

THE CHIMURENGA-CULTURE IN CONTEMPORARY ZIMBABWE

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First published in 2018
by LAN Readers

Typeset by Pofela Ndzozi

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ISBN: 978-0-7974-8718-5

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to man who was a fortress of PF-ZAPU's contributions to post-coloniality in Zimbabwe. This is none other than my Grandfather *Oliver Pedzisai Mahomva*. Vazukuru vangu *Chiwoneso, Chiyedza and Keisha, kuziva mbuya huudzwa*. (To know your grandmother you have to be told). This one is for you again.

In memory of the late *Cde Thomas Deve*, in respect to your contribution to my intellectual journey.

In respect of all “true” patriots of Zimbabwe.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This intellectual expedition would have not come to life had it not been for my interests in the areas of political theory and ideology. I owe my passions to these areas of study to one of my lecturers, Mrs Jane Madzamiri whose name is not worth omitting in the preface of this study. This is a fruition of the intellectual prowess she imparted. It is a fact, intellectual enterprises invest much in solitude and discipline, but am grateful to *masahwira ekurava magwaro* for being there throughout such moments; Mlondolozzi, Munia, Talent, Rommz, Charity, Methembe and Nhlanhla. You guys are the best.

I also register my profound gratitude to esteemed academics I consulted to come up with this study. Doctor Vongai Nyawo Viriri I appreciate your input in helping me to determine the architecture of the study. Doctor Terrence Mashingaidze this could be no better without you chastening my dense writing style and emphasising on the need to locate the study in accessible terms for a wider readership audience. Though I may never meet the benchmark of your simple yet sophisticated standard of articulating issues thank you for adding clarity to my impervious explanation of the Chimurenga-culture in times you accommodated me in your office. After this journey I have taken an oath to be one who “writes to inform.” Again thanks for being generous enough to give me your attention, literature and such great mentorship in the course of this research project.

Doctor Lyton Ncube, thank you very much for helping me produce themes on the role of ideologies in influencing mainstream political discourses. Thanks for your openness and critical reciprocations to my submissions in the early framing of the study and not hesitating to give me access to your physical and e-library. I promise to preserve the ‘*alarcate*’ spirit.

Am also grateful to individual and institutional supporters of Leaders for Africa Network who have made it possible for me to convene the Second edition of the Back to Pan-Africanism in December 2014. As a result the Presentations by Professor Anthony Nhamo Mhiripiri and Doctor Samukele Hadebe helped in developing the conceptual framework of this study in the understanding of post-coloniality in Zimba-

bwe especially when now linked with the new phenomenon of the Chimurenga-culture. I am grateful to Doctor Advice Viriri, the coordinator of the 2015 Midlands State University's International Cultural Diversity Day for allowing me to present chapter four of this study during the conference held on the 7th of May at MSU.

The acknowledgements would be void if I forget to mention Dr Ibbo Mandaza and Doctor Siphepha who were accessible for interviews that helped establish themes of the Chimurenga-culture. Likewise and I am grateful to my questionnaire respondents.

Last, I would like to thank my dissertation supervisor for the interest and support he gave to this research which is a continuation of a book we co-edited. Thank you very much Mr Simbarashe Moyo for believing in this intellectual endeavour from the *Post-1980 Chimurengas Explained* to the advent of the Chimurenga-culture. I hope this will be generated into a new book with your backing of-course.

ABSTRACT

The study is an interrogation of the Chimurenga-culture in its relation to political ideological formations that contribute to nation-building. Within the context of mapping the contours of Zimbabwe's evolution to being a "nation" the study seeks to locate the Chimurenga not only in the past, but in the contemporary socio-political and economic landscape of the discourses that have influenced the nation-making process. However, much emphasis of the study is that nationhood is informed by a political ideology that later produces the political-culture that produces feelings of change which are an output of any political process. From the onset the Chimurenga was a quest for change and its manifestation in the present speaks to new issues of change in the present. For this reason the study is not only a narrative of the birth of the Chimurenga-culture as seen in the eyes of the researcher. The study articulates how the Chimurenga-culture from 1999 to 2014 is a new area of concern in the disciplines of political theory and political philosophy. This specified timeline gave visibility to the Chimurenga-culture defined as a manifestation of the legacies of the past and their deconstruction hence influencing political ideology and culture diversity in Zimbabwe. The past legacy constructions and deconstructions shaped the forces of change in attitudes of achieving nationhood. While there has been widespread research on the Chimurenga as the founding epistemology of the "nationhood" in Zimbabwe the study explains the evolution of the Chimurenga to becoming a "culture" that has shaped the ideas of post-independence nation-building. In that regard the study is a gap-filler and an extension to the less research appreciated transitional processes of the Chimurenga as an evolving philosophy of continued aspirations for change in the embracement of nationhood. The discursive tools of the discussed political ideologies include songs and writings of the Chimurenga-culture's role in shaping nationhood in Zimbabwe. Hence music and literature of the Chimurenga-culture will be the major tools of this research. In drawing towards the conclusion, recommendations are placed on how the Chimurenga culture could be modified for better political change.

DEFINITION OF KEY TERMS

Chimurenga

This word originates from the Shona people of Zimbabwe and refers to a struggle for liberation. Most historians and political theory researchers derive its meaning from the country's contested massive confrontation with British colonial domination between 1896 and 1897. This school of thought asserts that the Chimurenga was a collective decolonisation force of the Shona and the Ndebele hence the Ndebele equivalent for Chimurenga is "*Umvukela*." This era is said to have marked the first phase of the liberation struggle commonly known as the first Chimurenga. Vambe (2004) challenges this school of thought and states that the Chimurenga refers to a solely Shona confrontation with forces of political disempowerment dating back to the days of the Portuguese and the entry of the Ndebele into the Shona dominated political space we refer to as modern-day Zimbabwe. Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2009) a proponent of Ndebele hegemony argues that 1896 to 1897 Shona monopolised Chimurenga is a successor of the Ndebele-Anglo war of 1893. On the same contested note Beach (1986) refutes the existence of one common Chimurenga among the Shona people of Zimbabwe he mentions the split fronts of Zimbabwe's liberation struggle defined as the *Zvimurenga*. The same name was used to refer to the country's liberation struggle of which finally led to independence in 1980. The contestations of the liberation struggle's homogeneity remained contested as contextually articulated by Sithole (2009) as the "Struggle within a struggle."

Chimurenga-Culture

The phrase is particularly used in this research to explain the struggle for political legitimacy in Zimbabwe between 1999 and 2014. The major reason for the contested legitimacy being rise of a political opposition guided by a liberal political culture which in this thesis is regarded a new form of a Chimurenga against those who claimed monopoly of the Chimurenga as a discourse of buying political legitimacy. ZANU-PF since 1980 has monopolised the liberation narrative to authenticate its political endeavors at the expense of other political actors. The birth of political opposition in the form of MDC marked the need to use the country's past by ZANU-PF to enhance the party's political creden-

tials. The reciprocal deconstruction of this credential enhancement by ZANU-PF is what informs the non-affirmative angle of the Chimurenga-culture.

Political Ideology

This refers to citizen political belief systems which form the basis of support for political parties in a country. In this case, the political ideologies under study originated for the contested ZANU-PF and MDC political landscape in Zimbabwe since 1999. Political ideology influences participatory, weak and parochial political culture in a country and these forms of political culture may be the drives for change or continuity for the status-quo in any given political landscape.

LIST OF ACRONYMS

AIPPA- Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act

ESAPs- Economic Structural Adjustment Programmes

FRELIMO – Mozambique Liberation Front

MDC- Movement for Democratic Change

NGOs- Non-Governmental Organisations

MLF- Mthwakazi Liberation Front

NCA- National Constituent Assembly

PF- ZAPU- Patriotic Front- Zimbabwe African People's Union

POSA- Public Order and Security Act

RENAMO- Mozambican National Resistance

SAPES- Southern Africa Political Economy Series

ZANU-PF- Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front

ZCTU- Zimbabwe Congress for Trade Unions

ZIPRA- Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army

ZUM- Zimbabwe Unity Movement

ZINASU- Zimbabwe National Students Unions

CHAPTER ONE

LOCATING INFLUENCE OF THE CHIMURENGA-CULTURE IN CONTEMPORARY ZIMBABWE'S POLITICAL IDEOLOGIES

Introduction

The Chimurenga has continued to serve as the nerve centre of political thinking and culture in Zimbabwe. In this study I argue that the Chimurenga has outdone its feature of being a pre-independence philosophy for decolonisation of the country only. The pivot of my submission in this study is that the Chimurenga has evolved to influence the invention of the idea of nation-making up to post-independence even in its contested contemporary shape. This contestation refers to polarized feelings of nationhood emanating from divergent political attitudes of Zimbabwe's citizenry. This gives logic to the aim of this research that treats the present manifestation of the past as the "Chimurenga-culture" and how this phenomenon has been challenged by emerging political ideas that interrogate the ethos of the Chimurenga as liberating or oppressing. The same assertions problematise Zimbabwe's nationalism as either redemptive or grotesque (Ndlovu and Muzondidya 2011). Therefore specific mention is on the Chimurenga-culture and its significance influencing the ideologies of nation-building in Zimbabwe and even the political-culture thereof towards a quest for political change. The contested terrain of the Chimurenga-culture is informed by the *historical* and *ahistorical* inventions¹ of "Becoming Zimbabwe²". Using the constructivist model to explain the Zimbabwean political phenomenon my submission is that nationhood in Zimbabwe is a manifestation of opposite binaries i.e. good and bad, democracy and tyranny, majority and minority. The constructivist perspective helps identify the "being" and

1 The historical factor represents the manifestation of the past in influencing the acts of ZANU-PF. It reflects the political style of ZANU-PF, While the ahistorical factor lambasts ZANU-PF for monopolizing the past to intimidate Zimbabwe's citizens

2 All identities are invented even the present day Africa states are an epitome of this mentioned invention characterised by polarities, the historical and ahistorical factor. See Mudimbe on "The invention of Africa."

the “other” in explaining ideology trends of any given political arena for instance in Zimbabwe. The two (the being and the other) contest for legitimacy and in the process the contest gives rise to embracement of ideas of self-assertion –ideology (Gramsci 1971). It is from that contest that the assumption of a self-invented prejudice caused the colonisation of Africa (Rodney 1973). Coming to our context, existing binary opposites that form Zimbabwe’s political ideology and culture include; patriots and sell-outs, ZANU-PF and non-ZANU-PF supporters (Mathema 2013). It is only after the 6th ZANU-PF annual people’s congress that we witnessed the birth of the weevils³ and gammatox⁴ citizenry. Hence the important need for the study to extend up to 2014 because this year reflected a significant turn in the imagination of the nation, its traditional inclusion and exclusion process under political ideology and political culture benchmarks.

1.1 The Cimurenga-Culture Coming to “Being” and Invention of the Nation “Other”

Like the so many victims of the Western self-assertion as the “being” Zimbabwe assumed the formal⁵ status of being the “other” as a colony in 1888 following the Rudd Concession (to be outlined in full) which deserves specific mention in understanding the genesis of the “Chimurenga-culture” popularly explained as a pre-1980 “armed colonial resistance” of the country (Ngwabi 1999). The deliberate restraint in the definition above is a reservation of an exhaustive account of the Chi-

3 This was the faction of led by Mugabe and his wife Grace Mugabe resulting in the appointment of Emmerson Mnangagwa as Vice-President after the dismissal of Joyce Mujuru.

4 This was the Mujuru-led factions alongside other 6th ZANU-PF congress ejected members like Didymus Mutasa. Online reference. <http://www.dailynews.co.zw/articles/2014/10/24/team-gamatox-versus-team-zvipfukuto>. 22-03-2015

5 This was the beginning of colonial rule and its formalisation in Zimbabwe after the settling of the pioneers.

murenga which is said to have begun in 1896⁶ (Beach 1986). This study seeks to locate the Chimurenga-culture within the context of post-coloniality and neo-coloniality.

Coming back to the conventional, the definition by Beach asserts that the Chimurenga manifested in numerous forms; “*Zvimurenga*” contrary to common historical clustering of the phenomenon into a singular narrative as noted in Ranger (1967; 1970) whose work is a homogenous outline of the Chimurenga in its representation of the nation and its political ideologies. The homogenous allusion to the nation is problematic as it causes its political-culture to appear static contrary to the realities of transition. For the purposes of avoiding a winding path to the matter at hand, the argumentation of this piece shall use the interpretation by (Beach 1986) of the “*Zvimurengas*” to help in giving a multi-dimensional comprehension of the study in the context of a *Chimurenga-culture* to make sense of the overlapping character of the Chimurenga. This is because culture is a shared way a group of people understand and interpret the world (Hoecklin 1999; Hall 1988; 1997). This understanding and interpretation is not static but is it is ever evolving it is influenced by the changing trends in the livelihood of those it affects (Douglas 1970). Thus the political culture in Zimbabwe needs to be analysed as an evolutionary phenomenon and the Chimurenga can better serve that purpose. Using the multi-dimensional approach of the Chimurenga-culture the study seeks to explain how the past –in the form of the Chimurenga-culture has continued to haunt the present as far as political ideology, culture and change is concerned in Zimbabwe. This attempt to understand the past and its contestations in present helps explain how the Chimurenga-culture has informed political ideology, culture and change in Zimbabwe as affirmed by the researcher.

In light of that factor, the study serves as assessment of the country’s overlapping nature of the three Chimurengas. These include the *first Chimurenga* (1896-1897) which gave the moral justification for the na-

6 The 1896 Chimurenga is contested by the 1893 Anglo-Ndebele war which is less acknowledged compared to the Shona driven uprising. This may justify the authenticity of allegations of made against Shona supremacist discourses of owning the past in Zimbabwe.

tionalist movements' initiation of the second Chimurenga between 1965 and 1980 (Bhebe, 1999; Sithole, 1999). After attaining independence in 1980 Zimbabwe had cordial relations until the state sanctioned land re-possession (Hammar, Raftopolous, and Jensen 2003). This marked the birth of the Third Chimurenga (Mugabe 2001) from 1999 until the very point of this academic narrative's construction.

It is from this immediate pointed era (1999-2014) which justifies the inventory and exploration for the Chimurenga-Culture in the contemporary space of the country described as "*Zimbabwe's unfinished business*" (Hammar, Raftopolous, and Jensen 2003). This era gave birth to the *Third Chimurenga* and this is treated as the manifestation of the past and its de-legitimation in Zimbabwe. For the conceptual good, this shall be referred to as the historical and the ahistorical factor in the entire thesis thus reflecting the aspect of the constructivist model of binary opposition ideological contestations.

Unlike the other popular submissions on the Third-Chimurenga limited to 1999, this research expands the issues to 2014 to measure the degree of this Chimurenga-Culture's manifestation in the current state of the nation making process as a historical and ahistorical phenomenon. Like a parasite the Chimurenga-Culture survives on historical and ahistorical idealism, this set parameter which seeks to guide the study goes beyond conventional thinking of associating the Chimurenga with the past only. Through a change of lenses into political ideological modernity the study locates the past and its contestations in contemporary Zimbabwe in the context of a Chimurenga-culture which has not been stagnant, but has taken winding changes in the articulation of nationalism within the scope of ideology and its transition. This quickly ropes in the aspect of *political ideology* into play in the entire study and how the Chimurenga-culture adds value in understanding the entire *political culture* of Zimbabwe in determining the prospects of *political change*.

Therefore the Chimurenga-culture is a manifestation of the past in the present and the contestations of this past. Thus resulting in an inter-change between the conventional embracement of nationhood between two forces; the historical and ahistorical fundamentalism. Thus the central objective of the study as to be observed later is that of contrib-

uting on how the manifestation of the Chimurenga-culture also defined as the *Third-Chimurenga* doesn't reflect the single dominance of ZANU-PF as a bearer of the historical factor in Zimbabwe's nation-making process. The study also advances the view that the Chimurenga-culture was a response to the forces of conventionalism guided by ZANU-PF dominance and thus leading to the quest for change treated as the ahistorical factor in the scope of the study. This influenced those seeking the change, the opposition to also contribute to the political ideology of the day by exerting their own kind of hegemony as well. This justifies the major assessments of literature and music as discursive outlets of this Chimurenga-culture.

1.2 The Ideological Interpretation

The traditional values of understanding political ideology, culture and change helps to locate the Chimurenga-culture in contemporary Zimbabwe. As a result reflect on the processes of nation-making in Zimbabwe since 1999- the emergence of the Chimurenga-culture. As a way of introducing the role of the historical factor into the whole discussion the country's ruling party, ZANU-PF serves as the major case-study. The ahistorical factor is negotiated into the framework of the study focusing on the role played by the leftist political actors since 1980 these include; ZAPU, UANC, ZUM and MDC which shall be used as the major case-study here. In other terms, ZANU-PF is presented as a political institution that has manipulated the "historical factor" which is the country's past to authenticate its longevity in office as the country's government since 1980. This follows the endless allegations on the party for weak democratic practices (Makumbe & Cornpagnon 2000) largely electoral fraud⁷. This has given rise to the leftist ahistorical scholars championed by discourses of past contestations including the past's monopolisation by ZANU-PF to further its hegemonic inclined objectives as the powerhouse of the state. Instead the ahistorical leftist academia use the past to reflect on ZANU-PF's failed nation-building agenda characterised

7 Kampempe report on Zimbabwe's 2002 election. Online reference. <http://www.content.eisa.org.za/pdf/zim2002KhampepeReport.pdf>. Also see the report by the Solidarity Trust on the 2013 election. <http://www.solidaritypeacetrust.org/1337/the-end-of-a-road-the-2013-elections-in-zimbabwe>. 22-03-2015.

by poor governance (Mhlanga 2012), xenophobia (Sibanda 2005), repression (Alexander & Ranger 2000), modern Leninism (Chigora and Guzura 2011) and artificial reconciliation towards the Lancaster and the dictatorially doctored pact that brought about the Gukurahundi ceasefire (Mashingaidze 2010). These contest the emergency of “patriotic” history as explained by Ranger (2004). In other words these further the “unpatriotic” agenda within the entire scope of Zimbabwe’s Chimurenga-culture and shall be used as the discursive outlets of the MDC.

Therefore, the ideological question at hand in this study is on the overall thinking processes of belonging in Zimbabwe. It is the contest over the past in determining ideal nationhood and the mixed perceptions of being Zimbabwean. The Chimurenga-culture’s penetration on political ideology and culture has been facilitated by various actors apart from the partisan historical and ahistorical institutional dimensions. These are namely; the state and non-state civic bodies mainly the NGOs. In the process citizens become consumers of the political ideas fostered by the state and the left alternatives. This also evokes the need to investigate the epistemological/ discursive outlets of the Chimurenga-culture in its contested forms. The outlets to be largely focused on in this study are literature and music that informed the feelings of the moment.

1.3 Background of the Study

Zimbabwe is a country that has battled with the past (the historical factor) and its influence has continued to dominate the centre of the political ideological outlets of the land “...*history is at the centre far more than any other country in Southern-Africa.*” (Ranger, 2005:242).

The very same past was celebrated soon after independence and formed the early eulogies of the post-independence of the country. This romanticism of the nation also extended to the early creative writing which will be analysed as part of the discursive outlets of the historical factor enjoyed by the country soon after independence. This does not suggest the existence of a linear thinking pattern in as much as knowledge production in the land was concerned. One would remember the early academic contributions that emerged to challenge the prevailing intellectual nostalgia which was perceived as the anchor for ZANU-PF’s agenda of creating a one-party state. Such scholars include Mandaza

and Sachikonye (1991) contributing into the early interrogations of “The One Party State and Democracy.” On the other hand, Jonathan Moyo (1993) expressed concern on the “Politics of the national purse” in terms of addressing issues of “craft-literacy” and “craft-competence.”

These early voices of disgruntlement by the academia were not given serious attention until the emergence of a series of the so-called “Zimbabwean Crises” (Raftopolous & Mlambo 2009). This saw the discursive outlets of the time going against the much eulogized romanticisms of the nation. This caused the state to tighten the bolts of its legitimacy and to do that it revived memories of the country’s liberation narratives to exert its “...nature of force” (Gaubu 2003). This resulted in the change of loyalties of the academia from the nationalist nostalgia to intense intellectual renaissance as far as the representation of the nation was concerned. A remarkable sign of this change was ushered by one of Zimbabwe’s manufacturer of intellectual romanticism, Terrence Ranger (2004). He introduced the topical subject of the emergence of “patriotic” historiographies and a struggle over the past. The use of the historical factor in Zimbabwe’s politics by ZANU-PF began as early as 1980 with country’s nostalgic adherence to the values of socialism which were significant in the armed struggle and later treated as redundant. On the other hand this saw a continued extermination of opponents largely the so-called ZIPRA dissidents between 1982 and 1987 (Alexander 1998; 2000). Then revisitation of the land question followed and was perceived with mixed controversies though rhetorically it was meant to deal with the colonial imbalances (Mbiba 2001; Moyo 1995) and give a moral justification of the 1999 land re-invasions as a way of dealing with a historical imbalance. However, disseminations from the opposition end capitalised on the pitfalls of this revisitation of the past to assert its nurture its political expedience and regime change prospects.

