

The Journal of the Britain Zimbabwe Society

In this issue ...

Report on the BZS Research Day

1	Welcome from BZS Chair, Dr Pauline Dodgson-Katiyo	page 1
2	Keynote Speech	page 2
3	Panel 1: Youth, Political Change and Economic Development	page 3
4	Panel 2: Youth, Social Movements and Political Participation	page 6
5	Panel 3: Life Histories and Inter-generational Change	page 8
6	Panel 4: Art, Culture and Identity	page 9

7	Zimbabwe's New Constitution	page 13
8	Review: 'These Bones Will Rise Again'	page 14
9	Update: AIDS Awareness Project	page 15
10	News	page 15

BZS 2018 Research Day: Youth and Experience 16 July 2018

Welcome from BZS Chair, Dr Pauline Dodgson-Katiyo

When we chose the theme of *Youth and Experience* last year, we didn't know that a significant political change was about to take place in Zimbabwe.

Now, as we wait for the elections with anticipation and perhaps some trepidation, we are even more aware of the importance of this theme. It's fitting, therefore, that we are presenting the inaugural prize for Young Researcher of the Year today. Our winner is Dr Simukai Chigudu of Oxford University. Simukai was a presenter two years ago at our Research Day on Health.

When we consider the Zimbabwean experience, we tend to think of it as exceptional, given that at least a quarter of the Zimbabwean population lives outside the country. However, last week, at a Nordic Africa Institute conference on political trends, I was reminded of how important it is to situate Zimbabwe within the Southern African context. Delegates from other SADC countries spoke of similar experiences to Zimbabwe's in relation to youth unemployment, poverty and inequality, unconstitutional media laws and populist authoritarianism.

I would like to thank the many people who have contributed to this Research Day. As always, we are grateful to our partners, the Oxford African Studies Centre, for their support. We also thank the Trades Union



Dr Simukai Chigudu, a qualified medical doctor and lecturer in international development at Oxford University, received the first ever BZS award at this year's Research Day. He is shown here with, on the left, Dr Pauline Dodgson-Katiyo and Dr Knox Chitiyo, and on the far right, Professor Wale Adebani. Dr Chidugu's first research was on the politics of the 2008-9 cholera outbreak in Zimbabwe. Photo © Rori Masiane

Congress who awarded BZS a travel grant from their TUC Aid fund to enable our keynote speaker, Vimbai Zinyama, to be with us.

Professor Wale Adebani, Director of the African Studies Centre (ASC) and Rhodes Professor of Race Relations at Oxford University, welcomed delegates and explained that the ASC and St Antony's College have received international recognition. The Centre's Masters programme has attracted many highly talented students from around the world. ASC was pleased to be associated with the BZS Research Day.

Keynote speech: Time as a Catalyst For Change: There is Hope for Zimbabwe

Vimbai Zinyama, Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions

Vimbai Zinyama, Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions Head of Parliamentary Affairs, Advocacy and External Relations was keynote speaker at this year's Research Day.

Ms Zinyama opened her address by explaining the difficulty in identifying a single catalyst for change in Zimbabwe.

'Time makes things obsolete'

'Time makes things obsolete' she said. The Tsvangirai era ended with his death, and change had to follow. She compared the situation to that of her family after the death of her father – a 'mosaic situation' in which everyone had to adapt traditionally accepted practices and break protocols, to accommodate mourners from the different countries her scattered family live in.

The changing situation in Zimbabwe has meant tradition and convention have been challenged by the need to find new solutions.

In the early 2000s the ZCTU asked Ms Zinyama to organise the informal sector, working with local activists and structures, encouraging people to solve their own problems and to build their own homes.

After *Murambatsvina*, when government bulldozed and destroyed these same homes Ms Zinyama said she felt she had let people down and had been 'hiding in [my] office'.

Despite government warnings against interfering, a local campaigner and President of Informal Traders, Mai Magijima, insisted they confront government about their actions.

Ms Zinyama, once the motivator, stepped back and even relinquished an invitation to Geneva. Mai Magijima, without any experience of meeting procedures, went to speak on behalf of people whose homes were destroyed at a formal session of the International Labour Organisation.

At the time the Zimbabwe government had accused ZCTU of adopting 'opposition politics' and lobbied countries to support government action. When a representative of Swaziland was supporting the government, Mai Magijima challenged him: 'No I am not going to let him tell lies here!'

Defying all protocol, she rushed to the podium and demanded to speak about what had really happened.

At the tea break a Zimbabwe government official threatened her saying 'We will see you when we get



Vimbai Zinyama: Photograph © Rori Masiane.

home.' Not hesitating, she swung her handbag and felled him. She was, said Ms Zinyama, an example of a person with emotional confidence and courage.

Can young people change the country?

Ms Zinyama asked 'Do we have the young people able to change their country? Unfortunately our system has become entrenched, and we have a succession that hasn't happened. The nationalists have overstayed, yet they still feel entitled to rule – whether the people want it or not. They can command people, but they cannot command success. They ignore the expectation of the young and are not worried about the future'.

She believed that Zimbabwe had been stifled by the adoption in the past of a 'Russian' system of government, where it was not acceptable for people to ask questions or make demands. The forces of politics, she said, have not given people the chance to be innovative and successful.

She concluded with the following: 'New leaders have emerged but people are not sure of the future. If my presentation has been complicated ... it is because it reflects the situation in the country. Soon Zimbabwe will hold elections with 129 parties participating – that's how democratic we have become.'

'In 2015 the ZCTU started the National Agenda for Electoral Reform and we only had 12 political parties. Between 2016 and now the number grew to 129 – and out of those we must decide a leader, whether some parties are foreign-based or whether they are in Zimbabwe, they are church-based or they are protest-based.'

'But in this time we must make a choice and a choice that will move us forward. I thank you.'

(Compiled by Pat Brickhill from video recording.)

Panel 1: Youth, Political Change and Economic Development

Kuziwakwashe Zigomo and Dr Kristina Pikovskaia

1. Beyond the Hashtag: Opportunities and Challenges for Youth Participation in Zimbabwe

In her paper, *Kuziwakwashe Zigomo* discussed how leadership is evolving in Zimbabwe since the inception of the hashtag social movements and the challenges and opportunities this represents for the emerging generation of political leaders.

In a country where religious adherence is high, particularly amongst the youth, this paper explores how religion informs and frames the way in which young people understand political leadership. It is based on ethnographic material gathered through participant observation with a young and radical urban-based social movement, as well as forty in-depth interviews and eight focus groups conducted in Harare with political and civic actors, church groups, and the ordinary citizenry, from July – September (2017) and December (2017) – January (2018). It argues that religion both buttresses and resists autocracy in both mainstream and alternative modes of political action.

Widening the space

The main opportunity for the emerging generation of political leaders since the inception of the social movements (such as Pastor Evan Mawarire's *This Flag* and *Tajamuka/Sesjikile* led by Promise Mkwanzani and others) has been in the widening of the political space to enter mainstream politics. As a result, there has been a surge in younger political candidates.

The two 'big men', Robert Mugabe and Morgan Tsvangirai, are no longer with us. In their place are their two mentees and political sons – Emmerson Mnangagwa, in power since the coup of November 2017, and Nelson Chamisa who became leader of the main opposition party after Tsvangirai's death in February 2018, and who is a Pentecostal pastor. Both big men's legacies present challenges for the emerging generation.

