POPULAR EXPRESSIONS OF SOUTHERN AFRICAN NATIONALISM(S): CONVERGENCES, DIVERGENCES, AND RECONCILIATIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA AND ZIMBABWE

By

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A DISSERTATION

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

African American and African Studies – Doctor of Philosophy

2019

ABSTRACT

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Popular Expressions of Pan-Africanism and Southern African Nationalism(s): Convergences, Divergences, and Reconciliations in South Africa and Zimbabwe is a dissertation study that traces the transformations, reveals the tensions, and critically analyzes diverging and converging trajectories of different manifestations of African nationalism, including ethnic nationalism, state nationalism, and Pan-Africanism using contemporary South Africa and Zimbabwe as sites of analyses. Focusing on the metropolitan provinces of Gauteng and Harare respectively, I use the study to interrogate how popular expressions of African nationalism have emerged and evolved in the neighboring nations during their anti-colonial/anti-apartheid struggles throughout the 20th century, and how they exist today. Presenting a thesis that I call nationalisms from below, the research study reveals how these manifestations of nationalism are imagined, practiced, and represented by the initiatives and actions of different members of the civil society including artists, activists, laborers, and migrants in the two countries' contemporary politics and society.

My findings lead to a nuanced determination of the factors that influence the intersections, divergences, and convergences of what I refer to in the study as Africa's tripartite nationalist expressions and identities—ethnicism, African Nationalism, and Pan-Africanism. Critically, the study also aims to disrupt traditional elitist conceptualizations

of these phenomena by employing a critical bottom-up approach that gives agency to oft-marginalized participants in the manifestation of nationalism in its various incarnations: the general populace along with its multiple identities and contradictions.

The study interrogates the interrelations among ethnic nationalism, state and national nationalism, and Pan-Africanism, using South Africa and Zimbabwe as case studies that both represent the larger postcolonial region, yet also bear distinct dynamics birthed out of the histories of settler colonialism and the late advent of majority rule. In so doing, I demonstrate the relevance and manifestations of nationalism and Pan-Africanism in the everyday lives of Black South Africans and Zimbabweans. While using the two countries as a window into the general condition of postcolonial Africa, the research also interrogates how their distinct history of settler colonialisms, racialism, and delayed transitions to democracy have shaped the ways in which the populace in the two countries engage with Pan-Africanism and African nationalism

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

As in all things, I begin by thanking God, in whom all things manifest. I may never fully understand why I was chosen to walk the path that I have, but I am eternally grateful for the opportunity. I am grateful for my mother, the remarkable Dr. Pauline Gwatirisa, to whose enduring well of love, intelligence, and wisdom I am blessed enough to have ready access. I would also like to thank Gogo and Kulu Gwatirisa—my grandparents who raised me up until the precipice of my teen years. I hope you can flip through these pages from on high (though not too thoroughly though, Kulu; I don't want to have to rewrite this!)

I am forever indebted to my advisor, Dr. Rita Edozie. Not only was she, as the director of the African American and African Studies program at Michigan State University, responsible for my recruitment; she has been a mentor unparalleled over the past five years. Beyond her incredible grasp on the relevant scholarship, her pragmatic motivation kept me working when walking away seemed a far more attractive option. To Dr. Peter Alegi, of whose work I was a fan years before attending MSU; thank you for your most meticulous comments and refusal to settle for half-baked responses and ideas. I also take with me your rebuke to not have my phone out during class—I am a better man for it! To Dr. Glenn Chambers; thank you for stepping in as my de facto advisor in the absence of Dr. E. You arguably witnessed my graduate scholarship at its most lackluster, and I have never taken your encouragement lightly. Dr. Galen Sibanda, my head is bowed to you. What a pleasure it has been to work with you: your knowledge and

understanding of Southern Africa is unmatched, and I am fortunate to have had your counsel.

I am also particularly grateful to the other teachers who have gotten me here, including: Dr. Pero Dagbovie (MSU); Dr. Lee June (MSU); Dr. Geneva Smitherman (MSU),; Dr. April Baker-Bell (MSU); Dr. Lewis Sigelbaum (MSU); Dr. Dennis Jett (PSU); Dr. Tiyanjana Maluwa (PSU); Dr. Polly Diven (GVSU); Dr. Richard Yidana (GVSU); Dr Daniel McClure (GVSU); Dr. Heather Tafel (GVSU); Mr. O'Shea (Saints); Mrs Davidson (Saints); Mr. Chikukwa (Saints); Mrs Blackie (Saints); Mr. Haddad (Saints); Mai Mukuchira (Sheni); Mr Godo (Sheni); Mai Murawu (Sheni); Mai Siduna (Sheni). I am, of course, missing many more—please charge any omissions to the space limit and not to my heart.

It is hard to put into words how indebted I am to my maternal cousins, with whom I spent much of my childhood with. While my love endures for all of them, allow me to make special mention of Sandra, Ruvimbo, Nunu, Nigel and Takunda who—by virtue of being around my age and in the same spaces— have continually sharpened my intellectualism. I would also like to thank my aunts and uncles to whom I am a son: nothing less.

To the Mavimas: I may have come to you later in life, but you have been here where it mattered the most. My father. Dr. Paul Mavima: I have learnt more from you than you would ever believe. Thank you, most importantly, for showing me that we are always growing as men. To my 'other' mother, Sienna Mavima: I will never understand how you love like you do, but I'm grateful for it. My siblings, Michelle, Rumbi, Taku,

and Nyasha—I'll never stop going to war for you, for I know you'd do the same. God bless you and yours. Much love to the extended Mavima family as well.

Inundated with love galore, I would like to take a moment to mention some of my dearest friends. To my brothers Derek and Emilio, with whom I formed the "Three Wise Men" trio, thank you and congrats for everything. To Nyasha, my childhood best friend whose intellect often makes me feel like my years in school have been wasted, I love you brother. Boitshoko- thank you for being a friend in a time of need! To Ja'La Wourman, whose love and neurosis continues to push me to be a better man—you could not have come at a better time.

As I round up, I would also like to acknowledge a few other families I belong to. The African Studies Center family who have treated me like a son since I came to them in 2017. The brothers of Sigma Lambda Beta, with whom (and sometimes, against) I toil and strife to make the world a bit better. The *Pakare Paya* Boys, who help me maintain perspective. My AngoSpartan soccer team- I'll always cherish playing with you. The CLUBHOUSE International volunteers and kids, who remind me every day what it is all about. Finally, my AAAS family at Michigan State University. Shout out to my initial cohort, Dr. Leah Gaines and (soon to be Drs.) Joyce Farley, Shelby Ray Pumphrey, Juan Maefield and Bernie Moore. I can't name everybody else, but critical shouts to Drs. Kalonji Walton, Kris Rowe, Janelle Edwards, El-Ra Radney, Olaocha Nwabara, Tara Mock, as well as AJ Rice, Michael Wilson, and Clarence George III.

Finally, I thank everyone who helped with this project. All the respondents, artists, guest houses—you made this happen. I am overwhelmed, but I appreciate you.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS

ANC   African National Congress

APLA   The Azanian People's Liberation Army

AU   African Union

AZAPO   Azanian People's Organisation

BCM   Black Consciousness Movement

BLF   Black First Land First

EFF   Economic Freedom Fighters

FTLRP   Fast Track Land Reform Program

MDC   Movement for Democratic Change

MK   Umkhonto weSizwe (Spear of the Nation)

NCTU   National Council of Trade Unions

PAC   Pan African Congress of Azania

SADC   Southern African Development Community

ZANLA   Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army

ZANU (PF)   Zimbabwe African National Union (Patriotic Front)

ZAPU   Zimbabwe African People's Union

ZCTU   Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions

ZIPRA   Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army

INTRODUCTION

"...I believe that a real dilemma faces the pan-Africanist. One is the fact that pan-Africanism demands an African consciousness and an African loyalty; on the other hand is the fact that each pan-Africanist must also concern himself with the freedom and development of one of the nations of Africa. These things can conflict" (Nyerere 1966)

"Ethnicity was seen as inimical to both (nation-building and development). It weakened the states by the conflicts in engendered and the multiplicity of its claims simply denied the new (postcolonial African) countries a "national image" (Moyo & Yeros 34).

Two overarching conflicts captured by each of the quotes above indicate not only the importance of the concept of African nationalisms, including Pan Africanism and ethnic nationalism in African society and politics, but also the need for more elaborate study and comprehension of this phenomenon. Two factors explain this. First, the ideology that is Pan-Africanism has, since inception, had an ambiguous and often contested relationship with nationalism. On one hand, Pan-African ideals have informed and inspired many nationalist agendas that led to the fall of colonialism and the birth of new states. On the other, many independent nations have in turn rejected Pan-Africanism, arguing that it is impractical and that it encroaches on civil liberties. It is these theoretical loggerheads that Nyerere describes above.

The second assumed conflict is that which exists between ethnic nationalism and the state nationalism that postcolonial African leaders were tasked with manufacturing where, in many cases, it had not existed before. While scholars have interrogated these dynamics over the past few decades, and increasingly so in the 21st century, these conversations have overwhelmingly taken place at political elite levels, resulting in the alienation of the masses- with the several demographics thereof- from participation in this discourse. Consider, for example, the preamble of the African Union's constitution which begins, "We, Heads of State and Government of the Member States..." (Constitutive Act

of the African Union). While pragmatically accurate, this reveals the fundamental remoteness of the layman from the ultimate representation of political Pan-Africanism on the continent. It is this remoteness which this study seeks to disrupt through its emphasis on popular expressions of nationalism and Pan-Africanism.

To this end, *Popular Expressions of Southern African Nationalism(s): Convergences, Divergences, and Reconciliations in South Africa and Zimbabwe* examines popular manifestations of African nationalisms—ethnic nationalism, state nationalism and regional nationalism (Pan-Africanism)—in the continent using South Africa and Zimbabwe as sites of analysis. The dissertation study traces the transformations, reveals the tensions, and critically analyzes diverging and converging trajectories of different manifestations of African nationalism, including Pan-Africanism. Through the study, I demonstrate how popular expressions of African nationalism have emerged and evolved in the neighboring nations during their anti-colonial/anti-apartheid struggles throughout the 20th century, and in what ways they exist today.

I do so by interrogating ways that these manifestations of nationalism are imagined, practiced, and represented by the initiatives and actions of different members of the civil society including artists, activists, laborers, and migrants in the two countries' contemporary politics and society. Employing this approach, I aim to shift attention away from the narrow focus on governmental interactions that has been at the center of Pan-Africanist and nationalist conversations since the end of colonialism and towards a more holistic approach that accounts for a spectrum of manifestations, including those at the grassroots level.

I seek to unravel the critical trajectories from which African Nationalisms and Pan-Africanism have structurally transformed African contemporary states and societies and the legacies that they imprint on both comparative intra-group relations within each nation as well as inter-regional relations among African countries. The study provides a methodological contribution to African American and African Studies, particularly rooted in the study's distinctive disruption of the elitist narrative of African Nationalisms and Pan-Africanism. That is to say, critical to the research is the investigation of African Nationalism and Pan-Africanism using a bottom-up, as opposed to a top-down, approach. I explore these various dimensions of African Nationalism, including Pan-Africanism, in select archetypes, political discourses, and literary and artistic works of everyday Black South Africans and Zimbabweans. Drawing a trajectory from pre-colonial and colonial era phenomena, this study particularly focuses on contemporary popular expressions. My findings will lead to a nuanced determination of the factors that influence the intersections, divergences, and convergences of what I refer to in the study as Africa's tripartite nationalist expressions, heritages, and identities—ethnic nationalism, state nationalism, and Pan-Africanism.

At the core of my research, I interrogate the interrelations among ethnic nationalism, state and national nationalism, and Pan-Africanism, using South Africa and Zimbabwe as case studies that both represent the larger postcolonial region, yet also bear distinct dynamics birthed out of the histories of settler colonialism and the late advent of majority rule. In so doing, I hope to expose the relevance and manifestations of nationalism and Pan-Africanism in the everyday lives of Black South Africans and Zimbabweans. While using the two countries as a window into the general condition of

postcolonial Africa, the research also interrogates how their distinct history of settler colonialisms, racialism, and delayed transitions to democracy have shaped the ways in which the populace in the two countries engage with Pan-Africanism and African nationalism.

The dissertation seeks to answer a number of important questions. How do the people of South Africa and Zimbabwe, and the different identities therein, express their sense of nationalism-whether it be ethnic, state, or regional nationalism (Pan-Africanism)? Are these ideals complementary, compatible or inimical to each other? In what ways do these expressions reflect those of the political elites who are typically at the forefront of crafting and articulation national agendas and identities? Perhaps more importantly, in what ways do these expressions depart from the latter? Also, how do contemporary nationalistic expressions in the two countries represent continuations and departures from the anti-imperial, anti-colonial African Nationalisms that arose in the early and mid-20th century? Furthermore, how are these communities' expressions situated within the broader Pan-African community? How are they informed by Pan-African dynamics and, conversely, how do they help inform the broad ideological umbrella that is Pan-Africanism?

In addition to these fundamental questions, the dissertation also interrogates expressions of nationalism in the two countries along two critical trajectories: what I have termed *points of convergence* and *points of divergence.* Points of convergence represent those nationalisms that grow out of the countries' shared experiences as settler colonies whose White minority rule lasted until near the end of the 20th century, as well as their geographic and cultural proximity. For the purposes of the study, these expressions do

not necessarily have to be identical; they are often different expressions—but critically born out of or in reaction to the same phenomena. Points of divergence, on the other hand, represent expressions that, at the time of the study, have been definitive of one of the countries' postcolonial national project or national question- but not prominent in the other. That is to say, despite the cultural, historic, and contemporary commonalities that facilitate the points of convergence, certain phenomena—and the expressions surrounding them—have emerged distinctly from either South Africa or Zimbabwe, resulting in essentially divergent postcolonial realities between the two.

Table 1: Convergent & Divergent Nationalisms (pre-study)[1]

	South Africa	Zimbabwe
Convergent	- Post-Apartheid Reconciliation & Multi-Racialism - Inter-ethnic contestations - Pan-Africanism	- Post-Independence Reconciliation and Multiracialism - Inter-ethnic contestations - Pan-Africanism
Divergent	Afrophobia	Land Redistribution

The project's distinct contribution to the field rests heavily in its interdisciplinary nature, drawing on theories, sources, and methods from an array of fields including: African history to establish the origins and evolution of African nationalism in the various expressions and incarnations thereof; political science and international relations to understand contemporary dynamics within the two countries and those with which they interact; and cultural studies in analyzing the influence of music, literature, theatre and other media in shaping the populace's ideas on the nation and its identity.

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[1] A comprehensive, post-study table encompassing findings therefrom is on page 251.

BACKGROUND

South Africa and Zimbabwe, together and individually, represent peculiar cases of the nationalist/Pan-African interaction worthy of interrogation. Together, the countries represent two continental instances of the British Empire relinquishing colonial power to the respective White settler communities (Kriger 2). This created not only a brutal parochial nationalism—as most prominently represented by Apartheid in South Africa and the Unilateral Declaration of Independence in Zimbabwe—among the settlers, but also a radical response from the colonized in the particular form of African nationalism. Critically, incarnations of this nationalism varied in doctrines, levels of radicalism, and membership, and undoubtedly evolved over time.

Thus, for example, the Pan-African Congress (PAC) split from the African National Congress (ANC) citing a moderate liberalism that posed no radical threat to the Apartheid government. They then developed a more radical brand of African nationalism that placed utmost importance on African exclusivity within their ranks and a Garvey-influenced emphasis on African ownership of the land. In Zimbabwe, the two prominent nationalist parties, ZAPU and ZANU, soon developed a character and reputation of ethnic particularism—Ndebele and Shona respectively—that not only shaped the struggle, but continues to influence the contemporary socio-political environment. Furthermore, as the last vestiges of political imperialism, the Southern African countries invigorated the Pan-African community's anti-imperial campaigns in the latter part of the 20th century.   Individually, South Africa's size, ethnic and racial diversity and, crucially, the negotiated nature of Apartheid's demise combined to create an environment in which various manifestations of nationalism grow; all that engage Pan-African ideals

6

differently. Nationalism in Zimbabwe, in addition to the continued resonance of the ethnic dimensions mentioned earlier, has been shaped significantly by the politics of unrelenting resistance to Western influences, land redistribution and general intolerance towards opposing political viewpoints; a doctrine championed by the Mugabe-led Zanu PF regime and dubbed "Mugabeism" by contemporary scholars (*Do Zimbabweans Exist* 237).

The fall of Apartheid was widely anticipated to bring about critical change to both the nation of South Africa and the continent at large. For the nation, the transition to democracy hailed the triumph of the ANC's reconciliatory nationalism and multiracialism, coined the Rainbow Nation. The resurgence of the ANC, together with ineffective late-Apartheid leadership from the ranks of the more radical Africanist groups such as PAC and AZAPO, essentially pushed the latter groups to the political periphery. Two decades since the end of Apartheid, continued mass poverty and retention, albeit informal, of many Apartheid era socio-economic dynamics, has seen a decline in ANC's popularity and an upsurge of radicalism in the form of such groups as the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) and Black First Land First (BLF). This post-Apartheid phenomena has also resulted in other forms of societal fragmentation, as represented by recurrent bouts of xenophobic violence in the country. A 2015 Afrobarometer revealed that 42% of the South African community felt that foreigners should not be allowed to live in South Africa (Chingwete 2).

For the continental Pan-African community, the advent of South African democracy stood for the demise of European imperialism's last visage, as well as the hope for regional socio-economic renewal. Not only had the rest of continent sacrificed

innumerable lives and resources in the fight against Apartheid, the post-Apartheid South African economy was three to four times larger than that of its thirteen regional neighbors combined. Thus, for several reasons, the advent of democracy in South Africa was viewed as "the last bastion of hope which may drag the continent out of its current malaise" (Ahluwalia et al). The country's post-Apartheid record on Pan-Africanism has however been ambiguous.

On one hand, the likes of President Thabo Mbeki and former African Union Commission Chairperson Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma have taken up the mantle of leadership in the advocacy for continental Pan-Africanism through their involvement with the African Renaissance and Agenda 2063 respectively. The government has also assumed Pan-African leadership through peacebuilding and regional emergency response programs, while the country currently ranks second on the continent in African immigrant population. Cultural production, diverse among the ethnic groups, has especially been a prominent vehicle for grassroots Pan-Africanism. On the other, the government has been accused by pundits of using its regional might in a "sub-imperial" manner that strengthens South Africa at the expense of its neighbors, and civil society has been ravaged by xenophobia directed specifically at African immigrants. While governmental policy and opinions of other political elites are often studied in-depth, little has been done to interrogate how members of the general populace situate and express their place within the conceptions of nationalism and Pan-Africanism: a critical gap in scholarship, seeing as some of the most poignant expressions thereof- for better or worse- are grassroots and not elite-based.

Zimbabwe faces postcolonial ambiguity of a different kind. Garnished with artworks, street names, and literature that read like a roll call of continental Pan-Africanism, the country (and specifically its leadership under Mugabe and the Zanu PF) has maintained a radical nationalistic and Pan-Africanist rhetoric reminiscent of the 1960s Casablanca Bloc[2]. The land redistribution program of the late 1990s and early 2000s, for example serves as both an act of radical nationalism and a pilot program upon which other African countries can build in moving further away from persisting colonial era economic and political power dynamics. This aggressive national project has meant the suppression of narratives that are deemed as threatening ZANU PF's apparent hegemonic hold on nationalism, most violently represented by the Gukurahundi Massacres of the Ndebele people during the 1980s; a sordid chapter in the country's history whose resonance of national fragmentation is still felt today. The government has also become famous for its blatant and repeated rejection of any encroachment on their politics by the West, culminating in their giving up the country's membership in the Commonwealth, constant criticism of the apparent bias against Africa in the International Criminal Court (ICC) and advocating for African countries to leave the United Nations.

The rise in the radical rhetoric has, however, coincided with a remarkable economic collapse and socio-political instability, leaving many within the continental community wary of that type of nationalism and Pan-African engagement. Even with Mugabe's forced resignation at the end of 2017, the intractability of his four-decade rule from machinations of an independent Zimbabwe as well as the fact that he was replaced

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[2] The collective of radical Pan-Africanist leaders that boasted the likes of Kwame Nkrumah (Ghana), Sekou Toure (Guinea) and Gamel Abdel-Nasser (Egypt) who, in the early 1960s, sought to unite all independent African countries under one supranational government.

by a longtime ally and, for the most part, ideological counterpart, almost guarantees that the fundamental tenets of Mugabeism will remain a staple of the state for years to come. As the people continue to endure the uncertainty of the government's postcolonial project and its ramifications, it is important to interrogate how they continue to engage their national and Pan-African identities, particularly for the purposes of national healing, reinvigorating an inclusive national project, as well as situating the country's place in an evolving Pan-African landscape.

The significantly similar modern histories of the two countries, coupled with critical differences in their postcolonial national projects, create fundamental points of convergence and points of divergence: a framework through which the rest of this project is organized[3]. Throughout this study, I interrogate these convergences and divergences among ethnic nationalism, state and national nationalism, and Pan-Africanism, using South Africa and Zimbabwe as case studies that both represent the larger postcolonial region, yet also bear distinct dynamics birthed out of the histories of settler colonialism and the late advent of majority rule. In so doing, I demonstrate nationalistic expressions of nationalism in the everyday lives of Black South Africans and Zimbabweans. While using the two countries as a window into the general condition of postcolonial Africa, the research also interrogates how their distinct history of settler colonialisms, racialism, and delayed transitions to democracy have shaped the ways in which the populace in the two countries engage with various, and at times inimical, conceptualizations of nationalism.

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[3] See Table 1

THEORETICAL GROUNDING

The trajectory of this project rests fundamentally on the necessity of disrupting the elitist scope through which we hold nationalistic discourse. Instead, it aims to elevate those popular narratives that are often relegated to the periphery of intellectual and socio-political conversations. As such, it is critical to draw upon seminal theoretical works out of which the operational concepts grow.

Anthony D Smith defines nationalism as "an ideological movement for attaining and maintaining identity, unity and autonomy of a social group whose members deem it to constitute an actual or potential nation" (18). Anderson then reiterates the basic tenets of this idea, explaining that "regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship" (7). That is to say, flawed though it may be, the nation is an aggregation of the different individuals and communities that belong therein- whether they constitute the society's elite or otherwise. Yet, even as we recognize the importance of the lived experiences of the average citizen as being the substance of nationalism, popular discourse gravitates towards an elitist understanding thereof. Sociologist Michael Billig laments how "Because the concept of nationalism has been restricted to exotic and passionate exemplars, the routine and familiar forms of nationalism have been overlooked" (8). This study contributes to the growing literature that elevates the discourse surrounding these 'routine and familiar' expressions of nationalism to academic and socio-political importance.

While colonialism served to advance the colonizer's nationalism- both in the colonies and in the metropole- it had the opposite effect on the colonized communities.

Whether it was Hagel dubbing Africa "the land of childhood" or Albert Schweitzer theorizing that "the Negro is a child, and with children, nothing can be done without authority" (Mamdani 4), the abstract and tangible pillars that upheld the colonial nation fundamentally served to exclude colonized subjects from civil society and, thus, the nation. Postcolonialist scholars have referred to this process by which differentiation for the purposes of exclusion and control as "othering" with the marginalized known as the "other" or subaltern (Krumer-Nevo & Sidi).

In response to the "othering" born of imperialism, 19th and 20th century scholars from the colonized world- collectively known as the Third World and predominantly comprising Africa, Latin America and Asia- theorized on how to disrupt the exclusionary nationalism of the colonial condition. In so doing, the colonized world "dreamed of a new world.... They longed for dignity above all else, but also the basic necessities of life (Land, peace, and freedom)" (Prashad XV). Scholars from the global African community, too, argued that only a destruction of the imperial structure and its philosophical and systemic facets would fundamentally remove the "other" label from the colonized. For instance, Robin D G Kelley argues that "a revolutionary society cannot be created unless the colonial state is completely dismantled" (James 26). It is around these considerations that African Nationalism, in its many incarnations, was conceived and theorized. In his 1956 seminal text *African Nationalism*, pioneering Zimbabwean scholar, Ndabaningi Sithole defined African nationalism as "a political feeling manifesting itself against European rule in favor of African rule for the benefit of another" (56). Sithole's summation represents the overarching impetus that drove African nationalistic

movements that manifested in a variety of ways in the different African communities on the continent and in the diaspora.

Despite the nobility of the cause and the eventual advent of political independence, scholars have lamented the postcolonial society's failure to dismantle the colonial legacy of "othering." If anything, the postcolonial political elite have largely appeared content and intent in the replication of colonial-era exclusionary distribution of power through which the nation and nationalism is now within their sole proprietorship as it had been with the colonialists. Fanon predicted with remarkable accuracy these postcolonial dynamics decades before the end of colonialism in Zimbabwe and South Africa, as he theorized around what he calls "the pitfalls of nationalism" (147). He highlights how "the native bourgeoisie which comes to (postcolonial) power uses its class aggressiveness to corner the positions formerly kept for (colonial) foreigners" (155). Contemporary scholars continue to shed light and develop more theoretical nuance to the elitist culture that corrupts postcolonial nationalism. Mamdani gives heed to the good intentions of anticolonial nationalists before critiquing their transformation into the postcolonial leaders, saying:

> No nationalist government was content to reproduce the colonial legacy uncritically. Each Sought to reform the bifurcated state that institutionally crystallized a state-enforced separation, of the rural from the Urban and one ethnicity from another. But in so doing each reproduced a part of the legacy, thereby creating its own variety of despotism. (8)

Ndlovu-Gatsheni is less generous and more critical of the malevolence through which contemporary political elites perpetuate "othering" through the selective articulation of history. He argues that "the ruling elite in Zimbabwe has tried to redefine the meaning "Zimbabwe-ness" in partisan and cultural-nativist terms", thereby

13

privileging the elites and those who support them as "the nation" (*Do Zimbabweans Exist* 93).

The persistent exclusionary nature of nationalism has resulted in the emergence and growth of postcolonial scholarship primarily concerned with democratizing nationalism and the development of ideas and expressions thereof. This has been most prominent in the field of Subaltern Studies that rose to prominence among South Asian scholars at the tail end of the 20th century. One of the prominent subaltern scholars, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, speaks of this marginalization of voices as "epistemic violence" which not only aims to "to constitute the colonial subject as Other", but also towards "the asymmetrical obliteration of the trace of that Other in its precarious Subjectivity" (24-25). Critically, Spivak delves into the discussion of women as having been othered by both colonialism and the resultant nationalism, and how any efforts and disrupting the elitism of othering is incomplete if it does not tackle the dynamics of gender.

In a turn particularly relevant to South Africa and Zimbabwe as settler colonies, Achille Mbembe argues for holistic decolonization of knowledge production saying "in this age of neoliberal individualism, we need to connect in entirely new ways the project of non-racialism to that of human mutuality... a non-racial university is truly about radical sharing and universal inclusion" (*Decolonizing Knowledge 28).*

Ngugi Wa Thiong'o *Decolonizing the Mind* places literary production, and thus language, on the continent right in the center of contemporary Pan-African resistance to coloniality. Ngugi argues that "language was the most important vehicle through which that power fascinated and held the soul prisoner. The bullet was the means of physical

subjugation. Language was the means of spiritual subjugation" (9). In what many regard as a radical position, Ngugi then challenges African writers to abandon colonial languages and focus their energies on developing works in their indigenous languages (91). Whether one agrees or views Ngugi's positioning as realistic or otherwise, it does indeed shift the decolonizing conversation towards arguably the most popular expression of being: language.

Prominent Pan-Africanist scholar, Thandeka Mkandawire, particularly indicts the outdated myopic, state-oriented approach to Pan-Africanism and, instead, calls for "a more democratic and more participatory process in which the pan-Africanist project will be an aggregation, albeit not an arithmetical one, of the concerns of new social movements for who pan-Africanism provides a new framework for addressing their local or national agenda" (2008). His advocacy for a participatory engagement to the ideology includes elevating the voices of scholars, artists, and other "organic intellectuals" whose experiences as members of the ethnic, national, and Pan-African community have thus far been marginalized.

These approaches to the study of African and African-descended communities is one prominently championed by Ruth Simms Hamilton, who describes these societal manifestations as the "black cultural apparatus...composed of all the organizations and milieus in which artistic, educational-intellectual, political, religious, and scientific work goes on, as well as the means by which these works are made available to circles, publics, and masses" (219). Employing this approach, I shift attention away from the narrow focus on the political elite that has been at the center of African nationalistic

conversations since the end of colonialism and towards a more holistic approach that accounts for a spectrum of manifestations, including those at the grassroots level.

RESEARCH METHODS

I have employed an interdisciplinary African American and African studies approach that combines a diversity of qualitative methods including analytic theory induction, historical archival study, and country based on-site observational field research study in South Africa and Zimbabwe. I center my field research on the Gauteng province (Johannesburg and Pretoria) in South Africa, and Harare in Zimbabwe. Both sites represent the most populated, diverse, and socio-economically active constituencies in the respective countries. Both provinces are also home to their respective country's capital city. This study is a culmination of research conducted primarily between 2015 and 2018, although obviously drawing instances of analysis from throughout the history of the modern incarnations of these two countries where relevant.

While the study is critically organized along thematic lines, it also employs a definitive historical sociology method of periodization that distinguishes between the colonial and post-colonial era in either country[4]. The study may, indeed, be centered on contemporary popular expressions, yet this periodization allows us to focus on the departures and continuities of nationalism and expressions thereof.

The crux of my fieldwork is the twenty-six interviews were held in both countries: seventeen in South Africa and nine in Zimbabwe (eight women and nine men in the former; three women and six men in the latter). Of the seventeen interviewed in South Africa, three were Zimbabwean nationals who were there for short term work or

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[4] As well as fundamental pre-colonial contextualization- albeit limited.

16

school, and thus their responses were counted in both parts[5] of the survey that spoke to their immigrant experience in South Africa as well as to their opinions as Zimbabwean citizens.

Having cast a wide net for potential subjects over three two-month long visits to Southern Africa utilizing familial, professional and social connections, the twenty-six respondents are drawn from those with whom I was able to interview given my limited resources and time in either country. The interviews involved meeting the respondents in a public setting, and engaging in informal conversation based on an informal survey asking them to opine on different subjects including: Rainbow Nationalism; Mugabeism; Pan-Africanism; African Renaissance; Land Redistribution; Ethnic nationalism; and Afrophobia. Interviews typically lasted between 40 minutes and an hour, with the shortest running for 12 minutes and the longest nearing two hours. I categorize the subjects into five broad demographics that represent integral and varying conversations surrounding issues of Pan-Africanism and African nationalism.

The first segment consists of people actively engaged in local or national politics. While the project seeks to disrupt exclusively elitist discourses, *politicians* create platforms that are reflected in popular sentiment and expressions- whether in rejection of acceptance of such platforms. As such, my interviews with politicians in both countries have centered on party platforms and initiatives of governance and how they contribute to overall discourse on nationalism and Pan-Africanism among the people. The next group I have termed *community stalwarts*. These include activists, philanthropists, community organizers, and media personalities. These are people who, without necessarily being

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[5] One in particular, JC, is a student government official at the University of South Africa, and thus is included in a third category as a community stalwart in South Africa.

explicitly linked to political parties or leadership, still have high visibility within the society and possibly engage conversations of nationalism and Pan-Africanism in ways distinct from other segments of society.

Third are the *artists*, whose work is often the voice of the people, yet also stands to be a vehicle of societal influence. Artistic communities tend to engage societal phenomena, which popular expressions of nationalism and Pan-Africanism are, and their respective communities in different ways worthy of investigation. The artists I have interviewed include singers, poets, and visual artists. Beyond these three categories, I also interview members of the *general populace* who do not necessarily fall into these categories. Among them are students, laborers, merchants, and they represent the laymen and women in both spaces. Finally, I interviewed *African immigrants* in South Africa. Of particular focus was their perceptions of the host community's popular Pan-Africanism as it relates to their own acceptance into the communities. Attempts to obtain interviews with immigrants proved unfruitful: a few respondents who were either immigrants or first generation citizens had little to no connection with the land of their origin, and thus identified—and stated that they were regarded by their communities—as Zimbabweans.

The subject categorizations, however, often overlap. Among the subjects, for example, have been immigrants who are heavily involved in their host nation's activism, community organizers who are also artists, and a large segment of the art community that are immigrants as well. While the interviews were held predominantly in English, portions of the Zimbabwean responses were in Shona and I translate them accordingly in the project[6].

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[6] And, to a much lesser extent, Zulu portions of the South African interviews.

Table 2: Study Respondents

Respondent Category	South Africa	Zimbabwe
Politicians	Jackie Seroke- PAC political and Pan-African Affairs Secretary (M[7]) Mohau Mokoena- ANC Youth and Labor Organizer (M) *Buhle*[8]- PAC Administrator (F)	Paul Mavima- ZANU PF Member of Parliament (M)
Community Stalwarts	*Bathanda*- Trade Unions Researcher (F) N*omusa*- University Student Body President (F) *JC*- University Law School Representative (M)[9] *Siya*- Student Activist (M)	Nyasha- Nonprofit Director (M) Nyaradzo- Women's Rights Activist (F)
Artists	AfroSue- Poet (F) T*umi*- Performance Artiste (F) Azah- Musician (M)	*Vee*- Graphic Designer (F) King Isaac- Reggae Artist (M)
General Populace	*Lisa* (F) *Naledi* (F) Zingiswa (M)	*Munashe* (F) *Taku* (M) *Tino* (M) *Kiri* (M)
African Immigrants	*Dambudzo*- Zimbabwe (M) *Vivian*- Uganda (F) *Didier*- Benin (M) *Mzee*- Zimbabwe (M)	

In addition to the interviews, my research is further enriched by on-site participatory observation over the past few years in both South Africa and Zimbabwe. Through visiting different spaces of Nationalist and Pan-African significance- whether by

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[7] Gender of Respondents (M= Male, F= Female)

[8] *Names Italicized* reflect pseudonyms, either at the request of the subject, or due to a lack of explicit consent to use real names

design or default, I note and analyze various trends including narratives, demographics and discourses surrounding these spaces. These spaces have included, in both or either country, museums and cultural centers, artistic showcases, community, educational, and political gatherings.

Many of the chapters and sections of this study bear indigenous African language titles, including Shona, Zulu, and Xhosa. This decision has been made in order to preserve as much as possible the authenticity of the nationalistic expressions and responses as they have been articulated by the respondents and their communities. As with the interviews, I have had to translate many relevant expressions (songs, books, poems, social media commentary etc.) from the aforementioned languages.

Finally, I have depended on the analyses of various multi-modal resources to enrich my study. These have included news articles, works of art and literature, music, social media trends, and Afrobarometer surveys, among other things. These not only add an organic layer of interrogation away from prepared interviews, but they are also integral for me as a researcher attempting to keep abreast of continuously evolving societal dynamics from overseas.