Therefore this thesis associates the genesis of the Chimurenga-culture with the beginning of the fast-track land reform programme. This supports the above submission by Ranger, because the land reform programme was a revisitation of the Lancaster terms on the land question (Moyo and Yeros 2005). This was because the major objective of the guerilla warfare was the land question from the word go (Ranger 1985). This influenced a shift from the previous styles of Zimbabwe’s political

game. ZANU-PF was faced with the rise of the new political party the MDC and it could not assert any power from the emerging ideologies trajectory and it was left with nothing but the past to revive its power. In realist logic ZANU-PF had to find new political strengths and one of these was a sense of self-radicalisation and thus the manifestation of a blown Chimurenga-culture. In an observation by Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2011) the Chimurenga-culture maybe understood in the context of;

... shifting articulation of the nation happened concurrently with the process of ratcheting up the political language on the land reform, renewal of the ideology of Chimurenga and intensification of the strategy of Gukurahundi, this time ranged against vocal local civil society organizations and the popular opposition formation known as the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) that was formed in September 1999.

This saw the emergence of a psycho-transition to nationhood in Zimbabwe one of the indicators being the:

State-Citizen paranoia (Kriger 2005), construction of political demonisation and invention of heroism (Tendi 2014; Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2011). Inventions of national sacredness versus liberal deconstruction of the past. Imposed race consciousness, violence reciprocals between the historical and ahistorical forces of marginality (Ndlovu-Gatsheni and Muzondidya 2011).

This phenomenon as an emerging area of study originates from the post-colonial challenges faced by the Zimbabwean government. It is these challenges that range from poor policy making which led to the fall of the country's economic and political well-being as to be fully discussed later here. This does not imply giving a surface reference to issues like the; ESAPs, the farm invasions, the scary rise of the MDC, the imposition of economic sanctions as other agitating factors of the Chimurenga-culture. These and other examples of events that shaped the path towards the emergency of the Chimurenga-culture are important in helping to locate the origins of the study.

What is of essence is the way the state radicalised its *modus operandi* sophisticated by the Chimurenga past which was made to fit into political modernity in Zimbabwe. On the other hand the same culture of using

the past for the self-preservation of the ruling government was vilified and this is what puts MDC in the limelight in the entire analogy of the Chimurenga-culture as an opponent of the historical factor. This created a good justification for ZANU-PF to de-campaign the new opposition discourses as treachery oriented and going against the human and non-human sacrifices that gave rise to the nation. It is from such a tense political background of the country from whence the study seeks to navigate all issues giving rise to the Chimurenga-culture. As well as equally positioning all actors of the Chimurenga-culture and investigating how both parties used their discursive outlets to influence political ideology, political culture and eventually political change.

To avoid a critical dismantling of the work at hand it is important to acknowledge that the Chimurenga is topical from a purely historical perspective. Thus history as a discipline alone has its complexities if approached from a generalised perspective. However, only a few elements can be borrowed from history, especially that of Zimbabwe to explain the situation on the ground. It is from these borrowed aspects of history from whence we can be able to proffer recommendations for a better Zimbabwe beyond the present day marginal constructs. As such the study will borrow a lot from the various forms of history and connect them to the entire subject of the “Chimurenga-culture” and imagining other prospects of nationhood influenced or ridiculed by this phenomenon. Therefore after making sense of the Chimurenga-culture, its weaknesses and strengths as manipulated by the political actors the next step is to determine the pathway for a better Zimbabwe as fully embodied in the purpose of this study and that is to answer one significant question;

Can we achieve “Becoming Zimbabwe⁸” beyond the Chimurenga-Culture?

1.4 Statement of the Problem

There is a contested and highly polarised presentation of the nation-making process and as mentioned earlier these epistemological marginalities form the historical and the ahistorical representation of the nation. Thus in the bid to understand how these influence the course

8 See Raftopolous and Mlambo 2009 “Becoming Zimbabwe.”

of being Zimbabwe -an, there is need to make sense of these two areas of concern in the country's political landscape. As such understanding how these two substances that add to the matter of being Zimbabwean. It is from that position that it becomes easy to prescribe a panacea for continuity so as to define the nation along the past as agitated by ZANU-PF or along the lines of liberal modernity as expressed in MDC idealism and even a compromise in the adoption of these contesting trajectories.

1.5 Justification of the Study

The study aims to articulate various issues surrounding the phenomenon of nationalism in Zimbabwe premised on the advent of the Chimurenga-culture's influence on political ideologies. The main purpose of the endeavor being the need to give a meaning to what the researcher presents as the Chimurenga-culture. The Chimurenga-culture, as analysed here is a manifestation of the past in contest for power in Zimbabwe largely by ZANU-PF and MDC. The research interrogates the common notion that has offered a polarised presentation of ZANU-PF's embracement of the past to legitimise itself through the national discursive outlets namely through literature and the media (Ranger 2004). This offers a significant justification to this study as it provides extensive evidence that MDC used various outlets that the Chimurenga-culture availed as well to exert its "being" and this goes against the popular research submissions as that of Ranger cited above depicting the dominance of ZANU-PF in influencing the "patriotic" happenings of the day which outsmarted the MDC. Such submissions have given excessive sympathies to the MDC line of thought compelling ZANU-PF to regard such contributions to political thinking as catalysts of a *sell-out* agenda. The central pillar of this exposition is the view that the production of knowledge since the controversial land re-invasion suffers from "*selective obliviousness*" which pretends that MDC had no discursive outlets while ZANU-PF was also empowered in that regard. This selective memory in the construction of the nation since 1999 must be challenged because if both parties had discursive outlets to pursue political ideology, culture and change therefore it is not enough to allege ZANU-PF of hegemony. Instead there is need to investigate how both actors fitted into the Chimurenga-culture, assess their weaknesses and strengths in providing a sufficient recommendation of the way forward in as much as adopting

or neglecting the Chimurenga-culture in molding nationhood in contemporary Zimbabwe and the future is concerned.

The study is also important because it treats the Chimurenga as a cultural phenomenon which is of-course dynamic in its own way. This is explained by the fact that the beginning of 1999 saw the bearer of nationalism, ZANU-PF receiving the vilification that the Smith regime experienced as a result of the African mass disgruntlement. Thus the MDC took a similar mass mobilisation strategy used by the nationalists against the settler “regime” for change in an attempt to deal with the contemporary challenges faced by the country. This time the nationalists were presented as the villains to the people they once claimed to liberate. This aspect adds relevance to the study as it articulates the Chimurenga from the context of a cultural phenomenon and as such it is not stagnant but is ever evolving. This is better noted in the way ZANU-PF was dispossessed of its touch with the masses as it did to the Smith regime. In the simplest of all interpretations political culture brings about the “*what goes around comes back around*” principle. Here “... *the first shall be the last*” as noted by Fanon (1963). It is this ever-evolving nature of political culture that deserves scientific observation which this study seeks to develop within the context of Zimbabwe’s political ideology underpinned in the Chimurenga-culture.

The above research justification can be explained substantially focusing in the change of loyalties of one of Zimbabwe’s music icons, Thomas Mapfumo. His invention of the Chimurenga music genre soon after independence was applauded for contributing into the shaping of the thought of being Zimbabwean. His music as a discursive outlet –as to be interrogated here was regarded as “revolutionary” because it didn’t offer nationalist romanticism only, but its branding as the “Chimurenga” music was sufficient to express the life of the Chimurenga discourse in the popular citizenry space. It should be remembered that during the war, morale-boosting music was dubbed the “Chimurenga” music as well. After independence Mapfumo’s music trend was associated with the continuity of the struggle to full post-independence. Surprisingly he became a radical opponent of the nationalist movement through the same genre. This is evident to explain the transitional character of the Chimurenga-culture from a musical perspective. The Chimurenga

must be understood as a movement and all the courses of its trajectories cannot remain constant and need continuous critical appreciation as this study attempts to analyse them.

Thus at the end, the research articulates these changing dynamics of the Chimurenga as a political culture phenomenon. The resultant aim being the need to deconstruct the polarities associated with the Chimurenga-culture and confining them to narratives that depict the supremacy of ZANU-PF. This contribution is validated by its critical appreciation of political ideology, culture and change in Zimbabwe against a background of discursive demonisation by political actors and their satellite institutions namely parastatals, NGOs, literature and media to mention, but a few. After challenging what the study regards as existing truisms on Zimbabwe's political discourse it offers recommendations on how a better Zimbabwe can be achieved.

Literature Review

This literature review is in conversation with texts that have been produced to explain the process of nation-building within the period that marked the manifestation of the Chimurenga-culture. The chosen literature also explains the prevailing ideological standpoints reflecting the nature of nationhood in Zimbabwe. These pieces of literature justify the legitimacy of the study as they indicate the on-going debate on the subject of nation-building, how introducing the Chimurenga-culture and its role in influencing ideology is worth noting. The same literature is also important as it helps the researcher to confirm if the study tallies with other findings or outdoes the available trends in the body of knowledge. This review also questions the authenticity of some arguments in the available literature. This part of the study is also important as it offers an opportunity to the researcher to use the reviewed texts to substantiate how literature is a significant discursive outlet of the Chimurenga-culture which needs independent analysis as thus attempted through this particular review.

The subject of the Chimurenga prior to its interrogation in this study has received wide attention from both classical and contemporary scholars of Zimbabwe's political history and political theory. It is from this point that need arises to interrogate the Chimurenga as a polit-

ical idea that has not been stagnant, but evolving with time and surfacing in Zimbabwe's changing political environment. This is part of the reasons that influenced Beach (1986: 121) to rethink the idea of the Chimurenga outside the traditionally embraced perspective, "*If the foundation-stones turns out to have developed cracks, then fresh examination of the whole structure is then called for.*" The second aim of this review of literature is to contest the homogeneity of the Chimurenga discourse thereby pointing out key premises of the idea of the Chimurenga from the classical foundation of nation-making literature to the on-going debate that has informed this study. The approach is used to prove how it was inevitable for the Chimurenga ideology to remain uncontested.. First, the review is inclined to the Chimurenga history and ideological making debate between Terrence Ranger and David Beach who serve as the two main points of Chimurenga classical reference in the review. Then other contemporary literary contributions prior to the gap which the study intends to fill.

There is a plethora of controversy on the "Chimurenga" as a sole liberating phenomenon as suggested by historians like Ranger (1970) propagating the view that Zimbabwe is a product of a homogeneous liberation trajectory and decolonisation project. The first controversy is drawn from Ranger's presentation of the Chimurenga as a "revolt" which literally implies going against an acceptable maxim, in this case the form of governance that had existed in Zimbabwe since the arrival of the settlers. Sub-consciously, the reader may be made to believe that by the African Rhodesian was going against a legitimate form of governance and thus delegitimise the objective of the first Chimurenga. This is gap is covered in the study as it points out that the Chimurenga is a timeless struggle for self-assertion. It is timeless in its quest for goals of nationhood beyond any racial and periodic limitation.

Another controversy on the Chimurenga appears in the central thesis of Ranger's research which places great emphasis on the relevance of a common African religion that catalysed the mobilisation process of forces of resistance in ousting colonial domination prior to these pre-1965 "wars." Ranger asserts that African cultism unified the Ndebele and the Shona in their resistance to colonialism. His submission is further validated by the origins of the word "Chimurenga" itself since it's borrowed

from the name Murenga. This thesis furthers this social limitation to religion only and further extends the matter to issues to do with the role of music as an anchor-sheet of the Second-Chimurenga down to the modern quest for the revision of the Chimurenga idea in the form of the Chimurenga-culture.

The study transcends the common notions of accepting the uniformity of the Chimurenga idea as popularized in contemporary academic circles. For instance, oral narratives state that Murenga was a Shona cult figure who originally came from Great-Zimbabwe, and his divinity boosted the morale of the first armed resistance of Zimbabwe. Murenga was a medium resident at Njelele, the sacred religious shrine of the “nation” found in Matopo today. (Murambiwa, 2014). Murenga was the father of Chaminuka hence in his afterlife he became a spirit that summoned the war of resistance through Makwati, Nehanda, Mashayamombe, Kaguvi and other commanders of the armed resistance in their respective spheres of influence. This further justifies ZANU-PF’s Shona monopolisation of the Chimurenga to gain its political ground. As a response to that, this study draws a unique dimension as it seeks to advance the view that the Chimurenga-culture goes beyond the conventional limits of the Shona tagged Chimurenga used by ZANU-PF in pursuing its realist endeavors through politics of ethnic inclined exclusion as others would want to believe. On the other hand, Ranger argues that the Chimurenga was a collective resistant methodology against White Settler rule by the Ndebele and the Shona guided by adherence to religious commands. This provided the embracement of “Chimurenga and Umvukela” as the indigenous defining terms of the first liberation struggle for Zimbabwe in 1896-7. Surprisingly the term “Chimurenga” has been given a preferential place in the study of Zimbabwe’s colonial and post-colonial history. This has silenced the Ndebele version of resistance “*Umvukela*” (rebellion). This better qualifies the study at hand as its main point is that beyond ethnic and racial lines the Chimurenga as a culture is ever evolving and can manifest to offer attacks even to those who deem themselves as modern vanguards of the idea. Hence, much concentration in the study is on the rise of Zimbabwe’s Fourth-estate in the form of MDC in 1999 as a reflection of the winds of change in the whole Chimurenga politics which ZANU-PF had control over since 1980.

The adoption of *umvukela* in the memoir of the nation can be suspiciously perceived as a convenient incorporation of the Ndebele in the making of a marginal national memory that gives the Ndebele a second place in the citizenship hierarchy constructed through history. Of late such scholarship has been vilified as constructs the nationalist legacy which is strongly hinged on pillars of hegemony. Hence the nation memory is only constructed in the linguistic hegemony of the two major groups, the Shona and the Ndebele. This explains why the native naming of the liberation war is borrowed from the two main languages of Zimbabwe, Shona (Chimurenga) and Ndebele (Umvukela). As such part of this study is to problematise this common ethnic power play game in Zimbabwe's contemporary political ideology manufacturing.

This popular approach to the appreciation of history making is informed by what is portrayed as the active participation of these two main groups. This position is ignorant of the contribution of other ethnic groups in 1896 considering the existence of peripheral groups like the Tonga, Venda, and Kalanga who felt the equal measure of imperial pressure exerted on both the Ndebele and Shona. This "othering" nature the national memory also overlapped into the second Chimurenga in terms of its epistemological construction which has been widely portrayed as purely "nationalist" hence alienating the role played by other ideologies like Garveyism since 1924 (Mahomva 2014). As a consequence, the victors of the second armed struggle also acquired an aristocratic ownership to the war of liberation. Hence the popularity of the term "Chimurenga" compared to "Umvukela" has silenced other ethnic narratives of the armed struggle. This post-war phenomenon naturally saw the victors –in this case the Shona and the Ndebele invented the identity based on war aftermath characterised by victors' legitimisation. This is why we became Rhodesia as conquests of the White regime and then we became Zimbabwe after the exit of the colonial government. Again had Patriotic Front-Zimbabwe African People's Union (PF-ZAPU) emerged as the victor of the Second Chimurenga the identity of the nation was going to be sharpened within the limits of Ndebele supremacy. However, the victorious war aftermath of the Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) gave it the privilege to earn eulogies from historians and credits for its nationalist clamouring. (Chakawa and Nyawo 2013).

The above analysis is not apologetic, nor is it sympathetic to the current Shona hegemony in Zimbabwe, but seeks to emphasise that identities are constructed by those in power and those who control thinking processes of any given human space. Terrence Ranger's research on the Chimurenga may have been produced out of any conscious alignment to potential patronage by the state after independence. After independence his work transfigured from being ordinary collections of history to national memory literature furthering what is perceived as hegemonic constructions of the nation in favour of ZANU-PF. This explains why ZANU-PF is referred to as the state through-out in the book. It remains debatable whether Ranger's presentation of the Chimurenga was deliberate and well calculated for his self-positioning soon after independence. This assumption is validated by Ranger's role in the struggle not only as a scholar, but as an insider as well. Surprisingly in 2004 Ranger pioneered a new critical discourse of the Chimurenga narrative which he condemned for producing "patriotic history" which by nature gave ZANU-PF autonomy and shut the doors for other political entities in the competition for power in Zimbabwe. In his publication, *Nationalist Historiography, Patriotic History and the History of the Nation: the Struggle over the Past in Zimbabwe* Ranger acknowledged the fact that his work had also been used to construct the patriotic history making initiative which he condemns. In 2013 he took his audience by surprise again when he published another text which paralysed the gist of the former publication which ridiculed the partisan patriotic history that had emerged above other memories of the nation. In his book *"Writing the revolt: An engagement with African nationalism"* Ranger (2013) gives an insider's perspective of the Second Chimurenga. He captures his early personal encounters with the African nationalists and unapologetically emphasises of his contribution to the Second Chimurenga from within and not in the periphery. It is his involvement in the second Chimurenga that led to his expulsion from Rhodesia in 1963. To some extent this suggests that Ranger is a nationalist sympathiser whose work has made ZANU-PF to fit its position in the past in consolidating present political power through the use of history and its appeal to the masses historically wounded by systems of yesterday's oppression, an era not to be reversed as fancied in the mindset of the common man. It will be illusive to solely argue that Ranger has been a sympathetic historiog-

raphy curator of the post Zimbabwean nation. This is because his anti-establishment criticism from colonial Rhodesia overlaps into the era under interrogation. Hence depicting an exchange in the colonial and post-colonial oppressions of the peasantry from that time to this time.

Ranger's contemporary, David Beach (1986) has challenged his submissions as he states that Zimbabwe was not born out of a single force of resistance defined as the "Chimurenga." Beach offers a unique and interesting contrast to the popularly embraced truth of the liberation narrative which he pluralises as the "Zvimurenga." In Beach's terms there was no single revolt or uprising "Chimurenga" instead there were many insurrections spearheaded by Chiefs and the lineages they controlled. This is further substantiated the different battle fronts of the Shona in their respective areas not forgetting the Ndebele centres of power. The colonial demarcation of Mashonaland and Matebeleland is further proof of how much split lines of resistance were drawn by the colonial divide in the first place. Hence through colonial regionalism the armed fronts "*Zvimurenga*" were established. However, Njelele⁹ remained the nerve-centre of the resistance. This affirms Ranger's analysis premised on the religious factor which is regarded as simplistic in understanding the background of the armed struggle. The religious factor in the Ranger tradition of the Chimurenga is also problematic because it can undermine the African resistance to colonialism to a superstitious phenomenon that lacked sophisticated empirical power. On the same note it remains appraised because it attracted large appreciation from a large African audience since it shows the relevance of the African cultic forces in influencing decolonisation. It is from this perspective that the notion of the Chimurenga cascaded to the masses and became common among them as it assumed a sacred function for their engagement. They easily identified with the discourse of the Chimurenga being influenced by such narratives.

The foundations of accepting such a "simplistic past" overlapped into the second armed struggle, another Chimurenga as the road towards the new nation had divisions that were nurtured into post-independ-

9 Chivaura, V. "Njelele: Spiritual centre for Murenga, Founder ancestor of Zimbabwe." *The Patriot*, 16 April 2014.

ence. The split guerrilla operations (those of ZANU-PF's ZANLA military wing and ZAPU's ZIPRA) explain this position. The Zimbabwe National Liberation Army (ZANLA) largely centred its operations in Mashonaland. The Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army (ZIPRA) concentrated its military action in Matebeleland and Midlands provinces. The armed forces also held operations outside their main specialised geographic positions of operation as well. On the other hand supporters of the nationalist parties in urban centres exhibited their rivalry through physical violence. (Msindo 2007). The split approach towards nationhood here clearly articulates another case of the "Zvimurenga" prior to 1980's independence. This justifies the claim that Zimbabwe's post-1980 era had its unique Chimurengas which the researchers here seek to explore. Through the voice of the war veteran and born-free generation the political and socio-economic unfolding that has led to Zimbabwe's present state is articulated.

This study subscribes to the "unpatriotic history" alternative by D. N Beach which contends the political and academic status-quo's appreciation of the Chimurenga in modern Zimbabwe. This position is not only justified by a history of the 1896-7 "wars" so to say, but the same fragmented approach of the second Chimurengas. Masiphula Sithole (1999) described this as a "Struggle within a struggle." This indicates that the Chimurenga past cannot be historicised as a homogenous element. The road of reminiscence down to the nationalism of the 60s vividly illuminates a struggle that was fought on different fronts following a background of animosity that was nurtured through guerilla training and this made post-colonial violence inevitable. (Bhebe 2004). Hence the book is an analogy of the "Chimurengas" faced by Zimbabwe between 1999 and 2013.

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Contributions to Literature

This new contribution to the body of knowledge is meant to add sub-

stance to the storage tower of Zimbabwe political theory studies. Political theory is a pertinent element in the political-science discipline. Over the years the making of political theory has insignificantly embraced the Zimbabwe's indigenous political thinking-processes especially the indigenous people's resistance to colonialism defined as the "Chimurenga/Umvukela." Over the years there has been an unnoticed knowledge gap in this side of the academia where the "Chimurenga" has been treated as a history based subject which in this research attempts to transfigure to make it respond to key issues of indigenous political philosophy making. The study does not take the common route of defining Zimbabwe's pre and post-independence transition from the common Western epistemic imposed concept of socialism usually accompanied by loud nuances of nationalism to define the decolonisation in Africa even our own Second-Chimurenga. The indigenous rebellious epistemology of the country dating back to the resistance of 1893 has been given less attention in all attempts to create a critical appreciation of Zimbabwe's political theory. As a result the study is an attempt to give an indigenous interpretation to Zimbabwe's political theory and de-link it from the borrowed pedagogy of becoming a nation. The idea behind this political-theory making in this particular study is meant to link the indigenous resistances to colonialism and the hardships of post-colonialism is a manifestation of a continued fighting spirit to guard sovereignty while on the other hand giving life to the challenges of post-colonial nation-building. The same challenges to nation-building taking shape as a result of continuing the Chimurenga contributed to the emergence of forces of change and thus an inauguration of the Chimurenga-culture into the body of knowledge to give a new twist to Zimbabwe's political theory.