The first is the personification of political movements, with power centralised in the hands of charismatic male individuals. This is not uncommon in a patriarchal society like Zimbabwe where the most prominent social, political and religious movements are led by men. It was identified as a major weakness within the social movements, which tended to revolve around the personalities of their young, male, founders.

The second challenge is the stereotyped gendered roles in leadership. Men are often viewed as father-figures and protectors, while women are subordinated to

a male agenda. In Zimbabwean politics, women leaders often obtain their positions, not on their own merit, but through their relationships to influential men. This presents a challenge for young female political candidates, as it gives rise to the potential for the demonization of women – a significant trend in mainstream Zimbabwean politics.

The commercialisation of political and social movements has also been a concern for the emerging generation of political leaders. This is similar to the way in which the emerging generation of Pentecostal Churches led by prophets and various 'men of God' have also been criticised for operating like profit-making businesses. The politics of patronage have persisted both in mainstream politics and in the younger generation of Pentecostal Churches, where political and spiritual protection is exchanged for loyalty, allegiance and support to one's political and spiritual leaders.

Religious rhetoric

Finally, we cannot ignore the role that religious rhetoric continues to play in Zimbabwe's political life, especially the way in which religious phrases are used by young and old politicians alike in establishing an element of divine rulership and hegemonic dominance and control which cannot be challenged. Nelson Chamisa's political campaign tagline; 'God is in it' illustrates this point.

And how quickly will Emmerson Mnangagwa's phrase 'the voice of the people is the voice of God' turn into Mugabe's infamous words: 'only God can remove me from power'?

There has also been a tendency for Zimbabwe's political leaders to be publicly photographed in the local media whilst at religious conventions where they are 'anointed' or prophetically announced to be the true legitimate leaders of the nation.

What kind of effect does such political messaging have on the masses? Can such divine power and authority, in their very nature, be challenged or opposed? And even more importantly, have the emerging generation of political leaders changed this culture or are they simply replicating the style of the past?

Is religion part of the solution or part of the problem in Zimbabwean politics?

Kuziwakwashe Zigomo is based in the Department of Politics and International Relations at Royal Holloway University of London. She is working on Religion and Politics in Zimbabwe.

2. 'You Never Get a Livelihood from Going to School': The Youth and Economic Informalisation in Zimbabwe

Kristina Pikovskaia's paper examined young Zimbabweans' experience of economic informalisation.

Her paper is based on interviews with young people in their twenties and early thirties, conducted in Harare from mid-December 2017–mid-May 2018, and on Zimdancehall songs (a music genre popular among the youth in Zimbabwe and in which young people's grievances find vivid and emotional expression.)

Economic informalisation grew fast from the late 1990s, but young Zimbabweans did not realise its implications. They were largely growing up with the mindset of the previous generations – that they should get a good education and find a 'proper' job¹. They did not think that they might end up in the informal sector².

Sources of grievance

One of the largest sources of grievance for the young in the informal economy context is education. Many say that they are not able to succeed in life because they failed to go beyond the O-level due to the economic hardships³. Young people with degrees are upset about having invested time, money, and effort into obtaining degrees but cannot find a formal job⁴.

Economic informalisation has affected young Zimbabweans as citizens in a range of ways.

Firstly, they question the assumption that education (higher education in particular) is a prerequisite for success⁵. They are frustrated about the inapplicability of their education to real life, and criticise the education system for being inflexible, and suggest ways to improve it to meet their reality⁶.

Secondly, some young people escape this modernist education trap and refuse to continue their education⁷. But others continue upgrading their education, although aware of the inapplicability of their certificates in the current economic environment⁸.

Young people also challenge the modernist understandings of 'job' and 'work'. They dream of being employed in the formal sector, but they also perceive their informal economic activity as a job – it keeps them busy and brings money⁹. They are also becoming more entrepreneurial and starting to dream about formalising their own businesses¹⁰.

Third, looking for the sources of livelihood, young people attempt to identify the gaps in the socio-economic setting which they could fill, and sometimes take up the functions of the authorities – such as bringing water from boreholes to houses or

patching potholes¹¹. By doing that, young people, even if they do not always realise it, fulfil the duties of the City Council, which has been failing them.

Fourth, young Zimbabweans are learning to navigate the politicised institutions in the informal economy, such as partisan patronage networks. Some continue using them to their own advantage and following the rules. Others learn to benefit from the patronage schemes while maintaining their political stance – they negotiate with the partisan youth and militia who control the markets and manage to avoid committing to ZANU-PF¹². By these actions, young Zimbabweans weaken and undermine partisan patronage networks, even if they do not intend to do so.

Political activities

Finally, young people engage in more direct political activities related to the informal economy. They organise and participate in social movements and partisan politics. Some engage in popular protests, such as #Tajamuka and #ThisGown, appealing to the state and demanding job creation and political change. In these movements, young people's economic grievances are clearly framed as political, and young people's voice can be heard through these platforms.

In conclusion, economic informalisation has had a significant impact on young Zimbabweans and, because of it, as citizens, they started influencing politics in Zimbabwe through engaging in social movements, navigating the patronage networks, and taking up some of the functions of the authorities, and in more subtle ways through challenging the modernist assumptions about work and jobs that do not speak to the reality on the ground and that the state and the society impose on them.

1 Interview with Pride Mkono, 2 Feb 2018.

2 Interview with an anonymous respondent, 21 Feb 2018; Seh Calaz, 2013. Basa Rangu. Official Video [online]. Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RnZ5Kpuxalg> [accessed 06.06.2018].

3 Interview with an anonymous respondent, 5 Jan 2018.

4 Interviews with anonymous respondents, 11 Apr 2018; 30 Apr 2018.

5 Interviews with an anonymous respondent, 21 Feb 2018; 5 Jan 2018.

6 Interview with Makomborero Haruzivishe, 27 Feb 2018; Seh Calaz, (2015). Kurarama. In *Bandit Rebirth* [online]. Available from: <https://soundcloud.com/tainternational1/sets/seh-calaz-bandit-rebirth-new> [accessed 9.06.2018]; Claude, 2016. Kutambura chete [online]. Available from: <https://soundcloud.com/rakiaudiofactory/claude-kutambura-chete> [accessed 05.06.2018]; Hwindi President, 2016. Sei Ukuti Tsvagai Mabasa [online]. Available at: <https://soundcloud.com/abra-simzz/hwindi-president-sei-ukuti-tsvagai-mabasachillspot-abra-recordz> [accessed 05.06.2018].

7 Interview with an anonymous respondent, 26 Feb 2018.

8 Interview with Pride Mkono, 2 Feb 2018.

9 Interview with an anonymous respondent, 21 Feb 2018; Seh Calaz, 2013. Basa Rangu. Official Video [online]. Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RnZ5Kpuxalg> [accessed 06.06.2018].

10 Interview with an anonymous respondent, 5 Jan 2018.

11 Interviews with anonymous respondents, 11 Apr 2018; 30 Apr 2018.

12 Interviews with an anonymous respondent, 21 Feb 2018; 5 Jan 2018.

Kristina Pikovskaia is a PhD student in International Development at the University of Oxford.

Panel 2: Youth, Social Movements and Political Participation

Dr Chipo Dendere and Dr Everette Ndlovu

1. Tweeting to Democracy: A New Anti-authoritarian Liberation Struggle in Africa

In her paper for the Research Day, *Dr Chipo Dendere* reminded us that adequate information is vital to democracy.