The findings of this study are organized into two broad categories. Popular *macro-expressions* speak to larger social movements and phenomena that exist as expressions of nationalism or Pan-Africanism. These include religious organizations and culture (for. ex Ethiopianism), student and labor movements, guerrilla warfare, among others. On the other hand, popular micro-expressions constitute the ways in which people—individuals or groups—express these identities and ideals on a usually smaller and more routine scale. *Micro-expressions* include artworks, rhetoric, protest marches

etc. Typically, micro-expressions exist within a larger macro-expressive framework. For example, South Africa's #RhodesMustFall student movement is a macro-expression of dissent, while the songs, plays, marches and interviews around it are the micro-expressions thereof. However, these micro-expressions may also exist outside of the confines of a macro-expressive movement. This binary is often blurred, but is reiterated when necessary throughout this study.

As I present my work, I am also aware of the limitations that the methodology- and thus the findings- are hampered by. While the focusing of the study on Gauteng and Harare made temporal and practical sense, the metropolitan economic and political hubs of their relevant countries are often unrecognizable to communities in the country away from them. Rural areas, smaller towns, less ethnically diverse communities, and others, could potentially yield drastically different results. I have thus sought to complement the findings drawn from the respondents by putting them in conversations with popular expressions from around the country. A contemporary study also provides a distinct set of challenges, especially in a rapidly changing socio-political landscape. Consider, for example, that five months after my last data collection trip to Southern Africa- and three into my transcription process- Robert Mugabe was deposed as Zimbabwean president after 38 years in power. That alone fundamentally changed not only the opinions, but the lived reality of the nation as most of my respondents (born after independence in 1980) had ever known it. In spite of my best efforts to continually integrate relevant phenomena until the project's due date, there certainly will be important events and reactions thereto for which I will fall short of accounting; hence the need for continued research on the topic.

DISSERTATION ORGANIZATION

This study is essentially organized into four sections on which I expand in the following paragraphs: the introduction and first chapter consisting of a literature review; a *Points of Convergence* section comprising of three chapters; a *Points of Divergence* section with two chapters; and a final analytical chapter.

The literature review discusses existent works surrounding the three definitive components of this work: nationalism, Pan-Africanism, and popular expressions, engaging in depth many of the works presented in the introductory literature review earlier in this chapter. The majority of the dissertation is organized along a critical dynamic that is apparent when studying the historical and contemporary socio-politics of South Africa and Zimbabwe: that there are several points of convergence between the two societies as well as points of divergence. Thus, Chapter Two, three and four collectively comprise the *Points of Convergence* section, wherein I interrogate common phenomena that have emerged in popular discourse within the two countries due to the historic and contemporary parallels highlighted earlier. The implication here is not that the phenomena has occurred identically in both countries but, rather, that they exist in both and can be analyzed in comparison and contrast to each other.

In Chapter Two**, "*Nkosi Sikelel'i Afrika"[10]- Historical Developments of African Nationalisms in the Settler Colonies*, I spend some time constructing the historical environment in which I engage the study. Using the advent of global Pan-Africanism and the birth of the earliest Southern African Black nationalist movements in the 1900s as a

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[10] Meaning "God Bless Africa", it is the title of the late 19th century hymn that became a Pan-African anticolonial anthem. It is post-Apartheid South Africa's National Anthem and, for the first 13 years, was the national anthem in Zimbabwe as well. (It has also been the anthem for Zambia, Tanzania, and Namibia)

point of departure, I introduce critical moments in recent history that have defined contemporary popular manifestations of ethnic nationalism, state nationalism, and Pan-Africanism. Chief among these are the respective anti-imperial struggles, conflicts between different Nationalist ideologies, negotiated transitions, postcolonial national projects such as South Africa's Rainbow Nation and Zimbabwe's Mugabeism, as well as such accompanying phenomena as the xenophobic attacks and land redistribution program in South Africa and Zimbabwe respectively.

The following two chapters interrogate the ways in which governments have wrestled with the idea of national projects in the postcolonial era. Tasked with manufacturing postcolonial national identities within the geographic states crafted by the settler colonialists, the incumbent African nationalist governments in either country had to consolidate the various- and at times inimical- ethnic groups that made up the state, engage the rest of the continent, and reconcile with the former colonizers-turned-citizen. Chapter three, **"*Vanhu Vese Vemuno MuAfrica![11]" Postcolonial Expressions of Nationalisms in Zimbabwe***, traces the evolution of popular expressions from the euphoric immediate post-colonial era, to the fracturing between the heightened nationalism and Pan-Africanism of ZANU PF (under the umbrella of Mugabeism) and the post-nationalistic rhetoric and platforms as championed by the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC). The masses created agency and interacted with these ideological orientations in artistic production, education, developed of spaces that inhibited their values, realities, and agendas.

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[11] The title of a popular 1990s Shona song by veteran nationalist singer, Dickson "Chinx" Chingaira, meaning "All the People of Africa!"

The fourth chapter, ***#ColonialityMustFall: Popular Expressions of Nationalism(s) in South Africa***, follows a similar trajectory to chapter three, in that it interrogates popular expressions of Rainbow Nationalism and the African Renaissance, both of which were critical to South Africa's post-Apartheid nation-building. I also then explore counternarratives that have developed to complicate these expressions, including the #MustFall student and Africanization movements that have emerged as the masses react to continued socio-economic inequalities despite the early post-Apartheid promise of Rainbow Nation. This chapter focuses on the ways in which these postcolonial national projects permeated into popular consciousness, and how the people embodied and expressed their sense of national and Pan-African identity.

Chapters five and six make up the *Points of Divergence* section, which focuses on phenomena that have created distinct popular discourse critical to the postcolonial national question in either country. The fifth chapter, ***The Third Chimurenga: Expressions of Nationalism in the Context of Zimbabwe's Land Reform***, brings to the forefront the contested legacy of the land redistribution program in Zimbabwe. Central to the fight against imperialism in general and settler colonialism in particular, the matter of land ownership continues to be an integral national question in postcolonial Africa. Zimbabwe's land redistribution program at the turn of the century became a definitive mainstay of the national project that is Mugabeism. The polarizing initiative has been both heralded as critical inspiration in the fight against neocolonialism and as a cautionary socio-economic tale for other countries in the region for whom the land question remains relevant- for example, South Africa. In this chapter, I interrogate the ways in which land reform was framed as being of national and Pan African importance,

and its legacy in popular discourse. The interview segment pertaining to this section were distinctly enlightening, as I was able to hear from Zimbabweans living with the reality of the land reform as well as South Africans living with the prospects thereof.

In Chapter six, ***A Stain on the Rainbow: Reconciling Xenophobia in South Africa with Rainbow Nationalism and Anti-Apartheid Pan-Africanism***, I interrogate the country's paradoxical legacy as both a beacon of Pan-Africanism and a haven for xenophobia**.** Post-Apartheid South Africa's role as a leader in regional Pan-Africanism has often been cast into contention by several factors, prominent among them a reputation for the xenophobia targeted primarily at African immigrants to the country (dubbed "Afrophobia" in recent years). Sporadic waves of violence targeted at these groups have left hundreds of people dead, injured, and displaced, and popular surveys reveal prevalent xenophobic sentiments in segments of the South African community. Beyond its human and capital cost, this xenophobic phenomenon is particularly disconcerting because of the inseparability of African nationalism in South Africa and Pan-Africanism, with the latter developing due to significant philosophical and tangible contributions from the global African community. This chapter discusses the apparent paradox between a nationalism that owes much, and has contributed much, to continental Pan-Africanism and yet harbors immense xenophobia for African immigrants.

The conclusion, ***Popular Expressions of African Nationalism(s) – Reconciling Convergences and Divergences among Ethnic Politics, Nationalism, and Pan Africanism*** is the essential analysis of the data collected and presented in Chapters two to five. This dissertation study concludes with a summative scrutiny of trends and phenomena in contemporary popular expressions of ethnic nationalism, state nationalism,

and Pan-Africanism in the two countries – as presented in the preceding chapters. In establishing and interrogating these dynamics, we not only deepen understanding of Africa's tripartite nationalist expressions and identities, we can also gauge their directional future and ways in which they can be of use in answering the countries' national questions and in developing a more relevant and inclusive Pan-Africanism

CHAPTER ONE: POPULAR, NATIONAL, AND REGIONAL EXPRESSIONS
OF NATIONALISMS: THE AFRICAN DISTINCTION—A LITERATURE REVIEW

The interrogations, discourses, and findings of this project rest fundamentally on the interaction of three broad concepts: nationalism, Pan- Africanism, and the popular expressions thereof. All three incite a plethora of definitions and interpretations, depending on the relevant space, time, and agent. At its core, for example, Pan-Africanism remains the essential call for solidarity in the face of Western imperialism as articulated at the turn of the 20th century. On the other hand, the ideology has to contend with postcolonial dynamics unimagined by colonial era Pan-Africanists and, even among the unwavering devotees, there is often debate on spatial and topical range for inclusion into the ideology. Conversations surrounding nationalism, although similar, may yet be more complicated by its core primordiality, and the fact that modern African Nationalism is particularly described as arising in response to colonialism and thus assumes a particularly distinct form. Finally, popular expressions are as diverse as communities and individuals are, and have thus been traditionally difficult to account for in a manner that holistically validates their importance to critical socio-political discourse. In light of these tensions and negotiations, it is important to develop a theoretical and contextual comprehension of the three aforementioned overarching ideas, their various incarnations and expressions, and their interactions with each other.

This chapter reviews the literature surrounding those three concepts. I look at the foundational theories of modern nationalism, before engaging texts specific to African nationalism both as an inclusive ideology as well as its various expressions by different

communities and actors. The section goes on to engage imaginings of nationalism in South Africa and Zimbabwe, including various and, at times, inimical understandings of the national questions. The section on Pan-Africanism harkens back to the formal establishment of the ideology at the end of the 19th century, often engaging influences that led to this seminal moment. Thereafter, I examine literature that discusses the growth of Pan-Africanism over the 20th century and its establishment and growth as an anti-colonial concept on the African continent, as well as the many forms it has taken over its existence. The section concludes with a glance at the works of certain postcolonial scholars who argue that Pan-Africanism is antiquated and obsolete in the 21st century. Finally, I look to foundational theories on how popular culture influences nationalism and group identity, before delving into the literature on the various popular expressions of Pan-Africanism and nationalism in South Africa and Zimbabwe.

Literature on both nationalism(s) and Pan-Africanism, in their many incarnations, has tended to be overwhelmingly elitist in its orientation. This immediately excludes the masses who may have never come across the term or the movement, but share solidarity with fellow Africans through traditional concepts such as Ubuntu, or through other kinships forged through shared spaces, values, and struggles. Yet a momentary shift of the gaze away from the elitist lens often reveals a different understanding and expression of that ideal among the masses. As such, this study's critical contribution to the discourse is this emphasis on ways in which nationalisms and Pan-Africanism are expressed culturally and colloquially by different groups within society.

NATIONALISM

  "*Nationalism*," Anthony D. Smith explained, "is an ideological movement for attaining and maintaining identity, unity and autonomy of a social group whose members deem it to constitute an actual or potential nation" (18). While nationalism as a whole has existed for as long as humans have attempted to organize themselves along lines of difference, state nationalism as we know it is both a product of and a definitive feature of the modern, post-Westphalian political era. State nationalism, through which communities identify themselves in relation to the geographically marked territory over which they claim a sovereignty that is validated by the recognition of similarly organized communities (i.e. other states), is the operational unit of the contemporary international system.

  Despite its long duree as the standard bearer in the global political order, scholars also point to nationalism's volatility and, at times, seeming arbitrariness. In the seminal text, *Imagined Communities,* Benedict Anderson argues that nationalism as assumed by the current international system is a culmination of imagined camaraderie and identities. He argues, among other things, nations are imagined "because, regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship" (Anderson 7). Ruramisai Charumbira's *Imagining a Nation* echoes Anderson, although it goes a step further and differentiates between imagination, which "places a premium on remembering things past, however distorted," while "invention places a premium on the totally made up, however plausible" (29). Thus, it can be said, nationalism essentially constitutes the positing of sentimental and esoteric ideals of belonging on a real people and real land.

While literature on nationalism spurns the entirety of the modern era, it was in the 20th century (and, in particular, the post-World War II era) that there was a surge in African nationalist literature. In his 1956 seminal text *African Nationalism*, ZANU founding president and pioneering Zimbabwean scholar, Ndabaningi Sithole defined African nationalism as "a political feeling manifesting itself against European rule in favor of African rule for the benefit of another" (56). C R D Halisi reiterates this conceptualization of a nationalism that grew in direct response to imperialism, saying it was "nurtured by a growing sense of common racial identity, a shared historical experience of subordination, and the denial of citizenship" (Halisi 46). Put another way, African resistance to colonialism meant the imagining and invention of an identity that may otherwise not have existed before. For example, African nationalists in Rhodesia banded under the name Zimbabwe, a term coined by early nationalist Michael Mawema in 1959 (*Do Zimbabweans Exist* 70). No nation named Zimbabwe or South Africa was in existence at the time of colonization, and the independent nation the nationalists envisioned brought together different (and sometimes inimical) African communities to establish a nation where none of its nature had previously stood.

Although driven by the same goal of African liberation from the shackles of colonialism, nationalist writers and political leaders often differed in liberatory methodology and in their postcolonial vision, leading to a myriad of ideas on African Nationalism. Many of these envisioned some version of a socialist postcolonial state to counteract the capitalism that had culminated in their being colonized. In a series of formidable writings, Kwame Nkrumah communicated his ideas for an African nationalism that centered cultivating independent African thinkers through an intellectual

reconstruction of pre-colonial knowledge and ideals (consciencism), as well as an African

socialist economy within a politically united Africa. The culmination of his ideas,

collectively termed "Nkrumahism," found resonance across the continent and beyond[12],

and continue to be an intellectual backbone in conversations surrounding African

Nationalism. In spite of his prominence, Nkrumahism also came under criticism. An

emphasis on the role of intellectuals in consciencism has been seen by scholars as a

perpetuation of elitism (Frimpong 2). Ali Mazrui has argued that Nkrumah's unwavering

commitment to Pan-Africanism made him "an African first, and a Ghanaian second," a

dynamic which led to his presidency leaving "Ghanaians much poorer and, as

individuals, less free than he found them" (63). Mazrui summed up his critique thus:

> "By leading the country to independence, Nkrumah was a great Gold Coaster. By
> Working hard to keep pan-Africanism warm as a political ideal, Nkrumah was a
> great African. But by the tragedy of his domestic excesses after independence,
> Nkrumah fell Short of becoming a great Ghanaian" (65).

Together with Guinea's Sekou Toure, Congolese leader Patrice Lumumba

emerged as Nkrumah's staunchest allies, and his literature on his country's postcolonial

national project has been fittingly influential. Interestingly, his early professional career

was characterized by the elitism synonymous with early 20th century African

intellectuals involved in political mobilization. In 1954, Lumumba was inducted into the

Association of the *Evolues* of Stanleyville, a society whose purpose he described as being

"to grant the benefits of immatriculation only available to those of the native elite who

have genuinely adopted the Western form of civilization" (Zeilig 48). This early

adoration of Western civilization was also on show in his 1956 book, *Congo, My*

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[12] Nkrumah was famously a mentor to Stokely Carmichael, who later changed his own name to Kwame
Ture as homage to Nkrumah and another of his mentors, Sekou Toure of Guinea.

Country, in which he wrote "it is thanks to Belgium that we are what we are: it is thanks to her that our country, risen from nothing only yesterday, is destined to rise in a few decades to the ranks of the civilized nations" (187).

It was not until his prison stint in 1957, and the subsequent political father-son relationship he developed with Nkrumah, that he adopted the more radical populist stance with which he would grow to be synonymous. By 1959, he was making such declarations as "the masses are a lot more revolutionary than us… it is the masses who push us, and who want to move more rapidly than us" and even prophetically castigating the *Evolue*, saying that these elites would "degenerate after independence into the exploiting class they had supplanted (Zeilig 83). These sentiments would be reiterated in *The Wretched of the Earth*, where Frantz Fanon outlined what he called "Pitfalls of National Consciousness," through which he predicted the nationalists would soon fall into perceiving the advent of independence as "quite simply means the transfer into native hands of those unfair advantages which are a legacy of the colonial period" (152). Ultimately, it was Lumumba's commitment to disrupting the elitism of the colonial and postcolonial state through a populist-infused, Pan-Africanist socialism that led to his assassination a few months into his presidency. Despite his early demise, Lumumba's nationalism inspired and continues to inspire contemporary African nationalists, especially in the face of neocolonialism and the abuse of power by the political elites.

Julius Nyerere's postcolonial national project, *Ujamaa*, is articulated in his collection of essays by the same name. Nyerere speaks highly of pre-imperial African communalism, which he describes as 'tribal socialism' (Nyerere 11). A critical difference between other attempts at socialism and the Ujamaa project was in its

insistence on being rooted in traditional African values, making a point that, unlike theories of socialism that see it as the evolutionary stage after capitalism, 'socialism… is rooted in our past' (12). As such, the Ujamaa project was overwhelmingly to rural development, and particularly in agriculture. Nyerere explains "we must stop dreaming of developing Tanzania through the establishment of large, modern industries. For such things, we have neither the money nor the skilled manpower required to make then efficient and economic" (96). This provided a critical point of contestation in the socialist national project as envisioned by Nkrumah and Nyerere. Nkrumah argues that, "even if Africa would dictate the price of its crops this would not by itself provide the balanced economy which is necessary for development. The answer must be industrialization" (11) is in stark contrast to Nyerere's focus on a rural and agriculture-centric economy. Furthermore, Nkrumah says that "the struggle against neocolonialism is not aimed at excluding the capital of the developed world from operating in less developed areas'(x) which also departs from Nyerere's absolute rejection of foreign capital as part of the Ujamaa project. Ultimately, Ujamaa's merits are contested, with many viewing it as a cultural success and an economic disaster.

Although the settler colonies to the south would not see independence for another two and three decades, African nationalism- and thus nationalistic literature, was rife. While the intricacies of settler colonialism differ with those of administrative colonialism Mahmoud Mamdani makes the case that both rested on the principle of indirect rule organized "along the double divide: ethnic on the one hand, rural urban on the other" (*Citizen* 27). That is to say, the ideological framework informing the settler colony was fundamentally the same as that in the rest of the continent, only differing in application.

As such, it is no surprise then that the schools of African nationalist thought that developed as a response to settler colonialism largely drew from the same influences as other parts of the continent.

In South Africa, a crop of young radical nationalists utilized rhetoric that departed from that of the more conservative ANC founding members and founded the ANC Youth League (ANCYL). Influenced by Garveyism, Anton Lembede wrote of "Africanism" and declared Africa to be "a blackman's country" (Dubow 29). This radical slant would also be embodied by Robert Sobukwe and the Pan African Congress, as well as by Steve Biko and the Black Consciousness Movement. In Rhodesia, outside of a few seminal texts such as the aforementioned *African Nationalism* by Ndabaningi Sithole, creative writings such as novels and poems became a popular method for getting literature laden with subliminal nationalist messages to the masses without incurring the immediate wrath of the colonial government. Stories such as Solomon Mutswairo's *Feso*, Chitepo's *Soko Risina Musoro*, and Sithole's *Umvukela WaMandebele* used thinly veiled metaphors for the villainous colonialists[13], were flexible with language and dialect so as to enhance their appeal to Africans in Rhodesia, and referenced the Great Zimbabwe Ruins, Nehanda Nyakasikana, Lobengula and other recognizable symbols of Zimbabwean nationalism in their stories.

Despite the diligent attempts of the Southern African nationalists of the era, the literature remained heavily controlled by the colonial government which, in turn, were inundating society with their literature on Afrikaner and Rhodesian nationalism respectively. As a result, it was the English-speaking liberals in the countries who took on

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[13] In Feso, the evil king is named "King White Spear"

the mantle of combating the imperial rhetoric of White nationalism in the two countries by writing an alternative nationalism. In South Africa, these "new school" scholars included John Omer-Cooper, Leonard Thompson, and Monica Wilson, and were influenced by the decolonization trend across the continent, US Civil Rights Movement among other phenomena. Thus, their work focused on African societies, interactions between all of South Africa's people, and had an undeniable anti-Apartheid undertone (Stolten 12). Despite the morally admirable slants within their work, these liberal histories have been the subject of much criticism by historians and other scholars in the post-Apartheid era. Contemporary scholars, removed from Apartheid era polarizations, contend that the works "included in-built market determinism, which deliberately placed the political reality of a predicted future on the agenda" (Stolten 13).

In Rhodesia, that transcendent liberal, anti-colonial historian voice belonged to Terrence Ranger. Influenced as well by the decolonizing whirlwind and rise of Black Nationalism of the time, his 1967 book *Revolt in Southern Rhodesia* was "the first comprehensive study of the Ndebele-Shona uprisings of 1896 - 1897" and occupied a special place in the development of Zimbabwean Nationalism under colonial rule (Ndlovu- Gatsheni 50). So influential were his works that Black Nationalist leaders referenced them as "proof" of a pre-colonial nationalism for whose return they were fighting. Ndlovu- Gatsheni describes Ranger's works as "inaugurating a nationalist historiography that became the handmaiden of emerging African Nationalism (Ndlovu- Gatsheni 74). In his 1980 review of the book, David Norman Beach credited the book with doing several things, particularly for the Africans: it provided a rich history to counter the Rhodesian colonial historiography that denied them any positive history; it

positively rendered Ndebele history, which had been described as merely "barbaric" for decades; and recast Ndebele-Shona relations in a peaceful, albeit unpleasant at times, coexistence (Beach 1980). Like his liberal contemporaries south of the Limpopo, Ranger's nationalist history has come under immense criticisms by scholars the further away we move from Zimbabwe's 1980 independence. Enocent Msindo castigates his portrayal of the Ndebele as flawed, superficial and prone to elitism, tailored to fit a Nationalist narrative (15). Ian Phimister condemns *Revolt* as "fanciful extrapolations" and "factual misrepresentation" (228).

Ranger's worst offense in the service of revisionist patriotic history, I would argue, came in his 1989 article "Matabeleland after Amnesty", in which he almost diabolically downplays the Matabeleland *Gukurahundi* Massacres in which tens of thousands of citizens are estimated to have been killed on Mugabe's orders. Ranger does not mention the massacres as carrying on past 1985 (they ended in 1987) and, when he talks about them in their early years, he echoed the government's sentiments by placing overwhelming blame on the dissidents (Ranger 1989; 172). So engrossed is Ranger's narrative in ZANU PF Nationalist sympathies at the time that one struggles to find traces of objectivity in some of these works. Ranger himself would later express regret in the role he played in cultivating a version of patriotic history that equated the Zimbabwean nation with Mugabe and ZANU PF. In a 2004 article, witnessing ZANU PF's decrepit corruption and monopolization of the nationalist narrative at the expense of the nation's well-being, Ranger writes "I have come to realize that it was foolish of me to separate the growth of nationalist authoritarianism from the growth of historical scholarship at the

University of Zimbabwe and to deplore one and celebrate the other as though they could be disconnected" (2004).

The advent of independence, however, elevated African voices in the telling of the African nationalist story to the podium previously reserved for liberal white scholars in the settler colonies. As such, we have seen such texts as *Becoming Zimbabwe*, a volume edited by Brian Raftapoulos and Alois Mlambo and is "the first comprehensive history of Zimbabwe, spanning the years from 850 to 2008." The end of the colonial era did not only open the door to new Black voices, but elevated existent works as well. Now the works of Steve Biko, Ndabaningi Sithole, Govan Mbeki and other scholars and thinkers that had been restricted to the fringes and, in many cases, banned during the colonial era are now part of curricula internationally and contributing to further knowledge production on Southern African nationalism.

ETHNIC NATIONALISM

The notion of creating an African nationalism to combat colonial nationalism where no comparable incarnation of nationalism had existed among the Africans is one that scholars continue to try and make sense of. Sabelo Ndlovu-Gatsheni argues that the eagerness of the African nationalists to forge an identity against colonialism created the continent's postcolonial fatal flaw, as "the reduction of nationalism to a mere anti-colonial phenomenon...implied that Africans as 'people' or Zimbabweans as 'people' were already there as a collectivity that was only antagonizing under the yoke of colonialism. Once this yoke was removed Zimbabweans would emerge automatically" (*Do Zimbabweans Exist* 47). While colonial scholars and others wrote at length about the primordial nature of ethnic nationalism in the continent and its innate acrimony with

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state-level African nationalism, many African scholars have argued that it was, in fact, the colonial authorities that manipulated African ethnic identities in order to weaken the anticolonial thrust of African nationalism.

In *When Victims Become Killers*, Mahmoud Mamdani explains how both direct and indirect colonial rule weakened resistance by "fracturing race consciousness of natives into multiple and separate ethnic consciousnesses" (23). In *The Fall and Rise of the National Question,* Moyo and Yeros reiterate this, when they argue "ethnicity seen as inimical to nation building: bred conflict, and subject to "divide and rule tactics" of the erstwhile colonizers" (34). In attempting to shy away from this idea of irreconcilable primordial ethnic tensions, however, some writers have argued to the other extreme- making a claim that ethnicity on the continent is largely the product of colonial engineering. Several scholars are thus correcting the perception, showing how, although ethnic nationalism was manipulated by the colonialists, it did predate colonialism and was often a powerful force against colonialism.

Enocent Msindo's *Ethnicity in Zimbabwe* argues that "ethnic consciousness did not have to wait for the imposition of colonialism, but actually existed in the precolonial era" (2). Msindo also posits that, in many ways, ethnic nationalism was a driving force behind nationalism, and "although Ethnic Groups were not necessarily against the rise of nationalism, a potentially competing identity, they wanted assurances that nationalism would not threaten their own ethnic agendas and wished to see ethnicity and nationalism coexist." Mamdani reiterates this in *Citizen and Subject* when he writes "ethnicity thus came to be simultaneously the form of colonial control over natives and the form of revolt against it" (24). In all this, we see the complex, oft-paradoxical relationship

between ethnic nationalism and African nationalism, even when both were committed to the anti-colonial effort.

Away from the colonial authorities, opportunistic Africans also perpetuated the idea of a separate ethnic consciousness to enhance their own political standing. Masipula Sithole's *Struggle within a Struggle* gives a first-hand account of how leaders within the Zimbabwean liberation movements created factions along the Shona/Ndebele ethnic divide, and then further into the Karanga/Manyika sub-ethnic divide as well, as a ploy to climb up the socio-political ladder or to further an ideological worldview otherwise divorced from matters of ethnicity. Halisi castigates the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) for the same, writing "ethnic populism of the IFP extols earlier Zulu participation in the ANC and the larger liberation movement solely for the purpose of appropriating Black struggle on behalf of ethnic mobilization." (138). Such opportunism was often easily pounced upon by the colonialists who saw a chance to further the narrative of ethnic primordialism and weaken combined African resistance.

POSTCOLONIAL NATIONALISM(S)

These tensions, contradictions, and continuities went on to inform the national projects in postcolonial Africa. Sabelo Ndlovu-Gatsheni has emerged as one of the foremost scholars of postcoloniality and nationalism in contemporary Africa, with an emphasis on Southern Africa. Critical to this project, in E*mpire, Global Coloniality and African Subjectivity* Ndlovu-Gatsheni provides working definitions and conceptualizations for national project and national question, which he derives from the definitions of nationalism theorized by the likes of Smith and others. He defines the former as an "ideological blueprint" upon which a nation is rooted and aims to grow,

while the latter is the essential problem that faces the nation's existence and growth- and it is that which the national project is intended to address (198-200). Ndlovu-Gatsheni then lays out the contradictions between the conciliatory effort definitive of post-Apartheid national project that is the Rainbow Nation "a new national consciousness of a South Africa...a democratic society in which both White and Black people live as citizens", and the Africanist demands towards justice and the reversal of the racialized power structure that remained unscathed at the end of Apartheid (*Empire* 136).

Ndlovu-Gatsheni has also coined the term "Mugabeism" to reference Zimbabwe's postcolonial national project, defined by the four-decade long authoritarian rule of Robert Mugabe. The edited volume *Mugabeism? History, Politics, and Power in Zimbabwe* gives a multi-faceted reading of the doctrine as well as local and global perspectives thereof. In *Do Zimbabweans Exist?* He outlines the main tenets of Mugabeism as being 1) race and a selective articulation of the liberation history 2) the land question and 3) guarding national sovereignty (237). Whilst his theorizations on decoloniality, postcoloniality, and Southern Africa nationalism are nuanced and lead contemporary scholarship in the field, his writings on Zimbabwean nationalism often make him come across as an unabashed Ndebele nationalist and, in so doing, compromises his customary objectivity. For example, his discourse on *uMthakwazi*, term used by select Ndebele historians and activists to denote the Ndebele nation, exaggerates the prevalence of both advocate and sentiment. Nevertheless, when taken with the appropriate amount of salt, Ndlovu-Gatsheni's works still present themselves as the contemporary vanguard literature on nationalism and decoloniality in Southern Africa.

While Mugabe himself did not articulate the values of Mugabeism in published writing (such as Nkrumah did), *Inside the Third Chimurenga* is a collection of his speeches made between 1997 and 2001. The book, subjective as one may expect, gives invaluable first-hand insight into the Zimbabwean postcolonial national project. Simbarashe Moyo's (albeit brief) *African Nationalism and the Struggle for Continuity* is a concise study of nationalism in postcolonial Zimbabwe. Insightful in several parts, the book's brevity perhaps denies it a fuller, more nuanced unpacking of the country's nationalistic dynamics.

Contemporary writers have also sought to interrogate the ways in which prominent socio-political phenomena interact with the nations' respective postcolonial national questions and projects. Greg Marinovich's *Murder at Small Koppie* adds the emotive human face to the 2012 Marikana massacre of miners by the South African government. In *Exorcising the Demons Within: Xenophobia, Violence and Statecraft in Contemporary South Africa*, Loren Landau posits that, despite the apparent inclusiveness of the Rainbow Nation motif, the reiterative attacks on African immigrants to the country are, in fact, a remnant of the "grandest machinations" of Apartheid which set out to create a distinct and violently- guarded demarcation between those considered to be insiders and the outsiders (5). *From Foreign Natives to Native Foreigners: Explaining Xenophobia in Post-Apartheid South Africa* by Michael Neocosmos makes the controversial assertion that, beyond being an Apartheid relic, the current South African state is actually invested in maintaining xenophobic structures and indeed perpetuate the narrative that a successful African national project is intrinsically inimical to Pan-Africanism (71). Particularly useful for this study was Godfrey Mwakikagile's A*frican Immigrants in South Africa*,

which includes a comprehensive collection of news articles from South Africa and beyond on the 2008 xenophobic violence. I interrogate this seeming disconnect throughout this study, with a specific focus in chapter five.

Ian Scoones's *Zimbabwe's Land Reform: Myths and Realities* from 2010 provides a balanced discussion of the much-maligned pillar of Mugabeism that was the turn-of-the-century land redistribution. Crucially, the text is able to shift away from the monolithic and oft-externally perpetuated notion that the process was entirely violent and all of the land went to Mugabe's cronies who are incompetent farmers, all the while still recognizing the corruption, violence, and incompetence that not only dogged this national project- but other aspects of Mugabeism as well. Hanlon et al's *Zimbabwe Takes Back Its Land* is the most comprehensive discussion of the land reform timeline and actors I came across, and does a good job of dispelling the narrative that the government was singularly behind the efforts, giving due agency to the agitated masses. Where the text falls short, however, is in accounting for the environmental factors in which the land resettlement occurred: for example, there is no mention of the elaborate, years-long propaganda campaign that helped sustain the "Third Chimurenga" in the psyche of the people. Douglas Mpondi's article, "Zimbabwe will Never be a Colony Again" recognizes the theoretical intentions of the land reform program, but fundamentally argues that Zimbabwe has been recolonized by the Black political elites (140). A sensational claim, it does however speak to the ways in which what was meant to be a mass- mobilization project failed to sufficiently represent the people for whom it was meant to cater.

PAN-AFRICANISM AS PAN-NATIONALISM

Pan-Nationalism, i.e. inter-nation state solidarity and/or conspiracy, is a phenomenon as old as the nation-state itself. The very Berlin Conference that led to the 'Scramble for Africa" stands as a quintessential instance of 19th century Pan-Nationalism. The canonical 1985 text by Louis L. Snyder, *Macro-Nationalism: A History of the Pan-Movements* is arguably the most holistic analysis of this phenomenon across space and time, focusing on such movements as: Pan-Slavism, Pan-Germanism, Pan-Europeanism, Pan-Islamism, Pan-Arabism, Zionism, Pan-Asianism, and Pan-Africanism. The book defines Pan-Nationalisms, or Macro-Nationalisms, as "specific pan-movements which have sought to combine existing nationalisms into a larger entity" (2).

While defining African nationalism may have been made somewhat easier because it grew out of the long duree concept that is nationalism, Pan-Africanism as an ideology grew largely out of previously undefined movements from within the colonized and enslaved Black world, and often remains open to various interpretations. In *Pan-Africanism: The Idea and Movement, 1776-1991,* P. Olisanwuche Esedebe comprehensively highlights the debates on what agreeable historical moment Pan-African can be said to have started, and how best to define the phenomenon. He goes on to chronologically deconstruct the other Pan-African conferences, as well as other notable phenomena from within the Pan-African world. While he considers such seminal events as the Haitian Revolution and the Back-to-Africa movements of the 19th century as important progenitors, Esedebe however joins other historians and Pan-Africanist scholars in pointing to the turn of the 20th century and, in particular, the preparatory stages of the 1900 Pan-African Congress held in London as the moment the term Pan-

Africanism enters our lexicon. Biographer Owen Charles Mathurin attributes the term's earliest use to letters written by Trinidadian barrister Henry Sylvester Williams, chairman of the 1900 Pan-African Congress.

In contextualizing Pan-Africanism, it is critical to be cognizant of the ideology's diasporic roots, with the likes of Sylvester Williams, C L R James, and W. E. B Du Bois being some of the earliest intellectual giants thereof. While the Pan-Africanist school of thought originating from the 1900 conference would go on to include such prominent scholars as W.E.B Du Bois and Kwame Nkrumah who went on to chair subsequent conferences in the series, it was by no means the only prominent Pan-African movement. Adam Ewing's *The Age of Garvey* details how the "Africa for Africans" mantra of renowned Jamaican activist Marcus Garvey found resonance with the early 20th century working class masses of the global African community in ways that the oft-elitist rhetoric of the likes of Du Bois. In *The Americans are Coming*, Thomas Vinson delves into the establishment of Garvey's United Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) in South Africa and its particular resonance with the International Commercial Workers' Union (ICU) as an alternative to the more liberal and elite African National Congress (ANC) in the 1920s and 1930s. The book also excellently incorporates the diasporic Ethiopianist influences in the mobilization of the religious African masses at the turn of the century.

