly after he was deported from Southern Rhodesia in 1963, Terence Ranger wrote a letter to Mukono in which he mistakenly addressed him as 'Noah'.³⁸ In perhaps the most overt indication of Mukono's marginalisation, one analysis of ZANU's internal squabbles erroneously claims that the former defence chief was executed in the 1970s.³⁹ In recovering Noel Mukono's political career, this paper not only charts the political path of an important but neglected anti-colonial nationalist, it challenges conventions around Zimbabwean history and elucidates the transnational dynamics of pan-African solidarity.

Mukono's radicalisation

Mukono's disenchantment with Rhodesian racism was ignited by an incident with a fundamentally international dimension. He excelled in school and enjoyed the patronage of a Welsh widow, Eadon Gee. With her support, Mukono secured a place to study medicine at the University of Edinburgh. Unfortunately, structural racism prevented him from enrolling. Mukono writes that he was refused a passport 'on the grounds that Sir Seretse Khama of Bechuanaland (Botswana) had just married a white woman in Britain and that I might also marry a white woman if I went to Britain'.⁴⁰ Indeed, a few years later, a young black Rhodesian, Patrick Matimba, went to England and married a white woman, Adri van Hoorn.⁴¹ The couple returned to Southern Rhodesia in 1957 and the inter-racial union proved a headache for the government as it attempted to uphold segregationist policies which did not envision interracial matrimony.⁴² As the pan-African networks of black Rhodesian nationalists boomed in the late 1950s, the authorities initially tried to reverse this momentum by refusing to issue passports, but this tactic quickly proved impractical and was dropped.⁴³

As Mukono was struggling in vain to procure travel documents, he became acquainted with Dunduzu Chisiza, an émigré from Nyasaland (today's Malawi), employed by the Indian High

Commission in Salisbury, the Southern Rhodesian capital.⁴⁴ From 1953 to 1963, Southern and Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland were associated as the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. This regional grouping ostensibly had freedom of movement and helped to further spur Mukono's international consciousness. Perhaps with Chisiza's help, Mukono attempted to pivot and study medicine in India. This effort also failed to result in the provision of a passport.⁴⁵ While the Federation and India enjoyed direct diplomatic relations, white Rhodesians were unnerved by the collapse of empire and would have been perturbed by the prospect of Mukono obtaining education in a recently decolonised state.⁴⁶ Mukono's contemporaries Tichafa Samuel Parirenyatwa and Edward Psarayi (both future colleagues in the nationalist struggle) obtained medical educations in South Africa around this time. However, this path was foreclosed to Mukono; Mrs. Gee did not want him to venture south due to the recently enacted Apartheid policies.⁴⁷ Mukono wrote that this situation left him 'frustrated and bitter'.⁴⁸

Northern Rhodesia

With options in Europe, Asia, and South Africa thwarted, Mukono left Southern Rhodesia for its northern neighbour, the most realistic international move at his disposal. Spurred by the federation of the two colonies, many black Southern Rhodesians settled in Northern Rhodesia and continued to engage in anti-Federal activities. Mnangagwa's family moved to Northern Rhodesia in 1955 and Zimbabwe's future president acquired his first major political experience as a full-time organiser for the United National Independence Party (UNIP), which formed independent Zambia's first government in 1964.⁴⁹ Mukono's successor as ZANU defence chief, Josiah Tongogara, immigrated to the colony in 1960 and soon became Secretary of UNIP's Chibolya branch in Lusaka.⁵⁰ The family of Philda Chikerema, the wife of Robert Chikerema, another prominent Zimbabwean nationalist, immigrated to Northern Rhodesia the same year as Mukono.⁵¹ Although Mukono and many other immigrants pursued an urban lifestyle, she notes that many blacks from Southern Rhodesia were attracted to the colony as it was easier to obtain access to farmland.⁵² From his new base on Northern Rhodesia's Copperbelt, Mukono earned his daily bread by producing journalism which served the interests of a subsidiary of the Anglo American Corporation, a leading institution of white settler capital in southern Africa. Although South Africa was traditionally seen as a site of political indoctrination for black Rhodesians, Mukono's political activism was ignited north of the Zambezi, near Northern Rhodesia's border with the Belgian Congo.⁵³

Until September 1957, Southern Rhodesia did not have a predominantly black political party operating on a colony-wide basis. The anti-colonial nationalist movement to the north was comparatively more entrenched. The Northern Rhodesia African National Congress (NRANC) had been operational since 1948.⁵⁴ Mukono notes that he 'got in contact' with NRANC leadership.⁵⁵ He attended their rallies and recorded that he 'was greatly inspired by their struggle for national liberation'.⁵⁶ In May 1957, he and other Southern Rhodesians met in Ndola to establish the Southern Rhodesia Helping Hand Society (HHS).⁵⁷ While this organisation assumed the guise of a benevolent society to escape official censorship, Mukono asserted that its true purpose was 'to mobilise and politicise Southern Rhodesians in Northern Rhodesia and to propagate for the formation of a [political] party back at home in Southern Rhodesia'.⁵⁸ A Southern Rhodesia African National Congress (SRANC) was duly launched in September 1957. Mukono asserts that the HHS sent suggestions and contributed draft language for a constitution for the party to James Chikerema and George Nyandoro, two key figures behind its formation.⁵⁹

HHS does not appear to feature in the historical record. Traditionally, the literature has emphasised how immigrants from Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland to Southern Rhodesia, the economic lynchpin of the Federation, fostered transnational networks in the 1950s.⁶⁰ Internationalism in Zimbabwe's liberation struggle is generally seen as taking root in the early 1960s when SRANC's successor (it was banned in 1959), the National Democratic Party (NDP)

established a handful of foreign offices and adopted constitutional principles stressing the importance of pan-African alliances.⁶¹ Mukono's abbreviated recollections about HHS reframe perspectives on the regional dynamics of anti-colonial nationalism on the eve of the 'wind of change' and illustrate how the era's need for covert political activity complicates efforts to recover the contours of anti-colonial nationalism across southern Africa.

Back home

Mukono returned to Salisbury in August 1960. He continued to work as a journalist, but more critically, a base in the Federal capital allowed Mukono to become engaged in overt political organisation. He arrived at an auspicious time – Robert Mugabe returned to the colony from Ghana three months previously and almost immediately assumed political prominence with the NDP.⁶² Mukono's rise up the nationalist hierarchy was not as meteoric as Mugabe's but was nonetheless quite rapid. Mukono appears to have secured his first leadership position in the struggle when he became Treasurer of the Harare branch of the NDP in July 1961.⁶³ The authorities banned the NDP at the end of that year. The void was promptly filled by the Zimbabwe African People's Union, which only lasted until September 1962 when it too was outlawed. Mukono writes that he served as the 'provincial secretary' for ZAPU's Salisbury District during its short period of legal existence.