She added that, ‘In African politics, this relationship has been very linear, information flows from the government to the citizens but citizens rarely had the opportunity to respond ...’

Social media, she says, changes all that: both government and opposition – formal and informal – have used social media to raise questions and to make revelations that would once have been kept under wraps.

Abstract

The following is the abstract of her paper. The full version is too long to be reproduced here, but, as with the other presentations, it can be viewed at https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCI7IPEUGUZP_u3x7a92eZh6A

What does it take for a citizen movement to topple a deep-rooted authoritarian regime?

This paper analyses the successes and failures of citizen led social media campaigns in Africa. Using data drawn from extensive ethnographic study of 50 WhatsApp and Facebook communities as well as a study of popular threads on twitter, this paper studies the conditions under which citizen activism, particularly those movements that originate on social media, become street protests that can effectively unseat an illegitimate regime.

The majority of movements fail because authoritarian regimes tend to be institutionally strong, well-organized and campaign on people’s memory of the horrors of colonialism.

I find that the success of recent movements evidenced by policy changes and increased citizen participation is in part because of the rise of a youth citizenry that does not feel indebted to liberation struggle.

Born frees are more willing to take political risks by speaking candidly about politics online and mobilizing their peers via online engagement to fight what they consider a new form of colonialism by the former liberators.

Dr Dendere is a Zimbabwean-born political scientist and Visiting Professor of Political Science at Amherst College, Massachusetts, United States.

2. Social Media Interrogates the Gukurahundi Saga

***Everette Ndlovu* examines the ways in which the rifts from Zimbabwe’s past are discussed today.**

Having taken over from Robert Masuzo Matibili Mugabe in what has a clear hallmark of a *coup d’etat*, Mugabe’s former trusted right-hand man, Emerson Dambudzo Mnangagwa has responded to the international community’s demand for meaningful reforms in Zimbabwe in order to justify the legitimacy of his presidency and to woo investors into the former bread basket of Southern Africa.

Opening the floodgates

A host of democratic reforms which distinguish him from his former boss include freedom of association, freedom of expression, and freedom of information. These have opened floodgates of social media activities, mainly by the youths who are for the first time able to interrogate past issues that have tainted the country.

One of these is the *Gukurahundi* genocide, which is characterised by multiple narratives.

Gukurahundi, ‘The Rain that washes’, ‘The Crime that lingers’ has left permanent scars on social cohesion in Zimbabwe. This was a taboo to even talk about under Mugabe’s rule. Any discussion of the saga was treated as treason.

There was no access to the killing fields in Matabeleland and Midlands during the genocide, which lasted for over three years. No one from outside the killing fields was allowed inside. No one from inside was able to go out and tell what was happening. The ruthless Fifth Brigade carried out their mandate knowing this would be a crime no one would be able to witness. It was an ideal environment for a genocide on a scale never seen before in an independent African country.

Any information that came out of the area was through state media, which had been put under direct control of the ruling party. The then Minister of Information, Dr Nathan Shamuyarira, argued that the decision to put into key positions comrades from Mputo was to enable them to direct policy.

With such control, the issue of *Gukurahundi* became a dormant volcano, with multiple narratives, and unanswered questions on the minds of the

Continued on next page

Continued from previous page

people. These can only be reconciled and dealt with through meticulous research, introspection, open dialogue, admission of responsibility and reconciliatory actions on the part of the leadership.

The extent of the genocide

In its investigation of the genocide, the Catholic Commission for Peace and Justice (CCPJ) put the figure of unarmed men, women and children massacred by the Fifth Brigade at around 20,000. This figure is conservative because it only covers areas where the CCPJ were able to carry out their investigation. Evidence shows that all over the country anyone who was considered to be affiliated to the opposition, either by tribe or language, was a target, including demobilised members of the army who were ex ZIPRA forces, a battalion once commanded by the ZAPU leader, Joshua Nkomo.

Discussions emerging on social media show that over 3,500 members of the Fifth Brigade were deployed to Matabeleland and Midlands. Witnesses who have come forward for the first time say members of the Fifth Brigade said they had a mandate to shoot at least eleven people each a month in order to be paid. This adds up to a conservative figure of 3,500 x 11 a month, which becomes 46,200 per year – around 138,600 in three years.

This figure excludes those killed using means other than shooting, victims of disease, suicide and malnutrition and the deliberate starvation and mental torture of people perceived to be enemies of the state.

Divisive narratives

People interviewed on social media say that *Gukurahundi* soldiers said they were in Matabeleland to avenge the loss of cattle taken by the Ndebeles in 1860s when they arrived north of the Limpopo river, and subdued Shona tribes.

The Fifth Brigade said it was payback time. This is completely unacceptable. Why not take the cattle and leave the people alone?

The idea that the Fifth Brigade was after dissidents is also being questioned. A dissident is a person who challenges an established doctrine, policy, or institution. That is not a crime in a democracy. Burning villagers in huts is not fighting dissidents. Pulling teachers from classrooms, shooting them and burying them in mass graves while forcing villagers to sing Mugabe's praises has nothing to do with dissidents. Rounding up people, shooting them and burying them in mineshafts has nothing to do with dissidents. Forcing a mother to pound her baby's head to a pulp



Everette Ndlovu: photograph © Rori Masiane

has nothing to do with dissidents. Ripping the belly of a pregnant woman saying she is carrying a child of a dissident because the father is Ndebele has nothing to do with dissidents. Killing men and their children and then raping women to spread *Gukurahundi*'s own genes has nothing to do with dissidents.

Gukurahundi, a perceived Shona project to install a one party/tribe/state

The people who were affected by *Gukurahundi* have a range of theories as to why *Gukurahundi* took place. One is that it was a Shona project to exterminate the Ndebele people and turn Zimbabwe into, not only a one party state, but into a one-tribe state.

Current discussions on social media indicate *Gukurahundi* killed mostly men of a productive age. The 3,500-strong Fifth Brigade then went on a raping spree to spread their own genes.

Of course, ZANU happened to be predominantly Shona, but not all Shona-speaking people are linked to or endorsed this crime against humanity. It was perpetrated by ZANU-PF and not Shona-PF. Fingers in this case point at ZANU and its hit squad led directly by Robert Mugabe.

It is, however, problematic if *Gukurahundi* advocates say they were acting on behalf of the Shona people. This was the indoctrination that sowed the seeds of hate during their training in Inyanga. Evidence is emerging as young people discuss this issue – which has a bearing on their future relationships long after the architects of the genocide are gone.

Social media has revealed all kinds of stories of how the ZANU-PF leadership had personal

animosity towards the Ndebele, and how the division between the two peoples was never clear-cut.

It also brings Enos Nkala to the centre of this *Gukurahundi* project. An Ndebele himself, he once said, 'If there was a soap to cleanse myself from being a Ndebele, I would do so.'

Mnangagwa responded by saying, 'There is nothing wonderful about being Ndebele. I could be even closer to your king Lobengula than most of you.'

Emmerson Mnangagwa – then Minister of State Security – oversaw atrocities, when whole hamlets were set alight with the people still in them, leaving a smell of burning flesh in the air 'as if the devil had a barbecue'. It was Mnangagwa who had said 'The government has to burn all villages infected with dissidents' (*The Chronicle*, 5 March 2013). He described dissidents as cockroaches and *Gukurahundi* as DDT, a powerful insecticide, to exterminate them.