The research capitalises on the forces of nationalist continuity and the emerging liberal political thought to submit that the phenomenon of the Chimurenga is no-longer ZANU-PF centred as commonly presented in the awash literature on post-independence nation-making even in the texts used in this review. The overall submission is that the Chimurenga discourse has seized to be a ZANU-PF political landmark, but has become a theoretical tool informing political ideologies and culture towards the political change in the country. While that is very valid I also explain why ZANU-PF has gained more relevance because it uses

the historical element of the Chimurenga-culture. The use of the past for political mileage by ZANU-PF has seen frequent revival of memories of that give a sacred meaning to national belonging. Consequently this has outsmarted all political actors linked or suspected to have ties with the neo-colonial agenda and MDC serves as a good example in that regard. However, its fight for legitimacy since 1999 until 2014 by deconstructing the past is an expression of ideological tension that the Chimurenga-culture has brought and is part of the major contributions of this research to the changing slides of the country's political theory.

This study is an escape from the melodramatic intellectual fiction that emerged to give narrow representation of the so-called "Zimbabwean crisis." One would realise that the literature of the Zimbabwean crisis was centred on demonisation and antagonist deconstructions between the two main political actors through public intellectuals (those perceived as organic state intellectuals) and those who claimed objectivity by totally branding ZANU-PF as a tyrannical political party. My contribution is that the two political mainstreams exerted equal hegemony against each other and thus they must not be treated independently in attempting to understand Zimbabwe's political ideology formations. To avoid this the Chimurenga-culture has been used to capture how the two parties shaped and still continue to shape the direction of political ideologies in Zimbabwe in the quest for change. In simple terms the study captures a clash between patriotic and unpatriotic inventions of nationhood. This is why I did not focus much attention dwelling on redundant the land and sanctions issues as many researchers concerned about this area of concern would do. My approach has been that of looking at how the experienced political unfold between 1999 and 2014 was a manifestation of the Chimurenga-culture in influencing a war of ideologies through varying discursive outlets, but mainly literature and music.

While disengaging from the past is regarded as modern and claims to the past is regarded as primitive by scholars like Ranger, Raftopolous and Gatsheni my main argument is that political relevance in Zimbabwe can only be found in the historical factor. This is why ZANU-PF has capitalised on the views of MDC and the liberal intellectual trajectories to give it a traitor's label. This has made sense to the country's citizenry

and has led to the absolute legitimisation of ZANU-PF since the cradle of the Chimurenga-culture. Therefore I propose the need for the constructive embracement of the past outside ZANU-PF's quest for legitimacy using the past and the MDC's vilification of the historical factor. Therefore as a new contribution affected by this reality, the research seeks to highlight the value of the country's past in shaping the psyche of nationhood and as a later and significant recommendation there is need for political actors seeking change to embrace the past and be aligned to it.

This is explained basing on how much the country's past has not only remained engraved in the political realisms of the day, but rather on the evolution of the past as a popular discourse in Zimbabwe outshining the modern liberal perspectives deemed as alien and high orchestrating a modern imperial agenda. These help understand how the past influences the political ideology, the political culture and change. Likewise, the study is unique because it also investigates the political marginalities in Zimbabwe which are conceived by the country's past.

The other significantly unique factor brought out in the position of this research is the extent to which there has been a strong resistance to the past by particular groups and this has influenced their public and state cultivated alienation in the political fora of Zimbabwe.

Another factor worth noting is that themes of the Chimurenga-culture give an overall description of Zimbabwe's political climate since 1999 to 2014 with all its biased political angles. As all can testify, the Chimurenga-culture's manifestation saw a significant rise in the knowledge production against a background of Mugabeism and leftist benchmarks. This adds value to this contribution's role as a critic of both discursive outlets of the Chimurenga-culture inclusively not regarding the patriotic and the anti-patriotic claims attached to each of them. After weighing the merits and the demerits of the Chimurenga-culture the study calls for the reinvention of this phenomenon so as to positively influence the present political discourses endangered by politics of exclusion and exclusion. Thereafter the main proposition of the study is a call for changing of the guard and the dismantling of the partisan ownership of the Chimurenga philosophy and make a national phenomenon that

cuts across all the existing marginalities of being Zimbabwean.

1.7 Theoretical Framework

This study is grounded on two major theoretical groundings and these are hegemony and the theory of ideology. The two explain the ideological contestations manifesting within the political processes of the Chimurenga-culture. First of all the theory of ideology is important in that respect as it expresses how thought processes of imagining the nation are developed and likewise hegemony illustrates how the superstructure entities create means of social-control and that is hegemony. In this context theory of ideology is addressed basing on the views of Althusser (1971), his line of thinking was borrowed from the Marxist theoretical groundings articulating how the super-structure creates the ideological patterns of any human setting. However those at the base, the masses also exist within a guided scope of parallel or synonymous ideology propagated by the superstructure. This is because the superstructure controls the production of ideas through its ideological apparatuses;

To put this more scientifically, I shall say that the reproduction of labour power requires not only a reproduction of its skills, but also... a reproduction of its submission to the rules of the established order, i.e. a production of submission to the ruling ideology for the workers, and a production of the ability to manipulate the ruling ideology correctly for the agents of exploitation and repression, so that they, too, will provide for the domination of the ruling class... professionals of ideology must in one way or another be 'steeped' in this ideology in order to perform their tasks conscientiously. (Althuiser 1971; 127-128)

Thus the Chimurenga-culture is an ideological inventory on its own. Even those who critic its historical component as an arbitrary pillar of ZANU-PF's legitimacy. The Chimurenga-culture as an independent phenomenon can also be explained as an element of the revolutionary theory forwarded by Mafeje (1992). Moreover ideology give birth to the debate on democracy and fascism, how the state's power can be curtailed to accommodate other liberal trajectories (Mandaza & Sachikonye 1991). This explains the rise of opposition parties in Zimbabwe embracing ideologies unique to itself as part of the Chimurenga-culture concept though at some point the political ideology and culture of the day was resistant to change in its strong anticipation for the one-party state.

While the above submission by Mafeje (1992) justifies the use of the Chimurenga as a post-colonial alternative for coloniality the same has been used to rope in the theory of hegemony in explaining the Zimbabwean situation. As highlighted above Gramsci, an arch-scholar of hegemony states how popular culture of natural binary opposition to the state is neutralised by the state's ideological apparatuses. This is what forms the *thought-power* of every revolution especially in the context of Africa (Mahomva 2014). The theory of hegemony is used to explain the how national institutions have been used to reflect the dominant culture of the state apart from its usual exploitation of cohesion as means instrumentalising its acceptable political culture and to neutralise possibilities for change that may stem from popular political culture opposed to the ruling order.

The dominance of the theory of ideology and hegemony in this study is such that it is guided by a particular line of thought. This does not imply that other theories which equally explain the Chimurenga-culture are nullified. Thus here and there realism, post-coloniality, the theory of violence and modernism shall surface and thus the need to explain them below;

The pragmatic drive of the political discourses of any given environment and largely the political actors affirm their interests through realism. This is achieved by their jealous guard of self-interest. The whole concept of the Chimurenga-culture deserves a cautious analysis from that paradigm in capturing the role of self-interests of the political parties in Zimbabwe and how these interests influence popular ideology, culture and change in general.

Realism usually manifests itself in the form of violence in the quest to guard political pragmatism. The Chimurenga represents a culture of resistance and violence which on its own has both moral and immoral effects. In theory one needs to assess the role of violence as a liberator and its role as a source of oppression as it comes in diverse forms and packages depending on the influencing factors. The fires of the first and second Chimurenga stirred were morally justified by a the need to decolonise Zimbabwe and according to Fanon decolonisation can only be achieved through violence as it represents the creation of a new man

and replace the old man;

... decolonization is quite simply the replacing of a certain "species" of men by another "species" of men. Without any period of transition, there is a total, complete, and absolute substitution. It is true that we could equally well stress the rise of a new nation, the setting up of a new state, its diplomatic relations, and its economic and political trends (Fanon 1963; 35).

Therefore the theory of situational violence in this case as source of liberation should be understood as a pertinent aspect of the Chimurenga-culture. This is why ZANU-PF has continued to use violence because its survival originates from a culture of violence to set out its own kind of order when threatened by those it sees as agents of the colonial master;

Decolonization, which sets out to change the order of the world, is, obviously, a program of complete disorder. But it cannot come as a result of magical practices, nor of a natural shock, nor of a friendly understanding. Decolonization, as we know, is a historical process: that is to say that it cannot be understood, it cannot become intelligible nor clear to itself except in the exact measure that we can discern the movements which give it historical form and content. (ibid; 36)

Fanon further states that decolonisation represents the meeting of two cultures, at contest of-course. As a matter of fact the same applies in the Chimurenga-culture whereby one actor embraces the past resistance legacies to assert their political existence, while the other exploits the failure of the eulogised past. This explains the prevalence of the violence theory in the Chimurenga-culture.

The raised subject demands one to appreciate the post-colonial theoretical model to create a balanced conceptual frame of the study. Post-coloniality is important in articulating the raised Chimurenga-culture issue which on its own is descriptive Zimbabwe's situation as a former colony. As such post coloniality explains the transition from coloniality to the aftermath of colonial age in Zimbabwe since 1980 and the behaviour associated with the post-colonial nation making processes. Post-coloniality can also be explained in the context of;

... a de-link from colonialism through creating lasting memories of the past to avoid repeating its mistakes. This process of memorising the past is achieved through a phase of "remembering" the struggles and victories that help in re-

claiming the present. This is the reason why Zimbabwe's crisis era could be best explained in the context of the Chimurenga, its Darwinism could not be avoided in underlining the challenges that also helped create a past that has provoked research. Such produced knowledge must easily facilitate that process of "re-mem-bering" the precedents of failure to achieve certain goals and the stimulants of victory in particular areas of human survival in the post-1980 era under the specified timeline. (Mahomva & Moyo 2015; 16).

In this context one can argue that post-coloniality has been affirmed by the strategies used by ZANU-PF to safeguard its longevity in power since the birth of Zimbabwe. The continuous guard of the state's interests explains the Chimurenga-culture and thus resurrecting the assertion by Homi Bhabha (1994) on how the post-colonial state uses memories of the past to legitimise itself. Post-coloniality provides an adequate comprehension Zimbabwe's political ideology, the culture and all factors influencing the aspect of change. The change factor in the post-colonial set up is advocated for by political oppositions and civic groups. Thus the post-colonial discourses by ZANU-PF regard political oppositions and these groups as stooges of the Western neo-colonial agenda (Mathema 2013). As a result this calls for their absolute uproot from the current political landscape of Zimbabwe like in any other post-colonial state.

The idea of being modern is diverse depending on the background influences which in some cases are determined by the need to enhance human development (Rodney 1973) through moral and brutally justified means. According to Rodney contemporaneous challenges of human survival is an explanation of Africa's under-development that gave life to the development of Europe. As such, in our context modernity explains the contemporary position of nationhood the current challenges and prospects of political advancement. Various forms of advancements explain the total aspect of being modern (Taiwo 2014). Zimbabwe as a nation seeking contemporary legitimisation must be analogised from the perspective of being modern and how the psyche of the nation is well fitting to the idea of being modern. Using this methodology the Chimurenga-culture rightly captures what being Zimbabwean means. Its reversal and passages to modernity as articulated by Worby (2003) in addressing *"Zimbabwe's unfinished business."*

1.8 Research Questions

What is the Chimurenga-culture, what are its origins?

How has it influenced political ideology, culture and change in Zimbabwe?

To what extent has the Chimurenga-culture remained a domestic philosophical and empirical projection of Zimbabwe's political arena?

What are the discursive outlets of the Chimurenga-culture and which forces are at hand to influence these discursive outlets?

Can the Chimurenga-culture facilitate a rational change in the aspect of nation-building in Zimbabwe?

1.9 Research Methodology

The qualitative approach has been exploited to project the course of this research project. The qualitative approach offers a justifiable social-science description style and is less numerical in terms of data delivery (Bryman, 2012). It gives room for textual analysis and is dependent on other research submissions which it then interprets with research interests encompassed in one's study. Factoring in that literature is one dominant discursive outlet of the newly propounded Chimurenga-culture study the qualitative approach becomes relevant because this thesis attempts to analyse literature as the Chimurenga-culture's discursive outlets. Qualitative research embodies a wide range of empirical organs namely; actors' experiences, creative materials in the form of visual and audio texts, interviews. It offers a pseudo ethno-methodological experience of the subject at hand this is because the researcher gets to interact with the actors in the subject involved to get their direct experiences which can be linked to the matter at hand. Hence in the context of this study actors in Chimurenga-culture are roped in and bearers of the discursive outlets especially some accessible academics which the researcher makes use of in interrogating their contributions to the probed tenets of the Chimurenga-culture.

Factoring in the character of the topic, the qualitative approach is beneficial because it offers historical, comparative and observatory reflexes

to the entire course of the delivery.

With this assortment of privileges associated with the qualitative research the collection of data shall include;

Interviews

With the aid of questions the research engages prolific Chimurenga discursive outlet bearers in the form of academics, political actors and analysts. The exclusive style of conducting these interviews is deliberately set to capture the authoritative voice of the Chimurenga-culture in the study. This entails directly harnessing information provided by intellectual and political actors of the overlapping transitions of the Chimurenga in Zimbabwe before and after independence.

Of course there was need to engage other significant discursive holding entities who belong to both the masses and the struggle for liberation in Zimbabwe. Thus 5 War-Veterans belonging to the then ZANLA and the then ZIPRA military wings were interviewed to give their sentiments in locating the Chimurenga-culture in contemporary Zimbabwe's political ideologies and to also examine how it has influenced the direction of the country's political culture.

Secondary sources

Though most researchers would incorporate newspapers, newsletters and the private online sites I find it highly intellectually prudent to make use of published academic and non-academic works in the form of books, academic journal and credited research papers. Publications of this kind add value to the research because they go through previews, peer reviews and post-publishing reviews. Thus they carry a bit of some weight in exerting some level of authenticity to any given study. Nevertheless newspapers and online sources can still come in handy as footnotes of-course. Moreover because the research is quantitative there is no way literature can be avoided in the study because it interpretation gives the researcher justifications for the assumed standpoint. Qualitative research helps apply theory in interpreting produced forms of written knowledge and the 'individual experience' of those significant actors that discursive terrain under interrogation.

Questionnaire

The researcher shall produce a questionnaire to be given to individuals in targeted population sections. The questionnaire intends to appeal to a wider population and draw diverse appreciations of the probed issue here. However, for the purposes of drawing informed assertions on the subject the questionnaire is strategically distributed to certain age groups and affiliates of institutions guarding the discursive terrain of the study at hand. These include 5 member groups each from ZANU-PF and MDC with varying age classifications. The first age-group set drawn from the partisan inclined respondents has individuals between 20-35 years. The second age set involves individuals between 35 to 65 years. Likewise the same age ranges are applied in selecting non-political party inclined respondents. The self-administration of the questionnaires is economic and helps in the disclosure of full information factoring its uncensored character.

Analysis of data

Textual and content analysis and it will be achieved through the mentioned research tools above. Key issues will be noted down in interviews and the data will be compared to written thesis and theoretical approaches. The results of this comparison are categorised according to themes or variables and their properties. Coming from a political science background, the research shall borrow interpretations of the study from areas of political theory, political ideology culture and change and thus express how the Chimurenga as an emerging philosophy is significant in elaborating the nature of Zimbabwe's political-science terrain.

1.10 Limitations of the Study

The study is limited to articulating the emergence of the 'Chimurenga-culture' -a political phenomenon drawing its existence from the past to influencing the political contestation of partisan survival in Zimbabwe. This conflicted political existentiality in Zimbabwe thus limits the study to focus on how the Chimurenga-culture has influenced the country's contemporary ideological making processes. Thus the study installs the Chimurenga-culture debate into the political-science terrain as a new subject of interpreting Zimbabwe's political science. The introduction of

this subject owes to a background of high volumes of produced knowledge depicting Zimbabwe's political climate in the mentioned historical space as a national crisis.

While this new academic debate on Zimbabwe described as the 'Chimurenga-culture' unique to this study may be celebrated. There is a high risk that the research may be classified under the popular and narrow whims of being a historical study or the mainstream 'crisis-ridden depiction of Zimbabwe by many scholars over the years.

The challenge of mistaking the research to the crisis or historical subject may misfit this new contribution to knowledge into other areas which it is not intended to fit.

The raised subject is complex and touches on a lot of issues some of which are deliberately omitted because of the need to exhaustively focus attention on a specific area as so required by regulations of a study of this nature. Therefore much attention has been given to how the Chimurenga-culture has influenced political ideologies in Zimbabwe and how national building is affected by the Chimurenga-culture.

1.11 Delimitations of the Study

The main motive of the research which is of course a significant delimitation is its purpose to pioneer a new debate in the interpretation of Zimbabwe's political terrain. This is achieved through the introduction the Chimurenga-culture contrary to the common notions of crisis inventory interpretation of Zimbabwe's political environment since 1999.

Through an attempt to define all key issues and writing to inform this study is produced in a manner that seeks to give it great accessibility to its prospective beneficiaries. As a result this would attempt to reduce the risk of the study becoming confused with the other popular notions of history and a crisis-ridden depiction of Zimbabwe.

The terminology in the study and the used secondary sources help position the study in the disciplines of political theory and philosophy.

The limitations in the topic coverages here have prompted the need for further research and therefore implying the sustainability of the views

raised and their advancements.

1.12 Chapter Delineation

The second chapter is conceptual based, it seeks to give meaning to the key tenets of the study which apart from the concept of the Chimurenga-culture include; political ideology, culture and change. It is largely informative to readers of political theory on the role of the concept of the Chimurenga as a parent ideology of Zimbabwe's political trajectory since the coming of the settlers. The chapter explains the evolution of the Chimurenga from being an ordinary revolutionary discourse down to its maturity to a blown ideological concept defined as the Chimurenga-culture influencing the contemporary political thinking of the country. The ideological premise of the Chimurenga is given painstaking attention in a bid to analyse how the Chimurenga-culture has influenced political ideology, culture and change since its conception in 1999 to 2014 prior to the traditions it owes the past. Brief highlights on the ideological outlets of the Chimurenga-culture are highlighted as well with aid of exclusive interview conducted by the research with prolific academic and political figures in the country.

Chapter three complements the conceptual frame of the second chapter by giving a collage of available literature that interprets the Chimurenga-culture. This chapter is strategically structured in a manner that gives out the general ideological formations brought about by literature as part of the Chimurenga-culture. The assessed pieces of literature in this chapter help to give a breakdown of the feeling of nationhood grounded on the philosophy of the Chimurenga soon after independence and its evolution to being the Chimurenga-culture. One would notice an unstructured selection of literature outlining the feelings around the Chimurenga and the concept of the Chimurenga-culture at large. The chapter is also important to demonstrate how the research appreciates the making political theory through literature from a Zimbabwean context.

The next chapter assesses the role of music is a discursive outlet or significant element of the Chimurenga-culture. Major attention is on the Chimurenga genre, largely how it has influenced the political thinking of the Zimbabwean. The chapter goes against the popular notions re-

garding this genre as a vehicle for promoting the state-kind of patriotism. I posit a new dimension to the available arguments by explaining how this outlet has offered a rebellious outlook to the patriotic inventions of nationhood. Thus the contribution of Thomas Mapfumo comes handy in that regard. On the other hand the Mbare Chimurenga Choir is brought into the picture to explain how the same supposedly liberating music genre has praised the state contrary to its vilification through the same genre in the turn of the millennium.

Chapter five is an analysis of the research findings and how they help locate the Chimurenga-culture in contemporary Zimbabwe. Apart from the data presented in the form of figures, the researcher's analysis will be instrumental.

Last, but not least chapter six does not just give a conclusion of the topic. It plays an important role in terms of explaining how the Chimurenga-culture can be put into good use in terms of nation-building since the chapter is recommendation oriented.

CHAPTER TWO

THE BIRTH OF THE CHIMURENGA-CULTURE AND ZIMBABWE'S POLITICAL IDEOLOGIES, CULTURE AND CHANGE.

Introduction

This chapter is intended to trace the origins of the Chimurenga-culture phenomenon and to define its conceptual grounding and how it has influenced political ideologies towards nation building in Zimbabwe. This comes in full appreciation of the fact that the Chimurenga-culture carries nuisances of the country's liberation struggle tenets and approaches to self-assertion and becoming a nation in Zimbabwe. Acknowledgements are also given to the other contributions on this subject on narratives of what was and is still a national crisis. The chapter is divided into three sections, with the *first* section giving a historiography of the Chimurenga, that is from 1965 to 1980 and its evolution to being the Chimurenga-culture. By so doing I do not pretend to be a historian, for the fear of failing to misrepresent the pure history of the Chimurenga in its intricate character. Instead the Chimurenga-culture background narration is to create an understanding of how the Chimurenga-culture is a manifestation of the past borrowed from nationalist enthusiasm and pitfalls challenged by the newly emerging liberal discourses. The cited origins associated with the Chimurenga-culture also unfold from 1980 to 1995.

Then finally 1999 to 2014 which constitutes the *second* part of the chapter where details on the era of the Chimurenga-culture are given in full detail. The section describes the Chimurenga-culture as a manifestation of neo-nationalism, a new concept which I have found befitting to explain the country's evolution from a "people-nation" to a "party-nation". The introduction of neo-nationalism is a phenomenon unique to this study deliberately coined to create an understanding of the Chimurenga-culture as an end-product of a nationalism that never-was and is picking up its pieces from the past to give a new political meaning to the present where it is challenged and is fighting to keep its

realist trajectory in place.