Shortly after ZAPU's proscription, Mukono was arrested and confined to his mother's rural home in Nyamaropa, near the border with Mozambique for several months.⁶⁴ After his release, in a significant move up ZAPU's hierarchy, Mukono was appointed the party's chief representative in the United Kingdom around May 1963.⁶⁵ With this appointment, Mukono entered politics full-time. He never again worked as a journalist or held any other professional position outside of the political realm. For much of the rest of his life, with party funds patchy, he relied on income generated by his wife, a nurse, for subsistence.⁶⁶

Going overseas

It is unclear how Mukono earned this vote of confidence from ZAPU upon his release. In the early 1960s, the ranks of individuals fully dedicated to the struggle were still relatively small as it seemed an uphill battle to dislodge the settler government. John Chirimbani, who led the NDP's office in Dar-es-Salaam as one of the first foreign representatives of the Zimbabwean nationalist movement, was somewhat surprised by his selection to represent the party in Tanganyika as he had not been active with SRANC.⁶⁷ Perhaps Mukono felt likewise. However, a major function of these early external offices was to produce periodicals that promoted the cause. The NDP's London office launched *Radar* in 1960 while the party's Cairo office produced *Democratic Voice International*. As a relatively experienced journalist, Mukono would have been expertly positioned to broadcast ZAPU's position to allies across Europe. He records that while in London he was attached to Transport House, the Labour Party headquarters 'to study publicity and information dissemination.'⁶⁸ Despite the subsequent significant fallout between the parties during Robert Mugabe's administration, there appears to have been fairly close coordination between ZANU and the Labour Party during its early years. Mukono documents that he and Robert Mugabe jointly attended the Labour Party's 1963 annual conference.⁶⁹ The Defence Chief also recorded that during his short stint in London he worked with Jane Symonds of the Africa Bureau (an anti-colonial organisation co-founded by the anti-Apartheid crusader, Reverend Michael Scott) and Dennis Grennan of the enigmatic Ariel Foundation (which purportedly had links to both CIA and Labour), to establish ZANU's UK office.⁷⁰

With this appointment, Mukono entered a globe-trotting pan-African milieu. It appears Mukono left Southern Rhodesia and first met with ZAPU officials in exile in Dar-es-Salaam.⁷¹ From there he likely ventured to Ethiopia. He records that he was one of 11 ZAPU delegates to the May 1963 founding summit of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) in Ethiopia.⁷² Curiously, roughly contemporaneous accounts of the Zimbabwean nationalist presence at this summit all give a slightly smaller number for the size of this delegation and omit reference to Mukono's participation.⁷³ Given his subsequent prominence in the struggle and extensive international travels, it seems plausible that this is an oversight in the literature rather than a fabrication concocted by Mukono to enhance his standing.

After ZAPU was banned in September 1962, the unity amongst its executive progressively frayed. An assessment of Mukono's engagement around this division, a much-debated topic in the historiography, enriches our understanding of its dynamics.⁷⁴ Mukono recorded, 'while we were in Addis Ababa it was obvious to everyone that there was a split. The delegates split into two in sleeping places and when [illegible] in the hall. Even eating, we ate separately.'⁷⁵ Although Mukono's chronology is unclear, it appears that he proceeded to Europe while the remainder of ZAPU's executive remained in Africa. In July 1963, four key ZAPU executives – Ndabaningi Sithole, Robert Mugabe, Moton Malianga, and Leopold Takawira, announced the suspension of Nkomo, ZAPU's President.⁷⁶ The move ultimately failed, resulting in them establishing a new party, ZANU, under Sithole's leadership the following month. From London, Mukono joined the ranks of those opposed to Joshua Nkomo. Nkomo's loss of support from his leading official in London, the colonial metropole, was a key blow in his attempts to beat back intra-nationalist competition. No documentation of interactions between Mukono and British officials is readily available, but Mukono's alignment with the anti-Nkomo dissidents would surely have encouraged the UK to take Nkomo's opposition more seriously. However, Mukono failed in his mission to recruit to ZANU George Nyandoro, a SRANC co-founder, while the latter was recovering from an operation in a London hospital.⁷⁷ In a joint open letter with Simpson Mtambanengwe (the President of the UK-based Zimbabwe Students Union), Mukono firmly aligned with the dissidents and asked Nkomo to stand aside:

If you have our cause at heart, it is time you stepped down honourably before you are forced into oblivion and your previous work and achievements rendered useless...you have tried your best, and if you are honest with yourself and the country you should admit you have failed and have reached a dead end.⁷⁸

ZANU's formation further spurred Mukono's ascent up the nationalist ranks. In absentia, Mukono was named to the party's interim executive as under-secretary of publicity.⁷⁹ This placed him just outside of the party's upper echelon. Mukono's first international post was cut short after a matter of months, he returned to Rhodesia in October 1963.⁸⁰ However, this sojourn at home only lasted less than a year before Mukono covertly fled Rhodesia and entered a period of prolonged exile.

Mukono at the Vanguard of ZANU's international networks

In May 1964 ZANU held its first party congress. Mukono was selected to be the party's Secretary for Public Affairs, a euphemism for the military portfolio.⁸¹ He had represented the nationalists in London and attended the founding of the OAU. He was now at the top tier of the nationalist movement. While Mukono's previous promotions were likely spurred by his journalism background, the defence appointment is something of an enigma. Mukono had no military background whatsoever, a source of frustration for Tongogara, Mukono's leading deputy from 1967.⁸² Rugare Gumbo, who served alongside Mukono on ZANU's *Dare re Chimurenga* (War Council), and attended the 1964 congress, believes that Mukono was tapped for the position because no one else of prominence had a security background and Mukono exhibited the most

enthusiasm for armed struggle.⁸³ Indeed, a British diplomat in Tanzania recorded in early 1965 that Mukono was 'obsessed with the idea of violence.'⁸⁴

Mukono was also one of the ZANU members most strongly identified with taking a hard-line against whites at the time. Mukono opposed the decision of leading ZANU officials to meet with the Southern Rhodesian prime minister, Winston Field (1962–64).⁸⁵ Upon his return from London, one of Mukono's first public acts was to release a statement criticising a plan for Rhodesia's gradual political integration by Garfield Todd, a former prime minister (1953–58) who was becoming increasingly liberal (and linked to Nkomo).⁸⁶ In early 1964, Mukono edited and published *The Battlecry*, the first major ZANU publication, which featured vehement attacks on white liberals allied to Joshua Nkomo like Todd and Eileen and Michael Haddon.⁸⁷

Mukono swiftly made the transition from London-based diplomat to guerrilla strategist. Mukono records that alongside his deputy, Maurice Nyagumbo, one of his first acts as Secretary of Public Affairs/Defence was to draft the 'Clarion Call', an exhortation for grassroots guerrilla action and non-cooperation to destabilise the settler state. Its most confrontational passage read, 'every man must have axes, bows, and arrows and other instruments ready to oppose physically unilateral independence. ACT as soon as unilateral independence is declared.'⁸⁸ The document was signed by Sithole and resulted in his imprisonment for the next decade.⁸⁹

The rhetoric was swiftly followed by colony-wide action such as Mnangagwa's sabotage. The most notorious incident was the killing of a white farmer near Melsetter (today's Chimanimani).⁹⁰ A leading account on the incident, by Ranger, restricts mention of Mukono's role to one paragraph.⁹¹ Conversely, Mukono's recollections portray a much more proactive role. He asserted that he actively directed the operations from ZANU's headquarters in Vanguard House on the outskirts of the city center.⁹² Mukono notes that he helped a guerrilla, Felix 'Hokoyo' Santana, flee the country at this time: 'I...hid him in the bush and later whisked him out of the country through our underground route [with assistance from black Rhodesian MP Paul Chanetsa] to Zambia and then to the Congo and later to Malawi.'⁹³ Mukono was jailed in early July and physically tortured. However, he was released around 27 August without prosecution.⁹⁴

The paradoxical Malawi – Ghana nexus

Back in Salisbury, he met with Chitepo, ZANU's National Chair who was visiting from Tanzania, and Edson Sithole, the party's Publicity Secretary. They were concerned he would be re-arrested and advised him 'to go outside the country and continue the struggle.'⁹⁵ He immediately departed for Malawi. Mukono records that after his arrival, ZANU's Malawi representative, Jefferson Mawere, narrowly escaped a failed kidnapping attempt by a racially integrated group of six Rhodesian agents in Blantyre who mistook Mawere for ZANU's defence chief.⁹⁶ Mukono's experience in Malawi embodies the schizophrenic nature of Banda's foreign policy. Banda was the first African leader to overtly back ZANU in 1963 when the party was formed, but he was also unique in his willingness to engage with the region's white governments; a Rhodesian minister attended Malawi's independence celebrations in July 1964.⁹⁷ The ability of Rhodesian agents to operate in Malawi in the months after the latter's independence indicates the convoluted diplomatic tightrope Banda navigated.