A toxic narrative

This genocide is so toxic that it has created a rift along tribal lines, even within the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) whose stronghold has always been Matabeleland.

For example, the following posts from MDC supporters:

- MDC member, Ida, from Manchester, said: 'You Ndebele people provoked us. That is why we sent you *Gukurahundi* so that we can teach you a lesson.'
- Another on Whats App: 'You Ndebeles with your Mai Khuphe, you will never rule Zimbabwe. Wait and see. Chamisa will paint your town Bulawayo red. You are thieves like your king Mzilikazi. Go back to South Africa where you belong.'
- A recent Whats App audio post says: 'ZANU-PF did well by sending *Gukurahundi* to kill these people. Ndebeles must be exterminated. ... they are less than human beings. We better stand alone in MDC. We do not even need their votes... They are foreigners. Let them go back to South Africa.'

Surprisingly, no one in the leadership of MDC has challenged such divisive posts or condemned this historic genocide outright.

The expected healing process

The conversation on social media indicates that there is no will on the part of those in power to engage meaningfully with the masses on the issue of *Gukurahundi* because they themselves were the architects of the genocide. As Siphon Malunga argues on social media, it is impossible for a perpetrator to preside over an accountability process relating to themselves while they are still in power.

These sentiments have been further argued by Moses Mzila who says, unlike in Rwanda where the perpetrators of the genocide have been taken to the International Court of Justice, in Zimbabwe the perpetrators are still in government.

There is concern therefore that the National Reconciliation Commission (NRC) is structured in a way that makes it difficult for it to address the issues of *Gukurahundi*. Mzila argues that there can be no national healing process until all the perpetrators of this genocide are arrested and tried accordingly. Yet truth, justice and accountability will always be at stake for as long as the perpetrators are in power.

There is also a concern that any open discussion on this issue will be suppressed for as long as Perence Shiri and Mnangagwa, the key architects of the crime, are in government. Those who presided in this genocide cannot preside over the healing process.

Gukurahundi is a crime against humanity which will never go away until the perpetrators come out, even if just to say 'Sorry.'

The need for engagement

It is therefore important for the young people to robustly engage in this dialogue so that evils of the past will no longer affect social cohesion and progress. The youth are schooled in international politics and they know how historical conflicts have been successfully dealt with in other parts of the world. Consider how World War II divided the world, and how the healing process has led to the countries who were fighting becoming comrades in progress. Germany and Israel are a good case study, as are the United States and Japan after Hiroshima. Let us consider the healing process in Rwanda and South Africa.

People who created this division are now leaving a divided society to pick up pieces through this un-sanctioned dialogue enabled by the digital platforms.

ZANU is the past. We are the present. The youth are the future. They will need a Zimbabwe defined by cohesion, unity and solidarity long after we are gone. This can be achieved only if meaningful dialogue, interrogation of the past and implementation of justice can be given centre stage, thanks to new media and digital culture.

Let us remember the wise words from the late true revolutionary Joshua Nkomo. We are all children of the soil, *Singabantwana benhlabathi. Tiri vana vebvu. Together we stand. Divided we fall.*

Dr Everette Ndlovu lectures in the School of Media and Communications, the University of Salford.

Panel 3: Life Histories and Inter-generational Change

Dr Dan Hodgkinson, Professor Jocelyn Alexander and Dr Miles Tendi

1. Nationalists With No Nation? Zimbabwean Stories of Rhodesian Studenthood

Dr Dan Hodgkinson's contribution looked back at the history of the University of Rhodesia, and the part it had played for many in both the liberation struggle and post-independence Zimbabwe.

He noted that the very reason for founding the university had been to educate a post-colonial elite – set up by the British as a place where a local (African) leadership might be trained – as in Makerere in Uganda, Ibadan in Nigeria, and the University of the West Indies.

Dr Hodgkinson explained that his research had been carried out before Robert Mugabe's overthrow. At the time, he noted that when Robert Mugabe spoke of his time as a student he 'created own legitimacy'.

For Mugabe, student activism was not just the beginning of his political career, but of the whole anti-colonial struggle. But, Hodgkinson claimed, Mugabe's story is actually 'political theatre' in which he set out the idea that educated black student activists like him were the intellectual leaders of nationalism, and based that in a struggle within the university.

Hodgkinson claims that this story of anti-colonial student activism is highly contested – and that is the subject of his paper. He interviewed former students – many who now had prominent positions, or had fallen foul of ZANU-PF and were outside the party.

But these leaders or one-time leaders, he said, were a success story. He argued that the very formation of the university had been to create a political elite, and that it was a part of a liberal plan for a post-colonial society.

However, the case of the University of Rhodesia was significantly different from Makerere and Ibadan – because of the presence of the settler community.

A multi-racial project

The university was set up as a multi-racial project, where 'multi-racial decolonisation would take place' – and it remained multi-racial even after UDI. This, of course, was anathema to the settlers and the backlash helped give rise to the Rhodesian Front (RF).

Students involved in politics were able to maintain links with nationalist leaders but, from within the university, were able to call out the RF and segregationists.

Mugabe has said that students challenged the system, but others do not remember it this way – they saw it as a place for coming of age, where, in the words of one:

'my head seemed to get bigger' – filled with ideas and knowledge. 'It was the best experience I ever had.'

The university had been, it seemed to Dan Hodgkinson, a hub – an institution where expansive forms of identity and a process of maturation could emerge.

Many he spoke to regretted the changes of the 2000s, when the freedoms that, ironically perhaps, existed in the past were no longer evident.

Dr Dan Hodgkinson is a lecturer in Oxford's Department for International Development, where he teaches African History and Politics.

2. Learning and responsibility among 'War Generations' in One Soldier's Life Story

Professor Jocelyn Alexander's paper concentrated on the experiences of one ZIPRA commander from the independence struggle – Cetshwayo Sithole, also known as Tonderai Ngoma, whom she interviewed at length.

Many thousands of young men passed through his hands in a regime that many former soldiers recall with shock, anger – and sometimes humour.

Tonderai crossed into Zambia in 1975 as part of a wave of recruits whose first call was a recruitment camp run by the Zambian army. Training was rigorous – which proved useful when they were sent to Tanzania to join ZANLA recruits – but there, they were given an extremely hostile reception, which culminated in a massacre where 50,000 trainees were killed – possibly with the connivance of Chinese and Tanzanian troops.

Survivors

Those who survived credited the rigours of their training. 'We knew how to crawl,' they said. Without knowing how to react under fire they believed the Chinese would otherwise have wiped them all out. 'It was as if it was a film.'

His return to Zambia in 1977 coincided with the assassination of Jason Moyo – another moment of upheaval – and a massive flow of people across the border.

It was an enormous task. Thousands had crossed into the camps, in numbers that dwarfed earlier migrations. Tonderai was charged with creating order and for training them. He wanted to impress foreign advisors, and to make sure young men retained loyalty to ZIPRA. 'We don't want them to become Bulgarian,' he said.

He spoke of ‘baking’ or ‘moulding’ the troops and invented a method of making ‘controllable men’ – telling them they would be meeting senior party members. They all dressed in their best clothes – only to be made to roll and crawl for hours on the muddy ground. It was a first shocking experience of military authority.