The *third* section of the chapter presents the Chimurenga-culture as an ideological contest based on historically based constructions originating from the pitfalls of nation-building explained in the background of the study as the *elapsing phases of nationhood*. A mbira liberation song is used as an ideological discursive outlet to demonstrate the manifesting ideological constructions and deconstructions of the Chimurenga-culture in relation to nation-building. The song's themes are linked with the literature that relates to the Chimurenga-culture and issues that emerged from the separate interviews that the researcher had with Dr Ibbo Mandaza and Dr Siphepha Nyoni as part of the study data-collection process. The drawn conclusion is that the Chimurenga-culture bears the direction of political ideology in Zimbabwe which influences the political culture and can determine the path for change separately guided by the past or the emerging liberal trajectories.

2.1 Background of the Chimurenga-Culture in Zimbabwe

The common temptation of interpreting the Chimurenga from a history based context has been the monotonous research style usually alluding to the country pre-independence struggle of 1896-97. For the purposes of serving an outstanding agenda of the chapter such a path is avoided because that would make the thesis more historical when in correct essence it is centred on political-science. The attempt to escape this norm is to avoid diverting from the key themes of this chapter as it seeks to conceptualise the Chimurenga-culture. Even how it has shaped political thinking (political ideology) in Zimbabwe, the political behavior thereof, the country's appreciation of the political world view relating to how it is perceived externally as well (political culture). The First-Chimurenga carried major justifications of the country's second armed struggle which took place in 1965 which was an outgrowth nationalist political operations dating back from 1957 as a successive morally justified continuation of the first liberation struggle. To understand the Chimurenga-culture one must be abreast on how it came into being and this entails a historical exposition of Zimbabwe's political transitions towards the manifestations of the Chimurenga-culture in the country's contemporary political space.

For the purpose of understanding this phenomenon the perspective of *Living the Second Chimurenga* by Fay Chung (2006) prominently features here. Therefore choosing to regard the Chimurenga-culture as Living the Second-Chimurenga requires us to account for Zimbabwe's political transition since the birth of the "nationalist generation" (Moyo 1998). This period is important because it marked the massive Pan-African liberation explosives that saw Africa going against the orders of colonialism and the grouping of the people of the continent into nations fighting for their freedom (Mahomva 2014). The successive respective liberation resistances in the continent were a reflection of the key challenges and aspirations being a nation at that moment. These aspirations informed the political ideology and culture then which means that today there are key challenges and aspirations of every nation which influence the political ideology, culture and change trends.

In the context of Zimbabwe one also needs to understand the key challenges and aspirations that have that have created "*elapsing phases of nationhood*" from 1965 up to date. As a result, the Chimurenga-culture should be understood as a product of the gradual processes of the changing challenges and aspirations of the nation at the present moment borrowing from the country hereditary political thinking frames and culture which are not new, but are reflection of the country's historical foundations. The mentioned elapsing phases of nationhood can be classified into three categories explained below:

2.2 1965-1980: The Problematic Nation in the Making

1965 inaugurated the early political resistance that gave independence to Zimbabwe in 1980. This Second-Chimurenga was justified by the colonial injustice of Ian Smith's UDI regime. The Second-Chimurenga was meant to eradicate the racial deprivations of the time and pave way for majority rule who had become conscious of their political equality (Ranger 1985). The governing tenets of this particular Chimurenga were not only influenced by the demands of the nationalists, but by England as well as it regarded the UDI as illegitimate following the de-facto status of Smith regime by 1961. The era was characterised by militarised nationalism of the main nationalist movements namely the PF-ZIPRA and ZANLA. The fragmented military operations were

an early reflection of a split agenda of nationhood before achieving its goals. This prompted Masiphula Sithole (1999) to regard Zimbabwe's quest for nationhood as a "Struggle within a struggle." Likewise Norma Kriger (2005) problematises the 1979 election which resulted in majority rule as she accuses ZANU-PF for deploying its ZANLA forces in rural areas to coerce the electorate not to vote for other political contestants. This facilitated ZANU-PF's political victory at the expense of other political parties. Moreover this served as an early sign of graduating into post-colonial hegemony (Sithole 1997) had ZANU-PF won the election of which it did. This gave early doubts to the authenticity of the liberation struggle whose helm objective was overshadowed by the ZANU-PF supremacy and realism before it could come to power. While it is popularly acceptable that the second-Chimurenga was meant to achieve nationality the above claim illustrates the that the struggle for the country's liberation was a nationalism that never was and at some point was going to undermine post-coloniality to entrench elitist political motives estranged from the common will of the masses;

Rivalry between ZAPU and ZANU was simply too much and uncontrollable and only those who were on the periphery of our struggle deserve to misunderstand our post-colonial conflicts. (Bhebe 2004; 15)

The nature of political anachronism in Zimbabwe tainted the entire concept of nationhood. As a consequence there was need to find post-independence alternatives to give way for dealing with the problem of nationhood, hence we find the Chimurenga-culture haunting the presumed nationhood.

2.3 1980-1995: The Early Manifestation of a Nation that Never Was

The problematic aspect of achieving nationalism in the Second-Chimurenga offers a justifiable explanation of the country's crisis plunge soon after independence. As early as 1982 the Gukurahundi instabilities had taken course and this was an early manifestation of the failure to achieve nationhood as embodied in the ideas of the liberation war (Alexander et-al 2000). Tradition has it that the then apartheid government of South-Africa was threatened by the triumph of African nationalism across its borders. As a result it had to apply the divide and rule approach to dismantle the "temporary" calm political environment

in Zimbabwe. This angle is rarely mentioned so as to vilify ZANU-PF for the Matebeleland and Midlands provinces genocide project. Bhebe (2004; 15) argues that a post-independence war between the nationalist movements was inevitable considering the disintegrated nature of the Second-Chimurenga;

Moreover, when people discuss our nationalist historiography they want to pour their worst venom on ZANU-PF and even forget the inevitability of our post-colonial civil war. Perhaps what was not inevitable were its excesses. But frankly, considering the way we had built our guerrilla armies, I again doubt whether a ZIPRA dominated army would have fought such a civil war in Mashonaland any different from the way ZANLA dominated Zimbabwe National Army fought the civil war in the Midlands and Matabeleland.

ZANU-PF offered state security justifications for its atrocious repression of ZIPRA through a specialised Matebeleland and Midlands provinces military project, the uprooting of dissidents. This credits the Situational Action Theory, it states that all actors involved in any form of violence believe themselves to be protagonists as they believe that violence creates a nerve of command to their respective interests. (Wikström 1985, 1991). All actors, the violator and the violated have a moral justification to defend their positions. Hence Bhebe (2004; 15) speaks for the victimised by giving out a protagonist stand in the narrative of the nation in regards to the Gukurahundi;

I am aware of the destructive and brutal role of the Korean trained Gukurahundi, but are we certain that if we, as ZAPU, had won the elections, we would not have had our friends to train our own military units to destroy or tame former ZANLA forces.

The above submission by Bhebe is problematic because it does not resonate with the natural state of post-colonial “war tradition” that has found permeable pathways into African nationalism. In light of that one must be reminded of the Biafra Crisis of Nigeria and not also overlooking the rivalry of the FRELIMO and RENAMO in Mozambique. Therefore it is clear that the culture of the violence did not depart from Zimbabwe even after independence.

The Chimurenga-culture defined as a “Struggle within a Struggle”

could also be noticed as early as 1986. This is when Edgar Tekere moved out of ZANU-PF to form his political party, ZUM which challenged the de-facto one-party state which ZANU-PF was instituting from 1990 (Sithole 1997; Tekere 2007). Other prolific political antagonists of the time included Margret Dongo, Cain Nkala. This shows that the aspect of an internal political contest within ZANU-PF as early as 1986 formed a basis of a post-independence Chimurenga-culture another “Struggle within a Struggle” unfold.

Guided by the above the Chimurenga-culture is a manifestation of the features of the country’s liberation past into the contemporary political thinking processes and the culture thereof. It is from that note that the chapter seeks to define the Chimurenga-culture not only citing the period between 1965 and 1980, but giving a broader understanding of the country’s political trends from the context the transition between 1980 and 1995. This is period is important in understanding the game-change in issues of the political-economy of the country marred by the ESAPs. The ESAPs inflated economic ownership demand levels in the country and thus with more poverty the masses demand their land and thus giving birth to the Third-Chimurenga. ZANU-PF had no other option, but to use the land hunger of the masses to rebuild its legitimacy from the historical tenets of the past, hence the real Chimurenga-culture broke out. The era was marked by revival of the liberation slogans affirming the rebirth of the Chimurenga-culture, *Chave Chimurenga! -Its wartime!*

2.4 1999-2014: National Culture Diversities at War

The cited strains in Zimbabwe’s political-economy led to massive citizen disgruntlement and as such various sections of the population emerged to contend the political order of the day. One of the recent factors that had influenced the total crumble of the economy was the government’s military aid to the DRC. Again the incentives offered to the war-veterans as a token for their contribution to the armed struggle (Sadomba 2011) caused a much harm to the economy as well. The same war veterans were actively involved in farm invasions, a move they justified as a complete revisitation to the fundamental value of achieving fully independence. The land question, as highlighted earlier on was at the

centre of the armed struggle of Zimbabwe. ZANU-PF had to subscribe to the demands of the war-vets and thus the Land-reform programme was instituted;

We knew and still know that land was the prime goal of King Lobengula as he fought British encroachment in 1893; we knew and still know that land was the principal grievance for our heroes of the First Chimurenga led by Nehanda and Kaguvi. We knew and still know it to be the fundamental premise of the Second Chimurenga and thus a principal definer of [the] succeeding new Nation and State of Zimbabwe. Indeed we know it to be the core issue of the Third Chimurenga which you and me are fighting, and for which we continue to make such enormous sacrifices (Mugabe 2001; 92-93).

In other words the land reform in its controversy or through diplomacy was bound to happen. It was the “real Chimurenga” as it was extending economic independence to the people regardless of its lack of fore-sight in the implementation style. The prevailing political environment and the country’s economic crisis teared the country into party loyalists regarded as the true “patriots” and the leftists regarded as “sell-outs.” The citizenry divide was for those who supported ZANU-PF and those who did hence a colloquial version of first and second class partisan guided belonging to the nation. The so-called “patriots” represented by various institutions, ZANU-PF and state institutions affiliated the patriots. MDC and civic groups housed all the sell-outs. The ZCTU, ZINASU, NCA were the leading non-state institutions that mobilised support for the MDC through the ideologies they pushed for public consumption.

It is not only the parastatals and the civic groups that served as the discursive outlets of the mainstream political bodies’ ideology. Newspapers were also dragged into the discursive “tag of war” between the two parties, this saw public press being used as state propaganda vehicles as well with broadcasting stations. On the other hand private media offered a rebellious alternative to the state summoned political trajectories and representation of the nation. The entertainment fraternity, especially the music sector was also polarised in terms of celebrating the nation. Thus the role of music and literature are explored in detail in the following chapters to create an understanding of Zimbabwe’s political ideology, culture and change complexities.

Publishing houses also got roped into explaining the Zimbabwean crisis and on the forefront of this sector there was Weaver Press and ama-Books. The two publishing houses emerged in 2000 simultaneous to the land crisis which saw an inevitable tearing of the nation taking place. On the other hand the Department of Information and Publicity took an active role in the publishing of state-centric narratives. Hence when Hammar et-al (2003; 3) introduces her controversial collection she says;

Clearly the intention then, as now, was neither to reproduce the narrowly nationalist rhetoric of ZANU-PF that identified the crisis just as 'a land crisis' nor to adopt the liberalist counter-position that asserted it was purely a 'governance crisis'.

The above claim expresses the prevalence of narrow representations of the nation in Zimbabwe based on diverse and highly conflicting national ideology and political culture of the day. As such, one can understand the rise of the historical and ahistorical discourses in the broader aspect of being Zimbabwean in the context of the Chimurenga-culture. This particular part of the elapsing phases of nationhood is very important as was characterised by a plethora of Chimurenga inspired political gimmicks and styles of power grabbing. As a consequence this era could not go down the sands of time unnoticed and how it has influenced the current totality of Zimbabwe's political landscape. In as much as Hammar claims to be detached from the narrow representations of the nation the cited volume was a palpable purely anti-ZANU text and likewise the same can be registered in appreciating the polarity of the public disseminative spaces in Zimbabwe which were anti-MDC.

The contest of the political diversity in Zimbabwe was noted through the national elections of; 2002, 2008 and 2013. In all these the Chimurenga-culture was manifesting itself.

2.5 The Chimurenga-Culture: *Zimbabwe under Neo-Nationalism*

In the introductory chapter my key submission treated the phenomenon at hand as a contested expression of the historical and ahistorical factors in the millennium. In that regard it is important to try and give a detailed explanation of the Chimurenga-culture in the context of the historical and ahistorical matter as a neo-nationalist aspect not only

unique to Zimbabwe, but to the entire concept of political theory as a field of study in political-science.

The idea of neo-nationalism refers to a process of foregoing the ideal principles of achieving nationhood and replacing them with realist party interests. It is a process of rebranding nationalism from being people centred to narrow partisan dominance and use of the party as the face of the nation –“party nation”. Major neo-nationalist reflections were a shift from the absolute embracement of democratic principles to foster the supremacy of the party;

On April 18, 1990 Zimbabwe completed its first decade as an independent nation. This event not only marked the end of the Lancaster Constitutional Agreement which paved way for Zimbabwe’s independence, but also opened new possibilities for the hierarchy of the country’s nationalist leaders in ZANU-PF to seek the establishment of a legislated one-party state which they could not do before because of the entrenched clauses of the Lancaster Constitution which guaranteed freedom to join and form political parties (Moyo 1991; 83).

Moyo explains the extent to which the country was transcending its founding ideals of governance and that was going beyond nationalism. Mafeje (1992; 31) refers to this process as *fractional rule* and notes that;

Depending on the severity of the situation, the party itself could be reduced to the President and the political circle immediately around him ... or mainly those who come from his province/district.

The observation above can also be useful in understanding Zimbabwe’s transition from nationhood to neo-nationalism characterised by party exclusiveness against other emerging binaries.

This development of neo-nationalism in the rise of the Chimurenga-culture entails a radical ideological resort to the embracement of the past to deal with the challenges faced by the party in guarding its legitimacy as a result of new political competition. The expected outcome being the need to place the party at the helm of the nation’s power as an absolute figure to the masses. The land reform programme became a strategic neo-nationalist move which saw the idea of economic independence being revisited to give legitimacy to ZANU-PF basing on empowerment principles of the liberation past. The much silenced land ownership

subject was revisited to address the public discontent towards government failure and resource ownership. The land question had occupied the centre of Zimbabwe's politics since independence and before.

Neo-nationalism's address of the land imbalances nullified the citizenry of the White farm owners in the country. The attention on White-owned land was revival of racial apartheid, it was genuine manifestation of the de-colonial violence of making the first to be the last Fanon (1963). Neo-nationalism was an indicator of the unattended racial mishaps that were signed off through the Lancaster only to become visible elements of the Chimurenga-culture. As a result neo-nationalism paved way for the country's de-link from the West following the expiry of the Lancaster Constitutional agreement, thereafter the relations with England and America become more sower. This meant dismantling the principles governing the politics of power and resource ownership which extended to the decline of the country's relations with those of the victimised White farmers. The land imbalance and its racial implications was going beyond the expectations of nation-building even as far as racial and opposition political tolerance is concerned. Raftopolous (2007) has argued that the political transition of 2000 marked a revival of the past nationalist spirit to deal with the racial question in Zimbabwe.

Political intolerance came in as a response to the raise of the MDC in 1999, a year which marked the birth of the Chimurenga-culture. Freedoms of association and expression were curtailed by legal statutes in the form of the controversial POSA and AIPPA laws. In other words the Chimurenga-culture must be understood as management of citizen association in order to make way for the legitimacy of the state following the rise of the MDC.

The shift in the foreign policy trajectory following the imposition of the sanctions was a reciprocation to the hostility rendered to the White farmers through the land invasions. Britain and America justified their imposition of sanctions on Zimbabwe's ruling elites on human-rights and democracy pitfalls accused on ZANU-PF for licensing the land reform programme. This indicates that Zimbabwe's neo-nationalism was not only a radicalisation of the domestic policy only, but foreign policy as well. The period was characterised by diplomatic demonisation dis-

course between the country and the West following its land question revision (Tendi 2014). As such prospects of engagement at international scale were narrowed due to neo-nationalism.

The decline of the nation towards neo-nationality gave rise to the MDC and enabled it to assert its existence as a leftist movement that aimed to rectify the challenges of transcending nationhood by ZANU-PF's neo-nationalism. Thus neo-nationalism in the appreciation of Zimbabwe's political climate cannot be understood outside the influence of the MDC in challenging the status-quo. As (Tandon 2008; 67) puts it;

After independence ... people who fought and won independence, involving huge sacrifices ... began to ask their political leaders and intellectuals some critical questions: Where do we go from here? What now? What do we do with this hard won independence? There also came to the surface even more difficult questions about self-identity that had been subdued during the struggle for independence: Who are we as a 'nation'? How do we forge nationhood out of disparate ethnic, racial, religious linguistic, regional and sub-regional groupings?

Tandon's submission represents the inclusive voice national disgruntlement in the face of neo-nationalism that prevailed in Zimbabwe following its challenges;

Since independence, African countries ... have been characterised by three things a crisis of accumulation, one-party democracy and lack of social democracy... Opposition parties were being banned and their leaders put in jail in the name of nation-building or one nation-state. Mafeje (1992; 35)

The gross expression of the intolerant character of neo-nationalism not unique to Zimbabwe highlighted above, in Mafeje's observation it represents a continental crisis. The need to religiously uphold the ideology of nation-state superiority explains why MDC rose to challenge this political situation from its Zimbabwean grass-root. As a result student unions, farmers' unions and other varying sections of the population sympathised with the party. The binary ideological stance posited by MDC is a contest over neo-nationalism influenced by a nationalism that is without to propel the "Machiavellian interests" of ZANU-PF. So it is through neo-nationalism that the Chimurenga is interrogated from within to understand whether the past is of great use in defending is-

sues of varying national interests as explained earlier on using the views of Tendon (2008) above. The varying standpoints of nationalism are the benchmarks of the contested political ideology, culture and change as it were. Hence the need to explain this phenomenon from a contemporary Zimbabwean perspective.

Neo-nationalism cannot explained in complete isolation of the contribution by the Zimbabweans in the diaspora. These constitute a great part of the country's population which initiated the exodus to the neighbouring countries and some Western countries. The role of the diaspora in Zimbabwe's political crisis is pertinent as it helps create an understanding of neo-nationalism not only as a form of escapism from the crisis in the motherland, but as a form of outdoing the borders as expressions of nationhood. The Zimbabwean diaspora made their new countries of abode centres of expressing their political allegiance to home though far from it. This is evidenced by the political correspondence with home by Zimbabwean political headquarters stationed in other countries. These include MDC and ZANU-PF party branches in the diaspora largely in the West and the MLF party headquarters in South-Africa. Some of the Zimbabwean diaspora were on self-styled exiles and thus contributed to the dialectic ideological contestation, hence an encounter with Thomas Mapfumo singing the nation from the West and scholars like Sabelo Ndlovu-Gatsheni and Brain Raftopolous to mention just but a few who have contributed to the national debate from the diaspora.

2.7 The Influence of the Chimurenga-Culture on Zimbabwe's Political Ideology and Culture

Having fully explored the aspect of the Chimurenga-culture and its coming to being this chapter would be void if it does not explain how it has influenced political ideology culture and change in Zimbabwe. First it is important to understand ideology as a:

Set of beliefs about the proper order of society and how it can be achieved. (Erikson & Tedin 2003; 64)

Using the above definition, the society referred to here is that which is political and in this instance Zimbabwe represents that political society

in placing emphasis on another dimensions of understanding ideologies as;

...shared framework of mental models that groups of individuals possess that both provide an interpretation of the environment and the prescription as to how the environment should be structured. (Parsons 1951; 24)

The two definitions indicate that ideologies create an individual who is tied to a communal thought and is governed by it in determining particular choices and in this particular instance, political choices that shape the political-culture of the day. The same thoughts help individuals interpret their position in time and in space, that is to say in their history and confrontation of the future.

The appreciation of the past in embracing the present and the future is the major reason why the study focuses on the role of the Chimurenga-culture in influencing political ideology in Zimbabwe. It helps understand the forces of political self-legitimacies and forces of legitimacy deconstructions, these are symbolically interpreted in the role played by ZANU-PF and MDC in the highlighted manifestation of the Chimurenga-culture between 1999 and 2014. The two main political actors of the time help us understand sources of ideological fragmentations and conflict to bring about change or to maintain a conservative political culture. Thus the symbiotic relationship between political ideology and political culture remains constant in this analogy. That is to say political ideologies whether consensual or in conflict they all determine the political culture of any given environment resulting in affiliation diversities.

Usually political culture is explained in terms of party symbols, self-identification of either the individual or the political institution. However, the position of this study is that political culture manifests itself in the forms of partisan actors' behavior in maintaining their different forms of public control.

The case of Zimbabwe the ideology of the Chimurenga manifesting itself in the form of a culture has embraced the need for patriotism. This idea stems from the country's hard earned independence which came at the expense of human life. Such an ideological tenet has been main-

streamed through various ideological outlets. To extract a song verse from Mbira Dzenharira;

Nyika yedu yakauya neChimurenga.

Chokwadi mwanawevhu anga azvipira.