Garveyism and the ICU's Pan-Africanism was also central to C.L.R James's short but poignant 1938 work *A History of Pan-African Revolt*, in which the Trinidadian historian draws upon the resistance efforts of African communities on the continent and in the new world since the 18th century, with early emphasis on the Haitian Revolution and slave revolts in the USA. While this seemingly broad inclusion of experiences under

the banner of Pan-Africanism is at odds with the 20th century-abiding definition of Pan-African phenomena put forth by Esedebe and others, this book provides an important historical reminder of a continually evolving definition of Pan-Africanism. The book was also initially published as *A History of the Negro Revolt*, and the updated name suggests a discourse interchangeability between experienced deemed Black and those deemed Pan-African.

The Fifth Pan-African Congress, held in Manchester in 1945, was a critical transitional moment in the development of the ideology. Much has been written about its being defined by the increasingly radical tone of the constituents and the centering of continental Africa and shift away from a Diasporic center (Edozie 67). This post- World War Two resurgence culminated in the dominoed independence of colonized African countries, and necessitated literature articulating a Pan-Africanism designed to usher the continent into a postcolonial era. The work of Ghana's Kwame Nkrumah, particularly 1963's *Africa Must Unite* and 1967's *Neocolonialism, the Last Stage of Imperialism* emerged as some of the leading texts citing the urgent importance of the political unity of independent African countries.

Lest Nkrumah's arguments be castigated as the mere ruminations of a larger-than-life political figure, the idea of postcolonial African unity as a way to withstand neo-colonial aggression had also found resonance in contemporary scholars. *Unity or Poverty: The Economics of Pan-Africanism* by Reginald H. Green and Ann Seidman emphatically echoed Nkrumah's sentiments. The book argues that the colonial states and their economies were created in a manner that only served to develop the colonial powers. As such, maintaining those borders in the postcolonial era was counterintuitive,

as it leaves African nations duplicating inefficient efforts for their relatively tiny markets: conditions not conducive for any significant economic development. Beyond just customs unions and other trade blocs, the book argues in tandem with Nkrumah, it is important that Africa develops a Pan-African government.

Not all Pan-African literature arising at the time shared Nkrumah's immediacy though. In *Ujamaa: Essays on Socialism*, Nyerere articulates a largely-inward looking postcolonial vision that, in many ways, summed up his contradictory approach to Pan-Africanism: instead of immediately uniting and then developing as individual countries from within the union, Nyerere advocated for distinct national projects upon whose success the union would grow. These apparent contradictory approaches to Pan-Africanism have gone on to influence schools of thought over the past five decades, and are the constant subjects of analysis by contemporary scholars. In particular, the Nkrumah/Nyerere debates feature prominently in Sabelo J. Ndlovu-Gatsheni's *Empire, Global Coloniality and African Subjectivity*. Although the book's handling of this debate sensationalizes the two icons' rift and seems to neglect the arguably more pertinent debate between the Casablanca and Monrovia blocs (123), it introduces critical conversations that contemporary Pan-Africanism and nationalism have to contend with, such as the persistence of coloniality decades after the end of the colonial era and the pitfall of postcolonial national projects that are tied to personality cults that tend to monopolize concepts of nationalism and patriotism (157).

An arguably more critical disjuncture in the 20th century continental Pan-Africanist project manifested itself through the divide between the former English colonies and the francophone countries in the continent. The latter were notably absent

from the seminal 1945 Pan-African Congress. As adherents to the French civilizing gospel of *evolue*, they "wanted to achieve French citizenship for Africans, rather than independence (Mazrui 23). Notable francophone exceptions to this orientation were Guinea's Sekou Toure and, later, Patrice Lumumba. Despite their reluctance at political union, Senegal's Leopold Senghor and other Francophone Africans espoused a more cultural Pan-Africanism which they called *Negritude*, which focused asserting Africa's place in the modern world through poetry and other cultural and intellectual production.

Pan-Africanism was not the only Pan-Nationalist movement to rise to prominence in response to Western imperialism in the aftermath of the Second World War. Vijay Prashad's *The Darker Nations: A People's History of the Third World* describes how "during the seemingly interminable battles against colonialism, the peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America dreamed of a new world.... they assembled their grievances and aspirations...where their leadership then formulated a platform of demands" (xv). This transnational Pan-nationalism has had sustained resonance, as many liberation movements (including those in South Africa and Zimbabwe) received technical support from the likes of Cuba and China in the pursuit of independence. Furthermore, theories of decoloniality that originated in Latin America provide ideological grounding for contemporary movements such as the #RhodesMustFall uprisings in South Africa (*Empire* 231).

Rita Kiki Edozie's *The African Union's Africa* provides us not only an in-depth critique of the foremost continental Pan-African body and the conversations surrounding it, it also reiterates the functional temporal demarcations that separate the phases of Pan-Africanism into the first (1900- 1945), second (1945- 2000), and third (2001+) and ties

them to the relevant critical phenomena that happened therein (68). The third phase, with

the reinvention of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) as the African Union (AU)

in 2001 as a noteworthy point of departure, has been accompanied by different nationalist

and Pan-African ideologies, chief among which is the concept of the African

Renaissance. Articulated most prominently in recent history by South Africa's Thabo

Mbeki, the ideological objectives thereof can be summed up thus:

> …resist all tyranny, oppose all attempts to deny liberty to resort to demagogy, repulse the temptation to describe African life as charity, engage the fight to secure the emancipation of the African woman, and reassert the fundamental concept that we are our own liberators from oppression, from underdevelopment and poverty, from the perpetuation of an experience from slavery, to colonization, to apartheid, to dependence on alms. (Villa-Vicencio et al xix)

The African Renaissance and the Afro-Arab Spring by Villa-Vicencio, Doxtader

and Moosa has emerged as one of the leading texts in articulating this new Pan-African

thrust in the 21st century, featuring a foreword by Mbeki himself. For its succinctness in

discussing the African Renaissance, the book leaves itself prone the one important

criticism often leveled against scholars of this movement: it posits the African

Renaissance as the brainchild, and almost the exclusive intellectual property, of Mbeki

and, by extension, South Africa. This especially apparent when you observe that, of the

six chapters in the book related to the African Renaissance, three focus on post-Apartheid

South Africa. Elessa Guy's *African Renaissance* reiterates this framing, specifying that it

focuses on "the relationship that exists between South African foreign policy and the

concept of African Renaissance" (20). This portrayal of the African Renaissance not only

paints an incomplete picture, it flies contrary to the very essence of the ideology: to

elevate previously unheard voices on the continent. In my analysis, I strive to

differentiate between African *Renaissance* as articulated above as a predominantly South

African initiative, and *African renaissance*, which represents continent-wide discourse on the reinvigoration of Pan-Africanist ideals.

There has also arisen a crop of scholars for whom Pan-Africanism, both as ideology and objective, is flawed at best and irrelevant at worst. Kwame Anthony Appiah's *In My Father's House*, for example, castigates Pan-Africanism as "mere nativism… promoting the metaphysics of difference" (22). Citing other Pan-African cynics such as Paulin Houtondji, Appiah makes the argument that the sheer diversity of the continent makes it impossible to find a legitimate base for unity. Despite his undeniable Afro-pessimism, Appiah unwittingly concedes the utility of Pan-Africanism when he argues that "Africans share too many problems and projects to be distracted by a bogus basis for solidarity" (26). Indeed, the purpose of practical contemporary Pan-Africanism is less concerned with any fictive kinship than it is with the very tangible struggles of coloniality and continued marginalization of the continent in the international sphere: it is those "too many problems" he cites that necessitate Pan-Africanism.

POPULISMS AND POPULAR EXPRESSIONS

Elite-oriented literature and praxis have traditionally presented themselves as the status quo in discourse on nationalism. Ernest Gellner's 1983 *Nations and Nationalism*, for example, argues that:

> Homogenous, centrally sustained high cultures, pervading entire populations, and not just elite minorities, a situation occurs in which well-defined educationally sanctioned and unified cultures constitute very nearly the only kind of unit with which we willingly and ardently identify" (55).

This top-down understanding of cultural and identity creation is incomplete and ahistorical at best, for it robs those outside the realms of the elite of any agency. It fails to account for ways in which constituents of bottom-up "low culture" have significantly

49

defined many a sense of nationalism. A contemporary national image of South Africa is incomplete without evoking the *Toyi*, just as Nigeria's would be without Nollywood nor Brazil's without Samba: all which constitute a national culture either created, shaped, or prominently popularized away from the dining halls of the elite.

Tim Edensor's *National Identity, Popular Culture and Everyday Life* constitute the 21st century reorientation towards understanding nationalism through a lens more nuanced than the traditional political elite perspective. He argues that "national identity is not only a matter of will and strategy, but is enmeshed in the embodied, material ways in which we live…" and that nationalism is "constituted out of a huge cultural matrix which provides innumerable points of connection, nodal points where authorities try to fix meaning, and constellations around which cultural elements cohere" (vii). Sociologist Michael Billig also makes a critical intervention on how we understand expressions of nationalism in 1995's *Banal Nationalism.* He asserts that, contrary to assumptions, it is not necessarily the grand nationalistic gestures such as a flag flying half-mast after a tragedy that essentially cultivates nationalism among the public. Rather, it is the "millions of unsaluted, unwaved flags that do not demand immediate, obedient attention…. mindless flags" that both express the public's lived nationalism as well as reinforce it (40).

The operational essence for this study is to interrupt the discourse of Pan-Africanism and nationalism that centers on definitions and conceptualizations offered by the political elites, focusing instead on how members of the general populace express each. This in no way suggests that Pan-Africanist and African Nationalist philosophers, in their diversity, have not attempted to carve out a place for popular and cultural

expressions. The disruption of elitist narratives in analyses of both Pan-Africanism and African nationalism is of the essence, and has been slowly garnering momentum in the field. In *Pan-Africanism: Politics, Economy and Social Change in the Twenty- first Century*, a redoubtable edition that particularly excels in detailing the evolution of Pan-Africanism from each conference to the next, Tajudeen Abdul-Raheem explains the 1980s-90s wave of resistance to a movement exclusive to the "Black nationalist Bourgeois" that had been unwittingly introduced into socio-political discourse at the advent of second-wave Pan-Africanism. Articulated to echo C L R James's sentiments as he laid out the groundwork for the follow-up to the 1974 Pan-African Congress, Abdul-Raheem argues that "Pan-Africanism must be built as a vanguard for the oppressed masses" (8). This position surrounding the de-eliticization and democratization of Pan-Africanism and African nationalism has remained central since, and is the focus of several works, particularly in the 21st century.

Scholars have written on this disruption of an elitist understanding of culture and identity creation, and the role that popular expressions play as both a symptom and impetus of nationalism. In *Imagined Communities,* Benedict Anderson cites the rise of print-capitalism as the catalyst for modern nationalism, arguing that having a plethora of localized languages in print (as opposed to Latin and a few other before the modern era) fostered a sense of belonging among those that each language spoke to, as well as giving languages and their speakers an impression of antiquity; a critical element in both imperial and anti-colonial nationalisms (44). Even if the advent of print capitalism was itself an elitist project, it depended on allowing the masses a platform for expression and discourse (i.e. the shift from linguistic exclusivity to inclusivity) for its success.

Prominent among the culturally oriented incarnations was the doctrine of *Negritude* put forth by francophone scholars, Aime Cesaire (Martinique), Leopold Senghor (Senegal), and Leon Damas (French Guiana). Pan-Africanist expressions of *Negritude*, defined as "the assertion of Black culture" (Mazrui 23) were most notably manifest in the scholars' poetry and other writings. Even Garvey, most renowned for his radical political-economic orientation, recognized the essence of "cultural nationalism" as a driving force in Pan-Africanism (Karenga 17).

In recent years, scholars have sought to rectify the historical academic deficit of analysis of these cultural and popular phenomena as nationalistic and Pan-African expressions. The literature surrounding popular expressions of nationalisms and Pan-Africanism is the bedrock upon which this study builds. Critical to this discourse are the works that have theorized on the cultural tenets of these political identities and ideals. Ngugi Wa Thiong'o's *Decolonizing the Mind* is a canonical text situating the role of writers and other cultural creators in the struggle towards total decoloniality. Thandeka Mkandawire argues for the evolution of Pan-Africanism into a more democratic and participatory movement, while such scholars such as Ruth Simms Hamilton challenge the global African community to further engage what she calls the "Black Cultural Apparatus" that includes artists and laymen in analyzing African phenomena.

Zimbabwean ethnomusicologist Mhoze Chikowero delves into the oft-covert anti-colonialism of traditional dance competitions and the Chimurenga genre of music that grew out of 1970s Rhodesia in his book *African Music, Power, and Being in Colonial Zimbabwe*. In Nationalists, Cosmopolitans, and Popular Music in Zimbabwe, Thomas Turino showcases the critical role that nationalists played in fostering different popular

and cultural expressions of nationalism among the Zimbabwean people. Importantly, however, he disaggregates the differing perspectives of the African elites from those of the cultural creators who did not necessarily see their efforts as being "nationalist" (Turino 184). *Mothers of the Revolution: The War Experiences of Thirty Zimbabwean Women* by Irene Staunton breaks away from the monotonous Chimurenga narrative centered mainly on the mostly male militants and evokes the indispensable role that the women played both at home and, more often than recognized, on the battlefield as well. Daniel Magaziner has argued that "nationalisms have typically sprung from masculinized memory, masculinized humiliation and masculinized hope" (33). As such, in setting up the methodology and throughout the study, deliberate efforts have been taken to bring to the forefront the experiences of women and their expressions of nationalisms.

In *The Politics of Language and Nation Building in Zimbabwe*, Finex Ndlovu explains how, in particular, the Shona language had been used to forge the narrative of Mugabeism and ZANU hegemony at the expense of the ZAPU and the Ndebele populace. While the book makes such bold claims as that one needs to be a Shona to ever be considered for Zimbabwean presidency while also overlooking the elevation of Joshua Nkomo to the title of "Father Zimbabwe", he does rightfully point to the continued and incessant marginalization of Ndebele (and the other minority groups) as a language and culture in the national narrative. Articles by Praise Zenenga and Tafadzwa Choto et al. add to the discourse of popular culture's intersection with national identity through discussions on postcolonial theatre and sport respectively.

Composing Apartheid: Music for and against Apartheid by Grant Olwange discusses the early politicization of song among African communities during the early

days of South African colonialism, as well as the significance of music made in exile to both sustaining the morale of the exiled and inspiring those trapped in Apartheid South Africa. Peter Alegi's *Laduma!* comprehensively traces the history of football in South Africa with particular attention to its growth and utility as a form of resistance to the colonial and Apartheid regimes among the African communities. For the intellectual rigor that has gone into these texts, one ought to remember to read them with an understanding that their subject(s) were merely one among a large tapestry of popular expressions (lest the importance of one of these expressions be exaggerated in comparison to that of the others).

Steve Biko's *I Write what I Like*, in addition to being a critical philosophical text on Black Nationalism, also serves as an almanac of student activism in the Apartheid era. Francis B. Nyamjoh's 2016*#RhodesMustFall: Nibbling at Resilient Colonialism in South Africa* situates contemporary student movements within not only the historical trajectory of student activism that includes the likes of Steve Biko, but also a Pan-African and global context. For example, the latter's second chapter is titled "Black Pain Matters: Down with Rhodes", in clear homage to the contemporaneous 'Black Lives Matter' movement that began in the USA. That the book was possibly written in haste (the #MustFall movements started in 2015 and lasted through to 2016 and arguably beyond) may deny it the breadth of time that would have otherwise added much needed retrospective insight and nuance. The anthology *Home is where the Mic Is*, a collection of 85 poems by 24, mostly South African, young poets gives a creative voice to such pertinent issues surrounding various national questions in the country, such as persistent poverty and governmental corruption.

What I have aimed to do with this study is to continue in this trajectory of bringing to the forefront ways in which segments of the population whose contributions to the discourse of nationalism and Pan-Africanism have been largely untold.

CONVERGENT AND DIVERGENT NATIONALISMS: ENVISIONING A FRAMEWORK FOR UNDERSTANDING POPULAR EXPRESSIONS, ETHNIC, STATE, AND PAN-REGIONAL NATIONALISM

The notion of popular culture being a significant site of expression of individual and communal identity has been recurrent in my interviews and on-site observations. In this study, I place emphasis on the interrogation of artistic and cultural expression as a particularly grassroots manifestation of nationalistic and Pan-African discourse. Thus, popular expressions include historical and contemporary art, literature, media, sport, protest, dress, and colloquial discourse.

This study makes critical contributions to our analysis of popular expressions as manifestations of nationalisms by way of two dichotomies. The first explores expressions of nationalism in the two countries along their points of convergence and points of divergence**.** Points of convergence represent those expressions that grow out of the countries' shared experiences as settler colonies whose White minority rule lasted until near the end of the 20th century, as well as their geographic and cultural proximity. Points of divergence, on the other hand, represent expressions that, at the time of the study, have been definitive of one of the countries' postcolonial national project or national question- but not prominent in the each other. The second dichotomy posits a framework of analysis that divides these expressions into two categories. *Macro-expressions* speak to larger social movements and phenomena that exist as expressions of nationalism or Pan-Africanism. These include religious organizations, student and labor movements, and

guerrilla warfare, among others. On the other hand, popular *micro-expressions* constitute the ways in which people express these identities and ideals on a usually smaller and more routine scale. Micro-expressions include artworks, colloquial rhetoric, marches, sports fandom etc.[14]

      While literature surrounding nationalism dates back centuries and provides important points of departure for contemporary nationalistic conversations (this study included), the literature of African Nationalism—included Pan-Africanism—is overwhelmingly a product of the 20th century, garnering steam as the century progressed. Despite the seemingly recent introduction into the cannon, the literature has proliferated to reflect the innumerable tiers, incarnations, interpretations and expressions of African Nationalism. The study of popular cultural expressions and, in particular, their role in societal identity formation, is however a far newer field of study that provides plenty opportunities for further study.

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[14] Both the points of convergence/divergence and micro-expressions/macro-expressions frameworks are discussed in more detail in the introduction chapter.

CHAPTER TWO: *NKOSI SIKELEL' IAFRIKA*[15]—POPULAR NATIONALIST HISTORIES IN SOUTH AFRICA AND ZIMBABWE

As central as song is to the daily lives of Southern African communities, it follows that the medium would be integral to the populace's nationalistic and resistance consciousness. At the turn of the 20th century, song was vital to early incarnations of African nationalism in South Africa, prominently represented by the diaspora-inspired African Methodist Episcopal (AMEs) churches. Of the multitude of songs that grew out of this tradition, none stand more iconic than *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika* (God Bless Africa), penned in Xhosa in 1897 by a mission school teacher Enoch M Sontonga. In following decades, the song was translated into Zulu and other South African languages, become an anthem for nascent political organizations and workers' movements, and found Pan-African resonance beyond South Africa's borders. At the advent of independence across the continent in the second half of the 20th century, translations of the song became the national anthem for several countries, South Africa and Zimbabwe included.

Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika is neither the only song to grow synonymous with African nationalism and Pan-Africanism in the region, nor is song the only popular expression to do so. The history of the growth of African Nationalism as a response to settler colonialism in Southern Africa, as well as that of the resulting Pan-African solidarities and ethnic nationalisms that complicated notions of identity, is incomplete if it fails to account for the ways through which the masses negotiated them. In South Africa and Zimbabwe, the scope of nationalistic expression was manifest through religious

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[15] Meaning "God Bless Africa" in Xhosa, it is the title of the late 19th century hymn that became a Pan-African anticolonial anthem. It is post-Apartheid South Africa's National Anthem and, for the first 13 years, was the national anthem in Zimbabwe as well. (It has also been the anthem for Zambia, Tanzania, and Namibia)

congregations and theatre, literature and dance, football, and student activism, to name but a few.

This chapter traces key evolutionary moments within popular expressions of nationalism in the two countries throughout the 20th century, spanning the colonial period as well as in the immediate postcolonial era. In so doing, it makes a number of critical interventions in the contemporary discourse on popular expressions of African nationalisms. First, contemporary expressions and understandings of these phenomena do not exist in a vacuum but rather, on a historical continuum. The second intervention is a reiteration of the dissertation's critical intervention: it disrupts the elitist bias that is hegemonic within the discourse by elevating the voices, ideas, and stories often left out of the narrative of nationalism and Pan-Africanism. The dissertation is informed by, and builds on these iterations.

The interrogations underpinning this chapter are organized chronologically and thematically. While the study as a whole focuses on modern incarnations of the state and its relevant nationalisms, my interrogation begins in the precolonial roots of both, tracing influences from the 13th century kingdom of Mapungubwe up until the final wave of African resistance to the onset of colonialism in the 19th century. A discussion of Ethiopianism and political organization at the turn of the 20th century follows, with particular attention to the Pan-African influences and impact thereof. Thereafter, I interrogate the rise of workers' movements as nationalism, and the radicalization of African nationalism in the post-World War era. That radicalization ultimately led to the armed struggle in both countries. Throughout the precolonial and colonial era, nationalisms were complicated by the forces of ethnic nationalism manifest in a variety

of ways, and these influence contemporary nation-building as well. With the rest of the continent independent by the 1970s, the independence of the Southern African settler colonies became a continental Pan-African project, most significantly represented by lobbying of the Frontline States. Ultimately, I introduce the postcolonial national projects relevant to the contemporary expressions the rest of this study engages.

PRECOLONIAL NATIONALISMS IN SOUTH AFRICA AND ZIMBABWE

While conventional wisdom recognizes modern nationalism as a product of the post-Westphalian international system— thus nationalism in Africa has its origins in colonization— it would be a historical and intellectually irresponsible to not acknowledge precolonial incarnations of nationalism. This acknowledgement is critical, for these 'nations'' would become the basis upon which modern African Nationalism would be built—whether real, imagined, or invented.

For several reasons, the 13th century kingdom of Mapungubwe provides an apt point of departure for a study of influences of modern Southern African nationalism. The kingdom sat on the confluence of contemporary South Africa, Zimbabwe and Botswana, giving it historical and cultural reverence in three of the region's most prominent countries. Its residents, the Bukalanga, fractured off after the kingdom's demise and dispersed across the region and became the Kalanga in Botswana and Western Zimbabwe, the Karanga in Zimbabwe, and the Venda in Northern South Africa and Southern Zimbabwe; all which continue to wield significant sociocultural influences and complicate the conversation on the intersectionality between ethnic and state nationalism. (Shillington 17). During its brief existence (1200- 1300), Mapungubwe traded gold and ivory with merchants from as far as China, India and Northern Africa. Finally, the demise

of Mapungubwe saw members of the Bukalanga migrating north towards the Great Zimbabwe Plateau, where they would exert significant influence. Evidence of these connections have been found in pottery, religious practices, building patterns and, importantly, in such artworks as sculptures. Near identical soapstone carvings of the fish eagle, sacred among the Shona, were found at both Mapungubwe and the Great Zimbabwe kingdom (Huffman 53). The eagle went on to be Zimbabwe's national bird and appear on the country's flag.

When members of the Bukalanga migrated north at the end of the 13th century, they went on to exert influence on the Great Zimbabwe kingdom. Populated by Bantu ancestors to the Shona people since the 9th century, the kingdom grew to be "the largest precolonial state in Southern Africa" by the 14th century (Mlambo 17). It controlled trade with Indian Ocean coastal towns, trading ivory, gold, and iron to Arabia and the Asian subcontinent in exchange for cotton and silk clothes, Chinese and Asian ceramics, among other goods. Despite its decline at the end of the 15th century, it remained critical to the African psyche. 'Zimbabwe," put forth by nationalist Michael Mawema in 1959 as the recommended name for an independent Rhodesia, was adapted from the kingdom, whose local name "Dzimbahwe" translates to "House of Stone" in Shona. Despite its Shona origins, early nationalists across the ethnic lines- from Joshua Nkomo to Ndabaningi Sithole- immediately appropriated the name for the emergent African nationalist political organizations, Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) and Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU). Carvings of the sacred fish eagle, an eventual symbol of independent Zimbabwe, were also found here and entered the national imaginary thereafter.

The Mutapa Empire succeeded the Great Zimbabwe, and was the last precolonial

state of its stature in the region. Under founder Munhumutapa, the empire stretched

across the Zimbabwean Plateau and across modern day Mozambique to the Indian Ocean.

In its prime between 1450 and 1629, Mutapa endured until the early 19th century, when it

fell victim to Portuguese-inspired inter-ethnic conflict, which posited the Rozvi state as

the dominant group in Southwest Zimbabwe. They too collapsed during the 19th century,

succumbing to the advent of several northward traveling Nguni groups displaced by the

Mfecane[16] (Mlambo 25).

In the south, the Zulu kingdom, under the foundational leadership of Shaka (1816-

1828), brought together several chiefdoms from the modern day KwaZulu Natal region

through conquest and diplomacy and grew to be the most powerful kingdom in Southern

Africa. In his relatively short reign, Shaka grew the Zulu military from "hundreds to tens

of thousands of warriors" (Eldredge 3). Zulu expansion was central to the *Mfecane*

phenomenon[17] of the 1820s which, combined with drought and a general population

surge in Southern Africa, led to the subjugation of smaller groups and the dispersal of

others. Even after Shaka's demise, the kingdom remained a force of African resistance in

the face of the increasing hold of colonialism over the 19th century. In 1878, King

Cetshwayo refused to accept the British colonialists' request to disband his troops,

leading to the Anglo-Zulu war that lasted from 1879 to 1984 (Golan 57). Despite fierce

resistance, including the victorious battle at Isandlwana in which they killed 1300 British

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[16] Described in depth in the following paragraph.

[17] Although undoubtedly influential, recent scholarship has challenged the narrative of the Zulus as the primary – if not sole cause of the Mfecane as functioning "to obscure the processes by which whites came to be politically dominant and in possession of most of the land south of the Limpopo" (Wright 77).

troops, superior weaponry prevailed and the Zulu kingdom, as it had existed, finally disintegrated.

Zulu resistance, however, continued to endure. In 1906, a decade after Zululand had been annexed by the British and become part of Natal, Chief Bambatha kaMancinza of the Zondi Zulu clan, led an active revolt against an instituted poll tax. After a series of successful guerrilla attacks against the colonial government, the revolt, known as the Bambatha Rebellion, was quelled, with Bambatha beheaded in battle and more than 4000 Zulus killed (Shillington 138). It is also important to situate the rebellion as part of a larger wave of African resistance moments and movements around the country at the turn of the 20th century, including the rise of Ethiopianism and political organizations.

Despite the historical notoriety, the Zulu kingdom was not alone in crafting the pre-colonial landscape upon which South Africa would be built. In fact, several such communities predate it. As early as 1657, the Khoikhoi fought back against the Dutch settlers who had arrived on the pretext of trade yet were now encroaching further onto Khoikhoi land (Shillington 24). In 1779, the Xhosa community on the Eastern Cape retaliated to the Boer settlers killing herdsmen and stealing cattle by, in turn, capturing thousands of cattle. This marked the beginning of what would be nine "Frontier Wars" between the Xhosas and the Boers over the next century (29). Driven northwards at the beginning of Mfecane, the Ndwandwe soon grew into the Swazi nation that, by 1965 "rivalled the Zulu in power and importance" (38), while Moshoeshoe contemporaneously founded and established the Sotho kingdom (44). These groups, and others that make up contemporary South Africa, have contributed histories of resistance and culture to the crafting of a nation where none like it previously existed.

Of the several Nguni groups that relocated north, the Ndebele, an amalgamation of several ethnic groups led by former Shaka general Mzilikazi that had the largest impact on the shaping of Zimbabwean socio-politics from the 19th century until now. Establishing a powerful kingdom at Bulawayo known as *Umthwakazi,* the Ndebele absorbed several smaller groups and were ruling "the Zambezi, the Mufungavutsi plateau and Gokwe, with chiefs… paying tribute to the Ndebele" by 1850 (Mazarire 33). Led by Mzilikazi's son King Lobengula, their influence over various Shona groups in weakened Rozvi territory continued to spread and was only curtailed by the advent of the British colonial settlers in the 1890s. It is important to note that, after the settlers had deceived Lobengula into signing away territory and sovereignty under the 1888 Rudd Concession, he fought back diplomatically by writing explanatory letters to the Queen of England. Even when that had failed and Bulawayo had been seized in 1893, the Ndebele continued to fight, massacring an armed party led by colonial pioneer Alan Wilson that had been sent after the fleeing king (Mlambo 44). This is critical, as it not only points to the last visages of a precolonial Ndebele Nationalism, but also situates the oft-underrepresented Ndebele role in Zimbabwe's anticolonial struggle as preceding what is colloquially regarded as the first real resistance to colonialism in Zimbabwe: the Shona/Ndebele Uprisings (the First *Chimurenga/Umvukela*) of 1896.

The relocation of the Ndebele people to Shona territories set in place historic tensions that continue to shape ethnic and state nationalist discourse to this day. Colonial historiographers portrayed the Ndebele as the belligerent warlords who had colonized the Shona people, and that the Shona people were relieved and grateful to the colonialists for ending the former's tyrannical hold (Mlambo 27). The creation of this barbaric narrative

63

was consistent with the colonial machinations set to promote an uncivilized image and exacerbating schisms between African peoples. While the different African groups lived among each other to differing degrees of hostility, it was not until 1896 that British commissioners set out to create a "Ndebele ethnicity" out of those who lived in the plateau, using the Natal Code of 1891 that had been used by the South Africans in defining the Zulu (Mamdani). Thus, what became to be known as "Ndebele" consisted of 60% Shona people and other ethnic groups that were essentially "taught how to be Ndebele" by the colonialists (Ranger 101). While some Shona groups suffered Ndebele raids, "others remained in harmonious relations with their warlike neighbors, though usually at a subordinate level. More distant Shona states had no contact with the Ndebele" (Warhust 16).

The term 'Shona' to account for almost all communities living in Zimbabwe outside of the Southwestern province (home to the "Ndebele" and other smaller groups) was introduced even later. In 1931's *Report on the Unification of the Shona Dialect,* British-born South African linguist Clement Doke lumped six distinct dialects into one 'language' on the basis of the seeming mutual intelligibility he had observed Ndhlovu 310). The historical implications of this codification reach far beyond linguistic dynamics. The resultant hegemony of "the Shona' as a super-ethnic group comprised of several others may have helped forge a basis for anti-colonial nationalism, but it has also led to both the silencing of smaller groups usurped under the Shona banner, and the erasure of the Ndebele and the other ethnic groups in many Zimbabwean spaces and narratives.

In 1896, the two groups rose against the colonizers in what became known as the Shona and Ndebele Risings (Zvobgo 23). Despite their inevitable defeat, both groups had set in motion the spirit of resistance that would dominate the 20th century and eventually lead to the creation of a Zimbabwean identity and, ultimately, independence. The most cited casualties of the uprisings were S*ekuru*[18] Kaguvi and *Mbuya*[19] Nehanda[20], revered Shona spirit mediums and forbearers of what has come to be known as the *First Chimurenga*: the first war for liberation. The significance of Nehanda, in particular, as an enduring symbol of both Shona and pan-ethnic Zimbabwean nationalism is unparalleled. She is hailed as Zimbabwe's "anti-imperialist ancestor" (Charumbira 2). As she awaited execution after having been captured at the end of the Chimurenga, legend has it that she uttered, "My bones shall rise", and this went on to become the spiritual impetus behind future waves of anticolonial nationalism.

These pre-colonial spaces, events, communities, and individuals have gone on to shape articulations and imaginaries of nationalism and Pan-Africanism in the colonial and postcolonial era. Historian and ethnomusicologist Mhoze Chikowero explains this process as how "African deployed their traditions and historical memories as usable pasts to counter their construction as primitive "tribes" and to craft new national identities" (Chikowero 214).

ETHIOPIANISM IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

Since their earliest settlement in the Southern Cape during the 18th century, the British had employed Christianity in their colonial and African civilization project. The

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[18] Denotes 'Grandfather' or "Old Man…"
[19] Denotes 'Grandmother' or 'Old Woman…"
[20] Also known as Nehanda Nyakasikana

overwhelming intend was to "weaken the minds of men into submission" by emphasizing that the imperial agenda was God's design and thus in their best interest (Walshe 8). By 1850, for example, 9 000 African students were enrolled in elementary mission schools, with that number rising to 100,000 by 1900 and almost doubling ten years later (Walshe 7). Unforeseen by the settlers, the same Christian faith and education that had been weaponized against the Africans would become a prime site for African nationalist colonial resistance emboldened by Pan-African influences.

Prior to the mid-19th century, African resistance to Cape colonialism had largely been localized and thus along ethnic lines. Because the missions drew African children from across the country and admonished traditional African rituals and practices, missionary education inadvertently disrupted ethnic myopia and traditional loyalties: not only were students being divorced from the definitive cultural practices of their ethnic groups, they forged a nascent identity, alongside their peers, as Africans within colonial South Africa. It is upon the foundation of this identity that African nationalist politics in South Africa would grow in the 20th century, a point to which I return in-depth in the next section of this chapter.

The hypocrisy of unequal colonial politics administered by those who peddled a Christianity built upon virtues of equality was becoming increasingly apparent to the educated Africans, leading to tension and schisms within the existent European churches. Furthermore, several young African scholars were afforded an opportunity to go to university in the USA after high school. While there, many were exposed to African Methodist Episcopal Churches (AMEs), independent separatist Black American churches borne of similar racial tensions and schisms as in South Africa. These separatist Christian

movements are collectively known as Ethiopianism, drawing biblical inspiration from

Psalms 68:31, which states "princes shall Come out of Egypt and Ethiopia shall stretch

forth her hands unto God" (Vinson 20). Not only was this response Pan-African in its

resonance with different African communities on the continent and in the diaspora, but it

rooted itself in an ancient and transcendent African identity- as represented by biblical

era Egypt and, eponymously, Ethiopia.

The first of the separatist churches, the Tembu Church, was founded in 1884 after

a split from the Wesley United Methodist Church. In 1892, a Transvaal group broke also

from the Wesleyan Church and became the Ethiopian Church and, later, the fourteenth

district of the American AMEs (Mbeki 7). These were the first of many Ethiopianist

groups established in South Africa before and after the turn of the century. In an 1892

pamphlet, Reverend John L Dube, who would be the founding president of the South

African Native National Congress twenty years later, proclaimed, "Christianity will usher

in a new civilization, and the "Dark Continent" will be transformed into a land of

commerce and Christian institutions. Then shall Africa take her place as a nation among

the nations… 'Ethiopia shall stretch out her hands unto God" (Dube 1892). These

separatist churches thus represent not only historical and contemporary Pan-African

influences on resistance, but a breeding ground for the African nationalism that was

imminent.