After several uneasy weeks in Blantyre under the shadow of the Rhodesian state, Mukono and ten colleagues were flown to Ghana by Kwame Nkrumah. According to Mukono, Nkrumah dispatched the plane with the expectation that Banda would deport one of his political foes, Kofi Busia. Instead, Banda deposited the Zimbabwean nationalists. Despite Banda's flirtations with Rhodesia, South Africa, and imperial Portugal, Malawi was, as Mukono put it, 'very friendly' with Ghana.⁹⁸ Banda was personally close to Nkrumah, the leader of the country he had lived in for much of the previous decade.⁹⁹ According to Mukono, his arrival in Ghana 'marked the beginning of the saga – the armed struggle – training, infiltration and fighting of ZANLA [Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army].'¹⁰⁰ Thus, despite some Rhodesian success in

courting Banda, it was a curious Malawi – Ghana nexus that turned a new page in Zimbabwe’s liberation struggle.

There have been considerable recent efforts to document Kwame Nkrumah’s commitment to pan-African liberation, including his engagements with southern Africa.¹⁰¹ However, these have generally unfolded from the Ghanaian position. Mukono’s reminiscences provide a more holistic perspective. Scholars have stressed the importance of international connections in supporting ZANU’s struggle.¹⁰² Mukono’s recollections show that Ghana’s intervention in 1964/65 was particularly critical. ZANU was banned by the Rhodesian authorities on 26 August 1964. Its top leadership trio of Ndabaningi Sithole, Leopold Takawira, and Robert Mugabe was in government custody. The party was able to take stock of the situation and plan a way forward in Nkrumah’s Ghana. Mukono and the party’s Ghanaian representative, Stanley Parirewa, were joined by ZANU’s foreign secretary, Simpson Mtambenengwe, now based in Tanzania. Mukono notes that this triumvirate ‘held a number of discussions together with Kwame Nkrumah’.¹⁰³ He records that as a result of this dialogue, Nkrumah facilitated the training of ZANLA cadres by Chinese instructors, both in west Africa and Asia. Additionally, Ghana offered university scholarships and stenography training to ZANU members.¹⁰⁴ This was the first of at least two trips that Mukono took to Ghana. Around June 1965 he returned to Accra to brief Nkrumah on the situation in Rhodesia in advance of the Commonwealth Prime Minister’s Conference in London. He and George Silundika of ZAPU personally accompanied the Ghanaian leader on his flight to Europe.¹⁰⁵ Nkrumah was overthrown in February 1966. Mukono lamented this as ‘a blow to our struggle’.¹⁰⁶

In the absence of Ghanaian support, ZANU’s leadership scrambled to secure new allies. According to ZANU’s defence chief, ZANLA’s armed action against Rhodesia in April 1966, the Sinoia Battle, helped attract new backers.¹⁰⁷ Mukono claimed that around this time Israel was the principal funder of ZANU’s offices in Tanzania, Zambia, Malawi, and the UK. However, the OAU directed the party to cut connections with Israel following the 1967 Arab-Israeli War.¹⁰⁸ At some point in late 1964/early 1965, Mukono began to primarily operate from the Tanzanian capital, Dar-es-Salaam, well removed from ZANLA’s bases in Zambia and western Tanzania. During this time the former journalist and schoolteacher became ensconced in transnational revolutionary circles. He met Che Guevara at the Cuban embassy in Dar-es-Salaam, who ‘gave me some advice’.¹⁰⁹ Also in Dar-es-Salaam, he came to know the chief North Vietnamese representative; the two ‘held lots of discussions’ on Vietnamese guerrilla actions against the French and Americans. He travelled beyond Africa and Europe. With Israel’s support for ZANU in the rear view, he toured the Golan Heights with PLO representatives.¹¹⁰ The only clear example of military training that appears in Mukono’s files was a 1967 course in China on ‘various aspects of guerrilla warfare’.¹¹¹ Despite this globetrotting, the party’s finances remained precarious. Mabel recalls that her husband was often reliant on her salary as a nurse at Dar-es-Salaam’s Muhimbili Hospital and that she regularly hand-knitted uniforms for ZANLA guerrillas.¹¹²

ZANU’s Frelimo connection reconsidered

The most pivotal transnational connection that Mukono forged was with Frelimo, the Mozambican anti-colonial nationalist movement. This co-operation has generally been identified as beginning in 1968.¹¹³ Mukono’s central role in this connection is acknowledged in the historiography, including in works classified as ‘patriotic history’ and by a member of the 1973 Dare, Rugare Gumbo.¹¹⁴ However, Mukono claimed that significant co-operation between the two parties started several years earlier, around 1965.

The defence chief wrote that the weapons used in the Sinoia Battle were provided by both Frelimo and the Congolese (Leopoldville) government.¹¹⁵ Mukono wrote that he ‘worked intimately with Magaia [Frelimo military commander] and Chissano [Frelimo intelligence chief] and arranged for delivery of their weapons through Zambia to central Mozambique’.¹¹⁶ Magaia was

killed in October 1966. Mukono described the formation of his relationship with Frelimo's new military leader, Samora Machel:

We worked very closely together and planned our strategies to liberate Mozambique and Zimbabwe secretly. We held secret sessions with President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, who promised to back Frelimo and ZANU to the hilt until we free[d] ourselves. When we were satisfied with our strategies, Mr. Samora Machel brought in his colleagues and I brought in my colleagues...agreement for us to enter northeast and eastern Zimbabwe through Mozambique with the co-operation of FRELIMO was reached and signed in Mr. Sebastian Mautsa's house in Woodlands, Lusaka, Zambia.¹¹⁷

Mukono writes that after three years of intense collaboration with Frelimo, ZANLA was ready to go on the offensive. In July 1972, satisfied that ZANLA was ready for action, Mukono 'called together in Mozambique the High Command, the General Staff, [and] the cadres [o]n the front line to review the work to date.'¹¹⁸ ZANLA's guerrilla struggle significantly intensified from December 1972 with an attack on the De Borchgrave farm in the Centenary area of Rhodesia.¹¹⁹ The Rhodesian authorities immediately perceived this new dynamic in a transnational framework. Around January 1973, Rhodesia's Minister of Defence, Roger Howman, spoke of a 'changed situation' and Frelimo activity in Mozambique 'surging over and affecting us in Rhodesia'.¹²⁰ Mukono's engagements with Frelimo continued after his political fortunes declined in early 1975, just before Mozambique's independence. His papers contain a letter, likely written while he was in hiding in February 1975, pleading for Machel to intervene and halt the infighting then afflicting ZANU.¹²¹ Later that year, he helped Zimbabwean nationalist leader, Abel Muzorewa, go into exile in Maputo.¹²² Around this time Machel placed Robert Mugabe, now an overt Mukono foe, in effective detention in the remote northern city of Quelimane.¹²³ Although Mugabe gradually reached a rapprochement with Machel, Mukono's Frelimo connections may partially explain Machel's initial action.¹²⁴

Mukono's files provide some insights as to why scholarly assessments of ZANU's relationship with Frelimo are not as retrospective as his claims – the extent of ZANU/Frelimo relations was a closely guarded secret at the time. He details an interaction with a British university professor who visited Zambia in 1974 as part of a delegation of the British Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Joan Lestor, and visited the ZANU office for an interview. According to Mukono, 'he told us he was writing a book on Frelimo...he wanted us to tell him how ZANU got in contact with Frelimo and how deep was the co-operation'. Mukono writes that he and his colleagues 'were very suspicious of him. We were aware that the enemy was very worried [by] our co-operation with Frelimo and they were bent on destroying it. We refused to comply with him.'¹²⁵

Internal troubles in Frelimo may provide another indication as to why the timing of ZANU – Frelimo ties in the historiography conflicts with Mukono's account. It has been speculated that Magaia's death in 1966 was the result of party infighting, rather than reprisals by the Portuguese, the imperial power.¹²⁶ Casal Ribeiro, who was in line to succeed Magaia, was overlooked in favour of Machel. Machel proceeded to side-line Magaia's acolytes prompting intra-Frelimo violence.¹²⁷ Similar developments also transpired following the 1969 assassination of Eduardo Mondlane, Frelimo's president, in Tanzania.¹²⁸ Mondlane's deputy, Urias Simango, was defeated in an ensuing power struggle that culminated with Machel taking control of the party.¹²⁹ Magaia's demise and Simango's subsequent troubles likely made Mukono (and others in ZANU) reluctant to claim ties with Frelimo outside of Machel's patronage. For their own operational success, it was critical that ZANU successfully navigate Frelimo's factionalism. However, Mukono himself became entangled in ZANU's own internal disputes in exile, which threatened his life and forced him into hiding.