Kusunugura hutongi hwekudzvinirirwa

Pakatanga yemapfumo kuchizouya

magidi.

[Our country came because of the Chimurenga.

Surely the child of the soil had committed

himself to break the chains of tyrannical rule.

It began with a war fought spears followed by

that of guns]

This musical allusion explains how much patriotism is a significant aspect of Zimbabwe's political ideology as a result the people of this country gave their lives to obliterate colonial domination. Even at a time they did not have advanced weapons compared to the white settlers they resorted to spears in order to achieve decolonisation. The coming in of the guns with the nationalist movements of the 60s is an expression of patriotic endurance. This substantiates that patriotism was an ideological element of Zimbabwe's coming into being. This patriotism transcended social class as one would notice in the second verse of the quoted song by Mbira Dzenharira;

Hona torangarira magamba, ambuya Nehanda, Chaminuka sekuru Kaguvi.

Mhondoro huru dzenyika ino dzakatidzigira kuti tikunde paChimurenga.

Hona ndorangerira vaParirenyatwa. Rekai Tangweni tinomuremekedza.

Hona ndorangerira vaChitepo...ndorangerira Tongogara. Hona

Ndorangerira anaMujibha,,, Hona ndorangerira ana chimbwido.

The remembered nationalist figures include heroes of the first and second Chimurenga. The first set of heroes mentioned in the song (Nehanda, Chaminuka, Kaguvi) are referred to as *mhondoro huru dzenyika yino* (great divine custodians of this nation). While the second set of the remembered heroes (Parirenyatwa, Tangwena, Chitepo and Tongogara) includes the socially elevated Africans of that time who became the “thought power” (Mahomva 2014) of the second armed struggle because of their privileged social class belonging. Parirenyatwa a medical doctor, Chitepo the first African lawyer to represent trialed African nationalists. Chief Tangwena’s contribution as a traditional leader in the second colonial republic is also given [“special” acknowledgement] (*tinomuremekedza*). Tongogara the commander of the ZANLA forces is also appraised in the song alongside the ordinary male and female collaborators of the armed struggle.

While the second verse carries the aspect of what appears as an inherited patriotic legacy certain discourse outlets have contended this view. Patriotic as it is Ranger (2004) defies the authenticity of such discourses as ZANU-PF manipulated trajectories of the Chimurenga-culture to pursue its party ideology. This has given prominence to antagonist perceptions to this form of patriotism leading to the dejection of the Chimurenga philosophy in adequately explaining Zimbabwe’s nationhood and patriotism. The justification being the exploitation of *coercive national belonging versus ideological essentialism*, the rule of *violence versus nation making* and *national memory inventions versus demonisation* as essential parts of the Chimurenga-culture in influencing Zimbabwe’s political ideology, culture and change. The three components to be explained below are just a fragments of other issues that constitute the macrocosm of the Chimurenga-culture and its role in influencing political ideology in Zimbabwe. These three areas are carefully picked out in the midst of other components of the Chimurenga-culture like patronage (Alexander & McGregor 2013), electoral fraud and sabotage, civic activism in order to capture key themes that came out from an interview which the researcher conducted with Dr Ibbo Mandaza and Dr Siphepha Nkomo on the 16th of March 2015 in Harare. One thing that these respondents have in common is that they both participated in Zimbabwe’s liberation struggle. After independence they were actively involved in the centre of Zimbabwe’s politics. As the happenings of the Chimurenga culture

manifested the two became active critics of the ZANU-PF government. Siphepha Nkomo was part of the early MDC formations after leaving ZAPU. Ibbo Mandaza from being a senior civil servant after independence he became a radical leftist thought-leader through his think-tank organisation, SAPES. The change in loyalties of these two national political figures is symbolic of the transition that Zimbabwe has experienced as far as political ideology and culture is concerned. It is from this phenomenon that one can explain the link of the Chimurenga-culture with the following; *coercive national belonging versus ideological essentialism, violence versus nation making and national memory inventions versus demonisation.*

2.8 Coercive National Belonging Versus Ideological Essentialism

The cited song embraces the Chimurenga as the national founding ideology. It asserts that had there been no “Chimurenga” Zimbabwe would have not been born. In its genuine context this view is challenged by other ideological alternatives which are reactionary to Shona dominance even in explaining the birth of the nation. Hence Siphepha Nkomo said;

I never came across the ‘Chimurenga’, I only know the liberation struggle that my grandfather waged and died with many more like him where you finds the toll-gate to Lupane today. They had woke-up to self-realisation against colonial domination and discrimination. I also know the struggle for independence which stole fourteen years, nine months of my life in prison for the liberation of this country. We stood against being second class citizens, you could not stop a car driven by a Whiteman and if he was generous enough to give you a lift you would go and sit at that back this how the fear of the Whiteman had been created in us.

From Siphepha’s understanding the whole idea of the Chimurenga is elusive as it places emphasis on the active participation of the Shona in the liberation war that sideline the contribution of other ethnic groups. The above statement is an indication of how much the other people made equal contributions to the birth of this country outside the Shona-ZANU-PF centred ethno-mainstream expressions similar to that of the common Mbira Dzenharira assertion. To buttress this point Siphepha said;

...I usually boast that I spent more years in prison than Nkomo and Mugabe and others who have no names. I was incarcerated with the likes of Cephass Msipa and Madzimbamuto¹ though he was in another section of the prison

The exploitation of the Chimurenga in explaining nationhood is treated with mistrust as a perceived tool of hegemony to other ethnicities. Thus Siphepha advocates for the equal use of Ndebele terms in explaining the Chimurenga to make the contributions of those belonging to that ethnic group to associate themselves with the Chimurenga-culture;

'Chimurenga' is not a common word, there is need for a Ndebele equivalent because the term is distorted he exclaimed. Its distortion does not recognise my grandfather and other tribes in the country.

This shows that ideology in Zimbabwe has been challenged by the issues forced national belonging emanating from the Chimurenga phenomenon. This is further buttressed by Mafeje (1992; 23);

In essence, this means that even African languages have to be approached critically, as they are also bound to play a special role in the ideological reproduction...

This is why all those who do not support ZANU-PF are labelled puppets of the West. This citizenship branding has also influenced the character of the Chimurenga culture being problematised. However, this results in a political culture of conflict characterised by coercive national belonging versus ideological essentialism as substantiated above.

2.9 Violence Versus Nation Making

In line with Frantz Fanon (1963) tradition of violence as a liberating phenomenon, the song by Mbira Dzenharira makes specific mention of the rule of violence in the birth of Zimbabwe. The same praise of violence's significance can be noted in the emerging discourses of nationhood which also shape the character of the Chimurenga-culture. The ideology of violence remains pertinent in explaining the contemporary political landscape in Zimbabwe. Violence has remained a significant

1 Madzimbamuto defied the legitimacy of the Smith regime and his case is sited as a constitutional law precedent; see *Madzimbamuto vs Lardner Burke*.

part of Zimbabwe's process of coming into being and to Ibbo Mandaza the rule of violence in Zimbabwe dates back to the liberation struggle largely to enrich individual interests;

...there was no nationalist culture in Zimbabwe at all. It was all violence for self-interests. The Chimurenga-culture you are talking about is nothing, but the reign of the military. It was all violence against the peasantry class until this day nothing has changed. We were in the struggle in Zambia, but we received reports of abuses committed to the peasants by the guerillas and the Rhodesian forces.

The Chimurenga-culture must then be understood as a supremacy of violence even in processes that are supposed to make way for democracy. Hence the elections in Zimbabwe have been characterised by violence even the election that give birth to independence as explained by Siphepha;

There was never a free and fair election in Zimbabwe since 1979. Towards the 1979 election ZANLA forces were deployed in the rural areas to force people to vote at the point of a gun in rural-areas. The British observers were lenient with ZANU-PF under the flimsy excuse that Nkomo was more aligned to the Russians and his victory would favour Russians if he won the elections.

The claim by Siphepha Nkomo during the interview is supported by Kriger (2005; 4);

During the 1980 election, the inter-related issues of cease-fire violations and electoral violence and intimidation preoccupied all political parties, the British interim administration, and the election observers. Mugabe attributed both the failure of significant numbers of ZANLA guerrillas to assemble after the cease-fire and their intimidation of the electorate to security force aggression and intimidation.

Thus national-building as part of the Chimurenga-culture has suffered violence as old as the country itself. Therefore violence in its various forms is a major analytical tool for comprehending the Chimurenga-culture.

2.10 National Memory Inventions Versus Demonisation

The politically triumphant inform public thinking and may construct memories influencing their thought in regards to various political phe-

nomenon. As such the second verse of the song being analysed is a reflection polarised imaginations of the nation from a popular-culture grounding which is a prototype of the superstructure (Althusser 1971; Hall 1978). Basing on the referenced song one can realise that the mentioned heroes are state-aligned as far as their legitimacy is concerned. This replicates how national memory has been a state invention in Zimbabwe as a result influencing the direction of popular praises and demonisation. Those whom the state decides to be silence about or to eject from national memory through public discursive outlets assume political relevance. However, the process results in the construction of single national memory. The song above mentions the role played by Nehanda, Chaminuka and Kaguvi and sidelines the contributions of the other heroes from other ethnic groups especially the Ndebele traditional leaders who had an active contribution to the country's liberation since 1893. Likewise the named Second-Chimurenga heroes are the former ZANLA inclined heroes represented in today's ruling ZANU-PF. Significant contributors to the liberation struggle like Ndabanengi Sithole, Lookout Masuku, Abel Muzorewa and Edgar Tekere to name a few substantiate this submission.

2.11 Conclusion

The chapter has offered a conceptual frame of the study fully defining the Chimurenga-culture, giving its evolution to the last stage of its existence. The main aim being that of locating its influence on political ideologies that then influence the political culture towards national building in Zimbabwe. The used discursive outlets of the manifesting ideological war through an engagement with mainstream political culture through music and prolific political figures interviewed helped in articulating the key tenets of the Chimurenga-culture and its interface with nation-building. On that note the following chapters will then give detail on the role of the Chimurenga-culture's discursive outlets in shaping political ideology and culture towards national building.

However, the presented background is an expression of changing attitudes towards the concept of national building. Thus we cannot avoid roping in the subject of change in conceptualising the Chimurenga-culture. Change here implies the transition in the thinking processes of

what it means to be a nation and moving on to meet challenges and aspirations that any given political space brings about. Hence from the given background what being a nation for the then government was repression to the majority whom on the other hand sought political and economic liberation. After independence the aspirations of a one-party state prevailed and the forces of change manifested, the suppression of all potential opposition informed the feelings of the moment. On the other hand, early economic crumbles graduated to higher levels that intensified the need for Black economic ownership. This shows that the need for change became economical and thus the manifestation of the Chimurenga-culture closely linked to the country's economic woes that inspired the need for change. Having explained that, it becomes clear that all political ideologies influence change in perceptions of nationhood as demonstrated through the Chimurenga-culture phenomenon.

CHAPTER THREE

LITERATURE AND ITS IDEOLOGICAL FUNCTION IN THE CHIMURENGA-CULTURE

Introduction

This Chapter is an assessment of texts that have been produced to explain nation-building within the period the Chimurenga-culture emerged. The chosen literature also explains the prevailing ideological contestation reflecting the nature of nationhood in Zimbabwe. These pieces of literature reflects the on-going debate on the subject of nation-building, how introducing the Chimurenga-culture and its role in influencing ideology is worth noting. The same literature is also important as it helps the researcher to confirm if the study tallies with other findings or outdoes the available trends in the body of knowledge. This review also questions the authenticity of some arguments in the available literature. This part of the study is also important as it offers an opportunity to the researcher to use the reviewed texts to substantiate how literature is a significant discursive outlet of the Chimurenga-culture which needs independent analysis as thus attempted through this particular review.

3.1 The Chimurenga-Culture Literature

Over the years Zimbabwe has generated literature that can be exploited in interpreting what has been conceptually dubbed as the Chimurenga-culture here. The same literature has offered a plethora of contributions to the body of knowledge in terms of depicting the factors that gave life to the Chimurenga-Culture. It is therefore the mandate of the researcher to review this literature and locating it within the scope of the historical and ahistorical factors which express the binary contested value of the nation. Though several publications were produced to explain the subject at hand, a selected set of texts are used in this section to highlight the contestations of nationhood. Hence the books used as case-studies in this particular section were not published anytime earlier than 2000. This deliberate selection of literature is significant in expressing the popular attitudes towards citizenship and belonging during the early manifestations of the Chimurenga-culture. Likewise,

one is reminded of the colonial literature which expressed the feelings of the moment then, soon after independence nationalist praise dominated the literary space. As such the Chimurenga-culture literature produced its own epistemology which should be interrogated, failure to challenge its trajectory may cause its loopholes to be appreciated as truths hence the interrogation of such literature.

To begin with, Sabelo Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2009; 2011) has contributed to literature in articulating the contextually constructed subject projected as the Chimurenga-culture. In his book, *“Do ‘Zimbabweans’ exist? Trajectories of Nationalism, National Identity Formation and Crisis in a Postcolonial Nation”* Ndlovu-Gatsheni interrogates the invention of the nation which problematises for being marred by ethnic supremacism of the Shona/Harare government, ZANU-PF. In this text the Chimurenga-culture has symbols and identities of intolerant nation-making scheme by the state. Ndlovu-Gatsheni condemns essential legitimacy of ZANU-PF largely because its imagination of the nation has constructed a monolithic type of being Zimbabwe. Therefore the text is valuable in giving an interpretative analogy of the Chimurenga-culture’s underpinnings within the context of inclusive and exclusive projections of nationalism. Through a historical articulate expression Ndlovu-Gatsheni states that the manifestation of the Chimurenga-culture in the millennium was a “Long-time Coming”¹ phenomenon following state ordered violence on the “dissident” ethnic group, the Ndebele presented as protagonists throughout his thesis.

It will be narrow to only focus on books of the Chimurenga-culture only and ignore articles as well. Hence Ndlovu-Gatsheni’s paper, *“The Construction and Decline of Chimurenga Monologue in Zimbabwe: A Study in Resilience of Ideology and Limits of Alternatives.”* In that paper, Ndlovu-Gatsheni argues that ZANU-PF has used the past to authenticate its exclusive and xenophobic rule in Zimbabwe and as such it used the ideology of the Chimurenga in asserting and sanitising its arbitrary political malpractices that made Zimbabwe appear as a despotic republic. In another publication, Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2013) talks of the “Zimbabwe and the Crisis of *Chimurenga* Nationalism” and explains the extent to which the

1 Jane Morris –ed (2008). *Long time coming*. A collection of short stories on Zimbabwe’s political and economic polarity.

past has been ZANU-PF's political campaign tool both in the democracy anti-democratic fora. As a result he trivialises the use of the past which to his understanding is a cause for exclusive Shona nationalism which is a contested phenomenon of the Chimurenga-culture.

What is of interest about the submission by Ndlovu-Gatsheni is his selective articulation of issues in addressing the pitfalls of the nation in Zimbabwe. His repetitive, though very articulate expression of the 1982-1987 Ndebele massacre in Matebeleland and Midlands provinces suppresses rationality throughout his entire studies. While it is prudent for one to remember self-past in the context of a pedagogy of being oppressed (Freire 1970) it becomes a challenge if the same essentialism that the researcher ridicules becomes an undertone of their studies. Likewise this aspect of manufacturing ethnic essentialism is highly vocalised in another text by Ndlovu and Mhlanga (2012). The work continues the trivialisation of Zimbabwe's past since because ZANU-PF has located its existence in that past.

In as much as Ndlovu-Gatsheni vilifies ZANU-PF's self-authentication because of itself preservation as the "successor of the pre-colonial Shona state" (Mudenge 1988) his work suffers from a similar challenge. As a result of his irrational protagonist construction of the Ndebele identity Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2009) becomes an agitator of what he condemns as chiefly substantiated in his paper "*Nation Building in Zimbabwe and the Challenges of Ndebele Particularism.*" In this study Ndlovu-Gatsheni presents the Ndebele as a nation within a nation with a unique history divorced from that of the self-exalting Shona and thus their call for disengagement from 'Zimbabwe', the Shona nation is objectively guided by a people with a unique past divorced from the nation itself. He substantiates this position by tracing the historic Ndebele state in contemporary Zimbabwe and claim that today's Ndebele replicate the "Mthwakazi" nation of yesterday and as such their self-preservation of being a nation will cause the ZANU-PF imposed Shona nationalism to be doomed as they don't identify with the nation of Zimbabwe. This quickly brings us to one weakness of Ndlovu-Gatsheni's essentialist hypothesis of being Ndebele and resistance to formal nationalism similar to the Shona self-prejudice as it were. This is because many of the so-called "particular" Ndebele are first of all Zimbabwean in terms of citi-

zenship yet they are Shona in terms of decent. Even their contribution in the Second-Chimurenga was through the ZIPRA military wing which most historians argue was mostly made up of Ndebeles. The same Shona classified under the same Ndebele blanket identity have assumed this Ndebele identity by virtue of cultural socialisation. This poses a serious gap of Ndlovu-Gatsheni's radicalization of ethnicity which foregoes certain realities of what it means to be Ndebele or Shona. To one not very acquainted with politics of geo-ethnicity in Zimbabwe may think that Matebeleland and Midlands are a purely Ndebele dominated regions where other ethnic group have long suffered extinction. It is only here and there that Gatsheni brings up the idea of the rainbow nation, but nuances of Ndebele hegemony remain apparent in his work and that is a pitfall since he is a proponent of the decline of Shona hegemony. The imposition of a blanket identity on a people and foregoing issues of assimilation especially in terms of the Ndebele state defies logic because the state was built on multiple ethnic inclusions from the historical flee from Tshaka to modern-day Zimbabwe. As Mudimbe (1988) puts "identities are invented" and to ignore that fact as means of justifying one form of hegemony while denouncing another on the groups of ethnicity is a challenge. Like nations ethnic identities are also imagined and to want to link a particular line of political realism to ethno-phobia is always problematic because in the case of Zimbabwe it is not true that all victims of Gukurahundi were purely Ndebele, what are about some Shona, Tonga, Kalanga groups who co-habited with the Ndebele in areas that experienced military action in that period.

Another pitfall of Ndlovu-Gatsheni's overall assertion throughout the cited publications is his deliberate forgetfulness on how the Ndebele would have asserted their nationhood had they been in the shoes of ZANU-PF. This is because no state would not legitimise itself, hence this can be understood within the simplistic scope of a father who does not exert his roles and expect to be seen as the head of a family. This explains why he uses the same essentialism he defines as particularism to invent an imaginary Ndebele nation which he claims is divorced from the nation of Zimbabwe and that is him legitimising a Ndebele nation. Due to that my research proposes inclusive national-building not one that is narrowed to ethnic hegemony. On the other hand, Ndlovu-Gatsheni can be problematised because of his elitist arguments divorced

from the public contextual reference of being Zimbabwean outside the walls of the academia and that makes Ndlovu-Gatsheni to be less relevant in contesting the position of ZANU-PF's discursive outlets in the contested terrain of the Chimurenga-culture as posited in this research. Such elitist contributions to knowledge have been brought to knee-surrender by dominant popular culture promoted by the state discursive outlets of hailing the past. As such the state has generated what Tendi (2010) describes as "*public intellectuals*" through various media forums as a result Ndlovu-Gatsheni becomes less relevant in that regard and is obviously deemed as "unpatriotic" in an environment where citizens are conditioned through state oriented logic of being "patriotic" (Ranger, 2004).

One who has read the numerous publications by Ndlovu-Gatsheni even the ones specifically used in this review can confirm the writer's style of duplicating opinions from one publication to the other. In some instances direct duplication of statements and contexts² to explain particular positions can be noticed. This causes the entire matter by the named scholar to eventually become tired. His excessive emphasis on marginalisation in Zimbabwe is essentially focused on the victimisation of the Ndebele and sidelines other forms of political victimisation of the Shona people by the state especially during election times especially the traditional imposition of violence on the peasantry by the ruling (Kriger 2005). Even the victimisation imposed on other races, other Matebeleland ethnic groups are not very much talked about in the awash literature by Ndlovu-Gatsheni. Much emphasis of his work is on the marginality of the Ndebele in the use of the Chimurenga political tools exploited by ZANU-PF. Talk of the conditions of the rural development in Zimbabwe they are a reflection of the colonial legacy and the failure to advance towards modernity by the state on national development and not necessarily the deliberate xenophobic marginalities as narrowly perceived by Ndlovu-Gatsheni. Nevertheless his contribution to the body of knowledge is of paramount importance if not relevant in showing the other contested factors of the Chimurenga-culture.

2 Comparing direct similarities found in these chapters: i) The Construction and Decline of *Chimurenga* Monologue in Zimbabwe: A Study in Resilience of Ideology and Limits of Alternatives ii) *Zimbabwe and the Crisis of Chimurenga Nationalism*.

Phathisa Nyathi (2005) is another keynote contributor to the subject of being Zimbabwean and belonging in the Chimurenga-culture era. Nyathi's attempt to contribute in the Chimurenga-culture discourses is focused on addressing a common identity in the aspect of culture and how it reflects true qualities of being Zimbabwean. Hence he argues that Zimbabweans have [a] cultural heritage that defines them as a people and not necessarily the political tags that dominated the citizenry space in Zimbabwe since 1999. Nyathi offers a brief historical background for each ethnic group providing the reader with a contextual framework to appreciate and understand the various cultural practices under review. According to Nyathi, in the book's introduction, "*Zimbabwe's Cultural Heritage* was born out of a desire to promote and preserve for posterity our nation's cultural traditions." However, through an analytical eye one can see that ulterior motive of the text was to dismantle the prevailing intolerance of the time following the Chimurenga-culture's military outfit that had been resurrected following the land reform and the rise of MDC.