Of many songs that grew out of the Ethiopianist tradition, *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika*

(God Bless Africa), penned in Xhosa in 1897 by a Johannesburg Methodist mission

school teacher Enoch M Sontonga, is most recognizable. In the following decades, the

song was translated into Zulu and other South African languages. The reference to Africa

67

in the song's name, as well as its cooptation by Southern Africa's first legitimate African

nationalist organization, gave *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika* Pan-African resonance. By the

1930s, prominent African religious leaders in Southern Rhodesia (modern day

Zimbabwe) such as John Maranke and John Masowe had introduced versions of the song

to their congregations; the latter having come across the song through his indirect

involvement with the South African labor movement (Coplan & Jules- Rossette 198). By

the 1960s, the song was driving anti-colonial efforts as far out as the Democratic

Republic of Congo and Zambia, moving seamlessly between political and religious

utility. True to its Pan-African nationalist legacy, *Nkosi Sikelel'i* went on to be the

national anthem of post-Apartheid South Africa, as well as in postcolonial Namibia,

Zimbabwe, Zambia and Tanzania.[21] The song's resonance among the religious, political,

and working masses, as well as across the South African ethnic groups and beyond its

borders speaks not only to its versatility, but to a uniformity of purpose within the

marginalized African communities in South Africa, Rhodesia, and beyond.

THE ADVENT OF THE AFRICAN NATIONALIST POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

If African nationalism had bubbled under the surface for decades, it erupted onto

the surface in the immediate aftermath of the formation of the Union of South Africa in

1910. Tensions between the relatively recent British and the established Dutch settlers

had resulted in the South African War[22] of 1899-1902 (L. Landau 138). While the British

technically won the war, the lasting result was a cessation of hostilities leading up to the

unification of the four territories (Orange Free State, Transvaal, Natal and the Cape)

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[21] Zimbabwe and Namibia have since adopted new national anthems.
[22] Also known as the Anglo-Boer War

under one government, thus creating the Union of South Africa in 1910. The 'union' in the country's name was the union of the British and Boers, and thus excluded Africans, Coloreds, or Indians. While these communities had limited franchise, a series of laws continued to marginalize non-Whites. The Mines and Works Act of 1911 reserved certain jobs exclusively for Whites, the Native Labor Registration Act of the same year gave the government absolute control over the movement of Africans, and the Native Land Act of 1913, which effectively dispossessed Africans of their land, removed them from White farms and repossessed their livestock (Mbeki).

In 1912, several African elites gathered formed the South African Native National Congress (SANNC), the first national African political organization in the country[23], and the first legitimate African Nationalist organization in the region. The organization was specifically founded to "defend and advance African Civil and political rights at a time when they were under unprecedented threat" (Dubow 6).

A glance at the SANNC founders reveals strong Pan-African influences. Founding president John Dube was not only a prominent figure in the Ethiopianist movement, he was an ardent follower of Booker T Washington. After visiting Washington's Tuskegee institute in the USA, Dube returned to Natal and founded the Ohlange Institute, a Black industrial school in the mold of the former, thus earning the moniker "The Booker Washington of Natal" (Walshe 12). Sol Plaatje, the first general secretary, was acquainted with W E B Du Bois, and when he spoke in America, a listener remarked that he had been called "to be the Frederick Douglass of the oppressed African

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[23] Such organizations as the Natal Native Congress, Gandhi's Natal Indian Congress and the African People's Organization predate the SANNC, but they had been more regional than comprehensively national.

slaves of today" (Matjila 5). Tengo Jabavu attended preliminary meetings in 1899 which

led to the 1900 Pan-African Conference (Walshe 13). Dube's Ohlange Institute

performed *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika* at the SANNC inauguration. These are a few examples

of the Pan-Africanism inherent in the founding of SANNC (later African National

Congress- (ANC)).

In addition to the Pan-African influences, ANC had significant impact on

Southern African nationalism as the first of its kind in the region. In the decades

following its founding, Africans in neighboring countries developed their own congresses

including the Nyasaland African Congress (1943), Southern Rhodesia African National

Congress (1957), and Northern Rhodesia African National Congress (1951). ANC also

made a fundamental contribution to the notion of Africanness in African Nationalism by

being notably pan-ethnic. In an era not far removed from the days of ethnic nationalism

being peak political organization in the region, the organization's ethnic diversity was

remarkable: Dube was Zulu, Jabavu was Xhosa, and Plaatje was Motswana. Beyond

incidental, pan-ethnicism was ideological in the SANNC. Pixley ka Isaka Seme, a

subsequent president of the organization, wrote a letter to then newspapers in the run-up

to the inaugural SANNC meeting in which he argued "the animosity that exists between

the Zulus and the Tongas, between the Basuto and every other Native must be buried and

forgotten...We are one people" (Walshe 33).

While the SANNC was pioneering in its Pan-Africanism and pan-ethnic

nationalism, it was anything but inclusive and representative of the African masses. The

organization was made up exclusively of men. Furthermore, members of the SANNC

were drawn almost exclusively from the *Kholwa,* a Zulu term denoting the select few,

predominantly men, who were Christian converts and mission-educated. Their relative affluence and aspirations not only manifest in suits and top hats, but also in their moderate politics. They drew their political platform from Cecil John Rhodes'[24] declaration of "Equality for all civilized men," and willed to work their way into colonial acceptance (Scarnecchia 12). The SANNC's Kholwa character may be indispensable in the history of Black Nationalism and Pan-Africanism in the region, but it fundamentally created a gulf between its members and the African masses, many of whom were neither educated nor middle class, but experienced the wrath of oppression in the mines, the industries, and the villages. As such, the SANNC found its popularity waning a decade after it was formed, with workers' movements stepping into the role of African nationalist mobilizers.

AFRICAN NATIONALISM AND THE WORKING MASSES

South Africa

The immediate post-Union years saw worsened conditions for African workers. Designed to secure more farming land for the White settlers and force the native Africans into being perpetual laborers, the Native Lands Act of 1913 had left only 7% of the arable land to the almost 70% Africans in the country (Feinberg 68). Low wages and high taxes made Black subsistence difficult and, before long, the workers were organizing in protest. While, true to their educated and lofty character, the SANNC "wrote strongly worded letters" (Mbeki 39) in protest, the working masses were arising in organic strikes. In

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[24] Cecil John Rhodes was the pioneering British colonialist who served as Prime Minister of the Cape Colony from 1890 – 1896. Southern African territory of Rhodesia, now Zimbabwe and Zambia, was named after him.

1920, for example, 40000 Black mine workers held a strike, one of several that was violently put down by the police [25](Shillington 151).

The Industrial and Commercial Workers Union of South Africa (ICU), the first trade union for Africans in the country, was founded in 1919 by Nyasaland[26] native Clemens Kadalie. The movement represented thousands of African workers from South Africa and those who had come to the country from neighboring countries. In its first true show of strength, the ICU organized the 1920 Port Elizabeth strike in which workers were demanding increased wages. Three thousand laborers marched, and as in the first instance, the heavy-handed South African police responded with violence, killing 24 protesters. ICU was founded with only 24 members. At its peak in 1926, its predominantly rural membership had grown to 100 000 - a reach early SANNC could not have fathomed (James 84). This success can be attributed to the organization's success in "combining race-pride populism with an attention to local grievances" (Scarnecchia 16).

Beyond their overt race-based resistance, ICU cultivated a sense of solidarity among the Africans through the establishment of such communal institutions as brass bands, ballrooms, choirs, as well as sponsoring boxing and soccer programs, all which stood to enhance contemporary "black political cohesion" (*Laduma!* 35). Even away from the ICU, soccer emerged as a powerful expression of African solidarity, particularly in urban areas where migrant workers from Durban would travel to Johannesburg, and vice versa. These trips would often be accompanied by dances and feasts that the workers were starved of in their daily lives. This, then, strengthens a sense of camaraderie in

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[25] Despite the fact that, less than a decade earlier, white laborers had struck for higher wages as well, many of them joined the police in brutally putting down the Black strikes.
[26] Modern day Malawi

"otherness" to the oppressive White employers and government. The development of *Marabi Football*, a flamboyant brand of football that flowed in tandem with the creative, uninhibited style of music by the same name that was popular among lower class Black urban communities (*Laduma!* 57). In repurposing a sport introduced by the British settlers into a spectacle definitively African, the communities were able to both preserve critical elements of their precolonial traditions and create—in essence—a new cultural paradigm

The populist narrative of the ICU coincided with, and provided a fertile breeding ground for Garveyism in South Africa. While the Caribbean had helped Pan-African organizing in the country since Sylvester Williams' time in the colony at the turn of the century, Garvey's United Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) elevated popular nationalist discourses to levels previously unseen. Beginning in 1920, the UNIA established five chapters in Cape Town alone, and several others around the country. The organization inspired a people yearning for a revolution through the ideals encapsulated in their mission to "redeem Africa only by unity, diligent research and a resolve to build our own schools, universities, shops and building our own ships" (Vinson 76). In the vintage spirit of Pan-African expression at the time, the UNIA espoused Ethiopianist values, with meetings concluding with the Ethiopian national anthem. The ideological overlap between the UNIA and ICU was apparent in the fact that the trade union elected five West Indian members of the UNIA to their national executive, with Kadalie going as far as declaring that his "essential object is to be the great African Marcus Garvey" (Vinson 79). In addition to its own Pan-Africanism, the ICU would be an influential force in nascent mass resistance across the northern border in Rhodesia.

Rhodesia (Zimbabwe)

The advent of the British- and the imperial visionary of Cecil John Rhodes in particular- at the end of the 19th century defined the geographic and colonial bounds of both South Africa and Zimbabwe. As such, early African nationalistic and Pan-African ideals and manifestations in Southern Rhodesia were inspired by similar phenomena and developed in comparable ways. After the failure of the Shona/Ndebele Wars of resistance in the 1890s, Christian missionaries established a foothold in the country as they had done and were doing down south. Drawing similar inspiration from their suffering and from Pan-African ideology sharing, Africans in Rhodesia, too, turned to Ethiopianism. The first AME church in the country was established in 1904 by M.D Makgatho, a South African (Sotho) who had immigrated to Rhodesia in 1890 (Raftapoulos & Mlambo 72). Again, we see here an instance of a continental African from a different country, rooted in resistance ideology developed in the African diaspora, leading the charge in anti-colonial and nationalistic charge. These Africanized Churches spread thereafter, to include the various apostolic sects led by the likes of Johanne Masowe and Johanne Maranke. Their influence on the masses and from the global Pan-African community was not lost on the colonial authorities, who were worried that "some of the ministers are active members of the movement termed Africa for Africans, whose leaders are American and West Indian Negroes and whose object is to form an Independent African republic with… Garvey as President, and it would be advisable to refuse them access to Rhodesia" (Raftapoulos & Mlambo 72).

In 1934, The Bantu Congress of Southern Rhodesia was formed in Bulawayo. A forerunner to the nationalist organizations that would emerge two decades later, the

congress mirrored the SANNC in being an elitist, moderate organization led by mission-educated men. Like their fellows of the South African Kholwa, they too drew political inspiration from Rhodes' "Equality for all civilized men" mantra.

The most influential mass movement in Southern Rhodesia at the time was the country's branch of the ICU, founded and led by Charles Mzingeli. These early African trade unions have been described as "the labor wing of the nationalist movement" (Esedebe 145). Much like Kadalie in South Africa, Mzingeli resented the elitism of the early nationalists, and instead "fought for the rights of the poor and the working class" (Scarnecchia 15). Trained by Robert Sambo, Kadalie's representative in Southern Rhodesia, whilst he still lived in Bulawayo, he decided to move to Salisbury[27] at 24 and established the ICU there. This precedence is critical to understanding the fluid role of ethnicity in nascent African nationalism in Rhodesia. According to Mzingeli, the ICU existed to build the character and dignity of urban Africans, "to form an opinion and slogan which will assist the African to have the feeling of belonging" (Scarnecchia 19). Beyond just being concerned with the working conditions of Black people, Mzingeli and his movement were engaged in an ideological nationalist battle that would lay the groundwork for more radical nationalist organization in Southern Rhodesia.

WWII, SECOND-WAVE PAN-AFRICANISM, AND RADICAL NATIONALISM

The 1940s in general, and the end of the Second World War in particular, proved to be a definitive period for African Nationalism and Pan-Africanism around the world- and Southern Africa was no exception. A pivotal moment was the 5th Pan-African Congress, held in October of 1945 in Manchester, the United Kingdom. At this gathering,

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[27] Modern Harare

75

attended by multitudes of representatives from the African continent and the diaspora, the Pan-African community departed from the moderate politics of its early days and declared that "the delegates… believe in peace… nevertheless, if the Western world continues determined to rule humanity by force, then the Africans, as a last resort, may have to resort to force, in the effort to achieve liberty, even if that force destroys themselves and the world" (Abdul-Raheem 4). This radical departure in rhetoric and politics had been born from a myriad of reasons: many African soldiers had been enlisted to fight against the tyranny of the Nazis on behalf of their respective colonial armies, only to return home subject to the tyranny of the colonial governments. Mzingeli had bemoaned to his constituents how the colonial legislators had seen it "fit that an African is capable of defending democracy against Nazis and Fascist hoarders whose doctrine was oppression… therefore to deny an African recognition… is not only undemocratic but is committing suicide of social and economic justice" (Scarnecchia 29). Ndabaningi Sithole, veteran Zimbabwean nationalist and founding president of the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), describes the anti-colonial awakening among the Africans in his 1959 text, *African Nationalism,* saying "during the war the Allied Powers taught their subject people that it was not right for Germany to dominate other nations...they taught the subject peoples to fight and die for their freedom" (48). Roosevelt and Churchill's Atlantic Charter (1941) had granted self- determination to all people, and yet they had backtracked when confronted about the African colonies; as well as worsening oppressive conditions in their respective countries.

In South Africa, the 1930s had seen a succession of laws[28] that abolished all African franchise in the Cape as well as remove any hope of franchise for the Africans in the country's interior. This, combined with the evident appeal of populist ideologies such as those espoused by Kadalie and the Garveyists, necessitated a shift from moderate politics- even by the ANC. In 1943, the congress adopted *The African Claims*, a manifesto that aimed to hold South Africa up to the "legacy of Freedom" promised by the Atlantic Charter, and set out to "attain the freedom of the African people from all discriminatory laws whatsoever" (Walshe 272). The popularity of this manifesto with the masses cannot be understated, as reports say it "sold like hot cakes" among the people after it was printed (Walshe 274).

The *African Claims* found support among the more radical younger members of the ANC, who would go on to form the Congress Youth League (ANCYL) in 1944. The league's radical energy of the youth league was embodied by Walter Sisulu, Lilian Ngoyi, and, most influentially in the early stages, 29- year- old Anton Lembede, who advocated racial pride and self-reliance under the theory of "Africanism." In so doing, Lembede set in place the virtues upon which Sobukwe's Pan African Congress and Biko's Black Consciousness Movement would be built. Echoing Garvey's "Africa for Africans" slogan, Lembede declared Africa to be "a blackman's country" (Dubow 29). Thus, he made the most fundamental radical departure from the ANC's founding principles: instead of coexistence, he now asserts that the land rightfully belonged to the

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[28] Dubbed the Hertzog Bills after the prime minister who administered them. The Representation of Natives Bill proposed the removal of African voters from the ordinary electoral roll in the Cape Province and their placement on a separate roll, while the Natives' Trust and Land Act Bill proposed the creation of the South African Native Trust. Both became law in 1936

Africans, and the conversation about African rights should fundamentally address the issue of land redistribution. The ANCYL and its radical stance also had Pan-African resonance. James Chikerema, one of Zimbabwe's earliest and foremost nationalists, had been a prominent member of both the South African Communist Party and the ANC Youth League before fleeing the country due to fears for his security after the Apartheid government took office in 1948. He went on to be a founder of the Salisbury City Youth League in 1956, South Rhodesian ANC in 1957, and subsequently ZAPU in 1961 (Scarnecchia).

Early nationalists in Southern Rhodesia were as moderate and elitist as those in South Africa had been. As such, the noteworthy resistance movements of the 1940s were those populated by the laborers. In 1945, 8000 Southern Rhodesian railway workers, who had unionized the previous year, went on strike, shutting down essential railway lines in the country. While African political leadership in both Salisbury and Bulawayo tried to claim responsibility for the strike, it was a worker-led initiative (Scarnecchia 30). Groups of workers around the country, rose in protest in what is now known as the 1948 General Strike. The protest began on October 22 in Bulawayo, when "every one of the 2,708 black railway workers" went on strike (Lawrence 2011). In two days, the strike had spread to other towns: Gwelo, Selukwe, Fort Victoria, Salisbury, and the Wankie colliery, and accounted for more than 8,000 of the 10,000 African railway employees (Lawrence). Because of Rhodesian Africans' reluctance to enter the colonial economy and self-sufficiency in agricultural products away from the urban areas, African immigrants from Zambia, Malawi, and Mozambique made up vast numbers of the urban laborer population. By some reports, "Malawian migrant workers exceeded even

Southern Rhodesian Africans" in the urban centers (Mlambo 74).The diverse nationalities represented in the workforce thus gave the uprisings a Pan-African character. Again, this was not an initiative instigated by political leaders, but rather a "spontaneous action on the part of frustrated and disgruntled urban workers and residents subjected to high prices, low wages, food shortages, and a severe drought in the rural areas" (Scarnecchia 38).

In many ways, the railway strike marks a watershed moment for African Nationalism in Rhodesia. Not only had it broken the barriers of elitism represented by the rural/urban divide but, in spreading into the heartlands of the different ethnic and sub-ethnic African groups, it represented a unified response to the colonial government that posited all Africans in Rhodesia against the Rhodesian government.

By 1953, the majority of the RICU[29] 7,000 members were women, who found protection and solidarity in numbers from the organization. Tapping into the race-pride rhetoric of Pan-Africanism, Mzingeli declared "a race that subjected its own womenfolk to indignities such as the African woman suffers today could not achieve a solid progress and respect of other races" (Scarnecchia 54). The women were not just rhetorical tools in need of protection however; they radicalized the movements in many ways, and often challenged the men into action. For example, an elder in the RICU commented that "time and again, our women have asked us (the men) to lend them our trousers so that they may try to lead us" (Scarnecchia 68). Thus, as the 20th century came onto its halfway mark, there was an increase in radical African nationalism in both countries that begins to poke holes in the elitist and patriarchal incarnations of nationalism at the turn of the century.

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[29] Reformed Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union, still under Mzingeli's leadership.

FROM THE FREEDOM CHARTER TO ARMED STRUGGLE: AFRICAN NATIONALISM UNDER APARTHEID

The aftermath of WWII, and the 1950s in particular, witnessed a radical decline in the colonial project that had begun in earnest at the Berlin Conference of 1884-85. At Ghana's independence in 1957, President Kwame Nkrumah declared that "Our independence is meaningless unless it is linked up with the total liberation of Africa". Not only did his utterances invigorate anticolonial nationalism across the continent, they ushered in a brand of Pan-Africanism that was also concerned with postcolonialism. Nkrumah subsequently warned that a politically and economically divided independent Africa would remain susceptible to Western control, and advocated for a "United African States", upon which ground the Organization of African Unity (OAU) was founded in 1963. The liberation of the remaining French colonies, Nigeria and the Belgian Congo in 1960 earned the year the title 'The Year of Africa' (Scarnecchia 94).

The 1960s independence wave had however, all but missed Southern Africa, with Mozambique, Angola, Namibia, Zimbabwe, and South Africa remaining under White rule. The colonial governments feared the loss of the profitable territories they had settled in and so they intensified their already heavy-handed rule. The advent of Apartheid in South Africa (1948) and the establishment of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland (1953) both consolidated colonial power and White Nationalism in the settler colonies, with the latter laying the administrative ground for the Prime Minister Ian Smith's government 1965 Unilateral Declaration of Independence in Rhodesia.

In response, Africans in South Africa and Zimbabwe gravitated towards more radical expressions of nationalism and Pan-Africanism. In South Africa, the fragmented ANC continued to be the vanguard of African nationalism. In 1952, the party led the

Defiance Campaign, the first mass protest against Apartheid laws. The campaign brought together a collective that grew to be called the Congress Alliance comprising of organizations committed to bringing about majority rule, non-racialism and the principle of one person, one vote. Led by the ANC, the alliance comprised of the South African Congress of Democrats (COD), South African Indian Congress (SAIC), Coloured People's Congress (CPC), South African Congress of Trade Unions, (SACTU) South African Communist Party (SACP), and the Federation of South African Women. Ten thousand protesters were arrested during the Defiance Campaign, a show of growing discontent and mobilization under Apartheid.

On the 25th of June in 1955, almost 3000 delegates from across South Africa representing the different organization of the Congress Alliance gathered at Kliptown near Johannesburg (Shillingon 163). By the end of proceedings on the 26th of June, the delegates had produced the Freedom Charter, a ten-point document demanding liberal democratic freedoms including universal franchise, equal rights, equal access to education and health. Even with the mass arrests of leaders for treason in December 1956 and subsequent banning of the Congress Alliance, its utopian ideals would maintain resonance up until the advent of democracy and beyond.

While many South Africans applauded the Charter, the youth league Africanists were particularly concerned with many of its provisions, chief among which was the Charter's memorable opening line, "…South Africa belongs to all those who live in it, Black and White…" (Freedom Charter Preamble). This concession was in opposition to Garvey's "Africa for Africans" slogan, which had resonated strongly with Lembede and other Africanists. Thus, the ideological drift continued to grow until 1958 when the

Africanists broke away from the ANC, paving way for the formation of the Pan African Congress (PAC) under the leadership of Robert Sobukwe in 1959. This platform provided an opportunity for some critics of the Freedom Charter to express their concerns. For example, Jackie Seroke, the political and Pan-African Affairs secretary at the PAC explained that:

> The Freedom Charter made a basic betrayal of the principle tenets of the liberation struggle; and that betrayal was to say South Africa belongs to all those who live in it. We've never heard of such a thing. It can never be, because South Africa had influences from all over, and our view was that South Africa is part of Africa- the indivisible whole of Africa, and our African Nationalism is of a united people called Africans; so we could not see how this part of Africa was different from the others. (Seroke)

Other prominent youth leaguers made up the PAC's leadership. Central to the agenda of the PAC was the issue of land, and Sobukwe led with the call, "*Afrika Izwe Lethu*!" ("Africa is our Land!") The radical nationalist message resonated with prominent continental Pan-Africanists such as Kwame Nkrumah who send their regards ahead of the PAC's inaugural meeting. On 21 March 1960, the PAC marched on the Sharpeville Police Station in Southern Johannesburg. The police descended on them with ruthless abandon, shooting dead 69 people and injuring 200. In the aftermath of Sharpeville, the South African government banned both the ANC and PAC.

Guns and Guitars: Expressions of Nationalism in the Post-Sharpeville Nadir

The next decade is known as the "Post-Sharpeville Nadir" of African Nationalism in South Africa. After both the ANC and PAC were banned, they were forced to operate underground and in exile. ANC leaders such as Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, and Ahmed Kathrada were arrested between 1962 and 1963 before standing before the court at the Rivonia Trial of 1964. Sobukwe was also arrested after the Sharpeville Massacre

82

for inciting a public uprising. Restricted in activity by the ban, and having been failed by the non-violent protests, both PAC and ANC formed guerrilla organizations. In 1961 *Umkhonto we Sizwe* (MK)— which translates to "Spear of the Nation"— the South African liberation movement founded under Mandela's leadership, became famous for its sabotage campaign in which they would blow up railway lines, electricity distribution sites, and government offices (Dubow).

MK developed immediate Pan-African connections. The OAU had established a Liberation Committee to support accredited liberation organizations. As such, MK became loosely aligned with other liberation movements such as Frelimo (Mozambique), ZAPU, PAIGC (Guinea Bissau) and MPLA (Angola) (Barrell). Its headquarters were established at Morogoro in Tanzania and found a solid ally in Southern Rhodesia's ZAPU, whose headquarters were in Zambia. Because Rhodesia was facing international sanctions after unilaterally declaring independence in 1965, their closest ally was the South African government: thus giving the two liberation movements a platform upon which to unite. PAC's armed military wing—the Poqo—was more confrontational, in tandem with the party's more radical Africanist disposition. Inspired in large part by Frantz Fanon's prescription for the Algerian War, Poqo killed policemen, collaborators, and White civilians in the hopes that it would inspire a mass insurrection among the people.

A defining popular expression of militant anti-Apartheid movements was the *Toyi-Toyi*, a high-knee dance accompanied with call-and-response war chants. Initially the domain of the MK fighters (at least within South Africa), *Toyi-Toyi* grew to become, and continues to be, a recognizable popular expression of anti-oppression mobilization

83

among the workers, students, and general populace. Fascinatingly, this definitive feature of Black protest in South Africa is rooted in the Pan-African experience, as South African fighters had learnt it in training camps located in Tanzania and through other interactions with Zimbabwean militants (Opondo 207). Manala Manzini, who headed the ANC in Tanzania between 1980 and 1991, explained that:

> The Zimbabweans sang, and danced the Toyi. The people who were then trained there, deployed there, fought with ZAPU in Zimbabwe- when they came back into the camps, they introduced the Toyi-Toyi. (Hirsch)

Thus, in this ritualistic song and dance, we witness a tangible, non-abstract manifestation of Pan-African anti-colonialism with a particular emphasis on the symbiosis of resistance between the neighboring countries.

Poqo was short-lived, and was succeeded by the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA) as the PAC's military wing. Like MK, the APLA set up a base in Tanzania, and spent the rest of the 1960s and 70s attempting to get back into South Africa to fight on the ground. Ultimately, both wings failed to be as impactful as hoped, or as those in neighboring countries had been. This was due to several reasons, including the overwhelming urban emphasis on South African socio-politics that made a 'bush war' in the mold of Southern Rhodesia and Mozambique impractical, heavy handed South African border and internal security, as well as internal power struggles—particularly with the PAC, who never fully recovered from the loss of Sobukwe.

Where the bullet fell short in the fight against Apartheid, the drum picked up, as music played an integral role while the major nationalist organizations were banned. Such groups as the Mayibuye Cultural Ensemble, founded in 1975 by exiled ANC members in London, as well as the Amandla Cultural Ensemble that was born in the MK

camps around Southern Africa in the 1970s as well, were pivotal mouthpieces for the anticolonial efforts. Mayibuye drew its name from the popular liberatory refrain, *Mayibuye iAfrika* (Let Africa Return), and participated in solidarity movements with ZAPU, MPLA, and FRELIMO, thereby cementing its Pan-African nationalism (Gilbert 164). Amandla had been conceptually born at the World Black Festival of the Arts in Lagos in 1977, which had brought musicians from around the continent and Black diaspora. Musician Jonas Gwangwa, exiled at the time, formed the ensemble, also inspired by another wartime slogan. Amandla lived on into the 1980s, and traveled to perform for exiled South Africans in Angola, Zambia, Tanzania and other countries, and some of their music was available, albeit illegally, in South Africa (Gilbert 173). Amandla was known for depicting contemporary political conversations, such as the 1976 Soweto Uprisings, as well as drawing from the various ethnic groups of South Africa (Zulu, Xhosa, Shangan, Sotho etc.). The group did this prominently through dance, thereby reinforcing the supra-ethnic nationalism that they were advocating. Critically, as Gilbert writes, "there was little formal intervention from the (ANC) movement regarding the type of material they could present (71). This posits these artistic arms of the liberation struggle as grassroots movements, albeit working under the larger umbrella of the congress.

The Post-Sharpeville Nadir created a leadership void in the fight against Apartheid. The vacuum was soon filled by the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM), most notably associated with Steve Biko's leadership. Influenced in part by the Black Power movement and the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) in the USA, as well as the writings of Amilcar Cabral and Frantz Fanon, Black Consciousness

set out "to oppose, reverse, and undo the long history of the dehumanization and emptying of being of Africans" (Oliphant). Fundamentally, Biko and the BCM put students front and center of the Anti-Apartheid efforts in the 1970s, especially through the resistance of the South African Students Organization (SASO). The movement also relegated party allegiances to lesser importance than had arisen after the ANC/PAC split. Biko explained "some guys are emotional about the ANC. But okay, what is ANC? 'It's a party for Africans!' You know? It's all he knows about ANC. He might know a leader and admire one: Mandela is the darling of ANC people, and Sobukwe of course darling of the PAC people. But you ask them what the difference is; they don't know." Biko then pointed out that the difference between BCM and the parties was its bottom-up, and not top-down approach- as seen through its working with students and workers.

BCM also distinguished itself through community programs established around the country. Between 1972 and 1976, the BCM published the Black Review, a yearbook dedicated to "providing coverage of activity by and against the Black community" (Hadfield 63). Not only did its existence challenge the Apartheid paradigm by showcasing Black potential for knowledge production, it also provided a platform for young Black students traditionally kept out of knowledge production and publishing. Even as it was short-lived, its enduring impact would be felt in other Black-centered publications from outside the BCM. In 1975, under the leadership of Mamphela Ramphele, the movement built and opened the Zanempilo Community Health Center in Zinyoka. The center was "one of the first primary healthcare initiatives outside the public sector in South Africa and provided much needed community health education. However, the center was not solely a health facility", but doubled as a community center as well as

a covert training area for activists (Hadfield). Its rural location accorded village men and women health and economic opportunities previously inaccessible to them. These were not the "other" engagements of BCM: they were central to its premise. As Biko explained, "the liberation of the poor in South Africa is grounded in African cultural concepts of collectivity and sharing that reinstates the human being at the center" (Mngxitama et al 12).

THE 2ND CHIMURENGA: NATIONALIST POLITICAL ORGANIZATION AND ARMED STRUGGLE IN RHODESIA (ZIMBABWE)

The first African nationalist political organization in Rhodesia came 45 years after the birth of the SANNC in South Africa. The South Rhodesian African National Congress (SRANC), founded in 1957 "demanded universal suffrage and parliamentary democracy, the repeal of all racial legislation, and a society based on individual freedom and equal opportunity for all" (Kriger 83). The SRANC was banned in 1959, and was immediately succeeded by the National Democratic Party (NDP), and they too were banned the following year. NDP immediately rebranded as the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU). The name Zimbabwe, named after the nationalists' discourse has largely been attributed to veteran nationalist and former NDP president Michael Mawema (E. Mlambo 140).

Citing the party's moderate politics, several members of ZAPU split and started another party, Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) in 1963. While the two parties would later become colloquially synonymous with their dominant ethnic group (ZAPU with the Ndebele, ZANU with the Shona,) it is important to note two realities at the inception. First, the debilitating fall-out was strategic, not ethnic. Instead of working together with the White government and gradual change, ZANU was disillusioned by

87

ZAPU's moderate approach and sought a democratic socialist, Pan-African state and to rid Africa of all forms of imperialism (Scarnecchia 105). Secondly, there were leaders of both ethnicities instrumental in the founding of both parties: Joshua Nkomo (Ndebele[30]), George Nyandoro and, James Chikerema (Shona) were all pivotal to the foundation of ZAPU, while the predominantly Shona ZANU was actually founded in the house of one Enos Nkala, an Ndebele official (Sibanda 321).

This birth of African political organization in Rhodesia coincided with the advent of African literature, itself a critical tool in the assertion of African nationalism. The absence of a strong literary tradition within many precolonial communities, particularly in Southern Africa, was often cited as proof of African inferiority (Smith 4). Thus, the development of a literary culture in both their native and colonial languages was innately subversive. Mazrui makes this case when he writes "If the general absence of the written word was a part of Africa's sense of humiliation during the colonial period, the outburst of written creativity among Africans since those early days became part of Africa's vindication of itself" (315). The reimagining of the past as exhibited by these writers as a way of establishing a triumphalist past and crafting a sentimental blueprint for contemporary and future nationalism was theoretically summated by Fanon, who wrote that the "colonized man who writes for his people ought to use the past with the intention of opening the future, as an invitation to action and a basis for hope" (Fanon 187).

Ndabaningi Sithole, who went on to found ZANU, published *Umvukela WaMandebele* in 1956. The first Rhodesian novel by an African, *Umvukela* tells the story of two wars that the Ndebele fought against the colonizers in 1893 and 1896 and how

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[30] Actually, Kalanga in descent, but raised among the Ndebele people.

their king, Lobengula, evaded capture in defeat. It is important to consider that Sithole himself is Ndau, a Shona sub-ethnic group, albeit born and raised in Bulawayo. Thus, that the first African language book in Rhodesia was in Ndebele, and yet had been written by an ethnic Shona, represent a pan-ethnic investment in the reimagining of Zimbabwean history and fight against colonialism. Significantly, subsequent early editions of the book were published under the title *Amandebele KaMzilakazi* after the Southern Rhodesia Literature Bureau (the Bureau) deemed the African nationalist connotations of the original title too subversive (Chiwome & Mguni 42). Another book banned by the Bureau was Solomon Mutsvairo's 1956 novel *Feso*[31]. The main character, Feso, is enslaved by a foreign King, Mambo Pfumojena (Literally King "White Spear"), before escaping with the king's daughter as a bride for his own king, and the ensuing battle leads to the Pfumojena's demise. The anticolonial themes of the book were ill-concealed. Of particular importance in *Feso* is a lament given by an old man upon seeing Feso and others taken into captivity by the king (35). This lament cries out to Mbuya Nehanda, the great Shona medium who had spearheaded the First Chimurenga This poem became a rallying cry for Second Chimurenga nationalism, and continues to be recited today.

Not only is Nehanda's spirit invaluable to the literature of a nascent nationalism, but she continues to be the consummate figure in the rest of the anticolonial struggle and in the postcolonial era. Yvonne Vera, a Zimbabwean author who would go on to write a novel centered in the struggle for land titled *Nehanda* post-independence, explained that "The second phase of the (Chimurenga) struggle was inspired by the first and the image of Nehanda. One grew up with that image in songs" (Chikowero 213). The songs, also

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[31] First ever published Shona novel

known as Chimurenga songs, often made reference to the spirit medium's prophetic messages of resilience in the pursuit of independence, and were sung to raise the morale of freedom fighters on the battlefield, and to lift the spirits of nationals at home. Nehanda represents an African and pan-ethnic womanist subversion of the patriarchal nationalism of European settlers.

Often, the colonial government attempted to manipulate cultural expressions specific to different African communities to further the divisions of their "tribalization" project aimed at emphasizing difference, and thus separation, between various African groups. One of the ways they did this was by making "tribal dances" a competitive affair between the different ethnic groups at state-sponsored festivals (Chikowero 150). However, African nationalists were able to infiltrate these festivals and, unbeknownst to the colonialists, curate indigenous dances to create a sense of nationalism and rally support for the war. These pre-colonial dances that had been co-opted by the colonial government were reclaimed as an expression of African nationalism. In addition, the nationalists (as ZAPU) organized the Zimbabwe Festival of African Culture in May of 1963, through their cultural wing, the Zimbabwe Traditional and Cultural Club. Held in front of 50 000 people at Gwanzura Stadium in Harare, the festival features a fashion show highlighting indigenous and African print clothes, a cooking contest, art exhibits, and traditional dance competitions. One of the festival's organizers, Davies Mugabe, channeled Anthony D Smith's definition[32] of nationalism by explaining that the event was being hosted because "we are a people who need a unity and identity" (Turino 181).