Victim of the struggle

On 8 February 1975, Mukono, then ZANU's secretary of external affairs, went underground for nearly two months. Although he remained politically prominent for the next four years, his

position in the liberation struggle never fully recovered. A considerable proportion of Mukono's personal files document the events that precipitated this undoing, denoting its significance.¹³⁰ Mukono's experience adds a new dimension to existing scholarly perspectives on the turmoil in ZANU at this time, including the Nhari Mutiny of late 1974 and the circumstances preceding the death of ZANU's Chair, Herbert Chitepo in a car bombing in March 1975. Mukono's autobiographical manuscript largely peters out before these events. However, Mukono's written testimony prepared for the pan-African committee investigating Chitepo's killing provides crucial details about this period.¹³¹ Ironically, Mukono's international networking on behalf of the struggle made him more susceptible to the intrigue afflicting the party.

As one of the party's foremost officials, Mukono's experience during this tumultuous period is revelatory. The extant literature to date has either neglected, misreported or misunderstood Mukono's physical, geographic position during this upheaval. This incorrect reporting not only muddles efforts to understand the internal situation in ZANU, it obscures the extent to which the Zambian President, Kenneth Kaunda, lost control over the country's internal security in the months leading up to Chitepo's death. Blessing-Miles Tendi stressed the importance of transnational factors in facilitating the Nhari mutiny. However, his article only contains one passing reference to Mukono, ZANU's secretary of external affairs at the time of that uprising.¹³² Timothy Scarnecchia unquestioningly relays material from a source who claimed that Mukono was deposed from the defence portfolio as a result of spending significant time 'fighting in Rhodesia'.¹³³ However, Mukono was a civilian leader of ZANLA, he did not engage in combat and spent the entire period from late 1964 to December 1977 outside of the country. Luise White mistakenly claimed that Mukono was outside of Zambia when Chitepo was killed (in Malawi and then the UK) thus expunging his weeks-long perilous hideout within the country and the extent to which he was susceptible to physical threat.¹³⁴ While Mukono's personal papers cannot definitively exculpate him from active involvement with the mutiny, he is clear about his movements at this time. Furthermore, his wife's recollection of the period is consistent with his written record.¹³⁵

ZANU's internal tensions

Mukono's notes contain numerous references to the problem of regionalism, or what he frequently termed 'tribalism', within ZANU's leadership.¹³⁶ Joel Muzhamba, one of the early ZANLA recruits with Mukono in Ghana recalls that alongside Chitepo, Mukono 'tried his best' to resolve these issues.¹³⁷ Mukono chronicles that the first indications of these problems emerged not in exile, but among the senior ZANU officials imprisoned in Salisbury. Around the time of the 1966 Sinoia Battle, Herbert Chitepo received a smuggled letter from Edson Sithole, which noted the emergence of regional/ethnic-based opposition to Chitepo and Ndabaningi Sithole's dominance of the party. According to Mukono, the note alleged that surreptitious efforts were underway to replace them with a leadership trio of Leopold Takawira, Robert Mugabe, and Edson Zvobgo.¹³⁸ Mukono wrote that the party established a committee in 1968 under the direction of Mtambanengwe 'to stamp out tribalism and regionalism'. He added that it accomplished little due to a lack of resources.¹³⁹ Mukono documents that overt dissent against the most senior party leadership first 'began to come to the surface' after the 1969 biannual review. He blamed 'influence from the outside and in particular from the white liberals from Rhodesia, Britain and America. Guy Clutton-Brock from Rhodesia was very prominent.'¹⁴⁰ Mukono identified Nathan Shamuyarira as a key contact of the white liberals.¹⁴¹ A serious threat was largely avoided when a breakaway party, the Front for the Liberation of Zimbabwe (FROLIZI) was formed in 1971, generally without high-ranking defections from ZANU, aside from Shamuyarira and another former member of the *Dare*, Tasiana Mutizwa, who were both dropped from leadership positions at the biannual review that year.¹⁴²

At ZANU's biennial review conference in September 1973, Mukono was transferred to the external affairs portfolio. Josiah Tongogara, ZANLA's military commander, expanded his authority by assuming control of the defence portfolio. According to Gumbo, a significant reorganization of the party was undertaken to promote newer, more youthful figures.¹⁴³ Gumbo claimed the shift was intended as a lateral move, but the former defence chief perceived it as a demotion and believed ethno-favouritism was at play.¹⁴⁴

Mukono positioned the 1973 review conference, where a military official assumed control of the defence portfolio as a turning point in the party's balance of power, an assessment shared by scholars like Gerald Mazarire.¹⁴⁵ Mukono observed that there was internal disagreement in the party as to whether the 1973 review should be held in light of the recent success on the military front.¹⁴⁶ It was eventually scheduled for September 1973 and Mukono and Chitepo departed for a joint tour of eastern Europe that August. This international travel made Mukono more vulnerable to a challenge. They returned just before the conference and found that Henry Hamadziripi had been campaigning to unseat Chitepo, while Mukono's re-election was opposed by his deputy, Tongogara. While Mukono was defeated, Chitepo did not ultimately face a formal challenge. Mukono identified London as a source of the anti-Chitepo pressure.¹⁴⁷ It is unclear what parties in London Mukono was implicating, but Guy Clutton-Brock was deported to England in 1971.¹⁴⁸

Mukono commented that his work as ZANU's new external affairs secretary exposed him to ethnic rivalries well outside of Africa. While attending meetings at the United Nations in March and April 1974, Mukono documented that Zimbabwean students in the US complained that pupils of Karanga ethnicity were obstructing their engagement in the struggle.¹⁴⁹ Upon his return, he heard that a Lusaka district branch of ZANU wanted his removal from the *Dare*, but was unable to obtain any details.¹⁵⁰ In the immediate run-up to the Nhari mutiny, Mukono was again based at the United Nations in New York. The exact timeframe is unclear, but he was clearly abroad from at least late October to mid-November, when the mutiny erupted.¹⁵¹ Mukono variously claimed that he returned to Zambia in late November or early December, when the mutiny was already underway.¹⁵² While ZANLA was consuming itself, on 7 December the civilian politicians of ZANU, ZAPU, FROLIZI, and Muzorewa's African National Council (ANC) entered into a unity pact brokered by regional African leaders.¹⁵³ As ZANU's secretary of foreign affairs, Mukono's foremost preoccupation at this time was likely these talks, not the activities of the mutineers.¹⁵⁴ In an ambiguous February 1975 appeal to Sithole, written from hiding after he fled Lusaka, Mukono, wrote:

Without attempting to absolve myself, I would like to state categorically that I have tried my best to work hard and honestly for the Party...But if during my service I have erred or wronged the Party – the Central Committee, *Dare*, the High Command, the army and followers it was only human, and in an attempt to serve and not intentional...I am sorry and I apologise.¹⁵⁵

Mukono's political denouement

In an effort to address this tumult, the party established an investigative committee consisting of Chitepo, Gumbo, and Kumbirai Kangai (another *Dare* member) in January 1975.¹⁵⁶ Gumbo states that one of their decisions was to 'fire' Mukono from ZANU.¹⁵⁷ Fay Chung and Wilfred Mhanda, independent-minded Zimbabweans and one-time ZANU affiliates, have both implicated Mukono as an active force behind the revolt against Tongogara's command.¹⁵⁸ Meanwhile, Mhanda's guerrilla colleague, Zvakanyorwa Sadomba, rejected claims that Mukono was involved in the mutiny.¹⁵⁹ In subsequent interviews Mukono denied receiving formal notice about any expulsion and rejected accusations that he supported the Nhari dissidents.¹⁶⁰ Mukono's movements around the time of his alleged suspension support the contention that if any such action was taken, it was not conveyed to him.