The war is everywhere

‘The experience demonstrated the need to obey instructions, changing from civilian life. You are introduced into a system so that you know you are in a war zone. The war is everywhere,’ he said.

This was vital in the years when the Zambian camps were repeatedly attacked. Tonderai insisted, though, that he placed a high value on survival.

Describing that time, he recalled that ‘Our wish ... that everyone must see an independent Zimbabwe ... we are not here to die.’

Professor Jocelyn Alexander is Professor of Commonwealth Studies in the Oxford University Department of International Development (ODID).

3. Solomon Mujuru: Youth and Political Change

Dr Miles Tendi examined the life and personality of soldier and politician, Solomon Mujuru whose *nom de guerre* during the struggle for independence was Rex Nhongo. He discussed the factors in his background that drove his life and career.

‘I want to talk about the progression,’ said Dr Tendi, adding that, ‘A key element is violence.’

Mujuru’s father, he reports, is said to have asked

his son to show his wounds if he had been in a fight at school – and if they were on the back of his head, he was beaten for running away.

Expelled from school, Mujuru signed up to be a soldier, joining ZAPU, probably because his friends were doing so.

His life became one of violence and constant change – moving from place to place – beyond Africa to the Soviet Union, China and Bulgaria, and within Africa to Mozambique.

A rootless and restless life

Tendi noted that Mujuru’s life was marked by a sense of rootlessness and restlessness – moving from woman to woman as well as place to place.

After Independence, at the remarkably young age of 36, he became head of Mugabe’s army. Tendi points to this naivety and inexperience which led to ‘some terrible mistakes’ (though he stressed that *Gukurahundi* can hardly be classed as a mere ‘mistake’).

By 1986, Mujuru wanted to leave the army – his restlessness always remained – and even his career as an MP was short-lived.

Reviewing this life of constant change (which ended in a fire in 2011), Dr Tendi notes that at Independence, the leadership within Zimbabwe had been mostly young, but once in power, they stayed in place, leading to stagnation and a lack of generational change, from which Zimbabwe suffers to this day.

Dr Miles Tendi is Associate Professor in African Politics at the University of Oxford.

Panel 4: Art, Culture and Identity

Dr Ranka Primorac, Christine Makuve and Alakhiwe Ndhlovu

1. Zimbabwe and the ways of the world: Youth and Experience in Zimbabwean Literature

Ranka Primorac examines the literary inheritance of Lawrence Vambe.

When I saw the call for contributions for this event, my first thought was that it was the most literary topic that BZS had had for a while, for two interrelated reasons. Both are linked to the work of Flora Veit-Wild.

Firstly, I was reminded of how Veit-Wild published the first full monograph-length study of Zimbabwean literature in 1993 (Hans Zell and Baobab Books) and organised it around the idea of literary generation.

It is a sociological overview of Zimbabwean

literature, whose sections and chapters literally proceed from generation to generation of Zimbabwean books and authors. That book’s title – *Teachers, Preachers, Non-Believers* – refers closely to the three generations of black Zimbabwean authors in English, published from the 1970s onwards. The second and third of those generations (Veit-Wild’s ‘preachers and non-believers’) refer to the authors of 1970s and 1980s, several of whom remain prominent national and international literary names. If you have any interest in African literature you will certainly have heard of Charles Mungoshi, Dambudzo Marechera, Shimmer Chinodya, Tsitsi Dangarembga and Chenjerai Hove. They are the pillars of Zimbabwe’s post-colonial canon.

Continued on next page

Continued from previous page

Secondly, I noted that members of Veit-Wild's first generation historians/moralists ('teachers') – Lawrence Vambe, Stanlake Samkange and Solomon Mutswairo – have today been very nearly forgotten by my discipline. You don't have to have read them, you don't have to have heard of them, they are not part of the contemporary debate in the way some other classics of African literature are. This is partly why today, motivated by the conference topic – I want to say something about Lawrence Vambe's 1972 book *An Ill-Fated People*. (Heinemann African Writers Series).

It is a historical narrative of Zimbabwe's colonisation, and it airs for the first time many of the themes and tropes that the later generations of writers have made known around the world.

Further generations

Veit-Wild's book names Vambe as one of the founders of the Zimbabwean canon. Since her book came out, Veit-Wild's second- and third-generation authors have been discussed in the critical paradigm we now call post-colonialism, which places English-language African texts alongside those of authors from other former colonies, and examines how they concern themselves with themes related to Empire, colonialism, decolonisation and the political problems of their day.

The Zimbabwean author postcolonial critics have been particularly fond of is the late Yvonne Vera, who rose to prominence in the late 1990s, and therefore represents the fourth generation of Zimbabwe's authors, if you want to retain Veit-Wild's approach.

Today, a fifth generation is on the rise – possibly sixth, depending on how you count.

In academia, postcolonial literature is gradually giving way to various versions of World Literature, which places texts and authors within networks and flows that span the globe. The English-speaking Zimbabwean authors of the noughties – Petina Gappah, Brian Chikwava, NoViolet Bulawayo; and, more recently, Panashe Chigumadzi and Novuyo Rosa Tshuma – are increasingly invited to events, and nominated for prizes alongside mainstream authors from the rest of the world. (NoViolet Bulawayo's 2013 novel *We Need New Names* was the first book by a black African woman to be nominated for the Man Booker prize.) It was no accident that this younger generation of authors is based and published in the diaspora. This mainstreaming has put first-generation authors and locally published texts even further in the shade.

For me, what is of particular interest in the current historical moment is how these youngest generations have been faced with solving a particular cultural and

literary problem. That is, in writing about their country, they are doing something Zimbabwean authors have always done. By this I mean the fact that virtually all Zimbabwean novels I can think of can be read as national allegories – stories of individuals and groups of characters whose symbolism is also relevant to reading and understanding the histories of their nation. In these stories, today's Zimbabwean authors are faced with the task of wresting back from political discourses, which had appropriated them during the Mugabe era, established literary symbols and vocabularies related to the individual and national desire for freedom, prosperity, democracy, human/gendered rights, a condemnation of white supremacy, and a rejection of various forms of global inequality.

My colleague Kizito Muchemwa wrote about this in the journal *Social Dynamic*, in 2010. He says: 'symbols, like currency, are minted, circulated and subjected to the vicissitudes of the market. Many parallels can be drawn between financial and ideological currencies, especially in the areas of inflation, overvaluing and reckless printing. The symbolic coins that have emerged from the ideological mint are the Zimbabwe Monument, Chaminuka, Nehanda, blood and bones.'

Reading texts afresh

Since the most recent generations of Zimbabwean authors (who Veit-Wild did not get the chance to write about) have risen to prominence, 'Zimbabwean literature [this is still Muchemwa], which has over the years validated these currencies, has shifted to newer ground where writers seek to renew old symbols or discover fresh ones in the face of the state's autocratic hold over the production of meaning and value – using emblems it has emptied of content.'

In order to try to understand how they are doing it, we need to read the canonical texts afresh and to read more widely. It's in this spirit that I'll try to say something about *An Ill-Fated People*, which I will approach as a literary scholar, not a historian, and read it as a submerged *Bildungsroman* – that is, a story about how a young person passes from youth to experience.

An article by Trevor Grundy in the May 2017 *BZS Review* summarised Lawrence Vambe's life, on the occasion of his turning 100.