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[32] See page 29

The Zimbabwe Festival of African Culture was, in many ways, the highlight of the early nationalists' attempt to create an accompanying cultural platform. By 1964, much like the ANC and PAC in South Africa the year before, both ZANU and ZAPU were banned and began operating in exile from Zambia. ZAPU's military wing, the Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army (ZIPRA), was formed that same year, while ZANU's Zimbabwean African National Liberation Army (ZANLA) was founded under the leadership of Herbert Chitepo in Tanzania the following year. In 1965, fearing that Southern Rhodesia was on the brink of Black majority rule like former confederation members i.e. Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, the Rhodesian government unilaterally declared independence from the British Empire, resulting in annexation from the British Commonwealth and economic sanctions. Meanwhile, both ZAPU and ZANU advanced their military activities. On 28 April 1966, ZANLA militants clashed with Security forces in Sinoia (modern day Chinhoyi), in hopes of seizing the town. Many declare this to be the beginning of the Second Chimurenga.

Although most colloquially defined by the armed struggle, the Second Chimurenga was fought on several fronts. Football, unmatched among the sports in popularity among the African populace, also assumed a revolutionary and nationalistic role. Highlanders Football Club was founded in 1926 by Albert and Rhodes Lobengula, the grandchildren of last precolonial Ndebele king Lobengula. The team was described by one administrator as "more than a football club but an institution of resistance… Nkomo was linked to this team because he knew how powerful football was as an avenue for controlling people or changing situations having been a social welfare officer himself and this worked during the struggle for the liberation of this country" (Ncube 201).

Highlanders also became a platform upon which the working masses in Bulawayo organized industrial action and protests against exploitative working conditions.

Similarly, Salisbury team Dynamos was described as the people's team during the anticolonial era. Founded in 1963, its birth coincided with the rise of nationalist organizations and the armed struggle, thus its legacy was intrinsically tied to anticolonialism. Legendary player George Shaya explained how "supporters took Dynamos as the liberation struggle movement. You could sense the tension in the terraces, especially when we played…a team which was dominated by whites, it was a political fight. To the fans a European team resembled the Rhodesian Front while Dynamos an African team represented ZANU" (Ncube 202). Players and supporters of the team have also described how the "Vietnam Stand" at Dynamos' home Rufaro Stadium, where the most ardent fans sit to this day, was so named because Vietnam emerged from the war against the United States of America as a symbol of anti-Western imperialism to the rest of the colonized world. Similarly, the "Soweto Stand" at Highlanders' Barbourfields stadium has its roots in the Johannesburg neighborhood that served as the hotbed for anti-Apartheid resistance. Thus, the football field not only became a site of nationalist contestation, but one which situated the average fan as part of a Pan-African and global anticolonial movement. The Ndebele/Shona dichotomy represented by Highlanders and Dynamos persists, and is discussed in the following chapter.

While militants were overwhelmingly men, and sites of nationalist expression such as the football stadium also tended to be gendered, it is critical to recognize the vital ways in which women contributed to the Chimurenga. First, despite being in the

minority, there was a significant number of female militants. Other women joined the struggle and played various roles as messengers or recruiters. Vesta Sithole, war veteran and wife of Ndabaningi Sithole, describes how she would dress up to entice Black Rhodesian men living in Zambia at bars and, after they followed her outside upon her invitation, "my colleagues would then come and grab the man, cover him with a sack or blanket, and drag him to the waiting truck" after which they were briefed and recruited into the wartime forces (47). The women who remained at home in Rhodesia also played a crucial role in the armed struggle, often serving as surrogate mothers to the wanton combatants. Thelma Khumalo of Esigodini, for example, says, "the women (in homes) provided everything the freedom fighters wanted: cigarettes, soap, clothes. The women were very courageous and fought to the end" (75). Not only does this posit the women as vital to the anti-colonial struggle: it situates them as agents of African nationalism; even from their homes. They saw themselves as fighters "to the end,"- another arm in the multi-limbed struggle for independence.

Because the guerrillas were constantly on the move, song and slogan became important points of connection between them and the villagers and other non-militant citizens. A popular ritual of the era became *Pungwes*, all-night mobilization rallies during which militants would gather villagers and, with heightened nationalistic rhetoric, teach the villagers, endear themselves to the communities, and recruit fighters (Mazarire). Video footage from the late 1970s, for example, shows ZANLA guerrillas leading dozens of attentive villagers in song, beginning with a variant of a familiar ZANU call and response chant:

Militant: *Pamberi ne ZANU*! (Forward with ZANU!)
Villagers: *Pamberi*! (Forward!)

Militant: *Pamberi naPresident Comrade Robert Mugabe*! Forward with President
Comrade Robert Mugabe!
Villagers: *Pamberi*!
Militant: *Pasi naNkomo*! (Down with Nkomo!)
Villagers: *Pasi Naye*! (Down with him!)
Militant: *Pasi naMuzorewa* (Down with Muzorewa!)
Villagers: *Pasi Naye*! (Down with him!)
Militant: *Pasi naSithole*! (Down with Sithole!)
Villagers: *Pasi Naye*! (Down with him!)
Militant: *Pasi naSmith*! (Down with Smith!)
Villagers: *Pasi Naye*! (Down with him!)[33]

What is most telling here is not only the use of song as a medium towards creating

a national consciousness, but how it represents- even before independence- the roots of

the Mugabeism that would become synonymous with the national project in its first four

decades of independence. The first line of the slogan lauds the party, thereby usurping the

liberatory narrative for ZANU alone, despite the existence of ZAPU and other groups.

Secondly, the militant leading the chant pays homage to Mugabe, also asserting him as

the uncontested leader of the party and, thus, the liberation struggle. This idea is

reinforced by the derision of other African anti-colonial figureheads Nkomo, Muzorewa

and Sithole (the latter of whom had actually founded ZANU!) In placing their names in

the same chant series as "*Pasi naSmith*" suggests that they were viewed as inimical to

ZANU's cause as much as the Rhodesian government was. This intolerance, backed by

the violent memory evoked by the song's "take your gun and liberate yourself" mantra,

would have foreshadowed Mugabeism's tyrannical violence perpetrated towards ZAPU

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[33] Video posted on the Communist Party of Miami Facebook page
https://www.facebook.com/MiamiComunista/videos/1561856987166163/?hc_ref=ARSb46A8nDl22ZPQz
Ka5LIumhP7-g0pkL_hAbugvpFWILvMefw2OVtbF1XZIzHvScTI

and the Ndebele during the Gukurahundi[34] years (1982-1987) and again towards political

opponents in the 2000s.

ETHNIC NATIONALISM IN COLONIAL SOUTH AFRICA AND RHODESIA (ZIMBABWE)

In 1971, tensions within the ZAPU camps- still based in Zambia- led to mutiny in

their ranks and the Zambian military stepped in and deported fighters back to Zimbabwe,

where they were hanged on arrival (Kriger). Dissident members of ZAPU who were not

deported joined ranks with dissident ZANU members to form the short-lived Front for

the Liberation of Zimbabwe (FROLIZI) (M. Sithole). This development is historically

critical, as it introduced an element of ethnic particularism previously unseen in the

parties: it marked the pivotal moment in which ZAPU became a party synonymous with

the Ndebele identity. Prominent Shona leaders in ZAPU, including Chikerema and

Nyandoro, were among those who left and took up leadership in FROLIZI, thereby

destroying resonance ZAPU among the Shona.

In South Africa, nothing exemplified political ethnocentrism in the latter years of

Apartheid like the rise of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP). Born in 1975 as the Inkatha

yakwa Zulu in the Kwazulu homeland by Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, the organization

changed its name to Inkatha Yenkululeko Yesizwethe. While the first one had translated

to "the sacred coil[35] for the unity of Zulu people", the latter meant "the sacred coil for the

freedom of the nation", "to reflect its national ambitions" (Kelly 141). Rebranded Inkatha

Freedom Party (IFP) in the lead-up to the 1994 elections, the organization was initially

intended to fight against the homeland system put in place by the government. Quickly

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[34] The massacre of the Ndebele people and others associated with ZAPU by the Mugabe-deployed Fifth Brigade. The episode is discussed in depth in the following chapter.
[35] Harkening back to a traditional coil devised by medicine men among the Zulus to symbolize their unity.

growing to a memberships numbering in the hundreds of thousands before the 1980s,

many of its early leaders were members of the ANC, and it had in fact been founded with

private support from the exiled ANC. In 1979, however, Buthelezi ended all association

with the ANC and rebranded the organization as the IFP. Over the next decade,

relationships between the two groups would disintegrate into downright enmity. Their

Zulu ethnocentrism was at odds with the ANC's stances and Buthelezi's commitment to

build a Zulu nation within the homeland parameters set by the Apartheid government led

to criticisms of him as being an agent of the state (Adam & Moodley 492).

After 1985, IFP engaged in a brutal campaign against the other nationalist

movements, specifically targeting the Zulu speakers therein. By 1990, more than 4000

people had been killed in that conflict. While the idea of the conflict having its roots in

tribal nationalism was perpetuated, it has since been revealed that the Apartheid

government's mysterious "Third Force" had trained and armed IFP as a ploy to showcase

Black disunity and their inability to govern. The tactic of sponsoring dissident nationalist

factions was one that the South African government became synonymous with during the

1980s, as they sponsored the Renamo rebels to destabilize the Frelimo government in

Mozambique, as well as "Super Zapu" dissidents to commit acts of sabotage in a newly

independent Zimbabwe (Sibanda). Thus, while ethnic and sub-ethnic nationalism did, and

does, exist within the anticolonial efforts in South Africa and Rhodesia, it was often only

elevated to contentious status as a manipulative tool to either grab power or to weaken

the impact of a unified nationalistic effort.

"SARURA WAKO!" FRONTLINE STATES, MAKEBA, AND THE PAN-AFRICAN ROAD TO INDEPENDENCE

When the Organization of African Unity (OAU) was founded in 1963 by a majority recently independent African countries, the majority of Southern Africa was still under colonial rule. The leaders thus established the Coordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa (LC), and headquartered in Tanzania (then Tanganyika) due to country's proximity to the still colonized countries (Shipale). As such, several military bases that housed and trained liberation movements including MK, Poqo, ZIPRA, ZANLA, as well as others from the region were created across the country. LC issued the Lusaka Manifesto in 1969, in which they declared that while they would rather independence was achieved through peaceful means, they would continue to support military movements for as long as tyranny continued in the settler colonies (M. Sithole 130). The following year, independent Southern African nations, disproportionately impacted by the continued colonialism of their neighbors and the resulting violence and economic sanctions, formed the Frontline States (FLS) organization. The group initially consisted of Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia (with Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe joining at the attainment of their respective independence) and availed itself as a place of refuge and counsel for political leaders, militants, and civilians of the remaining colonies. In 1980, the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) was founded with a specific socio-economic mandate that complemented the FLS's political slant. The two merged in 1992 as the organization was rebranded the Southern African Development Community (SADC), which continues to wield significant influence in the region today.

In addition to the first wave of South African militants who had gone to Tanzania during the 1960s, civilians flocked to the country after the Soweto Uprisings of 1976. The Nyerere government gave the exiled ANC some land, upon which they built an educational center for the students exiled after 1976. The center was later renamed the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College after the slain young MK combatant (Shipale). After Mozambique joined the frontline states, they hosted ZANU military bases and provided technical support, a development which shifted the armed struggle in favor of the guerrillas while putting a strain on the Rhodesian government (185). The role of Pan-African counsel during the armed struggle and independence negotiations was also pivotal. For example, in 1970, the Zambian government began pressuring ZANU and ZAPU to unite, under the threat of expulsion from their Zambian bases (M Sithole 132). As the decade wore on, the rest of the FLS also lobbied towards unity among the nationalists in Rhodesia and were instrumental in convincing the leadership to participate in the Lancaster House negotiations, with the Rhodesian and British governments that ultimately led to Zimbabwean independence (A. Mlambo 185).

Away from the nationalists and militants were the various artists that were forced into exile. Chief among these was Miriam Makeba, popularly known as "Mama Afrika". Banned from the country after her 1962 testimony to the United Nations Special Commission against Apartheid, Makeba became the spiritual symbol of Black South African nationalism on par with, and often surpassing, the political leaders. Significantly, her Pan-African accolades are astounding: prior to being exiled, she had been in Kenya, performing in support of Jomo Kenyatta and the country at its Independence Day celebrations. She was also the only performer invited by Haile Selassie to perform at the

founding of the OAU in Addis Ababa, performed at the independence celebrations for several countries, was famously married to American activist Kwame Ture (formerly Stokely Carmichael), as well as having a remarkable friendship with Sekou Toure of Guinea, where she lived for 15 years.

Makeba's Pan-Africanism and proximity to Toure and other giants of African nationalism across the continent are immortalized in her music, including one track titled "*Kadeya Deya*." That the song is derived from a Shona children's game and sang in Shona (as opposed to one of Makeba's native languages) is in itself symbolic of her capacity to bridge the colonial gaps between African communities. Traditionally, the game would involve the children telling one of their peers to "pick theirs" (your friend, partner, or play spouse), and the child would go on to describe who they wanted to pick before dancing up to them and taking their hand (Mutema 61). In Makeba's version, she sings "*Wangu ndiSekou*" (Mine is Sekou) and then goes on to replace "Sekou" with Kwame, Nyerere, Sobukwe, Nkomo, Gaddafi, and Sadat among other revolutionaries (Makeba). Thus, this puerile tune from a neighboring country became the roll call of Pan-Africanism. Together with Hugh Masekela and others, Mama Afrika held high the torch of musical nationalism and Pan-Africanism that the likes of fellow Apartheid era musicians like Yvonne Chaka and Brenda Fassie would also come to embody immediately before and after the fall of Apartheid.

The cost of supporting the anti-colonial and anti-Apartheid movements was immeasurable for the neighboring countries. Estimates have suggested that South Africa's ten neighbors lost two million lives and $90 Billion in the 1980s alone because of their direct or indirect involvement in the anti-Apartheid effort, "a sum more than three

times their total gross domestic product" (Ali-Dinar). These costs to the fledgling governments and the masses were invaluable to bringing forth democracy to the settler colonies and continue to shape contemporary discourse on Pan-Africanism and the role of the former settler colony in revitalizing the region.

POSTCOLONIAL HISTORY OF NATIONALISM(S) IN ZIMBABWE AND SOUTH AFRICA

Many scholars evoke the 'miracle' motif to encapsulate the 1980 advent of independence in Zimbabwe (Sachikonye 1). Incoming Prime Minister Robert Mugabe extended a conciliatory hand to the Rhodesians against whom he had so vehemently fought. Beyond just rhetorical goodwill, Mugabe appointed several White Rhodesian and African opposition party leaders to influential positions in the new government, signaling elaborate intent at forging a nation resilient beyond its political, historical, and ethnic schisms. The conciliatory spirit was accompanied by reforms aimed at reversing the colonial suffering of the masses. The government built roads, hospitals, boreholes and other amenities in the previously neglected rural areas, while the number of schools went up by 80% in the first decade (Muzondidya 168). These early successes of the first decade and accompanying euphoria, however, only thinly veiled the legitimate crises facing the fledgling national project.

Gukurahundi and Ethnic Nationalism in Independent Zimbabwe

The Integration of ZANLA and ZIPRA into the Zimbabwe National Army under the leadership of the Rhodesian Army was ill-fated (Mlambo 195). The militants found it difficult to come under the command of the Rhodesians, they had fought against for more than a decade, as well as side-by side with the other militants, with whom the retained wartime tensions. ZIPRA militants, especially frustrated by the apparent neglect they felt

by the ZAPU politicians post-independence and the insecurity posed by disarmament, began to "engage in robbery or behaving as if the war was still going on by shutting down schools" and, in 1981, "mutinied and seized the armory at Entumbane" (Macbruce 213). The discovery of cached arms in motion a series of events that culminated in Joshua Nkomo's firing and the arrest of high-ranking ZAPU officials. Fearing the destabilization of the infant nation by the dissidents, Mugabe deployed the Fifth Brigade, a contingent of North Korean trained ZANLA and exclusively Shona militants who reported directly to the president, to purge the Matabeleland and Midland regions loyal to ZAPU. This period, between 1982 and 1987, grew to be known as "Gukurahundi," a Shona term meaning "the clearing of the chaff." Despite the initial ZIPRA dissidents numbering at less than 500, the severely underreported massacres resulted in the deaths of more than 30 000 people in Matabeleland and Midlands (Moyo 111).

In April 1983, Mugabe justified massacring the thousands in the predominantly Ndebele rural areas in Southwest Zimbabwe saying "Where men and women provide food for dissidents, when we get there we eradicate them. We don't differentiate when we fight, because we can't tell who is a dissident and who is not…" (The Catholic Commission 71). While the ZANU leadership played the critical role in the "othering" of the Ndebele populace post-independence, exacerbating tensions between the two ethnic groups was part of the divide-and-rule machinations of colonial Rhodesia. Yet even though the ZAPU/ZANU divide had been ideological, not ethnic, at inception, the ethnocentric cynicism planted by the colonialists left Mugabe with an easily manipulated platform to advance a nationalism devoid of political competition. It has also resulted in a

legacy of ethnic nationalism and, most prominently, a resistance to any semblance of Shona hegemony in Zimbabwe.

Popular Expressions of Nationalism in the Rainbow Nation

In many ways, the advent of Zimbabwean independence foreshadowed South Africa's transition to democracy in 1994. Both were emerging from an Apartheid system of governance in an independent[36] settler colony governed by a White minority. Both colonies had ultimately succumbed to internal unrest and external sanctions, and recently inimical actors were compelled to negotiate a transition to majority rule under the promise of reconciliation.

The definitive ideology of post-Apartheid reconciliation—especially during the Mandela years— was the 'Rainbow Nation', described by Reverend Desmond Tutu as encapsulating "the unity of multiculturalism and diversity of South African people" (Buqa 1). The Rainbow Nation was imagined as being the tonic that would help overcome the country's historical problems, serving as a pillar for "social cohesion and integration" in a new South Africa (Buqa). Like Mugabe before him, Mandela's inauguration speech was a proclamation of reconciliation and a letting go of the ugly past:

> We have triumphed in the effort to implant hope in the breasts of the millions of our people. We enter into a covenant that we shall build the society in which all South Africans, both black and white, will be able to walk tall, without any fear in their hearts, assured of their inalienable right to human dignity - a rainbow nation at peace with itself and the world. (Mandela)

The pursuit of unity was illustrated through the ANC-proposed, one-term, Government of National Unity (GNU), in which outgoing Apartheid era prime minister F

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[36] Independent from a European colonial empire, despite the continued oppression of Black people

W De Klerk served as vice president to Nelson Mandela. The GNU had two vital

mandates in advancing the cause of the Rainbow Nation. First was the constitution,

which sought to codify the ideals of the Rainbow Nation. Considered by several legal and

political pundits as the "most progressive" and, by some accounts, "best" in the world

(Van Staden 2018), the constitution's preamble sets in motion the conciliatory tone,

opening with:

> We, the people of South Africa, Recognize the injustices of our past; Honor those
> who suffered for justice and freedom in our land; Respect those who have worked
> to build and develop our country; and Believe that South Africa belongs to all
> who live in it, united in our diversity.

If the new constitution codified South Africa's unified pathway into the future,

the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) had the complicated task of redressing

the nation's ugly past. Chaired by Tutu, the TRC served as a public platform through

which victims and perpetrators of Apartheid could narrate their lived experiences, with

the latter granted full amnesty on condition of their full disclosure. The TRC emerged as

the vanguard example of restorative justice, an approach that emerged towards the end of

the 20th century as an alternative to the punitive notions of retributive justice, and is

defined as "the repair of justice through reaffirming a shared value-consensus in a

bilateral process" (Wenzel et al 375). Other national symbols were adapted to represent

the rainbow motif. The iconic *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika* was blended with *Die Stem*, the

Apartheid era national anthem to form the post-Apartheid national anthem, while the

country's flag combines the ANC flag with that of the European colonialists' homelands,

Netherlands and the United Kingdom (Brownell 2015).

The ideal of the Rainbow Nation was by no means a novelty to African

Nationalism in South Africa. Dreams of multi-ethnic equality had been pivotal in the

founding philosophy of the ANC back in 1912[37]. Of particular direct influence to Rainbow Nationalism was the 1955 Freedom Charter, which scholars have described as the political document that gave birth to the legal document that is the constitution (Suttner 5).

Pan Africanism and the Birth of the African Renaissance

 If Rainbow Nationalism was the legacy of the Mandela presidency, Thabo Mbeki sought to make the African Renaissance his. A 1997 ANC policy document titled "Developing Strategic Perspective on South Africa's Policy" outlined the essential objectives of the African Renaissance as: Africa's recovery; establishment of continental political diplomacy; breaking neo-colonial ties; empowering Africans to control their destiny; and promoting a people-driven and sustainable economic growth aimed at meeting the people's basic needs.

Rainbow Nationalism, essential to overcoming the critical national question facing the fledgling democracy in 1994, is an inward-looking project. African Renaissance, however, situates South Africa as an active part of the Pan-African conversation. After all, South Africa's arrival had been long anticipated by the continent, many members of whom had contributed immensely to the anti-Apartheid fight and viewed the country as "the last bastion of hope which may 'drag' the continent out of its current malaise" (Ahluwalia & Nursery- Bay 81). Outside of its functionalist purpose, African Renaissance also served the critical political purpose of appealing to the Africanist wing of the ANC, as well as usurping the ideological vacuum created by the

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[37] Under its founding name, South African Native National Congress (SANNC.) The organization would change its name to the ANC in 1923.

diminished influence of the African nationalist parties that were the PAC and Azania People's Organization (Elessa 42).

CONCLUSION

The end of minority White rule in the settler colonies achieved, in many ways, a primary objective communicated by the progenitors of the Pan-African and African nationalist movements. The military action, organization, strikes, song, literature, football fandom and many other macro and micro-expressions of anticolonialism had borne fruit. Alongside the more celebrated political leader and militant, the common man- at home and abroad- had played a priceless role in the march towards independence and, in many cases, paid a critical price in so doing.

Furthermore, independence had been achieved despite the ideological and ethnic factionalism that had stood, in both countries, to derail the liberation movement. When the euphoria of liberation died, the nascent countries had the unenviable task of now overcoming these schisms and creating a nation-state where none similar had ever existed. Ideas and connections established during the anticolonial era would help shape the national landscape of the fledgling countries. These ideas manifest in such national projects as the Rainbow Nation, Mugabeism, and the African Renaissance.

Critical in this chapter has been the idea that there is neither one Pan-Africanism or African nationalism nor is there one expression of either or both. Instead space, circumstance, ideological influence, and personality all shape the ways in which these phenomena and their resulting dynamics manifest. In addition, the definition and nature of these concepts, and popular expressions thereof, are continually evolving. Thus, as we proceed to interrogate contemporary popular expressions of various nationalisms, it is

critical that we situate them on a historical trajectory- either as continuities or departures-

from those explored in this chapter.

CHAPTER THREE: *VANHU VOSE VEMUAFRICA* [38]:
POPULAR
EXPRESSIONS OF NATIONALISM(S) IN ZIMBABWE

Scholars evoke the 'miracle' motif to encapsulate the 1980 advent of independence and democratic rule in Zimbabwe (Sachikonye 1). Robert Mugabe had extended a conciliatory hand to the Rhodesians, and followed up this rhetoric of goodwill by appointing several White Rhodesian and African opposition party leaders to influential positions in the new government, signaling elaborate intent at forging a nation resilient beyond its political, historical, and ethnic schisms. The spirit of reconciliation was accompanied by progressive reforms in areas such as education and health care that sought to reverse the colonial suffering of the masses.

Zimbabwe also owed much of its independence and the subsequent miracle thereof to the support of the regional, continental and global Pan-African community. The Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the Frontline States had provided moral, material and logistic support throughout the struggle. Upon independence, Zimbabwe joined both organizations and assumed its role in the anti-Apartheid fight. The same year, the Frontline States established the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (later renamed the Southern African Development Community (SADC) with Zimbabwe as its youngest founding member. The nation had finally joined- as an independent nation- the Pan-African community that had long supported its struggle.

While disrupting the elitist lens that is status quo in scholarship on nationalism is central to this study, it would be revisionist at best- and otherwise just false- to deny the

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[38] The title of a colonial-era ZANLA song with a popular 1993 rendition by Cde. Chinx. Translates to "All the People of Africa."

impact of personality in the crafting of certain nationalisms. An idea not sufficiently

fleshed out yet, some scholars have theorized the principles, initiatives, and ideologies

that defined Mugabe's thirty eight-year rule under the term Mugabeism. Ndlovu-Gatsheni

describes it as being defined by three easily identifiable ideals: the selective articulation

of national history; the primacy of the land question as the impetus behind anti-

colonialism; and an obsession with the preservation of sovereignty and anti-imperialism

(*Do Zimbabweans Exist* 237- 238). I would also add a commitment to a revolutionary

Pan-Africanism to these defining tenets of Mugabeism. These principles were, in many

ways, evident before independence and rose to prominence under his reign. These

provide the basic framework through which popular expressions of nationalism in

Zimbabwe during the first decade are interrogated.

This chapter disrupts this elitist and reductionist analysis of postcolonial

nationalism in Zimbabwe by engaging members of the nation often on the margins of

nationalist discourse: how have Zimbabweans embodied and rallied against the definitive

national ideals of Mugabeism, in its different tenets? In what ways is Pan-Africanism as

experienced by the masses different, if at all, from the Pan-Africanism of Mugabeism?

How have minority ethnic groups cultivated a sense of national belonging in the face of

Shona hegemony? A deliberate bottom-up interrogation emphasizing on popular

expressions of nationalism allows for more nuanced discourse on contemporary

nationalism and Pan-Africanism in the Zimbabwe.

The reflections and arguments underpinning this chapter are divided into three

essential sections organized thematically, while also evoking a chronological lens to

denote pivotal moments that shifted nationalistic discourse. The first section focuses on

popular expressions of nationalism in the post-colonial Zimbabwe. It traces the evolution

of the euphoric nationalism in the immediate aftermath of independence to the

contemporary battle between nationalist ideals selectively curated by Zanu PF and post-

nationalist ideals expressed by the opposition parties and civil society. The manifestations

engaged here are such macro-expressions as the rise in students and trade unions as well

as opposition politics, and micro-expressions that include songs, theatre productions, and

social media activity. The second section interrogates the enduring and evolving embrace

of Pan-Africanism in the country, complicated by more pertinent domestic turmoil. This

discourse also engages popular songs and social media reactions to Pan-African

phenomena as spaces of analyses. The final section explores expressions of ethnic

nationalism in Zimbabwe, revolving mainly around Shona hegemony and the reactions

thereto by the Ndebele and other smaller ethnic groups. Expressions engaged here

include football fandom, social media discourse, theatrical productions, and voting

patterns.

The findings herein show that, unlike the traditional narrative that insists on the

primary, if not singular, role of political elites in setting the national agenda, grassroots

communities and civil societies have priceless agency in the definition of nationalisms.

This is demonstrated here through narrative, artworks, and spaces. This assertion,

however, does not serve to absolve the government and other leaders of any

responsibility and agency as the officiating body for the country's national platforms.

Data collected points to the people expressing senses of nationalism either in tandem with

governmental orientation on in response against it, thereby showing the enduring

definitive power of the political elites in Zimbabwe's national project.

The discussions herein are undergirded by individual interviews conducted with eleven Zimbabweans aged between 19 and 50, whose insights are cited or significantly guided the interrogation.

"ZVIKOMBORERO": THE EVOLUTION OF STATE NATIONALISM IN ZIMBABWE

The beginning of the independence era seemed to justify the 'miracle' descriptor that had been attached to the country. Incoming Prime Minister Robert Mugabe had extended a conciliatory hand to the Rhodesians he had so vehemently fought against, saying:

> If yesterday I fought you as an enemy, you have become a friend and ally with the same national interest, loyalty, rights, and duties as myself. It could never be a correct justification that because the whites oppressed us yesterday when they had the power, the Blacks must oppress them today because they have the power. An evil remains an evil whether practiced by white against blacks or blacks against white. (*Chronicle* April 18 1980)

He also followed up this rhetoric of goodwill by appointing several White Rhodesian and African opposition party leaders to influential positions in the new government, signaling elaborate intent at forging a nation resilient beyond its political, historical, and ethnic schisms. The spirit of reconciliation was accompanied by reforms that sought to reverse the colonial suffering of the masses. The government built roads, hospitals, boreholes and other amenities in the previously neglected rural areas, while the number of schools went up by 80% in the first decade (Muzondidya 168).

The euphoria of Zimbabwe was most prominently represented in the boom of nationalistic music soon after independence. Iconic singer Oliver Mtukudzi's 1980 song *'Zimbabwe'* encapsulated both the national memory of the horrors of the colonial era and the optimism that independence brought:

Mhandu yakanga yatambarara (the enemy had stretched out)
Ikaisa muswe nekokoko (and laid its tail way over there)
Ndokukanganwa kwayakabva (forgetting where it came from)
Ikafumura zvinoera (and upset that which was sacred)
Munyika yedu yeZimbabwe   (In our land of Zimbabwe)
Hatikanganwe varere mumasango (we don't forget those who sleep in the bush)
Vasina makuva (without graves)
Vakafira nyika yavo iyi (who died for this, their land)
Vakafira nyika yedu iyi (who died for this, our land)
Nyika yedu yeZimbabwe! (Our land of Zimbabwe!) (Mtukudzi)

The lyrics here bring into the independence era the Chimurenga nationalism that insisted on Zimbabwe's sacredness and hence positing colonialism as a blasphemous disruption of divine order. The evocation of the spirit of those who died in the war reinforces the idea of Zimbabwe being born out of a blood sacrifice that must never be betrayed, and harkens back to popular wartime songs such as '*Zimbabwe Ndeyeropa Remadzibaba*' (Zimbabwe is born of the blood of the forefathers) performed during the 1970s by ZANLA militants. The idea is also expressed in the Zimbabwean National Anthem introduced in 1993, which contains the line '...*yakazvarwa nemoto weChimurenga neropa zhinji remagamba'* (was born out of the fire of Chimurenga and the abundant blood of the heroes).

While several other songs have grown out of this notion of the ultimate sacrifice, Mtukudzi's song represents an apolitical, if spiritual, understanding of national conception and birth that predates the deluge of revisionism that posits Mugabe and ZANU as the sole proprietors of "the Zimbabwean revolutionary tradition" (Gwekwerere & Mpondi 9). That is to say, Oliver Mtukudzi's *'Zimbabwe'* marks an inclusive postcolonial nationalistic discourse that existed before Mugabeism's selective retelling of history situated anyone located outside of the ZANU tradition and Mugabe's good graces

111

as being without agency in the story of the Zimbabwean nation. Eventually, even the war-cry "*Zimbabwe ndeyeropa ramadzibaba*" was changed in ZANU discourse to "*ZANU ndeyeropa ramadzibaba*" (ZANU is born of the blood of the forefathers) (Chitando & Tarusarira 11).

The euphoria of the purported miracle is also represented in the 1987 video of Ilanga's '*Zvikomborero'* ('Blessings'). Fronted by veteran of the Second Chimurenga Dickson Chingaira, better known as Cde[39]Chinx, the group itself epitomized the conciliatory nation that Zimbabwe was meant to be. Not only were they a group of young Zimbabweans blending traditional sounds with cosmopolitan sounds that drew comparison to regional and international acts, their ethnic diversity was unprecedented. The likes of Chinx and drummer Adam Chisvo were Shona, bassist Don Gumbo and singer Busi Ncube were Ndebele, Andy Brown was Coloured (mixed race), and Keith Farquharson was White. The celebrated diversity was on full show in the *Zvikomborero* video, with images of joyful, multiracial Harare laughing, attending concerts, and going about its business. These visuals, also seen in other videos from the era, would have been a stark departure from those seen in the Apartheid existence under Rhodesian rule, where Blacks and Whites hardly occupied the same spaces on similar footing. Similarly, the lyrics of the song speak of the blessings of unity and love in a new Zimbabwe. A telling choice of words is when Chinx repeatedly references Zimbabwe as "*Kudzinza kwedu*", which translates to "our lineage" or "our tribe". That this nation, a mere six years removed from a century of violent segregation, would be proclaimed as constituting a

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[39] Cde – short for comrade – is a common title assigned to Zimbabwean liberation fighters.

familial lineage echoed Mugabe's inauguration declaration. The song's massive popularity on the Zimbabwean airwaves signaled a public embrace of both the music and the message of unity thereof (Zindi 2017).

Theatrical productions of the era reiterated these values and excitement. In 1985, for example, student-led theatre group Zambuko produced a play titled *Seri Kwesasa* or *Okusemsamo* (Behind Doors), which theatre historian Praise Zenenga described as seeking "to educate civic society about cultural harmony and tolerance" (70). Nationalism theorist Benedict Anderson's description of nations in *Imagined Communities* as "...regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship" (7) rings unequivocally true to how the nascent nation of Zimbabwe was created in the people's imaginary, as evidenced in *Zvikomborero* and *Seri Kwesasa*.

The early successes of the first decade and accompanying euphoria, however, only thinly veiled the legitimate crises facing the fledgling national project. The 'miracle' years were brutally stained by the *Gukurahundi* massacres. Even in the parts of the country relatively remote and unscathed by these atrocities, rampant governmental corruption- which would grow to be a hallmark of Mugabeism - was beginning to be felt. A famous instance that garnered recognition was the Willowvale car scandal of 1988 (later dubbed "Willowgate scandal") in which government ministers would buy subsidized cars at State-owned Willowvale assembly plant and resell them to the public at much higher prices (Hiltzik 1989). This particular incident then became the inspiration behind *"Love and Scandals"* by popular Ndebele singer Solomon Skuza, in which he croons, "how can someone buy a car and sell it again?" In 1989 Thomas Mapfumo, the

iconic Chimurenga musician who had championed Zimbabwean nationalism under

Mugabe, released a similarly themed song titled *"Corruption"*- an early instance of

Mugabe criticism with which he would become synonymous, and for which he would

eventually be exiled. The album, also titled '*Corruption*', was one of two aimed at the

government that Mapfumo released in 1989. The second, '*Varombo Kuvarombo*' was

described by Reggae artist and ethnomusicologist King Isaac as his "seminal anti-Zanu

protest album." Despite hailing from different regions and music traditions, both singles

"Corruption" and "Love and Scandals" were sung mostly in English and to an

unmistakable reggae-infused beat, thus evoking the same spirit of resistance for which

Reggae had grown famous during the colonial era.