On 27 December 1974, shortly after the rebellion collapsed, Mukono left Zambia to attend a congress of the Congolese Workers' Party, Congo-Brazzaville's ruling party. Mukono states that afternoon he was briefed by a cadre from the front who noted 'that the situation was good'.¹⁶¹ He departed 'happy and satisfied that we [ZANU] had been able to surmount the temporary hardships and hoped things would then go back to normal'.¹⁶² It turned out that his optimism was severely misplaced. While he was away on this official party business Tongogara publicly accused him of involvement in the Nhari Mutiny.¹⁶³ From Brazzaville (where he saw Machel), Mukono travelled to Kinshasha, Kampala, and Cairo, where he received a cable from the party's Executive Secretary, Mukudzei Mudzi, calling him back to Lusaka.¹⁶⁴ He writes that he returned on 8 February 1975. At the airport he encountered a former ZANLA recruit, discharged due to health reasons and then a taxi driver. The chauffeur warned Mukono that his name was on a death list produced by members of his own party. While pondering how to respond to this news, he encountered Kesiwe Malindi and Beatrice Ngonomo, the wife of Henry Hamadzipi, the *Dare* official Mukono believed wanted to replace Chitepo. They wanted to take Chitepo straight to an important party meeting (further evidence that Mukono may not have been suspended), but Mukono insisted on depositing his luggage at his residence first.¹⁶⁵

Tendi has argued that Tongogara's travels abroad exposed him to the Nhari Mutiny.¹⁶⁶ Similarly, Mukono's voyage and resulting inability to communicate with allies in Lusaka obstructed him from realizing the gravity of the threats awaiting him upon his return. When he spoke with his wife, Mabel, she confirmed that she had also heard Mukono was on a ZANU death list. Mukono then visited a colleague who also confirmed that Mukono was targeted for elimination. He returned home and consulted his wife about possible next steps. She advised him to take refuge outside of Lusaka, on the Copperbelt at the residence of a longstanding friend, Philemon Mahari, a Zimbabwean expatriate who was not active in ZANU circles but had worked alongside Mukono at the early stage of his political journey, as the Deputy Treasurer of the Helping Hand Society. As Mukono was entirely dependent on the party for funds, she also provided him with the finances to take a taxi to Mahari's refuge in Ndola near the border with Zaire.¹⁶⁷

They did not know that the previous day, 7 February, Edgar Madekurozwa, a ZANU branch officer who was the first to inform Mabel about the threats on her husband, had been abducted outside of Herbert Chitepo's house.¹⁶⁸ Also around this time, ZANU's political commissar, John Mataure, another close associate of Mukono's, was discreetly executed following a period of detention by the party.¹⁶⁹ Chitepo, ZANU's Chair, was killed by a car bomb on 18 March 1975. Paradoxically, the death of Mukono's longstanding ally (they were from the same part of Zimbabwe and knew each other since at least 1944) created the environment that allowed Mukono to come out of hiding.¹⁷⁰ On 31 March 1975, Kaunda announced the creation of a commission of inquiry to investigate Chitepo's death.¹⁷¹ The Zambian government finally took aggressive action to stabilize security. Those who represented a threat to Mukono were side-lined. Zambian police arrested 57 ZANU members and officials and detained 1,300 ZANU cadres inside the country.¹⁷²

Mukono probably came out of hiding in early April 1975.¹⁷³ His former party was in tatters. Some suggested that he should return to ZAPU, counsel he flatly rejected.¹⁷⁴ ZANU split into two factions; its main body gradually came under Mugabe's leadership. A smaller wing under party president Ndabaningi Sithole initially remained under the auspices of the unity coalition, Muzorewa's African National Council. Sithole withdrew this ZANU rump from Muzorewa's authority in September 1976.¹⁷⁵ Mukono briefly remained aligned with Muzorewa and attended the Geneva conference the following month as part of the ANC delegation.¹⁷⁶ He again enjoyed a defence portfolio as Chair of the military committee of Muzorewa's Zimbabwe Liberation Council (ZLC).¹⁷⁷ However, in January 1977 he resigned from the ANC and pledged his allegiance to Sithole.¹⁷⁸ It had likely become clear to Mukono that he enjoyed no substantial military authority in the ZLC. In the waning months of his exile, Mukono was tapped as Sithole's foreign affairs chief and began to prepare to operate out of Malawi.¹⁷⁹ However, the position of the regime in

Rhodesia deteriorated significantly following Mozambique's independence in June 1975. Sithole and Muzorewa entered into power sharing and settlement negotiations with Prime Minister Ian Smith. Mukono (and family) moved to Salisbury in December 1977 to participate, ending nearly 14 years of exile. He briefly served as a co-minister of defence (1978–79) and legislator (1979) in the short-lived Zimbabwe Rhodesia dispensation. These political positions were not the crowning achievement of a longsuffering transnational revolutionary. Rather, they marked Mukono for ostracism after Zimbabwe gained its internationally recognised independence under Mugabe in 1980.

Conclusion

This article tracks two decades of Noel Mukono's political career, charting the rise and fall of an unexpected military strategist and diplomat. With the exception of a short period in the early 1960s, Mukono spent this entire time outside of Rhodesia, either as a political exile or economic migrant. Until the advent of détente in late 1974, he was one of the most senior Zimbabwean nationalists operating at-large. His political trajectory and anti-colonial activities from Dar-es-Salaam and Lusaka embody what White and Larmer dubbed the 'un-national liberation of southern Africa'.¹⁸⁰ His private records and unfinished memoir, while highlighting his personal perspective, nonetheless add new dimensions to our understanding of trans/un-national networks in Zimbabwe's liberation struggle. At virtually every stage of his international journey, Mukono had an encounter that challenges or expands the narrative around the external dimensions of Zimbabwe's liberation movements.

His first substantial political activities, with HHS, highlight the existence of an organization that has virtually slipped out of the historical record. The substantial presence of black Rhodesians in late colonial Zambia, and their political activities at that time, has elicited minimal scholarly attention despite the surge of interest in the region's transnational networks.¹⁸¹ In the United Kingdom, Mukono was intimately associated with the British Labour Party. However, the depth of these early ties between ZANU and British political circles remains poorly understood. Mukono escaped into exile and initially found refuge in Malawi. That country's leader, Hastings Kamuzu Banda, is notorious for his alliance with apartheid South Africa.¹⁸² However, Mukono's experience highlights Malawi's orientation toward Ghana, a widely acclaimed paragon of pan-African liberation. The most significant international network that Mukono formed on behalf of Zimbabwe's liberation struggle was ZANU's relationship with the Mozambican nationalist movement, Frelimo. Critically, Mukono's claim of a working relationship with Filipe Magaia and Frelimo's provision of armaments for ZANLA's 1966 offensive in Rhodesia expands existing views on the extent of co-operation between the two parties. Finally, this article has rectified incorrect or incomplete reporting around Mukono's geographical location and movements during the period of intense infighting in ZANU that culminated in the death of Herbert Chitepo. An understanding of the threats faced by ZANU's foreign affairs head at this time, and Chitepo's inability to manage them, provides new context about this opaque period. Mukono's international travels in mid-1973 and early 1975 reveal how his internal opponents strategically turned his globetrotting activism against him.