He was born in 1917 near the Chishawasha Catholic mission, where the nuns saved his life shortly after he was born by taking him and his older siblings in and feeding them when their mother died in the influenza epidemic. He trained as a priest, but went on to become a journalist, and was Rhodesia's

press spokesman in London during the days of the Central African Federation.

In telling the story of how Mashonaland was occupied by Rhodes and the settlers, *An Ill-Fated People* refers to these key events in its author's life. It never elaborates on those details for their own sake, but uses them to organise and authenticate a larger collective national narrative. But there is enough there to map the book on to the brief biography that Grundy gives. (I was delighted to learn from Grundy's piece that Vambe was one of the founders of BZS.)

The theorist Franco Moretti, whose influential book about the *Bildungsroman* – *The Way of the World* – gave the title to my paper, says that stories about young people growing up, leaving home, becoming immersed in culture and acquiring the social status of responsible adults acquired social centrality in 18th-century Europe. This was not so much because Europe has to attach a meaning to youth, but to modernity.

A contradictory narrative

The grand narrative of modernity is intrinsically contradictory, says Moretti, because it interiorises a contradiction: the fact that youth must come to an end, that modern individuality must be subordinated to a degree of social conformity (in order, at least, for the narrative ideal of a happy ending to be achieved), and achieving the state of responsible adulthood demands a dismantling of the continuity between generations.

For Moretti, stories about 'the way of the world' – about young people growing up, about immature subjects emerging from various kinds of schooling as adults – are narratives of bourgeois compromise, and of avoiding violent excess. As he says in his book's introduction, the classics of European *Bildung* tell stories of how the French revolution could have been avoided.

In Vambe, the colonial version of such compromise is made possible by a certain construction of the moment of passing on of adult responsibility from generation to generation; of leaving one's fathers behind and entering adulthood via an acquisition of alternative father, or teacher. In *An Ill-Fated People* such an alternative father is the Jesuit missionary who came face to face with his ancestors as a war enemy.

It is precisely this figure – enemy turned father – who imputes to the narrator (and many other nationalist figures the narrative names) the institutional discipline necessary for successful nationalist resistance.

Ranka Primorac is a Lecturer in English at the University of Southampton. Among other posts she holds is Research Associate with the Department of English, Rhodes University, South Africa.

2. Young People of Zimbabwean Heritage in the UK: A Narrative Study Exploring Identity Construction

Christine Makuve explored construction identity in the lives of the newest generation of young people of Zimbabwean origin, examining their life experiences and the impact of these on their sense of self and identity.

Statistics suggest that most Zimbabweans in the UK are first-generation adult immigrants – but there is also a significant population of young people who emigrated to the UK with their parents before the age of 12, or were born in the UK.

Eighteen years since the beginning of the main wave of Zimbabwean migration to the UK, many of these young people are entering adulthood and, whilst there is a growing body of work into the experiences of adult Zimbabweans in the UK, there is little reference to their children, and no single study has focused purely on them and their unique experiences. This research aims to remedy this gap.

Exploring self-identities

The main aim of the research is to explore how the young people's self-identities have been constructed across the span of their life experiences as well as exploring the factors that have mediated this construction. It considers broad narratives from the young people's migration stories, and experiences of life both in Zimbabwe and the UK; of transnational childhoods; of living in the UK within a Zimbabwean immigrant household; of their school experiences; and their experiences in their neighbourhood and/or city.

The study employs a free association narrative analysis (FANI) methodology to extract the biographical narratives of migration, settlement and integration. FANI narrative analysis borrows from Freudian psychoanalysis, in that it employs a very loosely structured, participant-led, discursive interview, with few or no direct questions to the participant. The method is particularly effective in cases where sensitive or difficult issues are being discussed, and where, therefore, the participant may have internal defences that may militate against the disclosure of 'truthful' detail.

The interviews

FANI biographical interviews were convened with eight young people aged 17–21 years old, and living in disparate parts of the UK. They yielded highly individualised stories and cumulative narratives. Over

Continued on next page

Continued from previous page

the course of two in-depth biographical interviews, participants constructed the stories of their lives, beginning from their earliest memories: their (or their families') migration stories; their childhood in the UK; and their transition to adulthood. Participants also created a photographic portfolio, which they used to provide visual representations of their lives.

The specific analytical framework used here is a *bricolage* construction that borrows from a range of frameworks: socially situated; the episodic and contextual; and the textualisation framework of FANI narrative analysis. This bespoke constructed analytical framework was designed to enable access to the intersection between the historical, the cultural, the social, the socioeconomic, the familial, and the individual.

FANI narrative analysis holds the researcher to be a 'defended subject', who must be explicit about the relationship between their own biography and positionality. The analytical framework could therefore embrace the subjectivities of individual narratives and complexities of identity construction, as well as the effect of my own subjectivities (I am myself a Zimbabwean immigrant, and the mother of three young people similar to those I interviewed!)

Shaping identities

In discussing the findings, I argue that, whilst insights from postcolonial theory ideas offer much by way of framing immigrant identity, the way in which the next generation of Zimbabwean young people construct their identity and position themselves in particular ways in terms of their self-identity is shaped by their unique migration experiences and childhoods.

The findings revealed both intersections and fractures. Although some themes were shared across the data set, all the young people individually had unique aspects to their identity construction that did not necessarily have assonance with those of others, nor even with the key ideas of postcolonial identity theory.

I also found that the relationships of the young people with Britishness and Zimbabweanness as markers of identity were ambivalent and varied, which underlined the highly subjective and individual nature of identity and its construction. In relation to this particular aspect of self-identity, the young participants occupied varying positions, ranging from significant identification with Zimbabwe and Zimbabwean values and cultural norms, to outright rejection. The findings of the research are still being written up, and therefore a full indication of the final outcomes cannot be provided here.

However, it was telling that the young people with whom I conducted the interviews unanimously

indicated to me that participation in the research provided a welcome opportunity for them to have the chance to talk about their lives and issues, and to feel important and 'listened to'.

They also appreciated the opportunity to reflect on the various events and episodes that have affected the construction of their identity, expressing the view that reflection on these had helped them to 'think things through', to realise their individual significance, as well as to make sense of their past and present lives and the impact of these on their current selves.

The full research will be published this autumn.

Christine Makuve is completing her PhD at Edinburgh University within the Ceres (Centre for Education for Racial Equality in Scotland) Institute.

3. Young Zimbabweans in Brexit Britain: an Epistemological Approach

Alakhiwe Ndlovu made what he described as 'a non-politically correct approach' to his discussion ... with an appeal to the reasoning of how young Zimbabweans perceive issues of 'race, identity and the economy post-Brexit'.

Race

He outlined the understanding of race as a concept and how it has evolved. He looked at generational impacts on race, the effect of Christianity (especially in comparison with traditional philosophical thought) and how that has affected the African/Zimbabwean way of life. He also looked at 'respect' and how it has been attained (through the prism of racial groups) and what that means for Zimbabweans.

Identity

He then went on to delve deeper into what it means to be an African and to demonstrate that the generational need to conform is obsolete. He highlighted impacts that lack of identity have and looked at how Zimbabwe has dealt with its identity as a nation.