  Akin to Mapfumo's about-turn from unabashed nationalist to government critic,

theatre groups also took to the stage to voice their frustrations at the waning euphoria of

independence. Bulawayo-based theatre group, Amakhosi, produced the play *Workshop*

Negative in 1986, which "depicted how the hypocritical ruling class "talked left and acted

right" and, in 1992, Harare-based Chevhu NdeChevhu adapted for stage George Orwell's

political allegory, *Animal Farm*, to "dramatize the corruption inherent in Zimbabwe's

transition from colonialism to independence" (Zenenga 72).

  Expressions of frustration provoked the censorship definitive of Mugabeism's

selective articulation of national history enforced by the censorship board and secret

police- tools and methods retained from the Rhodesian government to curtail vocal and

artistic dissent as well. In many instances, however, censorship only served to augment

public support for dissenting voices. For example, the *Bulawayo Chronicle,* the regional

weekly newspaper that broke the 'Willowgate' scandal immediately faced government

retribution. Davison Taruziva, the assistant editor at the time, recalled how "when we got threats from the Minister of Defense, industrialists and ordinary people were phoning up offering to set up a legal fund. The Mayor's Christmas Cheer Fund raised $360,000 Zimbabwe dollars ($US180 000) and people from the private sector phoned up and said, 'we can exceed that for you'" (Perlez 1989). Thus, even under the threat of retribution, segments of the population were finding ways to stand up to the government, even if it meant doing so through donating to censored voices of dissent.

In addition to these micro-expressions, the public mobilized into macro-expressive dissent against what they saw as inefficient and corrupt governance. In 1989, the Zimbabwe National Students Union was founded with the objectives "to lobby and advocate for good governance, human rights and the empowerment of the youth" (Makunike 46). The organization immediately situated itself with the growing Pan-African and global movement of student protest against inefficient governance, becoming a member of the Southern African Students Union, the All Africa Students Union, and the International Union of Students. Central to the students' protestations was condemnation of the One-Party state system that the Mugabe government seemed to have been maneuvering towards. Keen to quell student activism, the government introduced the University of Zimbabwe Amendment Bill, which led to the arrest of student leaders, which in turn led to more protests. This marked the genesis of a sour relationship between the students and the government, and many of the early student leaders including union president Arthur Mutambara and Secretary-general Tendai Biti went on to become stalwarts of the main opposition party, Movement for Democratic Change (MDC), founded in 1999.

Another influential group through which masses vocalized their dissent was the Zimbabwean Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU). Founded in 1981, the ZCTU was initially closely aligned to the government, with Albert Mugabe- brother to Robert- as its founding secretary, among other high profile connections. Yet as the tide shifted towards the end of the decade, an anti-government faction led by Morgan Tsvangirai, [40]Jeffrey Mutandare, and Gibson Sibanda[41], usurped the group's leadership and announced themselves autonomous from the government in 1989. Under this new leadership, ZCTU rallied against the Willowgate scandal and allied with the students to protest the One-Party state proposal, even showing up to march with the students (Bhebhe & Mahapa 71). These early alliances can be argued to have been the genesis of the soul of the MDC, which would not be formed for another decade. The trade and student unions thus grew to be popular expressions of a counter-Mugabeist discourse that has culminated in alternative renderings of the postcolonial national project. The trajectory here, particularly with the ZCTU, reveals historical continuations with the Charles Mzingeli-led unions of the colonial era that had emerged as the voice of the marginalized against tyranny. Aligning themselves with the post-colonial government in concert with the rest of the hopeful country, the union resumed its historical task of taking the government to task.

A succession of socio-political and economic mishaps from the Mugabe regime and beyond plunged the country further into crisis in the 1990s. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) - Backed Economic Structural Adjustment Program (ESAP), a

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[40] ZCTU Secretary General and would-be founding president of the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC), the main opposition party in the country.
[41] ZCTU Vice President (1988) & President (1989-) and would-be Founding member of the MDC

series of austerity measures implemented by the government between 1990- 1995,

increased unemployment and plunged the country further into poverty. Mugabe also

capitulated to political pressure mounted by the war veterans and handed out large

individual financial compensation in 1997 and, the following year, he (Mugabe)

unilaterally deployed troops to the DRC in support of the Kabila government: neither had

been previously budget for, thus further tanking the struggling economy. With the public

increasingly losing faith in the government, several civil organizations- represented by

350 delegates- gathered for the National Working People's Convention (NWPC) in

February 1999 (Mlambo 232). It was out of this convention that the MDC was born under

Tsvangirai's leadership, promising an alternative national project for Zimbabwe,

described by Ndlovu-Gatsheni as "post-nationalism." Tsvangirai explained:

> We are moving from the nationalist paradigm to politics grounded in civic society
> and social movements. MDC's politics are not nationalist inspired, because they
> focus more on empowerment and participation of the people. ZANU PF's
> nationalist thinking has always been top-down, centralized, always trapped in a
> time-warp. Nationalism was an end in itself, not a means to an end. One of ZANU
> PF's claims is that everyone in Zimbabwe owes the nationalist movement our
> freedom. It's therefore become a nationalism based on patronage and cronyism.
> (*Do Zimbabweans Exist* 318)

Tsvangirai's characterization of the ZANU PF's nationalism— and thus

Mugabeism—rang true, and continues to do so, for many Zimbabweans across the

country. Tino, a respondent born the same year the MDC was founded, echoed

Tsvangirai's sentiments on nationalism, saying, "back then, it benefited us because we

got our land...It's no longer benefiting us. They should allow a certain number (of foreign

nationals) to come and establish their own businesses for improvement; Because right

now, as we are speaking, Zim[42] (short for Zimbabwe) is going through a lot- the economy is not settled; so that's not even benefitting the nation."

The MDC's message of change found immediate resonance, winning 57 out of the 120 contested seats in the 2000 parliamentary elections, with particular dominance in the urban areas. Never in the country's history had an opposition party secured more than 25% of the vote, yet here was the MDC on the precipice of 50%. Thus, the 21st century ushered in a new ideological war around the Zimbabwean national question: a war of a resolute hold on nationalism, as represented by Mugabe and ZANU PF, or to concede to the post-nationalism posited by Tsvangirai.

In understanding the rise of the popularity of post-nationalism, it is important to establish the operational definition of "nationalism" that it seeks to replace. Mugabeism, as a revolutionary African Nationalism at its core, is born out of the anti-colonial ideology defined by Ndabaningi Sithole as "a political feeling manifesting itself against European rule in favor of African rule for the benefit of another" (56). Upon this foundation, the Mugabe regime rallied through a self-serving, selective patriotic history through which only they were the custodians of this political feeling and the reason for its success in Zimbabwe. This was accompanied by constant and cynical reminders about the always-looming threat of the re-emergence of colonialism and coloniality from which they safeguarded the country. It was this brand of nationalism the MDC sought to replace, and that which the masses were increasingly frustrated with as the country's political economy continued to flail. The notion of post-nationalism has found resonance

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[42] Short for Zimbabwe.

among the frustrated populace independent of the MDC. In 1999, Thomas Mapfumo released the album *Chimurenga Explosion*, on which half the songs addressed corruption and poverty in postcolonial Zimbabwe. On '*Mamvemve*,' ('tatters') he croons:

> *Musha wenyu wamaichemera* (The home that you yearned for)
> *Hona waita mamvemve!* ("Has now become tatters!")
> *John, John iwe!* (John, hey John!)
> *Bereka mwana tiende!* (Carry the child and let's go!)

In essence, the song declares the anticolonial dream of a free Zimbabwe to now be tattered and evokes images of fleeing the "home." The latter part proved ominous, as it coincided with the beginning of the mass migration of Zimbabweans as economic refugees to South Africa, UK, Australia and other countries, as well as Mapfumo's own exile to the USA for fear of reprisal by a Mugabe regime more committed to policing dissent than ever before. In 2001, Mtukudzi released the album *Bvuma/Tolerance*, in which the lead single's refrain went "*Bvuma wasakara*" which translates to "Admit it, you are old (and no good anymore)" which many assumed to be a thinly-veiled attack on Mugabe's two-decade leadership. Zimbabwean ethnomusicologist Fred Zindi would later explain that he believed that the song's hidden meaning was the reason why the University of Zimbabwe had refused to confer an honorary doctorate on Mtukudzi[43] in the early 2000s (Chaya 2016). These songs reveal dissenting voices that had moved from hoping the current dispensation would do better to realizing that there was no hope of respite or reorientation to Mugabeism's brand of nationalism.

While post-nationalism in Zimbabwe has risen as the antithesis to Mugabeism, it is not to be taken as an anti-nationalist notion, as voices calling for change in Zimbabwe

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[43] Mtukudzi did go on to receive an honorary degree from the Great Zimbabwe University in 2014.

still evoke a sense of state nationalism, as defined by Anderson as "as a deep, horizontal comradeship" among those who constitute the purported nation (7). The ideal of a sovereign Zimbabwe still ranks unequivocally high in the imaginary of the people, even when they are inimical to ZANU PF. In 2001 Henry Olonga, the Zimbabwean cricket player who was later blackballed from the national team and exiled from Zimbabwe for publicly protesting the Mugabe regime during the 2003 World Cup, released an anthemic song, '*Our Zimbabwe*.' He sings "We've been through it all, we've had our days, we've had our falls...Now the time has come for us, to stand as one…. Now flies our flag, our nation's glory..." Thus, even as he put his life in imminent risk in denouncing a corrupted nationalism, his voice still rises from the belly of Zimbabwean nationalism, embodied by the rhetoric of kinship and a shared plight, as well as the flag and other recognizable symbols of the nation.

Recent expressions of frustration have incorporated nationalist language and symbols previously used by anti-colonial nationalists in resistance during the Second Chimurenga. The 21st emergence of hip-hop and ZimDancehall— the latter a fusion of Caribbean dancehall music with traditional local rhythms— as the genres of choice among the urban youth as consumers and artists has brought with it the anti-establishment, countercultural elements championed by the genres' diasporic influences (Ncube & Chipfupa 105). Rapper Tehn Diamond's 2014 song "*Simudza Gumbo*" borrows its name (and chorus) from a popular wartime toyi-toyi chant rooted in the socialist values espoused by the parties at the time. The original chant goes "*Simudza gumbo. Hau! Harizi rako! Hau! Ndere musangano!* (Raise that leg high! It is not yours! It belongs to the Party!) In his repropriation of the song at the height of socio-economic

stability three decades into independence, Tehn Diamond drops any reference to the party while still evoking people power in encouraging Zimbabweans to work together for the country's resuscitation:

> Where they at?! Diasporaaaa!!!
> What they doing there?! Well they say they building futures
> That don't make no local sense, what's a student with no tutor
> Got a country with a future, without any future leaders
> Engineers, well we need 'em, tell 'em come back here
> Oh yea, back home, where they know they all oughta be! (2014)

The song laments the brain-drain that has occurred as people have fled Zimbabwe in droves since the turn of the century, citing limited opportunities and unstable economic conditions. In another part of the song, he raps, "Regardless of the rocks out in Marange, *tisu ngoda dzacho dzese"* (we are the real diamonds). This line is a reference to the diamond fields discovered in 2006 in Marange, a rural area in the Eastern part of Zimbabwe, whose discovery ignited excitement among the Zimbabwean masses who had assumed the discovery would result in a shift in the country's economic turmoil (Gwatirisa 51). Yet a decade later, government authorities had killed hundreds of desperate locals who were illegally panning for diamonds, and a government takeover resulted in the disappearance of billions of dollars with no accountability (Chimhanda 307). Thus, Tehn Diamond's line is a covert indictment of the government as not caring about the people, and advocates for the people to not put their faith in the government because the true value lies within them. On his YouTube page, he has described the song as "an Afrocentric take on the infamous JFK[44] quote - "think not what your country can do for you, but what you can do for your country", via a Hip Hop lens."

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[44] Former U.S president John F. Kennedy

This co-option of revolutionary language, for so long deemed the exclusive

domain of ZANU PF, to express dissent has carried on into the post-Mugabe era. The

2018 song '*Ambuya Nehanda*' by ZimDancehall artists Freeman and Nutty O calls upon

the eponymous revered spirit medium[45] to intervene and bring an end to the continued

suffering of "her children"- the people of Zimbabwe. In calling upon Nehanda to liberate

her children, the song runs remarkably parallel to the poem '*Nehanda Nyakasikana*,' a

lament originally published in the Solomon Mutswairo's 1956 novel *Feso* (first ever

published in Shona) that was independently performed as nationalist poetry throughout

the Second Chimurenga. Described as Zimbabwe's "anti-imperialist ancestor"

(Charumbira 2), the narrative of Nehanda has long been monopolized by ZANU PF "as

the divine inspiration of the liberation" (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2011, 7). Thus, the wrestling

away of her memory by contemporary artists to critique the very government that she

unwittingly represents is, at its core, a reclamation of the nationalistic narrative by those

on the margins of society.

The most recognizable instance of the reclaiming of monopolized symbols of

nationalism by those advocating for post-nationalism has been the #ThisFlag campaign.

On Zimbabwean Independence in April 2016, a relatively unknown pastor, Evan

Mawarire, shared his frustrations with the country's persisting socio-economic

tribulations in a Facebook video titled #ThisFlag. Using a poetic—and strategic—

mixture of English, Ndebele, and Shona, Mawarire dissected the intended meaning of

each of the five colors of the Zimbabwean flag, and the ways in which that meaning had

been betrayed by inept and corrupt governance. The video then went viral and, at the time

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[45] Discussed at length in Chapter 2

of writing in December 2018, had been watched almost 200 000 times and shared 2800

on the social media site (Mawarire 2014). Critically, it launched a mass movement, the

first social media-based, or hashtag, movement in the country's history. The movement

grew and, in July 2016, organized peaceful protests that led to the shutting down of many

businesses and institutions in Harare (Reuters 2016). Given the government's continued

hold over traditional media outlets such as TV, Radio, and print media, #ThisFlag

signaled a point of departure at which the internet and its accompanying communication

technologies provided a new platform for expression in general, and dissent in particular.

In recent years, we have seen the proliferation of such online dissenting communities as

the #tajamuka/Sesjikile campaign which—as of February 2019— had a page

followership of just under 50,000 people on Facebook, as well as the circulation of songs

and poetry critical of the government that would otherwise have received no airplay on

state radio and TV stations.

The mobilization potential of #ThisFlag not lost on them, the Zimbabwean

government responded by declaring that "using the flag without the government's

permission is punishable by a fine of $200" (Dodo 2016). Jonathan Moyo, the then-top

ZANU PF official renowned for his use of Twitter, created a counter-campaign titled

#OurFlag which featured pro-Mugabe and pro-ZANU PF sentiments. Despite paling in

comparison to the popularity of #ThisFlag, the #OurFlag campaign, combined with the

criminalization of usage of the Zimbabwean flag, speak to the government's belief in its

sole entitlement to the narrative of Zimbabwean nationalism. The very symbols of

Zimbabwean nationalism thus become a threat to the national imaginary of Mugabeism

when in the hands of Zimbabweans critical of that brand of nationalism.

Even in an era where the replacement of colonial era-remnant African

Nationalism with a more post-nationalist outlook seems imminent, evidence shows that

the notion of Zimbabwe and the symbols—both tangible and esoteric—that embody its

national essence, remain central to the Zimbabwean experience. Two thirds of relevant

respondents in this study identified being Zimbabwean as their primary identity[46], even

when they expressed disdain and frustration with the government. This suggests that the

respondents' sense of Zimbabweanness is rooted in the culmination of experiences that

are rooted elsewhere from the singular, top-down, exclusive narrative that has been a

hallmark of Mugabeism (*Do Zimbabweans Exist?* 93*)*.

"KUBATANA KWENYIKA DZEDU DZEMUNO MUAFRICA": PAN-AFRICANISM IN ZIMBABWEAN NATIONALISM

Like Tanzania and Zambia before it, Zimbabwe declared the Shona and Ndebele

translation of *Nkosi Sikelel'i Africa* (*Ishe Komborerai Africa* and *Nkosi Sikelel 'I Africa[47]*

respectively) as the national anthem, making it the first in the country's post-colonial

Pan-Africanist musical tradition. Throughout the 1980s, song continued to be a primary

site of connection to the global African community through lyrics, sound and aesthetic.

Bob Marley had iconically performed '*Zimbabwe*' at the 1980 independence celebrations,

thereby bringing to the Zimbabwean conscience the sounds of Reggae music. The genre

had been heavily censored during the colonial era due to its often-unapologetic

messaging of Black Nationalism, as King Isaac explains:

Reggae music could be used as fuel for the nationalist movements, so the music

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[46] When asked whether they most readily identified with being African, Zimbabwean, or their ethnicity or hometown. Several had more than one primary identity- mostly "Zimbabwean and African"

[47] Linguistic similarities mean the Ndebele and original Xhosa titles (as well as the Zulu one) are the same, with some variation in the verses.

of Bob Marley, Peter Tosh, Burning Spear… these big stars...was not quite known in Zimbabwe. The Rhodesian government heavily censored it. The Reggae that came in was all love songs, so we were familiar with the likes of Jimmy Cliff. But Reggae itself was never a mainstay before independence.

Marley's visit, however, proved to be culturally and, arguably more importantly, politically significant. During the performance, White Rhodesian officers had sought to disperse the gathered masses by throwing teargas over the entire stadium in sheer reprisal of their colonial authority. ZANLA guerrillas, in turn, marched through the stadium "with raised clenched fists, reassuring the people that the Rhodesian police could not stop the celebrations" (Campbell 146). Marley finished his show by declaring that his next African performance would hopefully be "in a free Azania" (147). Soon after independence, the influence of Reggae music was impossible to miss in Zimbabwean society in general, and the music industry in particular. Musicians such as Solomon Skuza and Robson Masango established themselves as Reggae acts, and Andy Brown and Thomas Mapfumo donned the dreadlocks aesthetically associated with Rastafarianism and Reggae music.

Carrying on in the spirit of nationalism his music had championed before independence, Mapfumo infused Reggae rhythms into the Chimurenga sound and remained a voice of the people through song. In 1988, he released the album *Mozambique Zimbabwe*, with the title track becoming the rallying cry for regional and continental unity:

> Kubatana kwemasoja eMozambique neZimbabwe!
> *The unity of the Soldiers of Mozambique and Zimbabwe*
> Kubatana kwevana veMozambique neZimbabwe!
> *The Unity of the children of Mozambique and Zimbabwe!*
> Kubatana kwenyika dzedu dzemuno muAfrica!
> *The Unity of our countries here in Africa!*

Kubatana kwavaMugabe naiwo vaMachel!
The camaraderie of Mr. Mugabe and Mr. Machel!
Dai tanga takabatana muAfrika, VaMachel Vangadai vasinawo kufa!
"If we were fully united here in Africa, Mr. Machel would not have died!

Beyond polemical narratives of Pan-Africanism, Mapfumo lauded in particular the solidarity shown by Mozambique's Frelimo fighters and government during the final years of Zimbabwe's liberation struggle that were now being reciprocated as the Mozambican government struggled to quell the civil war incited by the South Africa - backed Renamo[48] rebels. Critically, he laments the death of Mozambican president and staunch Pan-Africanist Samora Machel, who had perished in a helicopter crash two years earlier. Although the cause of the crash has never been conclusively established, rumors have long stood that the Apartheid regime was responsible (Murnslow 23). By singling out Mugabe's relationship with Machel as epitomizing Pan-African solidarity, Mapfumo also contributes to the narrative of Mugabeism that was on an uncompromised upward incline after independence. In a way, Mapfumo is also paying nationalistic tribute to Mugabe and the Zimbabwean army for quickly asserting themselves as a force for continental peace and Pan-Africanism despite their relatively recent emergence from colonialism. Mapfumo's ode to the African nationalist struggle continues into the second half of the song, where he croons:

Vatumirei, Vatumirei, vatumireiwo zvombo! Vatumirei kuAzania!
Send them, send them, send them weapons! Send them to Azania!
Vatumirei, vatumirei, vatumireiwo zvombo! Vatumirei ku Namibia!"
Send them, send them, send them weapons! Send them to Namibia!

In the midst of Zimbabwe's 'miracle,' the people were under no illusion as to the stability and liberation of the rest of the region. Not only had they just undergone a

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[48] The Mozambican rebel militant organization

similar fate, they recognized their own fragility as a fledgling nation surrounded by hostile or unstable neighbors. In these lyrics, Mapfumo calls for the same Pan-African spirit that had freed Zimbabwe to remain resolute until the advent of majority rule in the remaining two countries in the region under White minority rule. Mapfumo was not alone in this indictment of the Apartheid regime. On the track 'Botha,' named for South African Prime Minister (1987- 1989) P.W Botha, Ilanga ominously sings "Botha, what you gonna do when Azania is free? … you just have to jump into the sea … time is running out for you … where you gonna run, where you gonna hide?"

The name 'Azania' has long been cited by African nationalists in South Africa as the country's rightful name. Championed by the Africanist anti-Apartheid organization— and contemporary South African opposition party— Pan-African Congress of Azania (PAC), the name is apparently derived from Arabic (Azanj) and is meant to give the country "its own historic referral rather than geographical," according to PAC general secretary Narius Moloto (Gwala 2017). Jackie Seroke, the PAC secretary of Political and Pan-African affairs, explained the genesis of the name thus:

> The primary reason for it was to establish a revolutionary mythology about the land of the free- and that land of the free must be a land that unites us all. So a team was set up to do research and they came up with the name Azania. Azania would envisage the land of freedom where we would live in peace and harmony with each other. It would also be a driving force for the fighting forces on the ground- to work towards establishing Azania.

 The name Azania was also referenced on songs by Stella Chiweshe, Oliver Mtukudzi, and several other Zimbabwean musicians, speaking to a Pan-African recognition of their neighbor's struggle for liberation.

The euphoric Pan-African spirit of independence was evident into the next decade. Beginning in 1990, colonial street names in the major Zimbabwean cities (for

example Cecil John Rhodes, Moffat etc.) were replaced with those of nationalists such as Leopold Takawira and Josiah Tongogara. By 1994, major streets in Harare had been renamed for Pan-African icons including Samora Machel, Kenneth Kaunda, and Julius Nyerere, and the city's central park was converted from Cecil Square to Africa Unity Square. It may be argued that this era of elaborate and invested political Pan-African sentiment among the Zimbabwean masses lasted until the mid-1990s. South Africa's transition to democracy meant that the remaining bastion of White minority rule, a major impetus behind 20th century Pan-Africanism, had now fallen. Furthermore, growing socio-economic discord in Zimbabwe inevitably turned the analytical gaze onto the domestic landscape. As such in 1993, *Ishe Komborera Africa* was replaced by the more nation-specific *Simudzai Mureza Wedu weZimbabwe*[49][50] as the national anthem.

Two recordings capture aptly the end of this era of militant Pan-Africanism in Zimbabwe. The first was Ndebele poet Albert Nyathi's '*Senzeni Na*?' a spoken word performance set to tearful singing, in which he laments by name the assassinations of great Pan-African leaders, from Samora Machel to Malcolm X, Solomon Mahlangu to Josiah Tongogara, and Martin Luther King to Lilian Ngoyi. Nyathi had written the poem in commemoration of South African anti-Apartheid icon Chris Hani's assassination in 1993 (Muzari 2016). That the hugely popular poem was performed mainly in Ndebele by an Ndebele artist is significant for a number of reasons. First, it engaged the cultural proximity of the Ndebele ethnic group to those in South Africa, particularly the Zulu and

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[49] The new national anthem was penned by author Solomon Mutswairo who, four decades earlier, had published the first Shona novel, Feso, which was banned by the Rhodesian Literature Bureau for its nationalistic symbolism.

[50] The song was written and submitted in Shona, but has since been translated and is performed in Ndebele as well as "*Kalibusiswe Ilizwe leZimbabwe.*"

(to a lesser extent) the Xhosa. Although sang to a different tune in Nyathi's rendition, the refrain 'Senzeni Na' is also the chorus to a Zulu and Xhosa anti-Apartheid song most notably sang at protests and funerals, hence the performance is situated in a long tradition of nationalism, albeit from south of the border. It is also worth noting that, of the 16 venerated Pan-African leaders listed by Nyathi on the song, eight were South African (as opposed to only three Zimbabweans). The second song was Cde. Chinx's 1995 "*Vanhu VemuAfrica"*, itself a rendition of a call to Pan-African solidarity sung by the ZANLA forces during the second Chimurenga (Musiyiwa 22). Chinx sings:

> *Vanhu vose vemuno muAfrica (*All the people of Africa)
> *Tamirira, kuchipedzisa zvehutongi hwemarudzi ekunze* (We are waiting, to put an end to the foreigners' reign)
> *Ayo akaunza rufu, dai tachibatana tikurire* (That brought death, we desire to unite and conquer!)

With the demise of *Ishe Komborera* as national anthem, "Vanhu VemuAfrica" emerged a popular default Pan-African anthem among the Shona-speaking masses. The song is perhaps the most poetic end to this era of Pan-Africanism in Zimbabwe, as it harkens once more to the struggle for liberation; a liberation that was proving yet unrealized even with the advent of majority rule to the last settler colony in the region.

While the government would argue that Zimbabwe's intervention in the Democratic Republic of the Congo in 1998 was the apex of Mugabe's postcolonial Pan-Africanism, its economic toll on the country and its coincidence with the war veterans' payouts and rise of the opposition makes it a critical disjuncture between the government and the people. The previously unbudgeted deployment of 11 000 soldiers in the DRC signaled Mugabe's intent to establish himself as the forerunner of Pan-Africanism in the region. The number of troops was the most contributed by any country, and only two

129

other SADC countries (Angola and Namibia) heeded Kabila's call for support. Mugabe's possibly last unabashed show of commitment to Pan-Africanism came when, in 2017, he donated one million dollars from his own coffers to the African Union because "Africa needs to finance its own programs. Institutions like the AU cannot rely on donor funding as the model is not sustainable" (Mugabe). The symbolic gesture was not without Pan-African merit. Data show that foreign donors fund- at least in part- 97% of the AU's programs, while African nations contribute only 40% of the organ's budget (Edozie 195-197). The significance of this gesture was not entirely lost on all Zimbabweans. Taku seemed to understand the rationale, arguing that:

> (Mugabe) said "Ok" I'll take the lead, and I'll just put a token. It's a very small fraction of what is needed; but the symbolism is powerful. Coming from Zimbabwe makes it even more powerful: that these guys are poor, but for the greater good- remember the greater good? African Union is the greater good for Pan-Africanism, isn't it?

The majority of Zimbabweans interviewed were not as accommodating though, citing their own suffering at home as being of paramount importance. Vokal DaPoet, a popular satirist, echoed sentiments rampant on social media and in interviews when he wrote, "as I prepare to go to sleep I come to terms with this startling fact: Mugabe donated *Zapnaks*[51], mineral water and biscuits to Tsholotsho flood victims, and now he donates US$1 million to AU he got from selling 300 cattle to Zim citizens." The sense of explicit political Pan-African solidarity abundant in the early years of independence appears to have eroded among the masses since the end of the Apartheid era and, perhaps

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[51] A local brand of potato chips

more crucially, the rise and persistence of socio-economic instability over the course of the 21st century to date.

Outside of Mugabeism, and perhaps due to its enduring imprint, many segments from within the Zimbabwean population continue to espouse a colloquial and socio-cultural Pan-African identity. I posit here that these experiences constitute as post-nationalist Pan-Africanism: a transnational, intra-regional solidarity defined less by the anticolonial commitment than it is by shared identities, experiences and the pursuit of economic and sociopolitical advancement in the 21st century. Sixty percent of Zimbabwean respondents in this study claimed to primarily identify as African, either together with or independent from being Zimbabwean.

JC, currently resident in Pretoria and attending the University of South Africa (UNISA), explained that "I can't escape that I am bound by African values. When we talk about *Ubuntu* - so I'm proud of my African identity. In the community I'm in now, I identify myself as African and not just strictly as Zimbabwean." The regional ubiquity of the virtues of Ubuntu (*Hunhu* in Chishona, *Botho* in Setswana, and *UMunthu* in Chichewa) provides a common point of cultural relevance. This is affirmed by a growing exposure to other cultures from the region, and thus the similarities thereof. Munashe, a thirty-year old woman, explained how television programming had impacted her regional orientation, saying "we now watch *Our Perfect Wedding*[52] from SA, Zambia, and now Kenya. We get to see how weddings are in other countries, and we get to see the cultural differences and similarities; it makes it feel like we are one huge family…" The role of media in the form of film and music, and in particular the increased access thereto, can

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[52] Reality TV Show

thus not be understated in conversations surrounding regional familiarity. Linguistic

similarity resulting in mutual intelligibility consistently showed up as the basis for a

common identity. Nyasha, a non-profit director, described his recent regional trips thus:

> I was recently in Mozambique and, when I'd try communicate with them in
> English, I had more difficulties in getting heard than when I just spoke in Shona
> hoping they'll hear me. If you just speak your own language...in Moza[53] the
> native language is Manic; and the sad thing is most of them no longer speak it
> now; it's like the whole language was eroded; but to the few who speak will get
> you immediately if you speak in Shona. Same thing in Botswana, or in Bulawayo
> when someone is speaking Ndebele- this Bantu group of languages; we get each
> other when we speak.

Of the two[54] respondents who argued they did not experience Pan-Africanism

regularly, one argued that "(for example) Kenya only appeals to Zimbabwe because it is

said to be a blossoming I.T. (information technology) economy. It is not relevant because

we relate to their struggle or through Bantuism. Nobody thinks that deeply" (Kiri). Yet

the evidence presented above suggests that the majority[55] identify these connections in

their daily routine. Experiences surrounding such cultural expressions as music and

clothes reaffirmed respondents' Africanness. Paul Mavima, a government official,

indicated:

> I feel like I'm a SADC citizen…. I can go to any SADC country without needing
> a visa, so I feel I have that Southern African identity. Language is almost the
> same, and especially the indigenous language; there are many common words
> and, if you listen carefully to someone from Lesotho, Swaziland or Botswana,
> you'll get a sense of what they are saying, especially given that in Zimbabwe, we
> have people of Zulu origin, that language is very familiar to me. I am home in
> Zambia, I am home in Malawi, because of the interconnectedness of the people of
> those countries. Mozambique is by and large very similar to Zimbabwe in
> language.

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[53] Short colloquial form for 'Mozambique'

[54] N=11

[55] An urban sample, based in Harare

Even without the militancy of yesteryear's Pan-Africanist music, Zimbabwean musicians have continued to express their connection to the rest of the continent in song. Mtukudzi's 2000 '*Ngoma neHosho*' includes the call-and-response refrains of *"Shaura Africa! Shaura Mozambique! Shaura Namibia!"* and so forth, calling on each of the countries in the region to join him in song. Perhaps the most visible musical manifestations of continental connectivity are the upsurge in transnational collaborations in the past decade. Popular artists such as Jah Prayzah, Ammara Brown, and the Diamond Boyz have made music with artists from Nigeria, Tanzania, Botswana, South Africa, and Zambia among others. While these collaborations are not entirely new, their frequency and prevalence is unlike previously seen in Zimbabwe. Nyaradzo, a woman's rights activist and musician, explained that she had been branding her recent work under the #Zvatiri hashtag, which translates to "as we are" through which she asserts both her Africanness and womanhood:

> I took a journey to appreciate myself as an African woman... being a dark skinned woman in a community that idolizes light-skinned people. So the #Zvatiri was me being very content and being dark skinned with kinky hair, feeling more beautiful and confident than I'd ever been. (

Pan-African themes are also a prominent theme in (both English and indigenous language) poetry, as seen in such pieces as 'Why, Africa?' by Eric T. Gumbie, and '*Chinangwa MuAfrica*' ('Purpose in Africa') by Alouis Tineyi Sagota. Both poems lament the continent's postcolonial suffering and, while placing blame on neocolonial shackles and inept governance, evoke the masses of the continent to awaken in defiance. Gumbie cries out:

Why Africa, why?
Why do you cry in your own house?
Why do you plead to harvest your own garden?

Sagota, on the other hand, challenges post-colonial leaders to stop using the colonial past as justification for their own incompetence and corruption:

Nhai madzibaba muAfrica
O African fathers
Seiko kupopota, kupomera bere kudya zviyo
Why do you yell, and blame hyenas for eating your millet
Imi mbudzi, chimera muchipopodza kurutsa
While you goats gorge on ground millet till you're sick?

While Sagota acknowledges the predatory nature of the colonialists by likening them to hyenas, he also holds the local leadership- the goats- accountable- for overindulging at the expense of the other goats. It is telling that the poem has been written in Shona, a language intelligible almost exclusively within the confines of Zimbabwe and/or Shona communities abroad, yet it addresses the continent at large. This suggests that the problems local to Zimbabwe are seen largely as the problems facing the continent, and vice versa.

In addition to sentiment and artistic expressions, civil society has organized along transnational lines to combat the region's persistent social ills. When I met with Nyaradzo for this interview, she was on her way from a regional symposium organized by SAFAids, a regional non-profit organization based in Harare, with country offices in Pretoria, Lusaka and Manzini. SAFAids has implemented programs in Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia, and Zimbabwe (http://www.safaids.net). On this day, Nyaradzo explained that they "were working with boys, men, and communities to interrupt gender norms and reducing gender-based-violence. So, there's already an exchange of ideas and learning happening there." The

organization's primary purpose has been to combat HIV/AIDS in the region. New infections and deaths have continued to go down while life expectancy has increased since the turn of the century, and this has largely been due to community-based, transnational initiatives such as those led by SAFAids (www.avert.org).

The Pan-Africanism in which Zimbabweans are actively engaged in may no longer be driven by anti-imperialism, but cultural commonalities and common challenges have created a platform upon which they engage with the southern African region in particular, and the continent in general. In this regards then, it lends itself more to a bottom-up understanding as opposed to the top-down framework that has defined our understanding of Pan-Africanism over the past century. Indeed, Pan-African nationalism—or Pan-Africanism— is best exemplified in the lived experiences of laymen and women.

"ASIFUNI BUMBULU!" EXPRESSIONS OF ETHNIC PARTICULARLISM IN CONTEMPORARY ZIMBABWE

The Gukurahundi atrocities came to an end in 1987, with the ZANU PF leadership extending a conciliatory hand to Nkomo and ZAPU which led to the signing of the Unity accord, through which ZAPU was subsumed by ZANU PF. This, however, did not coincide with the end of Shona hegemony and the marginalization of other ethnic groups in the country. Linguist Finex Ndlovu goes as far as describing Zimbabwe's postcolonial national building as being "informed by...nationalist philosophy of intolerance to language diversity and multiculturalism" (Ndhlovu 2). Taku, a 27-year-old Shona male from Harare, recalls: "Last time I went to Bulawayo, I realized I didn't have to speak in Ndebele; I could just speak in Shona and the person would just respond to you in Shona." Such dexterity would not be the case if an Ndebele individual was to visit

Harare or other predominantly Shona-speaking areas. The hegemonic reach has been

supported by Shona-favoring legislation. The 1987 Education Act prescribed that, in

addition to English, schools in each region should use the respective dominant African

language of the area. However, in the Midlands area where Shona and Ndebele people

are both numerous, Ndebele speakers have had to contend with being taught in Shona

(Ndhlovu 37).