Mukono was marginalised in independent Zimbabwe and not declared a hero upon his death. Given his role in building up ZANLA and tutelage of the armed struggle at its formative phase (1966–73), this renders Mukono one of the leading casualties of 'patriotic history.' However, Mukono seems to aver the maxim that 'the pen is mightier than the sword.' His background as a journalist, his preservation of crucial personal papers, and his efforts to compose his memoir, while unfinished, provide a valuable fount of evidence to challenge the self-serving revisionist historical paradigm promulgated by ZANU-PF in an effort to maintain its power.

Notes

1. The party was known as 'ZANU' throughout the period under consideration here. It added the moniker 'PF' at elections in 1980 to differentiate itself from peer competitors.
2. B-M. Tendi, 'The Motivations and Dynamics of Zimbabwe's 2017 Military Coup', *African Affairs*, 119 (2020), 53.
3. N. Mukono, untitled autobiographical manuscript, 14. Privately held Mabel Mukono Deposit (hereafter 'MMD').
4. 'Brief Biography of Noel Gabriel Kavaravanda Mukonowatsauka [Mukono] and Salient Points of ZANU and its Role in the Liberation Struggle in Zimbabwe [hereafter 'Brief Biography']', passim. MMD
5. *Ibid.*, 5.
6. On Nhari: G. Mazarire, 'Discipline and Punishment in ZANLA: 1964-1979', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 37, (2011), 571-591; B-M. Tendi, 'Transnationalism, Contingency and Loyalty in African Liberation Armies: The Case of ZANU's 1974-1975 Nhari Mutiny', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 43 (2017), 143-159. On Chitepo: David Martin and Phyllis Johnson, *The Chitepo Assassination* (Harare: Zimbabwe Publishing House, 1985); Luise White, *The Assassination of Herbert Chitepo: Text and Politics in Zimbabwe* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003).
7. John Day, *International Nationalism: The Extra-territorial Relations of Southern Rhodesian Nationalists* (New York: Humanities Press, 1967), 42.
8. Mabel Mukono, interview by author, Johannesburg, South Africa, 20 February 2021.
9. 'Brief Biography', 1.
10. M. Sithole, 'Is Zimbabwe Poised on a Liberal Path? The State and Prospects of the Parties', *Issue: A Journal of Opinion*, 21 (1993), 37.
11. 'Last Respects for Mukono', *The Herald*, 3 January 1992.
12. S.L. Mautsa, 'Noel Mukono: No Hero?' *Moto*, March 1992.
13. Joe Taviringwa Mhute, letter to editor, 'What Makes One a Hero?' *Sunday Times*, 16 February 1992.
14. *Ibid.*
15. T. Ranger, 'Nationalist Historiography, Patriotic History and the History of the Nation: The Struggle Over the Past in Zimbabwe', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 30 (2004), 215-234.
16. *Ibid.*, 215.
17. N. Kriger, 'From Patriotic Memories to 'Patriotic History' in Zimbabwe, 1990-2005', *Third World Quarterly*, 27 (2006), 1151-1169.
18. Diana Mitchell, *An African Memoir: White Woman, Black Nationalists* (No place of publication: privately published, 2021), 137.
19. 'Charge May be Behind Raid', [*Central*] *African Daily News* (hereafter 'ADN'), 8 July 1960.
20. 'ZANU Calls for Full International Investigation of Smith Agents Operating in Zambia', *Chimurenga: The Monthly ZANU Newsletter*, 1 (1976).
21. Joshua Nkomo, *The Story of My Life* (London: Methuen, 1984), 228.
22. David Birmingham, *A Short History of Modern Angola* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), 76; T. van der Hoog and B. Moore, 'Paper, Pixels, or Plane Tickets? Multi-archival Perspectives on the Decolonisation of Namibia', *Journal of Namibian Studies*, Vol. 32 (2022), 78.
23. B-M. Tendi, *The Army and Politics in Zimbabwe: Mujuru, the Liberation Fighter and Kingmaker* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 5.
24. Luise White, *Fighting and Writing: The Rhodesian Army at War and Postwar* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2021); Ngwabi Bhebe and Terence Ranger, 'General Introduction' in Bhebe and Ranger (eds.), *Soldiers in Zimbabwe's Liberation War* (London: James Currey, 1995), 3.
25. Gerald. Mazarire, 'ZANU's External Networks, 1963-1979: An Appraisal', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 43 (2017), 83-106; Day, *International Nationalism*.
26. On the ANC: Stephen Ellis, *External Mission: The ANC in Exile, 1960-1990* (London: Hurst, 2012); Hugh Macmillan, *The Lusaka Years: The ANC in Exile in Zambia, 1963 to 1994* (Johannesburg: Jacana, 2013). Namibia: C. Williams, 'Education in Exile: International Scholarships, Cold War Politics, and Conflicts among SWAPO Members in Tanzania, 1961-68', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 43 (2017), 125-141. Mozambique: M. Panzer, 'A Nation in Name, A "State" in Exile: The FRELIMO Proto-state, Youth, Gender, and the Liberation of Mozambique, 1962-1975' (Ph.D. dissertation, State University of New York at Albany, 2013).
27. I. Milford et. al, 'Another World? East Africa, Decolonisation, and the Global History of the Mid-Twentieth Century', *Journal of African History*, 62 (2021), 402.
28. Jane L. Parpart, *Labor and Capital on the African Copperbelt* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1983), 142.
29. 'Brief Biography', 2.
30. Humphrey Malumo, interview by author, Johannesburg, South Africa, 13 November 2021.
31. Mukono to Machel, 18 September 1980, MMD.
32. 'The Liberation of Zimbabwe: The Cause Was Above Everything', Privately held Humphrey Malumo Deposit (hereafter 'HMD').
33. Tendi, *Army and Politics in Zimbabwe*.
34. G. Mazarire, 'Biography and History in Zimbabwe', *Journal of African History*, 63 (2022), 265.
35. Mitchell, *African Memoir*, 138. It appears Mitchell attempted to meet Mukono soon after he came out of hiding following threats on his life.
36. Malumo interview.
37. Judith Todd, email to author, 28 April 2022.
38. Ranger to Mukono, 18 August 1963, Ranger Papers, JSTOR Collection, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/al.sff.document.ranger00358>, accessed 21 February 2023.