In the contested terrain of identity and belonging, Nyathi, decided to 'decriminalise' the subject of ethnicity, thus validating the call by Mhlanga (2012) for the celebration of ethnicity and not criminalising it through narrow nationalist discourses. *Zimbabwe's Cultural Heritage* offers a unique contribution to the subject of belonging in Zimbabwe. It avoids both the idea that 'patriotic history' should take the lead in constructing the national image, and the anti-nationalist narratives. Hence Nyathi's work steps away from the literary norm and hence a discourse of this time.

He states on the blurb that "the emphasis of this book is not on the histories of the groups, but on their cultural practices." This substantiates the unique character of the text and makes it a relevant point of reference in cultural research and of-course the political culture of Zimbabwe represented by the ethnic groups under study. Its outstanding discourse compensates for the limited narratives of its kind in Zimbabwe where literature is often politicised and ethnic narratives further polarise the nation. Though Zimbabwe has a variety of cultures, it has inherited a legacy of a domineering culture, resulting in the younger generation being ignorant of their cultural roots. This came at a time

when the country's young people were seen on the forefront of the Chimurenga-culture violence, instead Nyathi's motive in that regard is that the young should rally around cultural values that have a deeper definition beyond the existing political tags.

There is "thick" emphasis on the Ndebele than the other groups; perhaps this is to balance their relative absence in other historical narratives of the 'nation' dominated by a Shona-centric Chimurenga-culture as highlighted in the review of Ndlovu-Gatsheni's interpretations of the Chimurenga-culture. However, this is a challenge because it presents the Ndebele as a group that pre-dates other ethnic groups in the country. In-fact the first chapter is on the Ndebele and to one not so aware of Zimbabwe's history they would think that the Ndebele pre-date other groups mentioned in the text whereas there is other groups that the Nyathi should have considered in explaining their cultural heritage. The Shona for example would have served as a good first case-study because historically they pre-date the Ndebele though Nyathi claims that the major thesis of the book is not so concerned about "history" to be precise. This shows how he also falls into the category of essentialists to some extent. Moreover, all writing is political thus Nyathi's denouncement of the political factor in his writing negates his contribution to the political happenings of the Chimurenga-culture. However, the consistence on the ethnic question in Nyathi and Ndlovu-Gatsheni's work demonstrates how political ideologies of the Chimurenga-culture have been constructed on the ethnic divide of the nation apart from the visible political margin between MDC and ZANU-PF since 1999. However, their ignorance to growing racial grievances after the execution of the land reform programme is a gap that my research intends to fill. This is because Zimbabwe's ideological constructions of nationhood under the Chimurenga-culture also have race fault-lines and they need specific mention as embodied in my study.

On the contrary, Cain Mathema (2013) argues that; Zimbabwe is diverse, but one. His assertion is anchored on the Chimurenga past as the binding factor of nationalism. He acknowledges diversity in terms of ethnicity, but tries to use the aspect of "imagined blood-ties" to say as Zimbabweans were are "relatives" because of ancient old inter-marriages that gave birth to the country's present day citizenry. He addressed

this in his poem “Maze of blood.” He accuses the settlers for tribalising Zimbabwe and making the people *tribe conscious* instead of being *nation conscious* as proved by the first Chimurenga forefathers and the second Chimurenga generation. He raises the common subject of patriots and sell-outs. However, apart from this simplistic construction of the nation which imagines all as one regardless of the xenophobia contained in the past until the manifestation of the Chimurenga-culture demonisation of leftists is dominant in the text. This reflects the extent to which the Chimurenga-culture has provided marginalities to what it means to be Zimbabwean. It explains the conflict that did not only appear in the discursive outlets for example the cited literature, but in the entire scope of being a nation. It is from this perspective that the Chimurenga-culture should be understood as a contested terrain of being Zimbabwean and how the same contest made way for discursive outlets of new ideologies that shaped the political culture of the land on the other hand mapping the pathway for change and reflecting the responses to the aspect of change as either a evil or a positive trajectory as influenced by the discursive bearers in this case the political actors.

Creative texts have also played have also helped to give out the varying dimensions of the nation’s political ideologies. Prominent texts that will go down the taste of time in terms of expressing the ideologies of nationhood include; *And Now the Poets Speak*. This text celebrates the birth of the new nation which was born out of human-life sacrifices. This culture of writing was inherited from other African creative writers of the then Rhodesia who used the same recreational use of literature to critic the political status-quo as well as depicting the nature of political ideologies then. However, with manifestations of political change other new forms of creative writing emerged and had radical leftist notions these include; *Writing Still*, *Running Away with Mother* and *Long time Coming* to mention but a few texts. Books which celebrated the ideology of nationalism include *Ngenziwa Ngumumo Welizwe*. One of the characters, Phikezwele is used to express the inflated hype of self-sacrifice to the liberation of colonial Zimbabwe because of the Rhodesian tyranny;

... *angikwesabi ukubotshelwa ukufuna ilizwe lethu. Ngitsho lakho ukulifela mina angikwesabi. Kimi kungcono lokho kulokuthi ngiphilele ukuba yinja lesigqili sabanye abantu!* (Sigogo 1986; 73)

[... I am not intimidated of persecution for demanding our land. Dying for it is not something I fear. This is better than being a dog and a slave owned by other people.]

On the contrary, the Chimurenga-culture has witnessed a birth of a new discourse in the ideology of nationalism consciousness. The growing disgruntlement among the emerging writers has showed signs of disengagement from nationalism. As one reads a book by Cynthia Marangwanda's book its title "Shards" raises insinuations of a fragmented, broken, torn and maybe dismantled type of nationalism contrary to the early post-independence writing. The text also bears a significant change in the articulation of nation belong;

I have no choice but to promptly vomit on its sparkling floor. I purposely avoid the toilet chamber. My intention is to mar. I notice a piece of the national flag in my vomit. I wonder if I'll also pass out a section of my citizenship the next time I move my bowels. (Marangwanda 2014; 6).

The persona denounces national belonging and that reflects the role of the collapse of the role of the Chimurenga ideology influencing embracement of patriotism. In Marangwanda's opinion the output of the Chimurenga, "nationhood" is a new rottenness that can't be contained by its own. As a result they are fighting by all means to excrete the hazardous residues of the past triumphs of nationhood. Marangwanda demonstrates a sense of discontent in person's existence which symbolise a defunct state of nationhood;

It's half-past failure and I'm still in bed. The date is 23, same as my age. My wrists have seen better days, battle-scarred and war-wounded as they are.

Political ideology making through literature problematises nationalist idleness symbolised by the "bed" and how violence has continued to suppress mass progress.

The two creative texts, just like the academic texts used in this chapter demonstrate the changing trends in ideology making which in turn informs nationhood.

3.2 Conclusion

The chapter expressed how literature shapes ideology and as such the cited texts are a reflection of the Chimurenga-culture. How the Chimurenga-culture is embodied in the livelihood of the public. In other words the nation is reflected through writing and thus be found in the written word.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE IDEOLOGICAL FUNCTIONS OF THE CHIMURENGA MUSIC AND NATION- BUILDING IN ZIMBABWE

“Music is the Weapon”

Fela Kuti¹

Introduction

This chapter diverts its attention from the usual elitist nuances of ideology propagation traditionally centering on political actor narratives in appreciating political theory. It incorporates a significant aspect of ideological consent making through an assessment of the role played by Zimbabwe’s Chimurenga music. The instalment exposes the interface between political ideology and its mobilisation function facilitated by the Chimurenga music which has been a source of national consciousness both as a pro-establishment and anti-establishment mobilisation device. The Darwinism of the Zimbabwean nation is a product of the Chimurenga ideology which is conceptually fortified by the Chimurenga musical narratives interpreting the political landscape of country. The political transition to post-independence saw the same genre transfiguring from being pro-establishment radically assuming and anti-establishment function. On the other hand bearing liberation theologies to enhance ZANU-PF and MDC’s political mileage. Through the Chimurenga-music, varying forms of celebrating patriotism and belonging to the ‘nation’ of Zimbabwe have been expressed. Likewise, Chimurenga music has been pivotal in celebrating violence as a liberating phenomenon. The discussion entails how Chimurenga music parents pertinent aspects of nation-making using what has been contextualised as the ; *Chimurenga theologies, Blood-nation memories, Ecstasy of violence, Split patriotic consciousness* and the *Chimurenga “othering” style*. The above themes are picked from various Chimurenga songs by different Chimurenga

1 Fela Kuti is one of the world’s celebrated Musicians whose work offered post-colonial criticism as far as democracy, good governance and absolute decoloniality is concerned. His musical prowess gave him popularity to the extent of wanting to form a political party which was rejected due to Nigeria’s political repression in his time.

musical combatants namely Dickson “Chinx” Shingaira, Thomas Mapfumo, Elliot Manyika, Simon Chimbetu and Paul Madzore not forgetting some unknown Guerilla musicians of the Second Chimurenga that made way for Zimbabwe’s birth in 1980. The last submission here is that the existence of the Chimurenga music genre is important in exposing the politics of inclusion and exclusion in the invention of the nation-memory and the development of the nation itself.

By pro-establishment am referring to the way the music was used to drive messages of the nationalists in the process of dismantling colonial domination. Therefore throughout the chapter pro-establishment refers to the colonial nationalist movements and not the colonial state regime which in normal in stances should be referred to as the establishment. This christened Chimurenga music to be an African anti-establishment musical genre condemning the illegitimate colonial regime as perceived by the African masses. Africans identified themselves with the nationalist movements as their alternative legitimate political bodies and not the formal government which was a symbol legitimised tyranny. It is in this context that I refer to ZANU-PF as a post-colonial establishment borrowing this status from the past as it was a movement that represents a Black national consciousness that is not contemporary but dates back to the past that has conceived the Chimurenga-culture that is being problematised. Likewise the contemporary anti-establishment role played by the same music expresses how the Chimurenga as a nation making discourse is beginning to interrogate itself. Even how it is making audits on the pitfalls of the aims of the liberation struggle which ZANU-PF claims to embrace as a nationalist establishment entity since the pre-independence era. The main reason for that analytical standpoint is to debate the extent to which the Chimurenga music has played an important role in mobilizing varying supports for varying ideologies that have influenced nation-building since 1999 until 2014.

4.1 The Musical Invention of Political Ideology

Music is an important discursive outlet just like literature, it helps explain the political feelings of a people at any given moment as it serves as a human livelihood commentary. Naturally music settles well in the human mind and thus determining its appreciation of the surrounding

world and that is marks the genesis of idea making informed by the messages of the genre in concern. Therefore Chimurenga music facilitated an African consciousness of the colonial crisis. After independence, Chimurenga music communicated the challenges and prospects to nation-building in Zimbabwe. Canaan Banana confirmed the ideological significance of the Chimurenga-music in relation to nationhood in the foreword of; *The Songs that Won the Liberation-War*;

These songs were a necessary component of our revolutionary struggle. They were ...providing that necessary anchor-sheet for the successful prosecution of our just struggle for freedom and independence. The Chimurenga songs helped instill grim determination among all actors in the revolutionary process (Banana 1982).

In this book, Pongweni (1982) acknowledges the ideological function of this music apart from its generally perceived role it played to entertaining the soldiers and expressing the solidarity of the masses with the guerillas. The songs that won this war were not only common in the battle field, but they were an integral part of the African communities that subscribed to the goals of the Chimurenga. It reflected a shared desire for freedom between freedom fighters and those being fought for, the masses. Therefore music cannot be separated from the idea of the Chimurenga since the pre-colonial period coming down to the contemporary political situation. The ideological building function played by music is not unique to Zimbabwe, many parts of the continent witnessed a form of musical nationalism one way or the other. Due to that Fela Ransome Kuti became a voice of Africa's decolonisation process. His music was critical to Nigeria's early political instability which became a feature of all new African states. His musical critique of the Nigeria's political crisis became a fulfilled prophecy as freedom from colonisation made its way into other parts of Africa to be confronted with politics of *Shuffering and Similing*² complimented by *Sorrows Tears and blood*³, the regular trade-mark of the new African nation-states. Fela Kuti's contribution in expressing Africa's nationhood decline has in-

2 Title of Fela Kuti's album. 'Shuffering' malapropism for Suffering, used to create an annoying conveyance of his message

3 Ibid a title of his song lamenting the Biafra-crisis and other traumatizing tendencies of the African colonial state.

fluenced scholars of Political theory to appreciate the role of music in shaping political ideologies. Hence the title Patrick Chabal's book; *Africa: The Politics of Suffering and Smiling* is copied from Fela Kuti's song title "*Shuffling and Smiling*." In his submission he acknowledges that Africa's political theory can be understood by capturing mass thought process concerning the politics of the day and thus music captures such public thoughts. In Africa and elsewhere in the world music has occupied an integral part of human survival. This is applicable in the Zimbabwean context as well;

At a time of very serious political and economic crisis, Zimbabweans seem to be entertaining themselves with music. There has been a massive shut-down of manufacturing industries, but the music industry remains resilient. (Mhiripiri 2012; 1)

This is why the armed guerillas found solace in music which justified their involvement in the struggle for liberation. On the other side *Pungwes* and *Biras* (overnight entertainment gatherings organised by communities to celebrate the liberation war) in the rural homes. These gatherings served as private platforms of mass engagement to communicate the political status-quo and mobilisation processes of the struggle for liberation. This was a way of showing embracement of a common liberation ideology and music made this possible at communal level. As a result, the celebrations of independence would have been void without the *Songs that won the liberation War*. This is why the evening of the 18th of April 1980 was a large scale *pungwe* punctuated by song and dance (Mhiripiri 2012).

Likewise across the Limpopo Mzwakhe Mbuli is one artist whose work articulated the prevailing political ideologies of resistance to apartheid until the country's post-independence era. His dub poetry has criticised the apartheid system and the post-independence nationalist infidelity to the masses after independence. In a similar approach another Zimbabwean dub poet, Albert Nyathi⁴ had posed as a voice of the down trodden Africans in Rhodesia;

Senzeni na... tatadzei ko? Kulicala na ukulwelwela inkululeko?

4 One of Zimbabwe's celebrated Dub poets. Used musical poetry to critic colonial dominance in Zimbabwe.

[What wrong have we done? Is it a crime for one to fight for their own freedom?]

The posited rhetoric by Nyathi suggests the moral justification of the African people in taking up arms for their freedom. Ironically the same manner such questions still remain unanswered today. As a result the masses are standing against the post-colonial state condemning its failures. Thomas Mapfumo captures the masses' disgruntlement of a Chimurenga that has been ravaged by state power to become *Mamvemve* [rags/scraps]. Before independence Mapfumo was a pro-establishment musician and as events unfolded he changed the discursive loyalty of his music. This substantiates how much music reflects changes in national ideologies especially in the era of the Chimurenga-culture (1999-2004).

4.2 The Rise of the Chimurenga-Music

This music genre symbolises warfare art which

... expresses a political ideology articulated through the military ... distinctly Shona; therefore it is a sui-generis expression of African nationalism in Zimbabwe. Thomas Mapfumo used the term chimurenga to brand his music at the beginning of the armed struggle. As a manifestation of the ideology of African liberation, chimurenga represents communal African memory harking back to the time of Munhumutapa's struggles against the Portuguese in the early 17th century, and the Shona's struggles with the Ndebeles in the 1830s. (Vambe 2004; 169)

Vambe's submission on the roots Chimurenga music suggests that its ideological functions informed the armed struggles of the Shona since the time of the Mutapa. This music expressed the need for Shona-self-assertion. From this definition one can notice that Vambe subscribes to the common pro-establishment narratives of party patriotic nationalism (Ranger 2004; 2005). The above definition excludes the aspect of the *Zvimurenga* and the Ndebele versions of the Chimurengas which include the 1893 war (Beach 1986). Even *Umvukela* of 1896 which ran parallel with the much emphasised Shona version of the armed struggle referred to as the First-Chimurenga.

This is why most of the Chimurenga songs are sang in Shona. Likewise Thomas Mapfumo was comfortable to assume the brand tag of being *Chimurenga* musician. Other musicians associated with this genre include Dickson “Chinx” Shingaira, Simon Chimbetu both former ZANLA members. It is from this aspect that Vambe argues that the Chimurenga music has subversions. It does not have a uniformed expression of nationalism. This is because sometimes Chimurenga music seems to compliment the nature of the state and its functions and on the other flip side the same Chimurenga interrogates establishment values. This became more apparent in the era of the Chimurenga-culture which witnessed the entry of new idols of this genre compliant to establishment discourses. These include Elliot Manyika, Tambaoga and the Mbare Chimurenga-Choir used their music to eulogise the Third-Chimurenga ideology. On the other hand Thomas Mapfumo maintained his anti-establishment stance alongside the MDC Chimurenga-music brand Paul Madzore. The change in the political landscape and the music discourses suggest how the Chimurenga-culture is not stagnant as noted by Vambe;

The reality is that chimurenga constantly revises state goals; ironically, that same process of destabilizing dominant values and history sometimes necessitates a preliminary critique of the ways in which chimurenga songs construct their own reality. In such cases the music can perpetually interrogate institutional authoritarian structures even as it consistently reflects on the state or conditions of its own possibility.

The above assertion by Vambe (2004; 170) justifies the major submission of this chapter validating the view that the Chimurenga music has the ability to either consolidate power for the state or limit its influence. Hence this music is an audience builder for both establishment and anti-establishment ideological discourses than feed into the processes of nation-building at large. This further informs the major components of the Chimurenga-culture centred on constructions and deconstruction of the meaning of nationalism in Zimbabwe. This is why the Chimurenga music has been used by the state to give itself authenticity. However, artists like Mapfumo used the same music genre to disqualify the self-authenticity that the state has tried to propagate through its loyalist singers. Thomas Mapfumo’s change in terms ideological loyalty in his

music does not only serve to show the reflexivity of the Chimurenga music, but it is a strong depiction of the transition in ideologies of the nation. Likewise Terrence Ranger's condemnation of realist use of history including his own contribution to its making is not detached from Thomas Mapfumo's shift from being pro-establishment to being an anti-establishment proponent. Hence it is from this point that the chapter seeks to explain the unstable currents surrounding the ideological functions of the Chimurenga music in the Chimurenga-culture.

4.3 The Ideological Functions of the Chimurenga in the Chimurenga-Culture

The Pro-establishment treatises of the Chimurenga music

The liberation struggle was a social-contract between the masses and nationalist movement. The nationalist parties were a de-facto establishment as they drew a greater part of their support from a majority which decline to give political allegiance to the settler government which in real essence was the recognised formal establishment though a majority of Africans stubbornly failed to be identified with it. It is from this view that "pro-establishment" in this context refers to African political movements namely ZANU-PF and PF-ZAPU which unified in 1987 following the Gukurahundi insurgency. Due to that from 1987 being pro-establishment means subscribing to the ideas of ZANU-PF and as such some Chimurenga musicians have embraced pro-establishment allegiance discourses in their works even up to post-independence. ZANU-PF has capitalised on such music to enhance its establishment treatises because the Chimurenga-music has influenced political thinking of the masses since the days of the liberation struggle. The party has relied on the Chimurenga-music for electoral mobilisation as it did on the road to independence. Pongweni (1982) expands this point in a section of his book which explains the role of music in influencing public mobilisation for political participation. Using the song *Sheyera mabhuzi* he talks of the need for public solidarity in the achieving active participation for the armed struggle. The song implores proponents of the liberation war to put their resources and to even take part in military training of the time in Mozambique, Zambia and Angola. The song further calls on the public to create more war fronts all over country to topple colonial rule. Elliot Manyika a late ZANU-PF Minister used the song for political

mobilisation of the party in the midst of the Third-Chimurenga. On the other hand, Thomas Mafumo, had sang *Tumira vana kuhondo* [Send the children to war]. This was one of the mobilisation songs that influenced parents to send their Children to war as a way of showing allegiance to the liberation establishment of the time. Earlier in his song *Kuyaura kwavasina musha* [Supplication of the destitute] Mapfumo called on the Africans to come together annihilate and murder the White settlers for being the reason of their political and economic destitution.

In 1994 Mapfumo's music showed signs of interests in national unification which was in the interest of Black fundamentalism *Africa kana tiritose... Vanhu Vatemala!* [If Africans were united... Black people!]. The song placed emphasis on the need for unity in order to establish collective financial security measures for Zimbabwe's development which was a macrocosm of Africa's needed potential development. This suggests how the Chimurenga music has mobilised support for the nationalist movement right up to post-independence. The Chimurenga songs mitigated Africans' political hopelessness. It offered a plethora of alternatives for dismantling colonial power to the extent of acknowledging that the war in its sophistry could be won using the simplest of all methods of uprooting the enemy and witch craft was one of the methods. This is evidenced in *Kuyaura kwavasina musha* by Mapfumo. The song served as a call for divine intervention from sacred African spiritual conflict interventions from both witch-doctors and traditional healers. He also made mention of the deceased souls sacrificed for freedom to help dethrone Rhodesia. The mentioned songs substantiate that the Chimurenga music genre has been manipulated to gather support for the nationalist establishment before independence and remains important up to this day in terms of mobilising the same political support for ZANU-PF as a result elating its ideological power.