Economy

He looked at how members of the Zimbabwean diaspora could position themselves to benefit from a Brexit Britain, demonstrating the perceptions of recent changes in Zimbabwe from the diaspora, and touched on the issue of development support for Zimbabwe from the UK. Young people were central throughout the paper but he also demonstrated generational changes in perceptions, comparing them to that of other millennial/young people today.

Alakhiwe Ndlovu is in his final year of a Philosophy, Politics and Economics degree at the University of Buckingham.

Zimbabwe's New Constitution: Rhodes Has Fallen (at least on paper)

Peter M. Southwood on educating Zimbabweans about their new constitution

A palm tree in the garden of our family home in the mid-1960s had, we were told, originally been planted in the centre of Salisbury by Cecil Rhodes. Whatever became of that tree, the colonial constitution in place at that time has gone.

The new Constitution of Zimbabwe, enacted in 2013, posits a modern liberal democracy – a far cry from the 1965 constitution announced by Ian Smith, the leader of the white-led rebellion against Britain, and even from the constitution of 18 April 1980.

Birth of a Project

Early in 2010 I approached the International Peace Project (IPP), an educational charity I had helped to establish in England but governed by trustees of mainly African origin, with a recommendation to encourage non-partisan education in Zimbabwe on 'Peace and the Constitution'. This was accepted.

As such a project could only be viable with indigenous support, IPP was referred to a local non-governmental organisation called the Southern Institute of Peace-Building and Development (SIPD). Its director, Samuel Maruta, responded warmly to our proposal: '*... the Constitution is, ideally, an embodiment of national values and aspirations, and of the rules and guidelines for mediating between competing interests. Therefore knowledge of and adherence to these values ... by all would go a long way in building a firm foundation for peace today and tomorrow. ...*

Meetings were organised in Milton Keynes in 2012 between IPP and Zimbabwean academics and parents to discuss the proposal. Later, Ngoro Children's Charities also gave enthusiastic support. An IPP-SIPD syllabus was prepared and funding applications made. Although unsuccessful, they helped us develop a plan to implement the course.

The Pilot Project

A draft new Constitution was put to a national referendum in March 2013 and, after nearly 95 per cent endorsement, signed into law on 22 May that year.

I returned to Zimbabwe in June 2014 for the first time since leaving in early 1966, to help deliver the pilot course to twenty school leavers in the village of Goromonzi. The non-partisan nature of the course was ensured by the Constitution, and examples were based on imaginary or real-life local conflicts.

Thanks to two excellent SIPD tutors, Ross

Nhemachena and Norman Chivasa, the students were able to engage with course material in Shona or English, using examples drawn from local culture. A further pilot course in Mabvuku was even more successful.

Follow-up

Having demonstrated the feasibility of the project, the next task was to raise support for its more widespread adoption. Here IPP-SIPD ran into difficulty. Few Zimbabweans opposed the idea but little progress was made until late 2015, when IPP started working through the Zimbabwean churches. While promoting education in 'Peace and the new Constitution' was not itself political, it had potential implications for political discourse that, I realised, made people wary. IPP did, though, hold a Zimbabwean evening in the UK Supreme Court on 30 September 2016, which included a Catholic Bishop from Zimbabwe and members of various churches.

A bigger multi-faith event was planned in a church in Bedford for 19 May 2018 with a war veteran-turned-academic, Dr Z.W. Sadomba, as the main speaker. Sadly, Dr Sadomba did not get his visa but Bishop Chad Gandiya came from Harare to preside and speak. There was also a strong Methodist contingent.

Zimbabweans wanted to know more of their own Constitution, and so IPP plans to hold a series of local events in late 2018 to meet that need and try to build a firm Zimbabwean base for future fundraising. Enough cash has been raised already to allow SIPD to start rolling out our educational project in Zimbabwe.

A New Direction?

There is a long way to go before the new Constitution is embedded in the hearts and minds of all Zimbabweans. Once it is, then, as the Preamble to the Constitution puts it, they should be united in resisting '*... all forms of domination and oppression*'.

Rhodes and Smith, and even Robert Mugabe, did not in the end control the destiny of Zimbabwe. The Preamble acknowledges who does and by what means. The challenge is to harness that spiritual and moral energy to ensure a foundation of unity that will allow divisions to be resolved peacefully according to the law.

Peter M. Southwood is Adviser and Hon Secretary to the Trustees of the International Peace Project (charity reg. no. 1101966). He writes here in a personal capacity. Further details of this educational project in Zimbabwe may be found at: www.ipp2000.org.uk

REVIEW

Pat Brickhill discusses These Bones Will Rise Again by Panashe Chigumadzi



A modern new storyteller celebrating an oral history tradition has emerged.

This book is a highly personal sharing of the author's experience of family history, visibly woven through the colonial era.

With echoes of Vera's novel *Nehanda*, the inspiration for Ms Chigumadzi's meandering emotional journey in *These Bones Will Rise Again* is the death of her grandmother. This loss, the funeral and the memorial set off a soul searching that drives the book.

When former President Robert Mugabe is ousted soon after in the 'coup that is not a coup', the author examines Zimbabwe's struggle against colonialism and the promise of a rising of bones again, of a new liberation.

This, Panashe Chigumadzi's second book, begins with two quotes. One from Yvonne Vera: 'History is created in the mouth' and the other from Michel-Rolph Trouillot: 'History is messy for the people who must live it'.

An anchor of belonging

Displaced Zimbabweans will recognise feelings of loss: of country, of uncles and aunts, grandparents and the oral history tradition that would once have served as an anchor of belonging:

'For a long time I have wanted to listen to my paternal grandmother Mbuya Lilian Chigumadzi talk about her life. The dislocation I have felt all these years comes in its full force to destabilise me.'

Chigumadzi embarks on her spiritual, almost ritual, exploration of her grandmother's life and the story of another powerful woman set within the history she might have learned from her grandmother, had the story of Zimbabwe been different.

There is a spiritual linking of what Yvonne Vera called the 'frozen image' – Mbuya Nehanda standing against a brick wall before execution, and Panashe Chigumadzi's grandmother as a very young woman. Panashe lost the precious photograph whose image is deeply sketched in her psyche. 'Perhaps this is what I loved most about that picture that she is alone. She belongs to no one but herself.'

As she grieves for her grandmother and reconstructs her through the re-creation of her life story. 'I

wept even more for the unanswered questions containing a history that was surely lost to me forever'.

The book flows between family history, fact, myth and legend effortlessly. Seeking answers from her maternal grandmother she is told that, 'Some things are just not asked about.'

The immeasurable loss of the tradition of oral history sometimes called 'the most reliable library... because of the imperial distortion' sounds loud.

The author questions the emphasis on the Mazowe Nehanda, the youthful Nehanda Charwe Nyakasi referred to as the spiritual grandmother of the nation, during the First Chimurenga and visits Dande to hear the story of Mazviona, a woman who carried Mbuya Nehanda's spirit after Nehanda Charwe Nyakasi. In 1971 the aging Nehanda was taken to Mozambique where she died two years later.

Another Mbuya Nehanda

As the story approaches current history another Mbuya Nehanda becomes 'the centrepiece of ZANU-PF's rediscovered revolutionary politics'. Chigumadzi asks whether the 'fixation with Nehanda's death is a cathartic confrontation of our colonial trauma' or a 'sign that our nation is being haunted by the spirits of all those whose blood has been shed in the series of violent clashes that continue to make and remake Zimbabwe'.