39. Enozent Msindo, 'Factionalism and Robert Mugabe's Leadership in Zimbabwe' in Ebenezer Obadare and Wale Adebani eds.), *Governance and the Crisis of Rule in Contemporary Africa* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 155.
40. "Brief Biography," 1.
41. John Reed, 'Portrait of an Agitator: Patrick Matimba', *Africa South*, January-March 1960, 73-78.
42. 'Wishes of Goodwill to Mrs. Matimba', *Bantu Mirror*, 4 May 1957.
43. 'Chikerema Refused Passport', *ADN*, 14 November 1958.
44. 'No Hero?', 13.
45. 'Brief Biography', 1.
46. B. Marmon, 'Prelude to Unilateralism: Foreclosed Independence Bids in Pre-Federation Southern Rhodesia, 1948 and 1950', *South African Historical Journal*, 74 (2022), 254-271; B. Marmon, "'Bogey Bogey Stuff": Gold Coastism, Federation, and White Backlash in Southern Rhodesia, 1951-56', *The Round Table*, 111 (2022), 214-226.
47. 'Brief Biography', 1.
48. *Ibid.*
49. Edmund Cross, *A Life of Sacrifice: Emmerson Mnangagwa* (Zimbabwe: Jarach Media Ltd., 2021), 10-11.
50. Simbi Mubako, 'Cde Tongo: A Legend, A Role Model', *The Herald*, 4 February 2021. <https://www.herald.co.zw/cde-tongo-a-legend-role-model/> accessed 7 February 2023; Josiah Tongogara, *Tongogara: In His Own Words* (Harare: African Publishing Group, 2015), 36.
51. Philda Chikerema, interview by author, Bloomington, USA, 28 January 2023.
52. *Ibid.*
53. TO Ranger, *The African Voice in Southern Rhodesia, 1898-1930* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1970), ch. 3, *passim*.
54. Robert Rotberg, *The Rise of Nationalism in Central Africa, The Making of Malawi and Zambia, 1873-1964* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965), 212.
55. 'Brief Biography', 1. NRANC suffered a factional split in 1958 and rapidly lost ground to UNIP.
56. Mukono, autobiographical manuscript, 3.
57. Mukono records that other leading members of HHS included Sebastian Mautsa, Matthew Gurire, Samuel Marange, and Philemon Mahari.
58. 'Brief Biography', 1.
59. *Ibid.*
60. Z. Groves, 'Transnational Networks and Regional Solidarity: The Case of the Central African Federation, 1953-1963', *African Studies*, 72 (2013), 155-175.
61. Day, *International Nationalism*, 15-16.
62. 'Mugabe Joins NDP Ranks', *African Weekly*, 6 July 1960.
63. 'Harare NDP Elections', *ADN*, 5 July 1961.
64. N. Mukono, 'Banished – Nearer Home', *Central African Examiner*, January 1963.
65. Day, *International Nationalism*, 42. It is not clear when or how Mukono attained travel documents.
66. Mabel Mukono, interview by author, Johannesburg, South Africa, 13 March 2021.
67. John Chirimani, telephone interview by author, 11 May 2021.
68. Mukono, autobiographical manuscript, 10.
69. *Ibid.*
70. Mukono, autobiographical manuscript, 10; P. Calvocoressi, 'The Africa Bureau, London', *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 2 (1964), 292-294; D. Moore, 'ZANU-PF & the Ghosts of Foreign Funding', *Review of African Political Economy*, 32 (2005), 158.
71. 'The African Experience in Southern Rhodesia: Some Primary Sources for 1963', Ranger Papers, JSTOR Collection, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/al.sff.document.ranger00275>, accessed 21 February 2023.
72. 'Brief Biography', 2.
73. Day, *International Nationalism*, 82; Nathan Shamuyarira, *Crisis in Rhodesia* (London: Andre Deutsch, 1965), 178.
74. Examples include: Enozent Msindo, *Ethnicity in Zimbabwe: Transformations in Kalanga and Ndebele Societies, 1860-1990* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2012), 192-202; Timothy Scarnecchia, *The Urban Roots of Democracy and Political Violence in Zimbabwe: Harare and Highfield, 1940-1964* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2008), ch. 7, *passim*; Masipula Sithole, *Zimbabwe: Struggles-within-the-Struggle* (Harare: Rujeko, 1979); H. Slater, 'The Politics of Frustration: The ZAPU-ZANU Split in Historical Perspective', *Kenya Historical Review*, 3 (1975), 261-286.
75. Mukono, autobiographical manuscript, 5.
76. 'Rebels "Hail a New Day"', *ADN*, 12 July 1963.
77. Mukono, autobiographical manuscript, 7.
78. 'A Message to Nkomo and Zimbabwe', *ADN*, 19 July 1963.
79. 'Sithole Forms New Party', *ADN*, 9 August 1963.
80. 'ZANU Man is Back', *ADN*, 16 October 1963.
81. N. Warner, 'Time of Darkness: Ethnicity and the Causes of Division within the Rhodesian Guerrilla Groups', (MA Thesis, Australian National University, 1981), 54.
82. Tongogara, *In His Own Words*, 42.
83. Rugare Gumbo, telephone interview by author, 24 May 2021.
84. Stuart Doran, *Kingdom, Power, Glory: Mugabe, ZANU and the Quest for Supremacy, 1960-1987* (Midrand: Sithatha, 2017), 668.

85. ORAL/228, Ignatius Takaidza Chigwendere, interviewed by Brian Willan, 24 May 1974, 60, National Archives of Zimbabwe.
86. 'Todd's Suggestion Rejected by ZANU,' *ADN*, 1 November 1963.
87. J. Pritchard, Race, 'Identity, and Belonging in Early Zimbabwean Nationalism(s), 1957-1965' (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Cambridge, 2019), 180.
88. Ndabaningi Sithole, *Letters from Salisbury Prison* (Nairobi: Transafrica Publishers, 1976), 29.
89. *Ibid.*, 27.
90. B. Tavuyanago, "The 'Crocodile Gang' Operation: A Critical Reflection on the Genesis of the Second Chimurenga in Zimbabwe," *Global Journal of Human Social Science: Political Science*, 13 (2013), 27-36; Michael Raeburn, *We Are Everywhere: Narratives from Rhodesian Guerrillas* (New York: Random House, 1979) 3-26.
91. T. Ranger, 'Violence Variously Remembered: The Killing of Pieter Oberholzer in July 1964,' *History in Africa*, 24 (1997), 279-80.
92. Mukono, autobiographical manuscript, 15-19.
93. 'Brief Biography,' 3.
94. Ndabaningi Sithole, *Obed Mutezo: The Mudzimu Christian Nationalist* (London: Oxford University Press, 1970), 178.
95. Mukono, autobiographical manuscript, 20.
96. 'Brief Biography,' 4.
97. B. Marmon, "Fallout from the Fallacious Accusation of Hastings Kamuzu Banda's West African Origins," *Society of Malawi Journal*, 73 (2020), 42; B. Marmon, 'Independence and Pan-African Diplomatic Contestation: Anti-colonial Nationalism and the Eclipse of White Legitimacy in "British Central Africa", 1957-64,' *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, <https://doi.org/10.1080/03086534.2022.2137077>, 17-18.
98. 'Brief Biography,' 4.
99. C. Gabay, 'The Radical and Reactionary Politics of Malawi's Hastings Banda: Roots, Fruit and Legacy,' *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 43 (2017), 1128-1129.
100. 'Brief Biography,' 4.
101. J. Ahlman, 'Road to Ghana: Nkrumah, Southern Africa and the Eclipse of a Decolonising Africa,' *Kronos*, No. 37 (2011): 23-40; F. Gerits, "'When the Bull Elephants Fight": Kwame Nkrumah, Non-Alignment, and Pan-Africanism as an Interventionist Ideology in the Global Cold War (1957-66),' *International History Review*, 37 (2016), 951-969; M. Grilli, 'Nkrumah's Ghana and the Armed Struggle in Southern Africa (1961-1966),' *South African Historical Journal*, 70 (2018), 56-81.
102. Mazarire, 'ZANU's External Networks,' 84; W. Reed, 'International Politics and National Liberation: ZANU and the Politics of Contested Sovereignty in Zimbabwe,' *African Studies Review*, 36 (1993), 33.
103. Mukono, autobiographical manuscript, 22.
104. *Ibid.*, 23.
105. *Ibid.*, 41.
106. *Ibid.*, 42.
107. *Ibid.*, 39.
108. *Ibid.*, 42.
109. *Ibid.*, 42-43.
110. *Ibid.*, 43.
111. *Ibid.*, 43.
112. Mabel Mukono, interview by author, Johannesburg, South Africa, 6 June 2021. Mabel relates that in the late 1990s, when Mugabe's government provided cash payments for war veterans, she applied for benefits but was denied.
113. Iain Christie, *Samora Machel: A Biography* (London: Zed Books, 1989), 78. Christie mistakenly identifies Tongogara as ZANU's 'top military man' in 1968; C. Munguambe, "Nationalism and Exile in an Age of Solidarity: Frelimo-ZANU Relations in Mozambique (1975-1980)," *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 43 (2017), 164-65.
114. David Martin and Phyllis Johnson, *The Struggle for Zimbabwe* (London: Faber & Faber, 1981), 16; Gumbo interview.
115. 'Brief Biography,' 9.
116. *Ibid.*, 8.
117. *Ibid.*, 12. Mautsa and Mukono were longstanding friends.
118. *Ibid.*, 13.
119. Peter Godwin and Ian Hancock, *'Rhodesians Never Die': The Impact of War and Political Change on White Rhodesia, c. 1970-80* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993) 85-86.
120. 'Initial National Service Training is Full Year,' *Rhodesian Commentary*, January 1973.
121. Mukono to Machel, undated, HMD.
122. Abel Muzorewa, *Rise up and Walk: An Autobiography* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1978), 186.
123. T. Ranger, 'The Changing of the Old Guard: Robert Mugabe and the Revival of ZANU,' *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 7 (1980): 80; D. Moore, 'Democracy, Violence, and Identity in the Zimbabwean War of National Liberation: Reflections from the Realms of Dissent' *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, 29 (1995), 392.
124. David Moore, *Mugabe's Legacy: Coups, Conspiracies, and the Conceits of Power in Zimbabwe* (London: Hurst, 2022), 90.
125. Mukono, 'Sequence of Events Leading to the Death of Comrade Herbert Chitepo,' 36, MMD.
126. John A. Marcum, *Conceiving Mozambique* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 104-106.