The land reform programme brought a new twist into the establishment support mobilisation trajectory. The period needed the intervention of musical nationalism "*to buttress the relationship between the population and the state*" (Turino, 2000: 191). Chinx took the lead in this area, his song *Hondo yakura muZimbabwe, hondo yeminda* [War has culminated in Zimbabwe, it is the war of farmlands] legitimised the much criticised nature of the land issue which MDC-T and new civic groups were using

to decampaign ZANU-PF. This song was broadcasted in the mainstream media to justify the farm invasions which according to ZANU-PF were a revisitation of the colonial land imbalances. Marko Sibanda another war-veteran also shared the same sentiments with Cde Chinx and put out his radical affirmation of the land repossession through the war-veterans;

Amasimu sesiwathethe maBritish beselijaye.

[We have reclaimed the farms from the British were becoming far too comfortable]

The message contained in this new version of the Chimurenga-music mobilised support for the state's post-colonial claims of Black empowerment. Chimurenga-music became a necessary element of public mobilisation during this era because ZANU-PF needed support for the Third-Chimurenga which it had embarked which was inaugurated by land grabbing from the White farmers following the expiry of the Lancaster House Terms in 1990. The Third-Chimurenga needed music to deconstruct the authenticity of Britain's demonisation of Zimbabwe (Tendi 2014). Instead it made way for a Zimbabwean demonisation space. For instance Tambaoga's song *'The Blair that I know is a toilet'* played that ideological function as it reduced Tony Blair to a latrine who had no moral justification to teach Zimbabwe political sanity. This was due to his kith and kin who were Africa's colonisers and architects of the continent's tyranny. The emergence of such delink discourses were a reflection of the political trajectory that Mugabe had since embraced as noted in his famous remark;

Blair keep your England and let me keep my Zimbabwe

The same establishment discourses extended to opposition political ideology leaders branded as "sellouts" mainly Tsvangirai the leader of the MDC. Elliot Manyika's song *Musatengesa nyika kumabhunu* [Do not sell the country to the Boer] confirms that as it served as both a warning and an instruction to Tsvangirai the Chief-sellout not to facilitate recolonisation by 'selling' the country to the Boers. This emphasised the sense of paranoia that influenced establishment ideologies. In response to that, Tambaoga's music also touched on some domestic state

threats as propaganda material carrying messages of post-colonial goal perseverance to the new incompetent commercial farmers; “*Rambai Makashinga* [Stay strong]. This served as a response to the lack of farming input supplies in the country and lack of a funding framework for the new farmers who had no capital. ZANU-PF justified all these political changes through music which expressed how much “sellouts” in this instance Tsvangirai were paving way for the people’s suffering. The party’s pitfalls were all disguised in such ideological propagation functions of the Chimurenga music.

The emergence of the Mbare Chimurenga Choir in 2013 was significant as it demonstrated the inclusion of women in not only in the male dominated Chimurenga-music industry, but to national ideological formation as well. The rise of this Choir was strategy as its message solidified the campaign message for the 2013 election. Music from this group carried certainty for ZANU-PF’s electoral victory. In full confidence of victory they sang *Vana veZANU-PF Simukai tiverengance* [ZANU-PF loyalists get up and let us take count of our numbers]. The song sent an arrogant signal to the opposition as it outlines Mugabe’s call to have his supporters’ take stock of their growing numbers as far as party’s grassroots and national structures were concerned. The song is a confirmation of a predicted decline of MDC after its entry into the GNU (Chigora and Guzura 2011). The obvious reason being that the period between 2008 and 2013 marked the final legitimisation process of Mugabe and the election was just an endorsement to the actualisation of *Mugabeism* as a last fabric of the Chimurenga culture’s climax (Mahomva 2015). Raftopolous (2013) argues that this was the “end of an era” characterised by a failed desperate search for ZANU-PF’s decline under the whims of the MDC anti-establishment ideological confrontation which began in 1999.

The song *Mahwindi* [Bus conductors] emphasises how *Mugabeism* is an establishment brand has reached the brink of its success. This was contrary to the political culture that the nation’s crisis conceived, therefore ZANU-PF used such songs to demonstrate how it had consolidated its lost power not only in the rural areas, but even in urban centres were the subalterns –Bus conductors included had lost their hope in ZANU-PF in favour of the then prominent MDC. At some point the urban-

ites were radical supporters of the MDC and towards 2013 there was a change in that aspect hence the use of that particular song as an alarm of the transition that ZANU-PF had engineered since the days of the GNU. The sloganeering triumph style of the song is used to call out the varying social groups that constitute the country's population;

Dairai Silogani

Shout out load the party slogan

Pamberi apo silogani

Party elites shout out the party slogan

Kumashure uko silogani

Peripheral members shout out the party slogan

Pakati apo silogani

Middle rank members shout out the party slogan

Youth mese... League yese... [Youth and Women's League do likewise].

This song expresses how music can be used to affect various sections of a nation's population to be made part of partisan ideological inclination mobilisation. When this song was sang it sounded more as if ZANU-PF had won the election even before it had gone into the election. Therefore the Chimurenga-culture cannot be comprehended outside the ideological functions of the Chimurenga-music and expressing feelings of political triumph even before an intended mission is accomplished. This is the major reason the Chimurenga music is said to have sang the way to the country independence. Hence Pongweni (1982) talks of the *Songs that won the liberation war*. The cited song and its relevance towards the 2013 election is evidence that songs may pose a pillar of political victory for actors in the competitive game of politics. These politically instrumentalised songs guide the discourses of mass mobilisation and play a significant role in terms fraternising various sections of the population. As noted in the song ZANU-PF owns the electorate and none can take that away from them. The song just conveys that with great certainty.

The establishment mobilisation is another theme which can be picked

out in the song; *Hurumende yevatema...* [The government of the Black populace...] which calls on the Black majority of Zimbabwe to rally around ZANU-PF for Black economic empowerment. The thick emphasis on ZANU-PF being a government of the African populace can be said to be deliberately employed to manipulate the game of numbers. It is obvious that the Africans constitute the majority in Zimbabwe and associating ZANU-PF with the greater side of the population has always been the most rational thing that any political party could do. This further builds the need to interrogate whether ZANU-PF is a genuine Afrocentric inclined political body or it uses the idea of Pan-African essentialism to elevate its political interests. Further emphasis is given on the concern of ZANU-PF's ideologically projected agenda of giving prosperity to the African which in the song is said to be the party and Robert Mugabe's habit;

...aya ndiwo magariro emuZANU.

... ndiwo magariro avaMugabe

Vanosimudzira hurumende yevatema...

He empowers the government of the Black people...

In the same album this song is complimented by *Chibhakera simudza* [Raise your fist] and the fist is a ZANU-PF effigy of empowerment, political triumph, solidarity and use of liberating violence. Therefore the call for the fist rising is an invitation to all those who sympathise with party to raise fists against regime change. The endless mention of triumph which is carried in the message of the Choir's sings officialise Mugabe's long stay in power;

Ngavatonge nyika vaMugabe ngatonge

[Let Mugabe rule the country]

The same style of exalting Mugabe as demonstrated in the lyrics is embodied in many establishment mobilisation Chimurenga songs. The main aim reason of exalting the person of Robert Mugabe is to present him as a revolutionary icon of the Chimurenga-culture and that he ought to remain in the helm power. This delegitimises other political

actors especially those of the opposition, as a result showing that the Pro-establishment ideological functions of music have constructed electoral mobilisation for Robert Mugabe as the only ZANU-PF Presidential candidate since 1979. This is the reason why the anti-establishment ideological function deconstructs the legacy of Robert Mugabe.

The anti-establishment ideological function

This ideological function of some Chimurenga songs serves various purposes which are opposed to exalting ZANU-PF as the absolute political entity deserving no opposition in Zimbabwe. Due to that it can be argued that the Chimurenga-music has also served as a support demobilisation entity for the state and its policies. From the beginning the Chimurenga-music offered political commentary that mobilised the masses to demand change and even take up arms. As a result today it has served as a critical ideological force to provide Checks and Balances to the powers of the state and also pointing out its failures in areas of policy design and implementation. Therefore it is from this position that anti-establishment discourses come to life and serve a decampaigning drive to officialised establishment discourses.

Thus with the growing political decline in terms of the state's adherence to liberation goals after independence some Chimurenga-musicians criticised the failure to achieve nationhood. Therefore the anti-establishment function of the Chimurenga music entails use of musical discourses that delegitimise the political authenticity achieved through establishment discourses. It further dismantles the value of some state policies it considers oppressive and not beneficial to the people of Zimbabwe. If one were to look at this from the perspective of Ranger (2004) it would be noted that the anti-establishment ideological function of the Chimurenga songs is against patriotic national historiography embodied in music of party members and sympathisers who took their affiliation loyalties to the music arena.

In other words the anti-establishment ideological function of the Chimurenga music is characterised by “unpatriotic” and “sellout” ideological nuances for those who subscribe to nuances of pro-establishment ideas. Thus paranoia forms the gap between establishment and anti-establishment mobilisation functions of the Chimurenga music and that

is a reflection of the shared national inclusion and exclusion processes characterised by patriots and sellouts. Of great importance and worth noting is that the anti-establishment ideological function of the Chimurenga songs is also upheld by musicians regarded as establishment mouthpieces at some point in the history of the country. These include the likes of Thomas Mapfumo and Simon Chimbetu. The contribution of these two in this regard explains the reflexivity of the ideological function of the Chimurenga as a philosophy informing the essence of Zimbabwe's national underpinnings. This explains the treatment of the Chimurenga not only as an ideology, but as a broader political culture that influences political ideologies in Zimbabwe. This justifies the focus limitations of the lens of the research on the role of the Chimurenga-culture (with music as a significant element) in influencing ideologies in a crisis ridden country.

Some actors in this side of the ideological function of the Chimurenga songs are also political party mouthpieces especially Paul Madzore whose content is radically inclined to the legitimisation of MDC just as is Cde Chinx, Tambaoga and the Mbare Chimurenga Choir to name, but a few ZANU-PF musical loyalists. Paul Madzore is accommodated in this section of the chapter as a Chimurenga musician because his music offered political critic of the status. This is justified by Vambe's view on the Chimurenga music as an evolving musical discipline which over the years has grown to have "sub-versions." Therefore Paul Madzore's music is cited as a subversion of the Chimurenga songs and as such an analytical framework is drawn from that perspective to highlight why his music would not successfully compete with other versions of the Chimurenga songs especially those serving the pro-establishment function.

This anti-establishment discourses of the Chimurenga-music provided a subversion of this genre if one would want to employ Vambe's submission into the subject at hand. This followed a decline in the political-economy of Zimbabwe after independence and this saw a shift in the ideological functions of the Chimurenga music. The music developed a sense of disengagement from the state and its power amassing styles. The change of loyalties by musicians like Thomas Mapfumo the icon of the Chimurenga was very significant as it gave birth to a "Chimurenga that interrogated itself." Likewise Simon Chimbetu also used

his music to challenge the state's failure to deliver its promises to the masses though his message was not radical as that of the 'Chimurenga-Rebel', Thomas Mapfumo. It is from this same perspective that the study would want to assess the anti-establishment ideological function of the Chimurenga-music.

'The Chimurenga Rebel: A revolution interrogating itself

In 2001 during the early peak of the Chimurenga-culture born out of the Zimbabwean crisis Thomas Mapfumo released a controversial Chimurenga-Rebel album. The album articulated the reasons for the climax of Zimbabwe's political chaos which according to Mapfumo was a result of poor policy setting and implementation and overall bad governance. This marked early deconstructions of ZANU-PF's establishment legacies not only in the musical fraternity, but in the broader political sense as MDC had been formed and the formation of the NCA an entity that advocated for constitutional change added to that deconstruction of ZANU-PF's legacies. This album was not the first demonstration of Thomas Mapfumo's musical protest against the political establishment of the day. Other albums radically opposed to the establishment include 'Corruption' of 1988 followed by 'Kuvarambo' (The poor's place) released in 1990. The prevailing state corruption and economic marginality emphasised in these two albums formed the early foundations of Mapfumo giving birth to a Chimurenga (revolution) interrogating, reviewing and criticising itself. Such criticism was important to address what he viewed as a country in tatters in the album 'Mamvemve' in 1998 culminating to a nation's 'Disaster' as depicted in his 1997 album.

The first song in the album is a lamentation of a land whose legacy has vanished *Pasi pahenda* is a gloom-depicting song on the fall of the economy and values of the nation which Mapfumo pronounces its death. The song carries the lamentations of Allan Paton (1988) 'Cry the beloved country.' The collapse of the country implies a death of the Chimurenga legacy which now needs serious internal cures from those who brought the revolution. He blames the state's father figure *Baba mairasa kudzinga vanorima*.

Father you have made a miscalculation, chasing the farmers

Marima nzara kutaura muchinyanya.

Your verbosity has cultivated hunger for the land

The song castigates the land policy introduced with the blessing of the Head of State. This highlights that one of the major components of the anti-establishment functions of the Chimurenga songs was to deconstruct the iconic credential constructions of Mugabe to strip him out of his electoral legitimacy which Thomas Mapfumo anticipated for before becoming a Chimurenga-Rebel. This is reflected by Vambe (2004; 177);

...he [Thomas Mapfumo] had so much respect for Robert Mugabe that he implored the masses through his song, “Nzwananai (Understand Each Other)” (1980) to seek whatever they wanted from Mugabe and the ZANU PF government.

This shows a sense of review in terms of the revolution and the prominent role played by the revolutionary musicians in interrogating the changing phases of this particular revolution under the scrutiny of music. This is because music is a discursive outlet that either empowers or disempowers the political actors' legitimacy and this justifies the song *Marevanhando* which castigates ZANU-PF for leading the land to political deceit and making people believe in a revolution that never was. As such all the shared epistemology in regards to the nation has been a secret to the safeguarding of a trivialities 'nhando' such as party interests over the needs of the masses.

In his song *Zimbabwe* in the same album he implores the state to focus its attention on public welfare instead of using political violence to safeguard its political realist agenda. This appeal to the state to divert its attention to bread and butter issues is also brought out in another song *Havasevenzi vapfana* in the same album. The song talks about young people in the country who are not employed and have resorted to crime for survival. He condemns realism for disrespecting values of national democracy. This proposition by Mapfumo substantiates how Chimurenga music is a mouthpiece for good governance which the state has failed to provide and that it does not necessarily advocate for regime change which serves as a sense of paranoia which has caused this music to be treated as 'sellout' oriented in the ZANU-PF sense.

Paul Madzore is another prominent musical opponent of the establishment discourses that legitimise ZANU-PF. His music served as electorate mobilisation for the MDC. Unlike Mapfumo, Madzore's music is clear in terms of his affiliation to the MDC party. His music carries a message of deconstructing the legitimacy of Mugabe and ZANU. Hence beseeches Zimbabwe to diligently adhere to Tsvangirai's call for Zimbabwe to follow the liberal anti-ZANU-PF pathway; *Wakomana fambai gwara rimwe*. The song warns party members to be steadfast in their loyalty to the ideology 'Gwara' of MDC. One would also notice that ZANU-PF also has its 'Gwara' as echoed in Elliot Manyika's song *Nora*;

Pane vamwe vakapanduka nepamsana pekusafunga.

There are some who rebelled against the party because of they lacked rationale

Dzidzisai vangu vakadai gwara reZANU

Teach such people the ideology of ZANU

The mention of 'ideology' by the two musicians propagating their varying political contestations depicts the relevance of the ideological function of music.

Paul Madzore uses the MDC ideological framework to dismantle the legitimacy the establishment sanitisation discourses of Robert Mugabe whom he describes as the last dictator standing after the ousting of Saddam of Iraq; *Saddam wayenda kwasare Bob*. He extends his case against the eulogised leadership credentials of Mugabe whom he condemns for the Gukurahundi, the death of Tongogara, the land reform that crippled the economy of country, even the famous *Operation Murambatsvina* for its displacement effects on the populace in 2005 in his song *Hondo*.

Liberation Theologies

Chimurenga music has also played an important functioning in giving a spiritual interpretation to Zimbabwe's liberation struggle. This has caused the Chimurenga music to be treated as a sacred national phenomenon. In the process the singers symbolically occupy an ecclesiastic or priesthood role in the dissemination of the Chimurenga ideology

through music. Hence most of the songs especially from ZANLA always mention the role of chief deities in the past of the country and remain omniscient even in Zimbabwe's contemporary political landscape. Hence Elliot Manyika's song *Nehanda komborera muri yeZimbabwe*. It serves as a supplication to bless Zimbabwe and the song came at a time ZANU-PF faced intense pressures of post-colonialism. Therefore it serves as a request to the deities of the land namely Mbuya Nehanda, Sekuru Kaguvi, Sekuru Mapondera to bless Zimbabwe and protect it from neo-colonialism.

On a same note, Mbare Chimurenga Choir sings;

Nehanda mapfupiso enyu amuka ...huya uwone Nehanda. VaMugabe vakana-ka. Pfuma yedu vakatipa. MaUniversity tovaka.

[Nehanda your bones have come to life again. Behold the benevolence of your incarnate, President Mugabe. He has given us our wealth, we have even built universities]

ZANU-PF has used liberation theologies to exert its realist interests. Likewise MDC anthems have also embraced a same approach to self-legitimacy. This is encompassed in Paul Madzore's song;

Seri kwaTsvangirai ndiko kunemudzimimu yedu.

[Our ancestors are in full force behind Tsvangirai]

Madzore provides a unique submission to the celebrated role of the ancestors, he avoids making mention of Nehanda, Kaguvi, Chaminuka and Mapondera in this song. Through the song he argues that the ancestors of MDC supporters in their magnitude are backing Tsvangirai and offering support to his mission of liberalism. This suggests how much Tsvangirai carries blessings of every supporter's ancestors not the few Mhondoro (national spirits) figures who are coercively branded as the spirits guiding interests of patriotism in Zimbabwe. As such Liberal theologies also show the contested character of Zimbabwe's political ideologies with the coming of the Chimurenga-culture in 1999.

Blood-nation memories

The message of the Chimurenga music has also depicted the relevance

of bloodshed in the frame of political ideologies. The two main political parties in the country have embraced the ideas of blood shed discourses to exert their authenticity. In the case of ZANU-PF national memory has been encompassed in the blood that was lost during the struggle. It is such blood shed which causes ZANU-PF to regard itself as a party seeking to consolidate sovereignty in respect of those who sacrificed their lives for Zimbabwe's independence. As a result the blood of those who conspire with the Boers who are a symbol of neo-colonialism would not be pardoned and have to pay with their lives for conspiring. This point is substantiated by Elliot Manyika '*Musha unemabhunu ndewani tibombe*' it serves as a warning to the rural folk to disassociate themselves with Whites. Failure to do so homesteads that house Whites for whatever reason would be bombed. Manyika brought the song to life in his album as a response to the penetration of NGOs in the rural areas. The NGOs have been viewed with suspicion since the birth of the Chimurenga-culture. ZANU-PF condemned their widespread in the country which was to further a regime change agenda (Mathema 2013).

While there was much emphasis on the need to obliterate the enemies of sovereignty Chimbetu's contribution to Blood-nation memories is that of paying particular attention to the contributions of those who gave the jealously guided sovereignty;

Ungano ramaita iri pane vamwe vasipo

This celebration we are enjoying, there are others who are absent

Mabiko ataita aya pane vamwe vasipo

This feast we are having, others are not here

Kuguta kwaita uku pane vamwe vasipo

We are satiated but others are hungry

Blood-nation memories also form the major premise of disgruntlement driven ideologies in the country to condemn the ignorance of the state to the poor when life was shed for the nation and yet its cake is only consumed by political elites.

The song makes reference to ordinary civilians who gave their lives for freedom against the popular norm of mentioning elite figures of the country's liberation. Thus in a sense Chimbetu says let us also remember this 'little' boys and girls not forgetting their wondering spirits.

Jojo akasara ko kusango

Jojo died in the war

Jona akasara ikoko

Jona was also left behind (dead)

Mweya wadzungaira

His soul is wandering

Kukanganwa takoniwa....

We have failed to forget these comrades....

In the African culture when one dies their spirit has to be put to rest and this is done through rituals which are believed to facilitate a soul to sojourn the bereaved family members and other departed family members. This is why Chimbetu says these shall never be forgotten though the state did not do much to acknowledge their passing on. This expresses how the discourse of bloodshed is significant in framing the political thinking processes of Zimbabwe's political actors. This is why Madzore uses the discourse of bloodshed to express MDC's disgruntlement to ZANU-PF and how vengeance was inevitable.

Ecstasy of violence

Ewbank (1995) describes ecstasy as frenzied excitement induced by wild singing and dancing. This element of ecstasy is engraved in the Chimurenga songs which energized the process of the revolution. This explains why this music has been associated with the Shona tradition mbira which is believed to appease Shona spirits. Hence the branding of this music as the Chimurenga –a revolt suggests its embodiment of an ecstasy of violence and as such it enhanced the fighting spirit. As such this music conveys the role of violence as liberating. The Chimurenga songs have made violence to be treated as a liberating discourse which is

even sang about. Hence the ideological significance of the Chimurenga music in demonstrating which violence was significant in reclaiming the land from the Whites and legitimising ZANU-PF. This is evidenced by the way violence is sanitised in the mainstream as part of the legit ideologies that inform nationhood. This is why Mbare Chimurenga Choir use a colloquial reference to vagabounds who are side to keep the company of the national President; *VaMugabe vano famba nemamonya*.

Paul Madzore also tones down his democratic discourse when he talks of the need for MDC to be confrontational. This shows that violence forms a major part of Zimbabwe's political ideologies influenced by the Chimurenga Culture.