The marginalization of Ndebele and other ethnic groups has not only been

linguistic, but a critical component of the selective history paradigm that is definitive of

Mugabeism. In an informal[56] focus group of eight college educated individuals aged

between 25 and 30 —born, raised, and receiving primary education in Shona

communities in Mutare and Harare—only one knew with certainty what *Umvukela* (the

Ndebele name for the 19th century resistance against British colonialism also known as

the *First Chimurenga*). Early post-independence evidence of the articulation of this

selective history came during a 1983 radio game show, when a Shona woman was asked

what a dissident was, to which she emphatically replied, "*Mudissident mundevere*!"

which means "a dissident[57] is a Ndebele person!" (Msindo 225). The Zimbabwean

Museum of Human Sciences, located in Harare, features exhibits detailing the Bantu

migrations and the San people, yet only has a model 'Shona Village' to show for the

contemporary residents of the country. Beyond incidental hegemony, there has been

deliberate erasure of the contributions of the Ndebele and other ethnic groups in

Zimbabwe.

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[56] I sent a WhatsApp message to several associates from Shona speaking communities asking if they knew what *'Umvukela'* was.

[57] Dissident being the popularly used term for the ZIPRA militants whom the Fifth Brigade was supposed to be hunting during the Gukurahundi years.

In a bid to reclaim national agency in the face of government-orchestrated Shona hegemony, the Ndebele and smaller ethnic groups have found different ways to express their nationalism and reconfigure the identity that was thrust upon them into one that centers on their being. Beyond the ethnic, the regional emphasis of Gukurahundi and other forms of marginalization had fermented a regional solidarity against Mugabe and ZANU as well. Even with the 1987 Unity Accord, through which ZAPU became a part of ZANU PF, Ndebele voters refused to vote for the party, with many feeling betrayed by Nkomo for signing the accord (Msindo 227). Mzee, a 32-year-old Ndebele man, described how even in his generation that did not directly witness Gukurahundi-"sometimes (Shona and Ndebele people) do not see eye to eye." He proceeds, with the seeming discomfort of someone avoiding a cursed word, to attribute it to "some history that happened back in the day."

In the most recent presidential elections (2018), Matabeleland North was the only predominantly rural[58] province in which ZANU incumbent Emmerson Mnangagwa was comprehensively trounced by Nelson Chamisa, who had assumed leadership of the MDC after Tsvangirai's death in February of the same year. Thus, the Ndebele populace and, equally as critical, the multi-ethnic denizens of Matabeleland have continued to express its frustrations at wrongs never righted in the most inclusive form of popular expression that is democratic voting. The *Bulawayo Chronicle*, despite being state-owned, developed a reputation early on for "attracting national attention with tales of wrongdoing in high places," which culminated in them breaking the Willowgate Scandal (Perlez 1989), previously untouched by the Herald and other Harare-based newspapers (despite

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[58] Rural areas have remained the stronghold of ZANU PF, even with the advent and growing popularity of the MDC

Willowvale and the relevant government offices being based in Harare). Similarly, artists such as Solomon Skuza and Amakhosi Theatre prominently expressed dissent before it was popular to do so, often risking censorship, well-being and lives (Zenenga).

The Ndebele/Shona tensions are most readily manifest and routinely expressed in the football rivalry between Highlanders Football Club and Dynamos Football Club, based in Bulawayo and Harare respectively. Asked what aspects of the tensions were particularly conspicuous, Taku cited the games and their aftermath as "ugly." Highlanders is spiritually tied to the Ndebele nation, as it was founded in 1926 by two of King Lobengula's grandchildren, Albert and Rhodes and, in 1936, adopted the name 'Matabeleland Highlanders,' further asserting themselves within a geographic and ethnic identity. The founding of Dynamos in 1963, on the other hand, coincided with the advent of radical African nationalism in Rhodesia. Founded the same year as ZANU, in a Harare high-density suburb (Mbare) less than seven kilometers from the high-density suburb of Highfields where the party was formed, the legend of the two as forces of African resistance and Shona nationalism grew intractable over the decades.

In recent years, Highlanders fans have protested emphatically over the apparent ethnic bias that referees and other Zimbabwean Football Association (ZIFA) have shown towards Dynamos, resulting in the legendary matches becoming one-sided. A match played in 2017 in Bulawayo had to be stopped due to violent protests against a decision that had benefited Dynamos and, when the team was fined $5000, predominantly Ndebele Highlander supporters from around the world donated and raised more than the required amount (Mbele 2017). Highlanders fans have also been using the slogan "*asifuni bumbulu*!" a term taken from traditional Ndebele folklore and translating "we don't want

any nonsense!" to express discontent with Dynamos bias (Tshuma 2017). The term, however, has taken a life of its own away from the football field, becoming a slogan for dissent used by opposition parties and other civil groups and individuals against ZANU PF and other symbols of Shona hegemony (Masikati 2018). Football's potential for grassroots mobilization has long been theorized on, with Baller and Saavedra positing that the sport "can serve as a mobilizing force for all those involved in sport as players, spectators, fans and organizers- and this beyond any direct control of political authorities" (Baller & Saavedra 7). This force is on show at least twice each football season when Highlanders plays against Dynamos.

An article by Choto et al (2017) documented instances through which the matches between the two turned into sites of ethnic and political expression. One Highlanders fan on Facebook cheered his team on after a string of defeats by the rivals, saying *Madoda plz mk us proud ses'khathelengo kukhulunyelwa nga mashona* (guys make us proud we are tired of being mocked by the Shona). Another fan lamented the inclusion of Shona players in the team after a 2013 Cup final defeat, arguing that "too many Shona and Dynamos supporters in our squad, they lack passion because they will be playing with a team that they grew up supporting, so how can we win? ... We need to groom our Ndebele blood." The Dynamos respond in kind, with quips such as *"tavarova vana vaLobengula ava!"* (We have beaten these sons of Lobengula!) Taunts often evoke the colonial imagery of the Ndebele as a Barbaric people, for example *"Mandevere vajaira kuveza nduku nemapanga, nhasi tino kuchecheudzai kuno"* (The Ndebele are experts in sharpening clubs and machetes, but today we shall circumcise you) (Choto et al 6-8). Although sporadic instances of violence erupt at times, the vast majority of the rivalry is

kept to the field and terrace taunts. Alegi has placed the ethnic chauvinism apparent in this rivalry in a larger historic and global context, arguing that it "is hardly surprising, and certainly not a symptom of atavistic tribalism," citing parallels between the contest and several others from across the continent and beyond (*African Soccerscapes* 64).

A more radical response to Shona hegemony in Zimbabwe has been pushed by historians and activists who prefer to refer to the Ndebele nation as Umthwakazi, for example the UK based group Mthwakazi People's Congress which advocated for a separate Ndebele nation, United Mthwakazi Republic. According to their website, their primary goals is "secession from present-day Zimbabwe and seek peaceful political means to achieve that goal" (http://oeas.info/mthwakazi.html). This radical group, however, is on the extreme fringes of Ndebele nationalism. Not only did it not show up in my interviews with either Ndebele or Shona people, but the organization's Facebook page, founded in 2012, only has 81 followers at time of writing. *Umthwakazi Review*, an online news source whose tagline is "Pride of the Matabele Nation" has amassed a significant Facebook following (just under 5000 followers as of November 2018), and focuses heavily on preservation of Ndebele culture, recognition of traditional Ndebele royalty and, critically, as a space to advocate for justice for the *Gukurahundi* Massacres. The existence of such spaces of public expression is itself a departure from the tyrannical hold that the Mugabe regime maintained on media and academic outlets that sought to discuss the atrocities of the 1980s. For example, a 2011 exhibit at the National Art Gallery depicting images of the massacres was immediately banned, as was a 2012 play titled "1983 - the Dark Years" among several other documentaries and artworks (Dugger

2011). Thus, social media has emerged as a leading contemporary site of popular expression.

Despite these historic and contemporary tensions and prejudices, data suggests that Zimbabweans are largely comfortable living in inter-ethnic communities. An Afrobarometer study conducted in 2016 revealed that 93% of interviewed Zimbabweans would either strongly like (52%) or would not mind (41%) having neighbors who belonged to a different ethnic group (Kokera & Ndoma 2). These figures are in tandem with the responses gathered for this study as well. Mzee described growing in the Sizinda neighborhood in Bulawayo:

> …with people from Mashonaland, Matabeleland, and we were fortunate enough to live with people who were from Binga, the Tonga people... you get the Ndebele and Malawi people in that community, so that was another benefit to me...in Sizinda, different culture and different places, they live together, they just gelled and lived harmoniously. .

Munashe, Zimbabwean of Malawian descent, acknowledged that older generations had perpetuated the toxic narrative of difference, but "the younger generation tolerate people from different tribes." Tino, a 19-year-old Shona (Manyika) male who had just returned from a six-month work stint in Matabeleland North (home of the Tonga and some Ndebele people) described that "there are no conflicts between those groups. Just peace among the people."

Even in the examples of ethnic nationalistic expression cited earlier, there is evidence of this tolerance and flexible acceptance of those who belong to groups that are supposed targets of hate. For example, the Dynamos/Highlanders (football clubs) divide has proven to be ethnically porous over the years: with Shona players such as Ralph Matema, Tapuwa Kapini, and Dazzie Kapenya emerging as beloved figureheads in

141

Highlanders, while the likes of Ronald Sibanda and Lovemore Ncube achieved similar status at Dynamos despite being Ndebele. Even in the political arena, where Ndebele loyalties to the Shona-dominated ZANU PF seem irreparable given the legacy of *Gukurahundi*, the Shona MDC presidential candidates- first Morgan Tsvangirai and then Nelson Chamisa- have had resounding victories in Bulawayo and much of Matabeleland since the party's inception.

Since the colonial era, leaders- whether the colonial authorities or the African nationalists- have manipulated often banal ethnic differences for propaganda and political purposes. While the ethnicity platform is often the most accessible for the different groups to assert agency and express frustrations, the Zimbabwean masses seem able to coexist beyond the pedantic prejudices. Mzee is careful not to be general in his criticism, saying "there was *Gukurahundi*, where the Shona people- not the Shona per se, but people from Mashonaland wanted power…" The distinction made between the general "Shona people" and specific "people from Mashonaland" is key to understanding the high level of ethnic tolerance in a place where ethnicity has been the vehicle for its darkest episodes. Explaining that he had never felt despised or tasked by his Ndebele neighbors, Tino observed that "the Ndebele people - they have someone who they hate; because of *Gukurahundi*; not every Shona person; but they have someone - a certain person - maybe two or three people they hate. Even the day they die, they'll celebrate." True to the regime of fear that surrounds *Gukurahundi* in postcolonial Zimbabwe, none of the respondents who spoke on the massacres spoke of the specific people that ought to be held culpable.

CONCLUSION

Emerging from a society not only based on legalized racial hierarchy, but also alienated from the international community and burdened with domestic inter-ethnic schisms, the settler colonies were faced with an unenviable task of reintegrating, establishing and growing a nation. Zimbabwe rallied with Mugabeism, a radical African Nationalism that often bordered on nativism. As the pitfalls thereof were exposed as contributing in large part to the country's socio-economic demise, civil society envisioned a departure from the dogmatic nationalism into a post-nationalist society. As such, there was a shift in the national narrative told in music, theatre and other forms of popular expression. Despite the rise of aspirational post-nationalism, age-old expressions of nationalism continue to resurface and thrive. Oftentimes, these two phenomena are seen co-existing— as various communities and individuals dissent against the monopolistic, exclusionary definition of nationalism put forth by the governing elites while espousing other cherished signifiers of their identity and belonging within the nation.

The aftermath of the Mugabe era provides a potential volatile point of departure in Zimbabwean nationalism. New leaders will either perpetuate the staunch nationalism synonymous with Mugabe, or adopt a more moderate approach akin to the post-nationalism Tsvangirai described. Early signs have been polarizing. On one hand, the e Mnangagwa administration is professing a departure from the dogmatic anti-Western, anti-imperialistic tenets of Mugabeism under the "Zimbabwe is Open for Business" mantra. On the other, the retention of several controversial Mugabe-era top officials as well as the militarized quelling of dissenters, such as seen in the aftermath of the 2018

elections, suggested a perpetuation of the ZANU regime's old ways- leading some to dub the new leaders "old wine in new skins" (Ankomah 2018). The uncertainty is playing out in the public arena. For example, sensing perhaps a loosening of yesteryear censorship, artists critical of the government have been more overt than in the past. "The Dark Years," an expository play on the Gukurahundi atrocities, has finally been greenlit after having been hitherto banned by the government for years. The 'Zim-scarf'[59] popularized by Mnangagwa in the immediate aftermath of Mugabe's demise became vastly popular across society and the political spectrum early in 2018. However, by year end, it had become synonymous with ZANU PF, and thus the people's continued suffering. The next few years will be revealing as to the country's nationalistic trajectory, and thus the popular expressions thereof.

When compared to "African" and citizenship[60], only a minute proportion of respondents described ethnicity as their primary identity. Ethnic identity was typically evoked to establish commonality with another of the same group, as opposed to assert acrimonious difference to others within the same country. Leaders have however manipulated ethnic differences for political gain, and many contemporary popular expressions of ethnic nationalism are a response to subjected socio-political marginalization.

The prevalence of Shona hegemony in Zimbabwe, reinforced before independence as a form of "divide and rule" by the colonial government, and perpetuated by Mugabeism's culture of selective national history, can however not be denied. Other

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[59] Multi-colored scarf in the colors of the Zimbabwean flag.
[60] "South African" or "Zimbabwean"

indigenous languages and cultures are often left at the mercy of the Shona majority, leading to their decimation. As such, despite generally amicable inter-ethnic relations, there have been invigorated calls from different actors for integration of different languages into the school curriculum, investigations into the *Gukurahundi* massacres, as well as for the active preservation and rewriting of Zimbabwean history to include the contributions of marginalized ethnic groups as well.

It is critical to also reiterate the study's limitations in particular regards to ethnic identity. By having the metropolitan areas of Harare and Gauteng as sites of analyses, responses about ethnic identity may very well be different than if the study was conducted in Kwazulu Natal, Matabeleland or other parts of the country less ethnically diverse, and overwhelmingly defined by the ethnic culture thereof. Furthermore, the few respondents interviewed originally from borderland communities (Tonga, Venda etc.) prominently identified by ethnic group, taking pains to establish sameness with members of the same ethnic group on the other side of the border.

Villa-Vicencio et al. (2015) argue that "at institutional and local levels, the professed appeal of Pan-Africanism is frequently obscured by endless ideological debates...while at the same time being trumped by economic nationalism that sometimes boils over into overt xenophobia and territorial nationalism" (xxii). The argument rings true in Zimbabwe, where the country emerged from the colonial era with a rich Pan-African history of resilience, and the ruling party under Mugabe was unabashedly committed to the ideal. In addition, transnational cultural and linguistic commonalities also serve as a basis for pan-regional solidarity within the various communities. Ultimately, however, the security and well-being of one's own community

overwhelmingly trumps the penchant for solidarity with another. Thus, despite evidence of recognition of the purpose and appeal of Pan-Africanism, Zimbabweans were unimpressed with the government's involvement in unbudgeted wars on the continent that negatively impacted the local economy, or Mugabe's Pan-African philanthropy while the masses starved at home. Pan-Africanism is thus more readily embraced when accompanied with confidence that the nation's leadership prioritizes the welfare of their own citizens.

CHAPTER FOUR: #COLONIALITYMUSTFALL: POPULAR EXPRESSIONS OF NATIONALISM(S) IN SOUTH AFRICA

This chapter explores ways in which the people of South Africa have performed Rainbow Nationalism and, critically, how segments of the society express alternative responses to the national questions that Rainbow Nationalism was meant to fix but remain unresolved. Conditions such as persistent defacto segregation, growing economic inequality, and the survival of Apartheid-era power dynamics in several spaces have led many to deem Rainbow Nationalism a failure or, at least, an incomplete project. Thus, after the initial manifestation of the Rainbow Nation through such media as sport and song, indictments and rejections thereof have been expressed in the resurgence of radical Africanist political and civil societies, as well as through the contemporary wave of student activism protesting against tuition fee hikes and colonial era curricula in South Africa known as the #MustFall movements.

I also interrogate the African Renaissance movement through expressions of its two critical facets: South Africa's role as a leader in the continental Pan-African community and the commitment towards reasserting indigenous cultural values that were disrupted during the colonial and Apartheid era. The latter of these has been termed the "Africanization" movement. I also draw an important distinction between the African Renaissance as proclaimed and implemented famously by President Thabo Mbeki and his administration, and the African renaissance (note the lower case 'r') that Africanist segments of the civil society have been advocating for in post-Apartheid South Africa. The endurance of Apartheid sentiments, symbols, and power dynamics fall under theoretic cluster of coloniality, and the responses thereto- which include the #MustFall

movements, Africanization, calls for land redistribution- constitute the movement of decoloniality.[61]

While democratic South Africa's young national project has been defined prominently through the cult of personality such as represented by the likes of Mandela, Tutu, and Mbeki, this study seeks to give agency to other members of the society and their expressions of different nationalist ideals. How do different segments of the society engage with the ideals and realities of the Rainbow Nation and the African Renaissance, and how are these engagements expressed? The findings point to an initial skepticism towards the sincerity of such grandiose national projects, followed by reluctant celebration thereof which has grown into a disenchantment and the rise of grassroots alternative imaginaries and projects of the post-Apartheid nation.

This chapter engages the micro-expressions that are sports fandom, musical and poetic expression, and theatre, many of which fall within the macro-expressive structures that are student activism, local and opposition politics, and the ideological movement that is Africanization. The study is fundamentally informed by the 17 interviews primarily conducted in Gauteng. The seventeen respondents comprise 11 South African citizens and six African immigrants who are resident in the country—the latter coming originally from Zimbabwe (4), Benin (1), and Uganda (1)[62]. Some questions were asked specifically to the citizens, and others to include both, based on context. Thus, sample sizes may differ from instance to instance. I also draw from observations in various spaces that

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[61]While xenophobic attitudes and violence have been a significant part of South African society's engagement with immigrants from the rest of the continent, they are only briefly mentioned in this chapter, as they are the primary focus of chapter six. The same chapter also discusses notions of ethnic nationalism in the country.
[62] See page 19 for full list of respondents and interview process

include cultural centers, public lectures, music, poetry, literature, as well as the virtual world of social media.

FROM RAINBOW NATION TO AFRICANIZATION: NATIONALISM IN A DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA

As South Africa pulled itself from the doldrums of Apartheid into the democratic era, scholars, political activists, and the masses envisioned two juxtaposed, albeit not mutually exclusive, national orientations to replace the oppressive regime: Rainbow Nationalism and Africanization. For their differences in theory and praxis, these two approaches to national building both stand on the foundation of *ubuntu*, the concept of African humanism ubiquitous among the Bantu ethnic groups.

The definitive ideology of post-Apartheid reconciliation was the 'Rainbow Nation', described by Reverend Desmond Tutu as encapsulating "the unity of multiculturalism and diversity of South African people" (Buqa 1). The Rainbow Nation was imagined as being the tonic that would help overcome the country's historical problems, serving as a pillar for "social cohesion and integration" in a new South Africa (Buqa).

The pursuit of unity was illustrated through the Mandela government structures including a progressive constitution, which sought to codify the ideals of the Rainbow Nation. The constitution's preamble sets in motion the conciliatory tone, opening with "We, the people of South Africa, recognize the injustices of our past, honor those who suffered for justice and freedom in our land, respect those who have worked to build and develop our country, and believe that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, united in our diversity." If the new constitution codified South Africa's unified pathway into the future, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) had the complicated task of

redressing its ugly past. Chaired by Tutu, the TRC served as a public platform through which victims and perpetrators of Apartheid could narrate their lived experiences, with the latter granted full amnesty on condition of their full disclosure. Other national symbols were adapted to represent the rainbow motif. The iconic *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika* was blended with *Die Stem*, the Apartheid era national anthem to form the post-Apartheid national anthem, while the country's flag combines the ANC flag with that of the European colonialists' homelands, Netherlands and the United Kingdom (Brownell 2015).

The ideal of the Rainbow Nation was by no means a novelty to African Nationalism in South Africa. Dreams of multi-ethnic equality had been pivotal in the founding philosophy of the ANC back in 1912[63]. Of particular direct influence to Rainbow Nationalism was the 1955 Freedom Charter, which scholars have described as the political document that gave birth to the legal document that is the constitution (Suttner 5). Much of the definitive language of the constitution was lifted verbatim from the Freedom Charter, including the declaration that "South Africa belongs to all who live in it." These ideals of non-racialism and unity were proliferated through both public and private media. The public broadcaster, South African Broadcasting Corporation captures the essence of Rainbow Nationalism in their slogan, "Simunye/We Are One", while South African Breweries ran with "One Beer, One Nation" (Baines 4). The media had thus embraced their role in helping foster the sentiment of rainbowism among the public.

Rainbow Nationalism also manifested in 1990s popular music, famously embodied by the Soweto String Quartet, a musical group that sought to appeal to the

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[63] Under its founding name, South African Native National Congress (SANNC.) The organization would change its name to the ANC in 1923.

"high culture" associated with White South African communities and foster the imagery of the multiracialism through their sound and aesthetic. Their platinum selling album, *Zebra Crossing*, which they marketed in Black and White striped suits and in a Black and White convertible car, was a thinly veiled metaphor for the essence of racial harmony (Allen 100). The use of popular music to champion Rainbow Nationalism, however, predated the end of Apartheid. Multiracial groups such as Juluka and Hotline dominated the airwaves and public spaces during the final two decades of the Apartheid era. Juluka, fronted by Johnny Clegg (White South African of British Origin) and Sipho Mchunu (Zulu), had many of its songs banned for incorporating for incorporating Zulu mythology and preaching the advent of a "New World Order" (Mojapelo 123). Hotline was famously led by PJ Powers, a white South African woman renowned for crooning in Zulu and other indigenous African languages. The band's 1984 hit, *Jabulani*- Zulu for "Celebrate"- was dedicated to the people of Soweto, and received notoriety in Namibia, Botswana and Mozambique ('Penelope Jane Dunlop'). Perhaps nothing signals the popular embrace of these groups and their music than the nicknames accorded Clegg and Powers by their African fans across the country: Clegg was dubbed the "White Zulu", while Powers added the fan-bestowed Zulu moniker "Thandeka", meaning "Beloved" to her name.

Following in the footsteps of Juluka, Hotline, and other earlier bands, Afro-fusion group Freshlyground has emerged as the epitome of Rainbow Nationalism in the 21st century. A prominent multiracial group (five Whites and two Blacks), Freshlyground performed with Colombian superstar Shakira during the closing ceremony of the 2010 FIFA World Cup, and was the only group selected to perform at the Opening of the South African Parliament in 2004. Singing in multiple South African languages including

English, Zulu and Xhosa, Freshlyground is both a product and producer of "the ideal of race and gender harmony encapsulated in official state discourses, and numerous civic, religious and secular organizations in various forms of public communication" (Balfour 124).

No cultural movement encapsulated the complexity of popular sentiment split between post-Apartheid euphoria and the skepticism of equality dreams yet unrealized than Kwaito music. Described by one of its forebears, Arthur Mafokate, as "ghetto dance music", the genre drew from a variety of local (e.g. mbaqanga) and international (hip-hop, house music) influences and rose to prominence among the Black urban youth in the early to mid-1990s (Gerlicke 96). On one hand, Kwaito's typically upbeat tempo provided an apt soundtrack for the optimism that came with the end of the Apartheid era. One cultural pundit described the genre as being "truly and proudly South African – Kwaito culture. It's about peace, love and unity; about yourself and loving yourself enough to be YOU." (Ntsoma 1). On the other, Kwaito unabashedly confronted the difficult conversations over which Rainbow Nationalism was meant to gloss through its fashion, language, and music. The appropriation of overalls and hard hats- synonymous with Black blue collar works forcibly removed from their homes during Apartheid- as the genre's unofficial uniform made the narrative surrounding them "more celebratory than it had originally been" (Ndabeni 99). Mafokate's 1993 song, *Kaffir*, for example, recognized that racial harmony was still a pipe dream- even in the face of pending democracy in the country. He sings:

> Boss, No Don't call me kaffir
> Can't you see that I'm trying?
> Don't call me a kaffir

That lazy kaffir
 You won't like it if I call you baboon

The song's rhythms undoubtedly resonated with the African youth from the communities out of which Kwaito had been born, while the English lyrics made the message accessible across the fragmented ethnic and racial communities in the country.

In the euphoric and Apartheid-weary masses, the Mandela administration found a keen platform upon which to forge ahead with Rainbow Nationalism. Sport, in particular rugby and football, emerged as critical sites of popular expression. Mandela believed in the nation-building potential of sport, remarking that it had "the power to unite people in a way that little else can" (Edwards 2018). Rugby had evolved to be the symbol of Afrikaner supremacy in the country and, even as the country transitioned to democracy, remained a source of conflict. The very mascot which lent its name to the national team, the springbok, had become synonymous with Afrikaner nationalism. Consider the following account of the scene at a 1994 match by the Rugby National team, for example:

> Holding aloft the old South African flag, the rugby die-hards sought momentary refuge in the confines of Ellis Park. [When] *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika* started up you could count the numbers who bothered to even keep still. But when *Die Stem* was played they stood to attention and sang with gusto - their voices in unison. Barring the good-natured vendors ... the number of darkies at Ellis Park could be counted on one hand… (Booth 469)

Despite the efforts of the government, sport's unifying potential as an agent of Rainbow Nationalism still depended on the public's embrace thereof. After christening the almost entirely White national team "our boys" and "our own children" at the beginning of the 1995 World Cup, not even Mandela could bring the African masses to view the Springboks as their own. Popular African publication, *The Sowetan,* noted on the first day of the World Cup that "the majority of South African people are not

interested. It is extraordinary in fact that white South Africa has tried to keep the game of rugby 'white' for as long as possible" (May 25 1995).

As the tournament progressed and the team kept winning *The Sowetan*, the same popular publication that had lamented the foreignness of the game to the African masses only a week earlier, dubbed them *"Amabokoboko"* (May 29 1995). The new nickname, an Africanized version of the team's nickname literally meaning "the boks, the boks" ('bok' being short for springbok) gave the masses a sense of agency over the long-standing symbol of Apartheid. Douglas Booth argues that this moment through which language was used to assert ownership was "more decisive than even Mandela's support" for the team (471). After their final victory against Australia, Black South Africans in the city centers and townships *Toyi-Toyi*d and sang *Shosholoza*, thereby imposing symbols of anti-Apartheid African Nationalism upon the enduring one of Afrikaner nationalism (rugby) in a poignant show of Rainbow Nationalism. While Mandela may have envisioned the utility of rugby to drive the agenda of Rainbow Nationalism, the South African people asserted their agency through the Africanized nicknames and song and dance otherwise alien to the rugby experience.

Although of lesser renown than the Rugby World Cup triumph, the men's national football team's African Cup of Nations the following year was, in some ways, a more apt representation of Rainbow Nationalism. Unlike the Springboks, in which Chester Williams was the only Black[64] player (Coloured), the football team, nicknamed *Bafana*, was a more multiracial and broad representation of the post-Apartheid nation: for example, Andre Arendse and Mark Williams were Coloured, Neil Tovey and Eric Tinkler

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[64] Using Black Consciousness's definition of "Black" as constituting the non-white community in South Africa. Williams was, strictly speaking, Coloured/Mixed.

were White, while Lucas Radebe and Doctor Khumalo were African. Thabo Mbeki, then

the country's deputy president, had sent a congratulatory message after the team's semi-

final win over Ghana, in which he described the team as "the Rainbow Warriors"

(February 6 1996). Thus, when 80 000 fans crammed into the FNB stadium to watch the

team defeat Tunisia in the final, it was the perfect complement to the Rainbow

Nationalism of the rugby celebrations the previous year. Here now was a sport that had

evolved to be symbolic of African culture and resistance in Apartheid South Africa, being

played by a mosaic team that was the face of the Rainbow Nation, and also emerging

triumphant on an international stage.

Rainbow Nationalism has thus been embodied through song and sport among

other forums of popular engagement for the past three decades. While synonymous with

South Africa's post-Apartheid national project, the ideals of the Rainbow Nation and

multiracialism have neither been universally lauded nor maintained the sanctity of their

early days. Pundits have argued that the "warm feeling of goodwill and patriotism" that

the Rugby World Cup had generated had all but dissipated a mere couple of years later,

when the Springboks coach was recorded describing Black rugby administrators as

"Kaffirs[65]" (Merrett 41). Black and Nauright aptly sum up the fallacy of a society reborn

into harmony when they say:

> What the RWC (Rugby World Cup) reinforced was the basis for a new
> hegemonic conception of 'South African-ness' which went some way towards
> defining a new basis for social consent, yet left underlying social and economic
> relations relatively untouched. (130).

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[65] An Apartheid racial epithet describing African people.

Tellingly, the 'RWC' in the sentence above could be substituted for the phrases "Rainbow Nationalism", "TRC" and other post-Apartheid symbols of purported equality and still retain its structural integrity.

The contradictions of Rainbow Nationalism were also highlighted during the 2010 football World Cup. With architecture, rhetoric, and elaborate campaigns of the arts that were meant to be "truly South African", members of the general public found ways in which to assert their South African agency over the tournament. *Halakasha!* a Standard Bank-commissioned art exhibit brought together artworks from different South African ethnic groups, and was celebrated as the "ideal way to explore the various ways football has seeped into the popular consciousness" (Rankin-Smith 79). Yet despite African-centered orientation of the games, and the fact that the sport is overwhelmingly synonymous with the lower income African masses in the country, many of them found themselves having to watch the games from free fanparks as they had been "priced out of the stadium" by the high entry fees (Roberts & Blass 43). The dialectic presented here-one in which the previously disenfranchised South African public is presented with the illusion of inclusion while entry into the most critical arenas remains restricted- perhaps provides us the most apt metaphor for the discontents leveled against the Rainbow Nation.

Despite the euphoria and promise of Rainbow Nationalism, its allure has waned among the masses in the two decades since. Only one of the eighteen South African resident respondents in this study praised how the ideal had manifest, arguing that "we are a rainbow nation, (but) elements of society are the ones that bring these problems of discrimination" (Lisa). Even as she speaks positively of Rainbow Nationalism, she still

feels compelled to separate its ideal existence from members of the very community supposed to embody it. 22-year-old Naledi also conceded the yesteryear importance of the notion, saying "the idea of a Rainbow Nation had good intentions. When you look at where SA was, realistically, we were on the brink of Civil War. So, we needed a strong narrative of unity, saying "Hey, we know that this has happened but how do we work together to build a better SA." The overwhelming sentiment, however, was less complimentary, with respondents describing Rainbow Nationalism as "a dishonest project", "superficial", "failed" and "an illusion."

Many had expressed their wariness over the prospects of the Rainbow Nation even before the democratic elections and its subsequent institutionalization. The Azanian People's Organization had withdrawn from the 1994 election citing the absence of a comprehensive plan for land redistribution and arguing "that the State was obliged by international law to prosecute those responsible for gross human rights violations" (Case cct 17/96). Iconic jazz singer Letta Mbulu, who had spent time in exile alongside the likes of Hugh Masekela and Miriam Makeba, captured the essence of this skepticism in her popular song, 'Not Yet Uhuru':

Mhlaba wakithi bo, usemi ndawonye akukho mehluko kulelizwe, Qhawul'amakhamandela
Our Land *h*as come together, still nothing has changed
Ah thin'asina voti, Silal'emikhukhwini , Qhawul'amakhamandela
We cannot vote sleep in shacks*,* Still nothing has changed
Bakhona abany'abakithi bbasibona sesikhululekile
There are some of us who insist that we are now free
Kodwa umshosha phansi- uthi not yet uhuru (Not yet uhuru)
But the system shows us that it is "not yet Uhuru (Freedom)

The Xhosa song foreshadows the very discontent around which future movements would build their platforms on. Fundamentally, the song situates South Africa as part of

the larger Pan-African decolonial project, by evoking the war-cry "Not Yet Uhuru[66],"

with Uhuru being Swahili for Freedom.

The dream of the Rainbow Nation has been fundamentally betrayed by the

continued marginalized economic condition of the Black masses in South Africa. Naledi

explains:

> What I see in SA is a White dominated rainbow that has only added a couple of
> colors here and there. So 25 years later, because of how hollow that (Rainbow
> Nation) notion was, there is no real racial unity in SA... you're still facing the
> same issues we'd have been facing under Apartheid. That's where the Rainbow
> nation loses its luster, because the reality is not the same... it boils down to
> economics. Apartheid was built on economic conditions that made White people
> wealthy. That's why you see the DeBeers[67] are still predominantly White-owned.
> Naspers[68] is still predominantly White Owned. So you can't express to distribute
> income rationally of all the economic activity is run by one predominant group.

A 2018 World Bank report showed South Africa as "the most unequal country in

the world," with the richest 1% of the country owning 70% of its resources while the

bottom 60% own just 7% of the country's assets, and 55% of the population currently

lives below the poverty datum line, with that number increasing each year (Sulla &

Zikhali XV). The persistence of Apartheid-era poverty levels and growing inequality in

the supposed Rainbow Nation has not been for a total absence of attempts to remedy the

historic disparity. Government initiatives such as the Black Economic Empowerment

(BEE) and Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) plans have assisted in the

growth of Black middle class in South Africa. While different studies using different

matrices to define middle class have produced varying figures, general consensus among

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[66] The term "Not Yet Uhuru" is famously the title of a 1967 book by Kenyan revolutionary Oginga Odinga, in which he rallied against the postcolonial government's corruption and tyranny.

[67] International Diamond Company founded by Cecil John Rhodes in 1888, and is currently behind 35% of the global diamond market.

[68] Multimedia company that was founded as a voice for Afrikaner Nationalism in the aftermath of the Anglo-Boer Wars

scholars situate the Black middle class to have grown from between 1-10% at the end of

Apartheid to between 20 and 30% in 2014, with the upper estimates of these figures

positing Black South Africans as 40-50% of the South African middle class (Mattes 6).