127. João M. Cabrita, *Mozambique: The Tortuous Road to Democracy* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2000), 47-49; W. Opello, 'Pluralism and Elite Conflict in an Independence Movement: FRELIMO in the 1960s,' *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 2 (1975), 73-75.
128. George Roberts, *Revolutionary State-making in Dar-es-Salaam: African Liberation and the Global Cold War, 1961-1974* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021), ch. 4 passim.
129. Allen and Barbara Isaacman, *Mozambique's Samora Machel* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2020), 83-85.
130. This includes an incomplete 40-plus page document Mukono composed on the circumstances leading up to Chitepo's death and letters to Ndabaningi Sithole and Samora Machel that Mukono wrote while in hiding prior to Chitepo's killing.
131. Mukono, 'Sequence of Events.' It does not appear that the testimony was delivered. See: Republic of Zambia, *Report of the Special International Commission on the Assassination of Herbert Wiltshire Chitepo* (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1976), 58.
132. Tendi, 'Nhari Mutiny,' 157.
133. Timothy Lewis Scarnecchia, *Race and Diplomacy in Zimbabwe: The Cold War and Decolonization* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2021), 48-49.
134. White, *Assassination of Herbert Chitepo*, 39-40.
135. Mabel Mukono, multiple interviews by author, Johannesburg, South Africa, February – June 2021.
136. 'Brief Biography,' passim.
137. "Chimurenga II Chronicles: ZANU's Uncomfortable Truth." *Sunday Mail*, 8 May 2016, <https://www.sundaymail.co.zw/chimurenga-ii-chronicles-zanus-uncomfortable-truth>, accessed 18 January 2023.
138. Mukono, 'Sequence of Events,' 13.
139. Ibid.
140. Ibid., 15.
141. Ibid.
142. Warner, 'Time of Darkness,' 110.
143. Gumbo interview. Tongogara was ten years younger than Mukono.
144. Ibid. Intimations of this displeasure also emerge in Mukono's personal notes.
145. Mazarire, 'Discipline and Punishment,' 575.
146. 'Brief Biography,' 13.
147. Mukono, 'Sequence of Events,' 22.
148. Guy and Molly Clutton-Brock, *Cold Comfort Confronted* (London: Mowbrays, 1974), 182.
149. Mukono, 'Sequence of Events,' 25.
150. Mukono, 'Sequence of Events,' 26-27.
151. 'Britain Must Stop Meddling in the Affairs of Zimbabwe,' *Zimbabwe News*, 8 (1974); Taderera to Mukono, 25 November 1974, HMD.
152. Mukono, 'Sequence of Events,' 26; Mukono, 'Brief Biography,' 14.
153. 'Zimbabwe Declaration of Unity,' in Christopher Nyangoni and Gideon Nyandoro (eds.), *Zimbabwe Independence Movements: Selected Documents* (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1979), 295.
154. *Chitepo Commission Report*, 21.
155. Mukono to Sithole, 16 February 1975, MMD.
156. Tendi, 'Nhari Mutiny,' 157.
157. Gumbo interview.
158. Fay Chung, *Re-living the Second Chimurenga: Memories from the Liberation Struggle in Zimbabwe* (Stockholm: Nordic Africa Institute, 2006), 93; Fay Chung, 'ZANU's Problems in Zambia,' June 1976, Ranger Papers, JSTOR Collection, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/al.sff.document.ranger00157>, accessed 21 February 2023; Wilfred Mhanda, *Dzino: Memories of a Freedom Fighter* (Harare: Weaver Press, 2011), 39.
159. Zvakanyorwa Sadomba, *War Veterans in Zimbabwe's Revolution: Challenging Neo-colonialism and International Capital* (Oxford: James Currey, 2011), 18.
160. Martin and Johnson, *Struggle for Zimbabwe*, 166.
161. Mukono, 'Sequence of Events,' 39
162. Ibid.
163. *Chitepo Commission Report*, 25.
164. Mukono, 'Sequence of Events,' 40.
165. Ibid.
166. Tendi, 'Nhari Mutiny,' 145.
167. Mabel Mukono interview, 6 June 2021.
168. Mabel Mukono, telephone interview by Neo Mukono, 28 January 2023. Madekurozwa was subsequently killed.
169. Vesta Sithole, *My Life with an Unsung Hero* (Bloomington: AuthorHouse, 2006), 64.
170. Mukono, 'Sequence of Events,' 2.
171. *Chitepo Commission Report*, xii.
172. White, *Chitepo Assassination*, 50.
173. Mabel Mukono interview, 6 June 2021.
174. Ibid.
175. Sithole, *Struggles-within-the-Struggle*, 114.
176. 'Muzorewa ANC Names Team,' *The Rhodesia Herald*, 16 October 1976.
177. Mukono, 'Brief Biography,' 16.

178. Mukono to Muzorewa, 14 January 1977, MMD.
179. 'Call by ZANU/Sithole Group,' 14 August 1977, Public Library of US Diplomacy, https://search.wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/1977LILONG01361_c.html, accessed 21 February 2023.
180. L. White and M. Larmer, 'Introduction: Mobile Soldiers and the Un-National Liberation of Southern Africa,' *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 40 (2014), 1271-1274.
181. Beyond previously cited materials, a geographically representative cross-section of such literature includes: A. Lissoni, "'Dear Comrade Chief Rep": Love, Marriage and the Family in the ANC in Exile in Tanzania,' *African Studies*, 76 (2017), 1-21; L. Passemiers, 'The Pan Africanist Congress and the Congo Alliance, 1963-1964,' *South African Historical Journal*, 70 (2018), 82-107; P. Hayes, 'Zenzo Nkobi, ZAPU Photographer: Exile, Visibility and the Anteroom of War in Zambia, 1977-1980,' *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 46 (2020), 941-964.
182. H. Chipembere, 'Malawi's Growing Links with South Africa: A Necessity or a Virtue?,' *Africa Today*, 18 (1971), 27-47.

Acknowledgements

This article was underwritten by the *IHR's* annual research award. It became possible when Simbaimuchimurenga Chizengeni connected me to Noel's daughter, Neo Mukono. I owe a profound debt to Mabel Mukono for sharing her husband's papers and crucial insights over multiple meetings. Humphrey Malumo also preserved valuable documentary material. A version of this paper was presented at a virtual seminar organized by the History Department of the University of the Free State. I am grateful to the attendees for their feedback; especially the contributions of Joyline Kufandirori, Lazlo Passemiers, and Luise White. Paul Hubbard and Ibbo Mandaza provided valuable assistance and I thank Gerald Mazarire and Miles Tendi for their thoughtful reflections.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

Funding

International History Review.

ORCID

Brooks Marmon  <http://orcid.org/0000-0002-7504-4556>