Split patriotic consciousness

The evolution of the Chimurenga-culture also brought with it divided shades of national consciousness the first shade being that of acknowledging belonging to the nation from the context of the past. The other being that of appreciating nationhood within the dictates of modern liberalism. This is also reflected in the split depictions of patriotism in the Chimurenga music. Elliot Manyika presents the first form of patriotism which is premised on the historical injustices and the fear of returning colonial tendencies in the political system of the country. Hence the warning given to Tsvangirai as mentioned earlier not to sell the country to the Boers. This kind of patriotism is intimidated by new notions in the political debates in regards to change. This implies that all who are suspected to be MDC inclined are not treated as patriots.

In his song *Ndinofarira Zimbabwe*, Thomas Mapfumo makes it clear that even if his Chimurenga rebellion has made him to be viewed as a sellout he is still patriotic to Zimbabwe. Nothing will make him sell his birthright even the most precious of things under the sun. The song suggests patriotism that stems defence of one's birthright. It is from this perspective that we understand that the Chimurenga music reflects a patriotism that is not driven from partisan inclination as suggested in Elliot Manyika's submission on patriotism.

Likewise his song, *Tinofara* celebrates the return of the military cadres and serves as a declaration to the ancestors that true patriotism had

paid off. Thus there was need for the entire populace to be happy. In other terms patriotism is portrayed as one's ability to defend the sovereignty of their land and to be servant leaders.

Chimurenga "othering" style

While the Chimurenga music forms an important role of demonstrating the diverse manifestation of political ideologies in Zimbabwe, it would be a myth to ignore that its inception in the popular space of the land promoted a form of ethnic hegemony. This is because it articulated one social group's contribution to the ideological inventions of being a people defined as musical nationalism earlier on. The given assertion originates from the view that this coercive branding of musical nationalism owes its existence from partisan ideological dominance and as such the music that defines the history and political ideology has suffered the same monopoly. Hence it has a name of the dominating ethnic group, as defined earlier using Vambe's perspective of the Chimurenga as music which '*expresses a political ideology articulated through the military ... distinctly Shona.*'

Vambe's submission deserves further interrogation, because sticking to his definition completely alienates music by other military singers inclined to other ethnic groups and were not necessarily ZANLA. It will be historically incorrect to only associate the Chimurenga music with the ZANLA and Shona singers. This is because ZIPRA as another leading nationalist movement also had its own military songs that shaped the ideas of their mobilisation and anti-mobilisation ideological functions. The popularity of the Chimurenga as a distinct Shona military outfit and likewise a genre named after this Shona inclined military prowess sidelines the account for the other subversion of the liberation struggle through songs especially that directly interpreted the ZIPRA experiences in the liberation war. This is because not all songs were sang in Shona by ZANLAs, but they were other non-ZANLA forms of musical nationalism especially from ZIPRA which served the common purpose of interrogating and eulogising the liberation struggle and its outputs. Therefore it is not enough to talk of the *Songs that won the Liberation War* with in complete ignorance of ZIPRA songs and post-independence singers who sympathised with the marginalities of Matebeleland

for example Lovemore Majaivana.

4.4 Conclusion

In conclusion, the cited songs reflect how music embodies ideologies of a people. Thus in the context of political ideology music carries the discursive elements that mirror political thinking. Therefore the chapter explained how the Chimurenga-culture is portrayed in songs that shape the political thinking processes of the Zimbabwean populace and the political actors. Due to that, the chapter highlighted the key areas in which music serves as a significant discursive outlet of the Chimurenga culture in terms of building political ideologies of Zimbabwe. To substantiate this Chimurenga music has been presented as a discursive outlet that has served an establishment and anti-establishment ideological function as explained above. It has also been instrumental in highlighting split patriotic consciousness in Zimbabwe. Again the same music has justified the significance of violence as a liberating political phenomenon. Hence giving life to imaginations of blood-nationalism. The Chimurenga-music has also been criticised for promoting ethnic marginalities in Zimbabwe. Overall the raised issues reflect that the Chimurenga-culture can also be understood when one looks at the role of the Chimurenga music as an ideological outlet.

CHAPTER FIVE

ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS

Introduction

This chapter will present the findings and views exhumed from the data gathering process by the researcher. The findings extracted from various research instruments with the aim of '*Locating the influence of the Chimurenga-culture in contemporary's political ideologies*' have been handy in justifying the purpose of the research and the conclusion of the study. The instruments use relied on include; interviews, questionnaires and secondary sources namely the literature and the music of the Chimurenga-culture. The process of data gathering was demography sensitive to the aspect of creating a balanced argument that accommodates various sections affected by the Chimurenga-culture. The data collection also involved authoritative academic and political voices of ideology making and consent manufacturing. In other words, the study came to life due primary sources in the form of interviews from people in various age groups and differential positioning in the scheme of things as far as the Chimurenga-culture is concerned. Secondary sources such as; as books, journals, academic papers, reports and music helped to articulate the subject under scrutiny. The collected data attempted to tackle the main research questions which were as follows;

What is the Chimurenga-culture, what are its origins?

How has it influenced political ideology, culture and change in Zimbabwe?

To what extent has the Chimurenga-culture remained a domestic philosophical and empirical projection of Zimbabwe's political arena?

What are the discursive outlets of the Chimurenga-culture and which forces are at hand to influence these discursive outlets?

Can the Chimurenga-culture facilitate a rational change in the aspect of

nation-building in Zimbabwe?

-Other questions generated as the discussions went on are as follows;

Is the Chimurenga-culture a broader reflection of Zimbabwe's subjection to ZANU-PF idealism?

What are the reflexivity rationale of the Chimurenga-culture in Zimbabwe's political environment?

Demographic data of respondents

There was a specialised section of respondents in relation to the aspect of inclusive gain of perceptions of the matter at hand. Thus the selection process was facilitated through political party affiliates. Independent respondents selected on the grounds of the age factor so as to give facts that correspond with *elapsing phases of nationhood* (see chapter two) defined as Zimbabwe's transition from colonialism to post-colonialism (see chapter two). This was strategic to capture groups that can give informed opinions on the era they belong to and to which their experiences are empirical and not imagined. Each political party is represented by 5 randomly selected affiliates. That means 5 ZANU-PF supporters and 5 MDC supporters answered questionnaires in response to the given notion of the Chimurenga-culture. Apart from that the respondents were selected on the basis of age. These constitute the age-group respondent sets drawn from the partisan inclined space with individuals between 20-35 years. The second age set involves individuals between 35 to 65 years. Likewise, the same age ranges are applied in selecting non-political party inclined respondents. The self-administration of the questionnaires has also been chosen because its economic and helps in the disclosure of full information factoring its uncensored character.

Age of respondents

This group of respondents were randomly selected by the researcher to respond to the questionnaire. The selected were split into two groups.

Interview responses

The interview structure in the body of the study was largely exclusive

featuring an audience the researcher conducted with Dr Ibbo Mandaza and Dr Siphepha Nkomo. These two figures were important authoritative voices of the study as belong to the colonial era as nationalist activists who had a direct contribution to the struggle for liberation in Zimbabwe. The irony of their contribution to the independence of the country is noted by their disengagement from ZANU-PF after independence. They symbolise a nation-building process which is in transition, hence their significance in explaining the evolution of the Chimurenga ideology until its final actual stage defined as the Chimurenga-culture in the study. A detailed interview structure conducted with these two prolific liberation cadres and think-tanks formed major themes of the Chimurenga-culture in this study (See Chapter Two).

Consulted academics helped in making the architecture of the study and helping identify the vintage points the research ought to encompass from the beginning of this endeavour. Dr Terrence Mashingaidze, a specialist in the subject of reconciliation and post-colonial conflict mitigation recommended the need for the Chimurenga-culture to be synergised with the 'problematic' concept of national building in Zimbabwe since 1999 to 2014. The second interview engagement was with Dr Vongai Zvidenga Nyawo, a specialist in the area of post-colonial land ownership in Africa. The recommendations she submitted to this study entailed the need to provide a clear-cut distinction of the Chimurenga-culture from the Chimurenga as a Zimbabwean purely historiography subject. This perspective enhanced the unique input of this study into the body of knowledge in regards to the era under study. Much emphasis of her contribution was on the need to still consider linkages of the Chimurenga-culture with the past nationalist behaviour and draw narratives of those who were involved in the Chimurenga and custodians of the Chimurenga political thought.

Dr Lyton Ncube also placed recommendations on how the Chimurenga-culture should be acknowledged as a source of ideological manifestations in Zimbabwe's contested political era under probe. His contribution, just like that of Dr Terrence Mashingaidze is evidenced by the appearance of the Gramscian tradition of hegemony in the tone of the research and its theoretical underpinnings.

In a bid to add a populist perspective to the study interviews were conducted with a total of 10 War Veterans belonging to the two main nationalist movements. 5 served as ZANLA respondents and the other 5 were former ZIPRAs.

Secondary Sources

Since the Chimurenga-culture is a new subject unique to this research, securing literature has been a mind-numbing task. Thanks to the reflexivity of qualitative research that licensed the researcher to interpret the voluminous literature sources offering descriptive accounts linked to the Chimurenga-culture. These have been used to fit in a line of thought favourable to the interests of this study. Therefore secondary texts have helped to replicate their diverse functions to the contextual interests of this study. Hence most books used are historical and carry themes that depict the political happenings of the era under probe.

Most literature made reference to suggests the extent to which the subject of the Chimurenga-culture is a reality that has influenced political ideologies in Zimbabwe. In the third chapter one can notice that the reviewed texts depict a plethora of feelings in regards to nationalism as influenced by the prevailing environment nursed by hegemony, post-coloniality and realism as explained in the theoretical framework of the study.

Music served as another major secondary source of the study since the position of this research is that music informs the political ideologies. In this case the most accessible and convenient genre to be used as the source of analysis was the Chimurenga and its subversions (Vambe 2004). The music used in the study substantiates how ideology is embodied in mainstream discursive propagation spaces. This follows a background of the Chimurenga-culture as a period that produced a singing nation (Mhiripiri 2012) whose songs are a transmitter of the nation's ideologies and also initialing the challenges of the time.

5.1 Questionnaire Responses

Public Perception of the Chimurenga-culture

The academic respondents shared common definitions of the Chi-

murenga-culture which of course has been embraced in this study. Contrary to the questionnaire respondents, there was a mixed conceptual appreciation of the Chimurenga-culture. Each group had a specific set of questions to tackle as a way of getting reliable primary information on specific areas of interrogation in the Chimurenga-culture. The first set of respondents drawn from ZANU and MDC supporters had 80% of the two groups agreeing that the Chimurenga-culture is a manifestation of liberation struggle ideological drives in the appreciation of the contemporary political space of the country. Raised justifications for this assertion include manifestation of violence as a tool for repression during the surveyed era and how it is treated as a liberating phenomenon. 20% percentage of the mentioned group dismissed the existence of the Chimurenga-culture as a fibre of the liberation past of the country and that it must not be given a place in the understanding of contemporary political ideologies. The premise of their argument when interrogated further was that it is not in enough to limit the appreciation of the past within the context political realism. Issues brought to the table include revisiting the past as means of evaluating achieving modernity and developing public welfare.

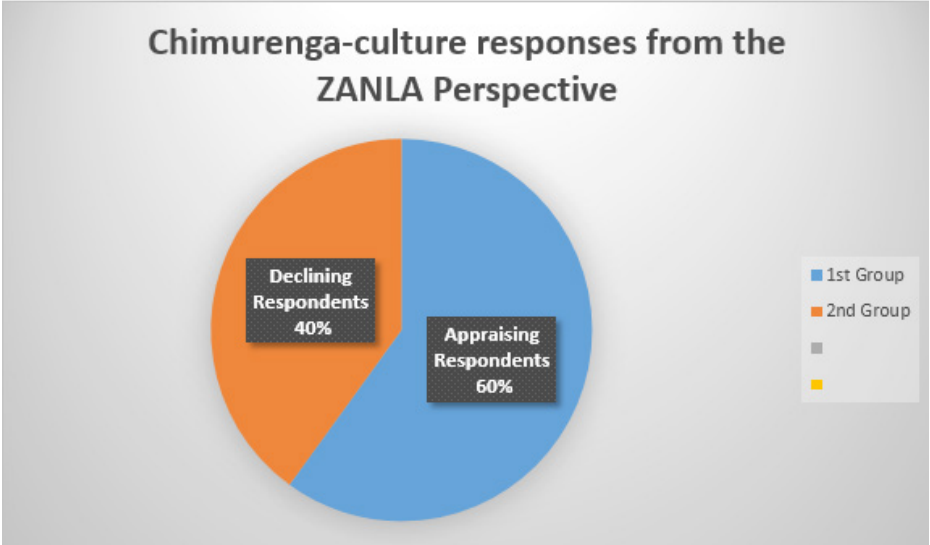
ZIPRA respondents concurred with the popularly affirmed view to say the Chimurenga-culture is a manifestation of the grotesque elements of liberation struggle styles of power capturing. They also stated that it has influenced contemporary political ideologies.

ZANLA respondents had 60% of the group appraising the Chimurenga-culture as a highlight of the liberation past and also regarding it as a justifiable trajectory of political culture that Zimbabwe needs. The contending 2 members constituting 40% of the group see the Chimurenga-culture as defined in the context as limited, instead submitted the aspect of failed objectivity of the Chimurenga philosophy and stated that it has no place in Zimbabwe were the ruling betrayed the values of liberation for enhancing political interests of the few political elites.

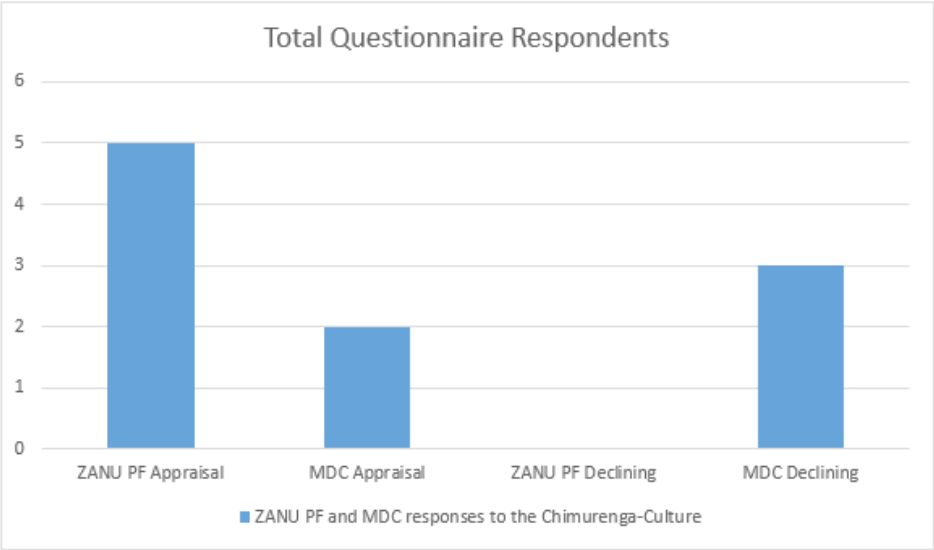
Age respondents' had 70% of both member groups following the affirmative trend above and only 30 percent declining. All the same the given responses thus justify the definition adopted in the conceptual framework, that is to say the past re-emerging to shape the contempo-

rary political trends and how it is deconstructed by emerging views of liberal thought and how the same past is used to mirror the progress of nation-building with direct focus consolidating liberation goals.

The ZANLA Survey Data Interpretation



ZANLA and ZIPRA Survey Data Interpretation



The influence of the Chimurenga-culture on political ideologies in Zimbabwe

Drawing the above statistical records makes it clear that Zimbabwe has been affected by the manifestation of the liberation styles of power consolidation. Apart from that nation building has been guided by narratives of the past, however the main challenge of this past premise of nation-building has been monopolized by ZANU-PF to authenticate its political image. Hence the discourse of a partisan inclined forms of nationalism has formed the major contestation whenever the past is mentioned in reference to the idea of nation building. This confirms the validity of the asserted position of the study establishing how there has been a discursive contest as far as nation-building is concerned in Zimbabwe.

On the discursive outlets

Respondents concurred with the set parameters of the study in terms of the role played by music as a discursive outlet of the Chimurenga-culture. Likewise the consulted respondents were quick to point out to what the data collection process established as the '*Rambai makashinga*' era. The song hit the airwaves such that its monotonous play has remained a prominent reminder of how much music influences mainstream political thinking processes that feed into the broader ideological trends that inform nationhood. However, the respondents identified with establishment music compared to rebellious musical alternatives especially the MDC songs. This goes on to exhibit that the public has been consuming music as a form of ideological apparatus shaping the political trajectory of the nation.

With the above vintage points of the study explained through collected narratives it is important to use figures to explain the overall perception of the Chimurenga-culture and how it has influenced political ideology in Zimbabwe and how it is a display of nationhood in Zimbabwe.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction

This intellectual exploration was set out the pioneer a new interpretation to Zimbabwe's contested perspectives around the national turmoil experienced between 1999 and 2014. The era has been vulnerable to regime change and establishment intellectual frames which expressed a deficient appreciation of the prevailing political situation within the limits of patriotic and unpatriotic inventions of nationalism. The second debate produced by this era was whether Zimbabwe had become a *crisis republic* or not. Due to the need to produce new knowledge, this study is a fresh keynote to the prevailing debate on nation-building. Borrowing its framework from historiography, the study has articulated that Zimbabwe's so-called 'crisis era' was a broader reflection of a past that is being lived in the present contextualised as the Chimurenga-culture. The Chimurenga-culture represents the establishment constructions of the past to authenticate its policies and stay in power. The outcome being liberal deconstructions of this self- authentication using the liberation past and drawing credentials from it to idolise particular political actors. In simple terms, this is the explosive display of ZANU-PF and MDC ideological mantras. As such the Chimurenga-culture is introduced as a phenomenon that represents the fight for ideological legitimacy between ZANU-PF and MDC between 1999. I chose to give a uniform label to the opposition party in Zimbabwe and ignored its factions. Likewise the same approach was used to also ignore other political parties that emerged during the period under study. The major reason being the dormant role they have played in terms of influencing the ideologies contributing to nation-building in the Chimurenga-culture era. The study also explained how political ideologies house the political culture of any country and influence the need for change.

Thus the major contribution of the study to the body of knowledge is that the new concept of the Chimurenga-culture has shaped Zimbabwe's political ideologies adding to a contested nation- building project.

The ideological expressions of the nation-making processes have been contained in the literature generated in that period. Likewise music has also mirrored the ideological landscape that contributes to Zimbabwe's nation-building processes.

Issues worth noting

The Chimurenga-culture shows that a people's past always finds a way of affecting their contemporary survival spaces. Hence the role of history in influencing the present and fostering the need for change.

The past can also be used as a tool of self-authentication for political actors. In the process those contending the use of the past for establishment self legitimisation can deconstruct the relevance of that past to pursue their regime change motives. Sometimes they can judge the establishment from the values it draws from the past to delegitimise it

The Chimurenga culture helped establish the position of mixed national feeling on decolonizing the economy.

It also exhibited how radical changes from colonialism to genuine post-coloniality in terms of shifting economic power may create political turmoil in the developing world.

The Chimurenga-culture shows how political environments are not constant, but are ever evolving. Thus suggesting the extent to which every political environment has a political culture that is dynamic and evolving defined as a political-culture (See Chapter two).

The study also exhibited how nation-building in Zimbabwe is influenced by these ideological drives of change and continuity and thus exposing the status-quo on the phenomenon of nationhood.

On the side of ZANU-PF, the Chimurenga-culture can be used as model of reflecting political principle sustenance. This is why ZANU-PF has struggled to maintain the past not only to legitimise itself, but to consolidate liberation values of Black empowerment, patriotism and ritualisation of nationhood through;

Public heroic remembrances

Demonisation of opposition parties

Challenging the hegemonic trends of globalisation

The above values justify why the ‘Chimurenga-culture will never die’ as long local and global political and economic divide lines exist and post-colonial citizens need political-economy de-marginalisation. This creates the need to draw a recommendations on how the Chimurenga culture as a reflection of the nation-building process can be developed to create a sustainable nation-building process.

6.1 Recommendations Towards Sustainable National Development

1. There is need to popularise the view that the Chimurenga is not a philosophical founding of power capturing. Instead the Chimurenga is a philosophy of universal Zimbabwean political liberation and must not be treated as a personal asset of ZANU-PF nor must it an apparatus to discredit other political entities in search of change and bringing political cultural diversities to life.

2 This calls for the need to use the Chimurenga-culture for the purposes of encouraging political tolerance Zimbabwe. Thus debunking partisan trends of patriotic and sell-out citizenship

3 The possibility of achieving tolerance is in making use of Pan-African values to achieve ethnic inclusion in issues of nation-building and not confining the struggle for liberation to Shona legacies. This also includes providing open platforms for discursive dissemination regardless of ethnic and partisan inclinations. There should be free space for sharing varying political and ethnic narratives of achieving nationhood in Zimbabwe.

4. Hegemony should be used to reflect a single national identity that treats all as beneficiaries of liberation in respect of ethnic and partisan political inclusions.

6.2 Academic Premised Recommendations

The process that gave life to this study has convinced the research to conclude that the Chimurenga-culture debate deserves further debate.

This follows a background of a plethora of issues that have been a representation of the crisis without deeper interrogations to the crisis' ideological history and impact to the nation-building process between 1999 and 2014.

This calls for further independent assessments of political ideologies in Zimbabwe and how they are influenced by indigenous political epistemology rather than foreign ideologies borrowed from colonial systems.

This will help create knowledge production that the common of all citizens can identify with.

Last, this new contribution to the on-going debate on Zimbabwe's nation-building deserves further research and above all it's a new footnote to the nation building debate which by nature is not absolute and deserves to be challenged least its inconsistencies become accepted truths.

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