The wife of a spirit medium who travelled with Nehanda tells of influence diminished after independence. Another sadly reflects that 'young people don't see the benefit of ancestral religion'. A Zimbabwe student recently asked 'If Zimbabwe's heroines Mbuya Nehanda ... were here today, what would they have done as the country is run down by erstwhile liberators gone rogue?'

This is a slim but fascinating book and I end this review with an observation, from the man quoted at the beginning of this book, Trouillot, who said: 'truly important questions will never be answered; they are lifelong pursuits, lifelong passions' and "encouraged students... to follow their passions ... feed their souls.'

I feel Panashe Chigumadzi's soul is still hungry.

Pat Brickhill is Secretary of the Britain Zimbabwe Society, writing here in a personal capacity.

These Bones Will Rise Again, by Panashe Chigumadzi, The Indigo Press, 2018 ISBN: 9781999683306 Paperback

Update

Aids Orphans' Educational Project

The Aids Orphans Project set up in Zimbabwe by Father Ted Rogers of the Jesuits now has 43 beneficiaries, 17 in primary schools (six boys and 11 girls) and 25 in secondary (14 boys and 11 girls).

Chris Crompton, who administers the Project in the UK, reports much demand for sponsored school places. However, there are now fewer requests for assistance from the younger end of the school years, and the Project currently has no beneficiaries in Grades 1 and 2 of primary school.

The trend appears to reflect the increasing awareness of HIV/AIDS in the general population and the reduction in the numbers of AIDS orphans. Seventy-five per cent of those living with HIV are on treatment, and knowledge of HIV prevention is increasing. Nearly every pregnant woman has access to antiretroviral medicines and this has contributed to a decline in new infections amongst infants.

'This would be encouraging,' says Chris, 'but for reports of new strains of HIV emerging which are resistant to available drugs. Also a good diet is important for the

effectiveness of antiretroviral drugs and this is very difficult for many. There is no cause for complacency.'

The Project has also lost some beneficiaries in the rural areas due to teenage pregnancy, and changing circumstances for grandparents and guardians, including mental illness and increasing poverty. Recent good news includes a former student who did well in his A-levels and is now on attachment during his Telecommunications course at Midlands State University.

With the help of donations made in memory of Father Ted, who died on 30 December last year, the Project has been able to increase the number of children it is supporting. Profits from the sale of Father Ted's last book, *Missionary Martyrs of Rhodesia and Zimbabwe 1976-1988*, are also going to the Project.

Chris Crompton welcomes donations to help assure the Project's long-term viability. Father Ted was keen that students were assured of help through to Form 4, which requires prudent financial management.

If you can help, either on a regular basis or through a one-off donation, Chris will be delighted to hear from you at chris.crompton.uk@gmail.com

The election

'It is not who votes that counts, it's who counts the vote that determines the outcome' (Joseph Stalin)

The Review went to press only days after the election. BZS Secretary **Pat Brickhill** looks at comments on social media made in the days immediately after the election.

Eddie Cross MDC MP called the election: 'the most democratic election in Zimbabwe since Independence.'

Nelson Chamisa, MDC Alliance President said 'You voted but they cheated' and 'Wait for our evidence then you will see how ZEC is such an embarrassing outfit.'

On Facebook, former **Swedish Ambassador, Sten Rylander** wrote: 'What we have seen transpire in Zimbabwe today is very sad but not so surprising. Even without Mugabe, the same pattern continues – with Zanu-PF manipulating the elections and unleashing violence and the military against civil and defenceless people.'

The attempted abduction was reported of **Happy-more Chidziva** and **Job Sikhala** MDC Alliance legislators. Detractors were asked 'If it's a criminal case, why send masked military men in the middle of the night, not the police?'

Chidziva tweeted 'Today ED and Chiwenga hit squads raided my family residence wearing masks and beat up my relatives and lodgers injuring them all and dumped them at Mbudzi cemetery.' **Job Sikhala** went live on Facebook: 'the presidential election result was fraudulent'.

A detractor wrote: 'You escaped the army?? Nepaii. Iwe kunyepa' (you lie).

On Twitter, **Catriona Laing**, **British Ambassador** (soon to be moved to Nigeria) was called 'the worst ever British Ambassador to Zimbabwe'.

Comments included: 'I truly feel for the Nigerians. I tell you she is going to cause chaos again. She is on a mission. The biggest question is: Who is behind her mission? When is she leaving anyway? I don't know yet, but I guess it's gonna be soon because her mission in Zimbabwe is accomplished'.

President Mnangagwa tweeted 'The scenes at Brontë Hotel have no place in our society and we are urgently investigating ... We have protected freedom of speech ... the right to criticise government. We won the election freely and fairly, and have nothing to hide or fear. Anyone is free to address the media at any time.'

Douglas Mwonozora commented 'If what you are saying is correct then who is in charge?'



BRITAIN ZIMBABWE SOCIETY
MEMBERS MEETING AND 2018 AGM

Saturday 27 October 2018, 2.00pm–3.00pm

St Ethelburga's, 78 Bishopsgate, London EC2N 4AG (Liverpool Street Station)

All members and friends of BZS are welcome

2.00pm-3.00pm BZS Annual General Meeting

Please stay on after the AGM for refreshments and, from 3.15:

Post-election opinions

‘What now for Zimbabwe?’

Speakers to be announced

Contact the Britain Zimbabwe Society

Secretary (Minutes/Correspondence): Pat Brickhill, 1A Selbourne Place, Minehead, Somerset TA24 5TY
 email: zimgekko@aol.com

Membership Secretary/Treasurer: Margaret Ling, 25 Endymion Road, London N4 1EE
 email: margaret.ling@geo2.poptel.org.uk

President: Knox Chitiyo

2017–2018 Officers and Executive

Chair: Pauline Dodgson-Katiyo
 Vice-Chairs: Millius Palayiwa, Rori Masiane
 Secretary (Minutes/Correspondence): Pat Brickhill
 Secretary (Membership): Margaret Ling
 Information and Publications Officer: Jenny Vaughan
 Web Officer: Philip Weiss
 Treasurer: Margaret Ling

Other Executive members:

Membership Promotions Officer: Gary Chimuzinga
 Diana Jeater Yvonne Kassim
 Ranka Primorac Richard Pantlin
 Victor de Waal Kathy Mansfield Higgins

Representatives of: Stevenage-Kadoma Link
 Association; Zimbabwe Association

Note: There are vacancies on the Executive: please contact Pat Brickhill if you are interested in joining it.

Britain Zimbabwe Society Membership Form

To join and receive regular newsletters, e-mail discussion forum and conference discounts please print off and send the form below to the membership secretary with your remittance to:

Margaret Ling 25 Endymion Road, London N4 1EE

Please enrol me/us in the BZS

	Rate A	Rate B		Rate A	Rate B
Ordinary	£18	£21	Unwaged/Student	£7.50	£10
Joint (two at one address)	£21	£23	Institution	£40	£40

Membership runs by calendar year, renewals are due on 1 January each year.

Rate A applies to those who pay by Standing Order (please ask for a form to be sent to you).

Rate B applies to those who pay by cheque (made out to ‘Britain Zimbabwe Society’), or online on our website: www.britainzimbabwe.org.uk/membership

NAME:

TELEPHONE:

POSTAL ADDRESS

EMAIL