However, the multitudes of the Black community who make up the 70-80% still

outside the middle class view the initiatives meant to better their economic condition as

insufficient at best, and disingenuous at their worst. Naledi embodies this frustration,

arguing that "(BEE) had its own faults and was abandoned too quickly and was

manipulated so horribly that the intention behind it can't be seen now," a sentiment

echoed by political and economic pundits. In 2018 Iraj Adebian, chief executive at Pan-

African Investment and Research Services, a major South African investment company,

observed that "BEE has largely benefited a select few black people and only resulted in

further inequality, while fueling racial tensions" (Hlatshaneni 2018). In a poem entitled

"Absurdity from 1994", Nolife, a poet, writer, and graffiti artist, conjures up the

desperation of the betrayed promise of economic uplift when he writes:

> Wanting a piece of that pie, but it stings cause
> B.E.E was meant for that black guy who's
> Watching rain fall from a black sky (121).

In addition to the economic shortcomings, and perhaps compounded by them,

respondents also pointed to the sociocultural gulf that continues to exist between different

races within the supposed Rainbow Nation. Twelve of the eighteen South African

resident respondents acknowledged the near-mutual exclusivity of many critical Black

and White spaces, both figurative and literal. , a recent college graduate described an

instance in which her professor walked into class and noted the de-facto racially

separated sitting pattern in the classroom and exclaimed that "if this was the Apartheid

159

era, the regime would be so happy you already did their work for them!" JC, a law student at UNISA from Zimbabwe observed upon his arrival to South Africa that "White students don't like to associate with the Black students."

Aside from the absence of mundane interaction, respondents were more unsettled by White absence in the spaces where South Africa's identity as an African nation was recognized and celebrated. Tumi, a performing artist with an African cultural ensemble, explained that whenever they perform "on stages like Africa Day, the Whites you find there are probably foreign." Buhle, an administrator with the PAC, echoed these sentiments in response to the defense sometimes employed by White South Africans- especially as relates to the prospects of land redistribution- that they, too, are Africans in the Rainbow Nation. She noted that "White people have a tendency of separating themselves from Black people. When it's June 16th[69] they're not there; when it's Women's Day they're not there, when it's Freedom Day[70] they're not there; so, if they interact or integrate, we can start to talk about their Africanity."

The fractured rainbow in South Africa is rooted in the historical inequalities and, critically, attempts to preserve their essence by the historical benefactors of the inequality. Scholars have termed this perpetuation of colonial-era dynamics of separation and control *coloniality*, which Ndlovu-Gatsheni defines as 'the long-standing patterns of power that emerged as a result of colonialism but that transcended colonialism to be constituted in culture, labor, intersubjective relations, and knowledge production' (*Empire* 30). The inability, or reluctance, to dismantle coloniality is at the heart of Black

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[69] Public holiday commemorating the Soweto Uprisings in which the Apartheid police shot and killed several students.
[70] April 17, Commemorates the date of the First Post-Apartheid elections.

disenchantment with the Rainbow Nation. These sentiments are articulated by several respondents of this study. Art curator Zingiswa describes Rainbow Nationalism as a "dishonest project" because "it solved the Apartheid problem but not the colonial problem… Apartheid is just a finger on the hands of coloniality... we removed visible signs but coloniality remains." Mohau Mokoena, a youth and labor organizer in his 20s, reiterates the sentiment while visibly frustrated, saying "when you look at the landscape of SA's economy and the levers of power that matter to society-they are the same as during Apartheid. You go into education space, economy, when you look at the mining sector or the agricultural sector that's supposed to feed us- white dominated. You can go on."

The moment perhaps definitive of coloniality and the fallacy of Rainbow Nationalism's salvatory potential is the 2012 mass killings of miners at Marikana near the town of Rustenberg during a strike calling for increased wages and improved conditions in the mines. After peaceful protests and minor skirmishes in the week prior, police shot at the protesting minors, killing 34 and wounding 78 on August 16. Despite debates surrounding culpability, the Marikana massacres sent the national imaginary back into the Apartheid era: the killings and, in particular, the use of force by law enforcement, evoked imagery of the 1960 Sharpeville Massacre and the Soweto uprisings of 1976 (Power & Manson 66); the low wages and poor protection for the miners is remnant of yesteryear exploitative labor practices; and that the mine is owned by a British firm further illustrated the coloniality of power. Author Greg Marinovich sums up Marikana's rude interruption of Post-Apartheid euphoria when he writes "it was as if the nation had spent

eighteen years dreaming of an idealized society only to be violently awoken into a living nightmare" (4).

The six years since Marikana has seen the incident become the symbol of post-Apartheid national decadence, as expressed in popular spaces. Books such as Marinovich's *Murder at Small Koppie* and Thanduxolo Jika et al's W*e are Going to Kill Each Other Today* have humanized the experiences of the miners not only in their moment of protest, but the working conditions and betrayed promises that led them to Marikana. The latter book was adapted into a hugely popular play simply titled *Marikana- The Musical*. Despite its popularity, the play has also come under criticism for its apparent commercialization of the tragedy, further signifying the polarity of contemporary South Africa (Kemp 2017). Poet Mthunzikazi Mbungwana laments the cross-societal impact of the incident in the poem "*Thula'Ukhalelani? Marikana 16 August 2012*" ("What's that Cry? Marikana 16 August 2012):

> *Liphalale igazi labantwana babantu bengenatyala*
> Clotting blood spatters the hill rocks, we cry
> *Ziqungzulizile ilizidumbu, bafa njengezinj*a
> Wounded bodies of the innocent strewn, brothers lay crying
> *Abafazi bakhala isijwili emva kocango*
> A young newly-wed gives a heart-wrenching cry from under a veil
> *Amadoda ayangqukuleka enkundleni*
> Screaming a loud grief-prayer to gods and God
> *Abantwana bayazidlalela emva kwezindu, bejobg' enkalweni becula besithi*
> While little children unknowingly play their after-rain songs
> *Utata uyezangomso, uzakusiphathela izibiliboco zase Marikana*
> 'Daddy will bring me gifts from Marikana,
> *Marikana!*
> Marikana, Marikana! (40).

While the official narrative of the tragedy has largely been about the men who were killed, the introduction of the bride character illustrates the fear and angst felt by the masses away from Marikana, while the children suggest yet another generation born into

hate and suffering.

With the lingering national question of coloniality increasingly apparent the further into the Post-Apartheid euphoria, segments of society are pursuing national projects that are an alternative, or at least complementary to Rainbow Nationalism. These alternative notions of nationalism fall under the larger umbrella of *decoloniality*, defined by Fanon as "an epistemic and political project involving epistemic disobedience, decolonization of power, decolonization of being and decolonization of knowledge as those people who experienced the negative aspects of modernity continue to struggle for a new humanism" (*Empire* 232).

THE #MUSTFALL MOVEMENTS AS EXPRESSIONS OF RENAISSANCE AND RESISTANCE

Given the shortcomings of Rainbow Nationalism, many segments of the South African community have been embracing a "decolonial" ideology aimed at disrupting any continuing socio-political and economic vestiges of the Apartheid era. Five out of twelve South African respondents employed the specific language of 'decoloniality' and 'decolonization'[71] with sites of essential decoloniality specified including the classroom, the mind, and in perceptions of beauty and art. The most apparent demonstration of the movement towards decoloniality in South Africa has been the student-led #MustFall movements. While continuing in South Africa's rich legacy of student activism embodied by Steve Biko, the Black Consciousness Movement, the Soweto Uprisings among others, this contemporary wave of activism commenced with the unrelenting calls to topple the statue of pioneering colonialist Cecil John Rhodes at the University of Cape Town. The

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[71] In contrast, none of the Zimbabwean respondents used that specific language in speaking of critical national projects from hereon

#RhodesMustFall movement began in earnest with student protests on March 9 2015 end ended on April 9 2015 when the statue was toppled.

More than just the toppling of a stone figure, the students behind the movement maintained that 'the fall of "Rhodes" is symbolic of the inevitable fall of white supremacy and privilege at our campus" ("Rhodes Must Fall 2015). Student leaders drew heavily from yesteryear expressions of resistance, including the "One Settler, One Bullet" chant famous among anti-Apartheid militants, now directed at leaders of the school (Price 2015). In addition to the toyi-toying and slogans that are conventions of South African protest, students also took to other media to capture the history-making moment. Seven theater students at the university wrote and began performing a play titled "The Fall", which sought to dismantle the narrative that the movement had been the puerile machinations of "angry Black students" (Reich 2018). The play, much like the movement itself, has found resonance far from South Africa's shore, being performed in London, New York, and Melbourne by 2018. The movement had lit a spark that would spread beyond South Africa's borders in its bid to incinerate coloniality.

By October of the same year, #FeesMustFall sprouted at universities around the country in response to proposed fees increase for the 2016 school year, and again in 2016 in response to another increase for the following year (*News24* 2016). Beyond mere affordability, many viewed the increase in the cost of education as a perpetuation of Apartheid-era efforts to curtail the academic advancement of the historically disenfranchised Africans. With retained poverty and growing economic disparities, recent data suggest that the percentage of Black students graduating from South African

universities has gone from 15% in 1975 to only 5% in 2016[72] (Gumede 2017). Thus, as the poor masses get poorer, the very education that is meant to be an avenue out of poverty grows increasingly elusive. This nationwide #FeesMustFall movement ultimately led to proclamations of free tertiary education for students from poor to working class families beginning in 2018 (Tshwane 2018).Some have pointed to these changes as proof positive of the impact of student activism in contemporary South Africa. One lecturer allied with the student movement credited them saying "Over the past 15 years, you've had vice chancellors who met with the state and complained about declining subsidies. They achieved absolutely nothing. In 12 months, the students achieved everything the vice chancellors were supposed to" (Patel 2017).

The third in this triad of student-led decolonial efforts was the #AfrikaansMustFall movement, and started at University of Pretoria in September of 2015, before escalating into violent protests, mass arrests, and closure of the university in February 2016. A bastion of Afrikaner nationalism, the institution had only admitted its first set of Black students in 1986, 78 years after its founding. Having promised to dismantle the vestiges of Apartheid, critically represented by the sustained prominence of Afrikaans as a language of instruction and requirement for academic employment despite it only being spoken by a minute percentage of the student body, the school was lethargic in its reforms (Oxlund 10).

There are four noteworthy sites that posit the #AfrikaansMustFall movement in particular, and the #MustFall movements in general, within the tradition of popular

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[72] The absolute number of Black students in universities has indeed increased and thus that 5% represents more students than 15% of the 1975 Black student population. The point remains valid though, due to the proportional decrease.

expressive unrest in the push against coloniality. First, controversy over the use of

Afrikaans as a language of instruction was not new, having famously been the impetus

behind the 1976 Soweto Uprisings. Secondly, student activist situated themselves within

the historical tradition through actively evoking the philosophies of yesteryear decolonial

theorists such as Biko and Fanon. At least one student leader in each of three panels I

attended— a Youth Day discussion with student leaders from different universities held

at the University of Johannesburg (2017) as well as the 2015 and 2016 editions of the

EMBO Pan-African conference held at the University of South Africa—quoted as an

impetus for their activism Fanon's challenge that "each generation must, out of relative

obscurity, discover its mission, fulfill it, or betray it." This collective memory of

resistance is also evidenced through the retention of the *toyi-toy*i, as well as anti-

Apartheid chants and songs as popular expressions of frustration. Ameera Conrad, one of

the student actors of "The Fall" described the role played by song during

#RhodesMustFall

> We protest through song; that's an iconic South African thing to do...These songs
> have… been passed down from generation to generation. So some of these songs
> were …sung by the PAC and the ANC during Apartheid...They're songs that link
> us to our history… they're used to pass on information, they're used to strengthen
> the group, they're used to bring the group together and over time you sort of
> replace one time with another, you change a few lyrics here and there, but our
> history of struggle songs goes way back (Reich).

Thirdly, despite the political opportunism displayed by the ANC through its

student surrogate the South African Student Congress (SASCO) and the opposition,

Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF), in usurping the narrative of the protests, the

movements had been birthed in earnest by a frustrated student professing allegiance to no

one political party. For example, despite the apparent symbiosis between

#AfrikaansMustFall at the University of Pretoria and the EFF student leadership (generated in part by the media), it was not until 2016, four months after protests started, that they emerged at the frontlines of the movement (Maketha Feb 2016). Finally, the movements broke out of the confines of the academic ivory tower and advocate for better protections and pay for the outsourced, non-core university staff (security, custodial staff etc.) and, in so doing, developed a mutually beneficial solidarity with the marginalized staff. Deliwe Mzobe, a member of the outsourced staff group from the University of Witwatersrand that had gathered to show solidarity at the court hearing for a #FeesMustFall student leader explained that: "We felt that enough is enough we must support the students. Especially after we saw their pictures because we are on WhatsApp groups with the students and the academics" (Mulaudzi Oct 2016).

Decoloniality as national project is an incomplete premise if not complemented with a vision of what the alternative nation would look like. If coloniality "must fall", then what is it that "must rise"? While African Renaissance, Africanization, and other ideological national projects predate the #MustFall movements, they have risen out of the same fundamental recognition that Rainbow Nationalism has not been able—if, at all, it has ever genuinely attempted—to fully dismantle coloniality in the post-Apartheid state.

AFRICAN RENAISSANCE AS A PAN-AFRICAN & CULTURAL NATIONALISM

The positing of radical African nationalist ideals in response to Rainbow Nationalism did not emerge in the post-Apartheid era. It was at the heart of the 1959 split from the ANC, and subsequent founding of the PAC, by the Robert Sobukwe- led Africanist faction of the party. After the fall of Apartheid, the PAC and its radicalism found diminished sociopolitical and electoral resonance. Yet, as holes have been poked

167

into Rainbow Nationalism, there has been a resurgence in African Nationalist sentiment in many sectors of civil and political society- albeit with varying degrees of radicalism. If Rainbow Nationalism was the legacy of the Mandela presidency, Thabo Mbeki sought to make the African Renaissance that of his. A 1997 ANC policy document titled "Developing Strategic Perspective on South Africa's Policy" outlined the essential objectives of the African Renaissance as being: recovery of the African continent; establishment of continental political diplomacy; breaking neo-colonial ties; empowering Africans to control their destiny; and promoting a people-driven and sustainable economic growth aimed at meeting the people's basic needs.

African Renaissance situates South Africa as an active part of the Pan-African conversation in the 21st century. After all, South Africa's arrival had been long anticipated by the continent, many members of whom had contributed immensely to the anti-Apartheid fight and viewed the country as "the last bastion of hope which may 'drag' the continent out of its current malaise" (Ahluwalia & Nursery- Bay 81). While the *African Renaissance* is largely synonymous with the Mbeki administration, it exists alongside, and often at odds, with a push for an *African renaissance*[73] within the country. That is to say, in addition to the cautious and often moderate political machinations of the ANC government under the rubric of African Renaissance, there is a movement towards an African renaissance – i.e. a return to indigenous African values, radical redistribution of resources and nuanced engagement with the continent being advocated for by various civil and political groups. The African Renaissance thus serves the critical political

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[73] African Renaissance (upper case R) as initiatives of the Mbeki and ANC administration, and African renaissance to describe the general thrust towards the revitalization of the continent and culture within the society.

purpose of appealing to the Africanist wing of the ANC, usurping the ideological vacuum created by the diminished influence of the African nationalist parties that were the PAC and Azanian People's Organization, and compromising any political leverage that such groups as the EFF may garner through their African renaissance platform.

Scholars recognize African Renaissance (and African renaissance) as having two critical perspectives. The first is the Pan-Africanist perspective, through which they have committed to take a leading role in the economic revitalization and democratization of the continent. This is embodied in Mbeki's pivotal role in the reinvention of the OAU as the African Union and the creation of its economic development program, New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD). ANC politician and anti-Apartheid activist Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma served as chairperson of the African Union Commission between 2012 and 2017, becoming the longest-serving chair in the history of the organization while being an advocate of AU's need to cultivate self-reliance (Edozie 196). South Africa, with Mbeki as the poster child of its Pan-Africanism, has also been involved in high profile intervention efforts from Zimbabwe to the DRC, among others. Sociologist Kay Matthews concluded that: "We are witnessing the renaissance of Pan-Africanism under the general rubric of African Renaissance" (Landsberg 157). In 2016, the government declared the month May as 'Africa Month', extending the Africa Day (May 25) celebrations into a month-long series celebration. The initiative, led by the department of arts and culture, is founded on the basis that "South Africa recognizes itself as an integral part of the African continent. Therefore, the country understands its national interest to be intrinsically linked to continental stability,

unity and prosperity. Our national interest is therefore defined by the development and

upliftment of all African people" (http://www.dac.gov.za).

Just as the architects of Rainbow Nationalism had done, the Mbeki administration

also sought to harness the mobilizing potential of sport to advance the Pan-African cause.

When South Africa was awarded the right to host the 2003 Cricket World Cup, they

invited Zimbabwe to host six and Kenya two of the games, in a bid to make the

tournament 'more African.' Despite criticisms of the two countries' facilities and,

critically, the condemnation of the political situation in Zimbabwe which ultimately led

to England boycotting their scheduled match, South Africa stayed resolute, "guided by

the hope that its gesture of pan-Africanism would reflect positively on its bid to host the

2010 football World Cup" (Batts 47). When the country subsequently secured the bid to

host the world's biggest sporting spectacle, the branding was distinctly Pan-African in

ways that other editions of the tournament had not been Pan-regional. With a logo

featuring a player kicking the ball over the African continent, proclamations of Ubuntu

being the tournament's guiding spirit, and the declaration by chief of the local organizing

committee that these images and rhetoric "symbolize the important role of football in the

history, tradition and culture of the African continent," the Africanization of the World

Cup positioned it as emblematic of the African Renaissance feast to which South Africa

was inviting the rest of the continent to partake (Alegi & Bolsmann 6). The Pan-

Africanism of the South African fans was particularly on show in their overwhelming

support of the other African teams and, in particular, Ghana, after South Africa had been

eliminated. Roberts and Blass describe how "the crowded (Durban) beach erupted with

joy when Ghana's Asamoah Gyan scored what turned out to be the winning goal as the

Black Stars booked a ticket into the Quarter Finals" (45). In such instances, we see a critical bottom-up embrace of Pan-Africanism to complement the top-down approaches of the government.

Despite the Pan-African strides made under the African Renaissance, scholars have expressed skepticism regarding the project. The self-assumed role as a leader despite recent reintroduction into the continental community, when combined with the tendency to politically and economically align with Western powers in critical decisions, has led skeptics to dub the Pan-African project as a "sub-imperialist" ploy (Tafira 2015). Opposition parties in both South Africa and Zimbabwe have criticized Mbeki's "quiet diplomacy" in dealing with Mugabe, especially after the 2008 election. MDC leader, Nelson Chamisa accused the former South African president for "burying his head in the sand" while the Zimbabwean masses suffered, while EFF president Julius Malema argued that "the (Zimbabwean) opposition won the (2008) elections and we (South Africa) negotiated a government of national unity, undermining the will of the people" (Chikowore 2017).

Given the compromised Pan-Africanism of the government, more radical voices surrounding the African renaissance have emerged from other sectors. In 2002, legendary jazz musician and anti-Apartheid icon Hugh Masekela departed from the platitudes of post-Apartheid regionalism in a vocal castigation of African tyrants across the continent in his song 'Change':

What is it that makes a person wanna stay in power forever?
What is the reason for a man to wanna force his will upon a lot?
Jonasi Savimbi why don't you get away from here
Heyyy Charlie Taylor why don't you get away from here

Arap Moi when are you gonna say goodbye
Hey Robert Mugabe don't you think it's time to say goodbye!

A veteran of the anti-Apartheid movement who had spent many years in exile, Masekela's lyrics are a departure from the accommodative politics of the government: his admonishing of the Mugabe regime, for example, came only two years into the first significant political opposition faced by the Zimbabwean president, and six years before Mbeki's alleged "head-burying" intervention. Reiterating this message to the Zimbabwean leader, Julius Malema argued: "The unity of African people will usher in economic freedom. Zimbabwe alone will never succeed with the land struggle. Of course, Mugabe must go. Of course, we don't want leaders who overstay their welcome but Mugabe is 100% right about land" (Monama 2017). The recognition of Mugabe's significance in the Pan-African bid to reclaim resources, while still criticizing him for his tyranny, is indicative of the EFF's positioning as advocates for Africa's socio-political and economic renaissance.

Yet, even away from the government's shortcomings, South African society at large continues struggle with its place within the African Renaissance and African renaissance relative to its neighbors. Despite the Pan-African branding of the 2010 World Cup (as well as the ready market provided by the sport's unmatched popularity on the continent), only one percent of the more than three million tickets sold were bought by "foreign Africans" (Alegi & Bolsmann 7), suggesting a continental lack of access, agency, or both, to the dream of the African Renaissance that South Africa has been selling. The most noteworthy blight on South Africa's Pan-African role has been the recurrence of xenophobia, often manifest violently, among the masses. Attacks in 2008

and 2015 that left dozens of African immigrants dead and thousands displaced do not represent an isolated sentiment (Mwakikagile). A 2015 Afrobarometer survey revealed that more than 40% of the respondents felt that "foreigners should not be allowed to live in South Africa because they take jobs and benefits away from South Africans" (Chingwete 2016). The disparity between proclaimed South African Pan-Africanism and rampant xenophobia is the primary subject of chapter six.

In addition to Pan-African unity, the renaissance(s) call for a cultural rejuvenation, and advocate for a "return to roots and indigenous values of Africa" (Elessa 45). Despite the endurance of the people, the primacy given to indigenous culture and values had been decimated since "apartheid policy used ethnicity to classify African people and deny them South African citizenship, the mobilization of ethnic consciousness by Africans themselves was... compromised" (Nuttall & Coetzee 151). While the ghost of coloniality continues to loom large over the country, the culturalist perspective has arguably been more successful as a renaissance than the Pan-Africanist perspective. This realization sits in tandem with Ngugi Wa Thiong'o's arguments that, while the African renaissance is primarily concerned with "the economic and political recovery of the continent's power," this could only effectively happen "though a collective self-confidence enabled by the resurrection of African memory" (Doxtader 181). Despite a slow start in the early years of the Rainbow Nation, government initiatives are combining with the populace to "Africanize" South African society. Since 2000, streets named after Apartheid icons have been renamed with names of anti-Apartheid activists such as Mandela, Biko, and Lilian Ngoyi (tshwane.gov.za).

The Africanist segments of society, notably among them members of the EFF and the PAC, have reinvigorated calls to rename the country 'Azania,' harkening back to the name envisioned by prominent Anti-Apartheid Africanists such as Robert Sobukwe and Steve Biko. In a 2018 interview, EFF vice president Floyd Shivambu argued that "the name South Africa was an attempt to give direction to the colonial output. We must decide as a country to democratically change the name of the country to Azania" (Friedman 2018). PAC general secretary Narius Moloto explained the choice of name by saying "Azania is the original name of the Southern tip of Africa and the research… clearly reveals that the real name of South Africa is actually Azania" (Gwala 2017). An anti-Apartheid era song of the same name has resurfaced as a rallying cry for decoloniality in general, and the #MustFall movements in particular. Respondents in this study volunteered varying narratives as to the origins and meaning of the name, with some saying it was Greek while others said it was Arabic and meant the "land of the burnt faces." Others claim it references North Eastern or South Eastern Africa, while others echo Moloto's conviction that it was the precolonial name of the continent's Southern cape. The irony of a central tenet of the Africanization movement hinging upon potentially changing the country's English name to either Greek or Arabic notwithstanding, the name's significance seems to lie in the agency that the Africanists possess over its symbolic utility. PAC secretary of political and Pan-African Affairs, Jackie Seroke explains that Azania is:

> an important thing for people who are in the struggle. Because we cannot struggle to keep S.A what it is. Azania has various definitions, but the one we commonly agree to is that Azania is the land of the Black Man... Azania is a transformation- an overhaul of everything: where the land of the Black man will become the real land of the Black man. And we continue to hold that position. And as you may   have seen recently, there are many people who are saying "why

don't we have Azania?" Of course, there are others, due to ideological orientation who oppose that, but Azania is the way to go.

Conversations about reclaiming the cultural narrative of the land have coincided with those calling for the redressing of land ownership. The African fight for land had been central to the founding of the PAC, with Robert Sobukwe castigating the ANC leadership for betraying their mission, saying the Freedom Charter bore "irreconcilable conflict with the (ANCYL's) 1949 Program seeing that it claims land no longer Africa, but is auctioned for sale to all who live in this country" (Buthelezi 96). It was later famously championed by Steve Biko and the Black Consciousness Movement. While the PAC has retained its land-based platform in the democratic era, the party's overall waning popularity has created the vacuum for other political parties, civil groups, and individuals to advocate for land redistribution.

The EFF have emerged a powerful voice in the discourse, with vocal leader Julius Malema claiming that "you can be guaranteed that 90% of South Africans would have voted for expropriation without compensation" (Makinana 2018). While these figures are probably inflated and impossible to verify in the absence of referendum, seven out of twelve South African citizens interviewed in this study maintained that land redistribution was an immediate point of concern for the nation. Other civic societies, most prominently the lobby group Black First Land First (BLF), have also built their name on a platform of land redistribution. The group has made particularly radical proclamations, including attacking journalists and advocating for mass killings of White people until the land was redistributed to the Africans (Nqola 2018). Despite having a foundational platform backed by many different communities in South Africa, the

group's radical approach has been widely condemned, even by other land-focused groups. Seroke explained:

> you could say we have influenced organizations and lobby groups like the BLF. So that association is not bad. Where we have differences with the BLF is… (Their methods) include identifying particular media personalities as individuals and harassing them from their homes. Now that's a form of struggle the BLF has chosen to pursue. It has nothing to do with what we said earlier about the land itself: it has to do with specific individuals, and they have taken the struggle from a glorious position to a place where it could be ridiculed because it is used for nefarious purposes.

The EFF has also distanced themselves from BLF (Pijoos 2018), indicating that, while land-redistribution is of paramount importance to many South African voices, there remains a plurality of ideological, strategic, and personal schisms in pursuit of that and other targets of decolonization.

Various public institutions have also actively embraced the cultural renaissance narrative. The University of South Africa (UNISA), for example, has positioned itself as an intellectual leader of the movement, as embodied in the university's vision statement, "the African university shaping futures in the service of humanity" (Younisa 11). This distinct Africanist orientation is embodied in large part, by two of its institutes: the Thabo Mbeki African Leadership Institute and the Archie Mafeje Research Institute, whose purposes are, respectively, to "cultivate Africa's next generation of thought leaders" and "become a dynamic pan-African research institute and a repository of knowledge on Africa's social formations" (https://www.unisa.ac.za/sites/corporate/default/Thabo-Mbeki-African-Leadership-Institute).

The African renaissance thrust was a central theme of a 2017 edition of *Younisa*, the university's magazine publication, in which scholars and members of the community

sought to unpack many of the movement's operational concepts. In an interview featured in the magazine, Vuyisile Msila, director of the leadership in higher education program and author of *Decolonising Knowledge for Africa's Renewal*, explains that "Africanisation of the curriculum supports decolonisation in that it will bring the idea of identity and culture to the debates" and decolonization itself entails "changing the mindset of the teaching staff" and "preparation of students" to embrace a new, decolonized curriculum (*Younisa* 16). Staying with Msila's train of thought, one is inclined to add "framing of an African renaissance" to the list of the perceived effects of decolonization. Msila's explanation of the steps towards decolonization, while providing critical initial steps on the building block towards the realization of decolonization, sounds more abstract than tangible. This perhaps speaks to institutional hesitation towards the more radical steps towards the Africanization of curricula that other scholars and observers have advocated. Contrast his responses that speak of the necessity of "moving the center" and "changing the mindset" to the more scathing challenge issued by Ngugi during an Africa Month seminar at UNISA earlier that year, saying to the packed theater, "we should be less inclined to applaud someone who only speaks English fluently but doesn't speak an African language with equal eloquence" (Ndhlazi 2017).

The resurgence of cultural centers as sites of Africanization has also been critical in the African renaissance. Spaces such as the Kara Heritage Institute and Freedom Park in Pretoria, and the Credo Mutwa Cultural Village in Johannesburg, are all part of the critical renaissance landscape of Gauteng. It is thus no coincidence that the three were established, in their modern incarnation[74], between 2002 and 2009: during the Mbeki

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[74] While the Credo Mutwa Village was revamped into its contemporary aesthetic in 2006, it grew out of the artist's works between 1974 and 1986.

177

administration and when African Renaissance was particularly central to sociocultural discourse. Indigenous Africanisms run prominent in the essence of these spaces, represented by the centrality of shrines, stones and trees symbolic of the country's different regions. This spirit is fortified by the foundational influences of prominent traditional cultural figures such as artist, cultural commentator and *Sangoma* (traditional healer/ diviner) Credo Mutwa (after whom the Credo Mutwa Cultural Village is named) and anti-Apartheid poet Mongane Wally Serote, the latter of whom oversaw the building of Freedom Park.

Despite being preceded, either in cultural heritage status designation or existence altogether, by more famous sites such as Robben Island (prison-turned-museum) and the Apartheid Museum in Johannesburg, these spaces fill critical gaping holes created by the mainstream narratives of the country's transition to democracy. By being situated amidst the masses (Credo Mutwa is in Soweto, while Freedom Park and Kara are located in low-income neighborhoods), these spaces render themselves accessible to the people in ways that the suburban location of the Apartheid Museum is not. Despite its architectural grandeur, the Apartheid museum has been described as a "public theatre of late capitalism" (Mbembe 394). It is the brainchild of the Krok brothers, who had made their name during Apartheid by selling skin-lightening creams and own the Gold Reef City Casino and Theme Park with which the museum shares space[75] (Bremner 100). The Apartheid Museum, then, is born of the capitalistic multiracialism embodied in Rainbow Nationalism, while the others are representative of the Africanization of South Africa in the post-Apartheid era.

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[75] This is a result of a 1996 law that legalized casinos in the country, but mandated that the owners build an accompanying cultural heritage institution.

Furthermore, while the Apartheid museum pays extensive homage to Nelson Mandela and the ANC, as well as the foundational institutions of the Rainbow Nation such as the TRC, the other structures tell the often-untold stories. Freedom Park tells extensively the story of the PAC and Sobukwe that is virtually non-existent in the Apartheid museum, as well as visual narratives of indigenous creation stories as well as indigenous shrines for traditional ceremonies. The park's Pan-Africanist thrust is also significant, with histories of the likes of Nyerere, Nkrumah and Cabral as well as honoring by name soldiers from across the continent who died in the anti-Apartheid cause. The center also produces research studies as well as educational workshops for students and different groups. Similarly, Kara hosts traditional vendors and artists, launches for African-centered books from members of the community, as well as classes on African culture and history. The institute's Pan-Africanism is evidenced to the outside world through surrounding wall featuring an array of portraits from Bob Marley to Hugh Masekela, Haile Selassie and Malcolm X. These spaces have been invaluable in the gradual penetration of the ideals of Africanization and African renaissance into larger South African society.

CONCLUSION

South Africa's post-Apartheid national project was always going to require a delicate and nuanced approach. An eclectic culmination of the virtues of ubuntu, multiracialism, and global neoliberalism, the Rainbow Nation provided a euphoric departure from the socio-political depravity of yesteryear. Rainbow Nationalism was thus popularly expressed through high profile sporting events, music, and public spaces that emphasized narratives of inclusivity and reconciliation. However, the absence of

comprehensive reform has resulted in the persistence of coloniality, as represented by the continued existence of symbols and structures of Apartheid nationalism as well as the suffering of the masses. The response has been a whole or partial rejection of the platforms of Rainbow Nationalism and an espousal of various efforts towards decoloniality in South Africa. These responses have included student-led movements such as #RhodesMustFall, calls for land redistribution, and heightened discourse surrounding the Africanization of space, curricula, rhetoric, and the country at large. The immediate future of South Africa thus rests on the community's ability to not only recognize the shortcomings of Rainbow Nationalism while retaining its finer tenets, but to also embrace decoloniality beyond the polemical.

Part of South Africa's decolonial process must include holistic re-engagement with the African continent. The machinations of the African Renaissance, paired with an African Nationalist history rich with Pan-African solidarity, ought to have posited Pan-Africanism as a popularly expressed ideology in the national consciousness. Ultimately, however, the security and well-being of one's own community overwhelmingly trumps the penchant for solidarity with another. Thus, despite evidence of recognition of the purpose and appeal of Pan-Africanism, ideals of African Renaissance and a rich history of Pan-Africanism take a peripheral position in the lives of the South African populace to the perceived economic threat posed by African immigrants in the country. Respondents in this study thus showed an understanding, appreciation, and propensity to embrace Pan-African solidarity, as long as their government provided and maintained their socio-economic security.

CHAPTER FIVE: THE THIRD CHIMURENGA: EXPRESSIONS OF NATIONALISM IN THE CONTEXT OF ZIMBABWE'S LAND REFORM

"To our Zimbabwean African society, nothing is more important than the land"

<div align="right">(Mugabe 179).</div>

The preceding quote, drawn from the president's 2001 speech collection *Inside the Third Chimurenga*, is a truistic statement that perhaps illustrates more layers of nuance than initially intended. On the surface, farming is crucial to the agrarian civilizations that have inhibited the Zimbabwean plateau for centuries and, likewise, became the cornerstone of the Rhodesian colonial project. In independent Zimbabwe, agriculture is rivaled only by the mining industry in contribution to the overall economy. Beneath the surface, however, the statement is a prophetic indictment of Zimbabwean society's intractable and complicated relationship with the land. In specifying "Zimbabwean African society", as opposed to just Zimbabwean society, Mugabe veered from the conciliatory tone he had adopted at independence through which even the former colonizers were now fully Zimbabwean as well: they were no longer included in the land-related narrative (except perhaps as villains). Furthermore, the socio-economic decline of Zimbabwe at the beginning of the 21st century is often controversially traced back to the "fast track" land redistribution program (FTLRP) that began in 2000. For better or worse, then, the land and its politics have been unmatched in their shaping of contemporary Zimbabwe.

Across the colonized world, the notion of land ownership ubiquitously manifested itself as the metaphor for decoloniality and liberation. However, in Zimbabwe, as in South Africa and other settler colonies, land was less a metaphor and more the very essence of the anticolonial struggle. The Rhodesian Land Appointment Act of 1930

designated 51% of the country's land (which consisted of 80% of the arable land) for the White settlers who made up 5% of the population, while only 30%- which included much of the poorer land- was given to the 95% Black populace (Hanlon et al 31). These disparities became a major impetus behind the armed struggle for independence and, when their legacy continued to haunt independent Zimbabwe, the definitive project of the Mugabe regime. The colonial history of land in Zimbabwe, and the postcolonial national question surrounding it, have thus far made the country distinct- even from the other settler colonies.

This chapter interrogates ways in which individuals and communities in Zimbabwe have conceptualized and expressed ideals of nationalism in regards to both the land and the governmental policies surrounding it. Critical questions include: how did Zimbabweans—in the various constituents— make sense of land redistribution efforts in the aftermath of independence, given the purported importance thereof in the struggle for independence? What expressions were employed in response to the land redistribution initiatives at the turn of the century? Ultimately, how have these expressions changed in the two decades since the beginning of the land reform program? In so doing, the chapter attempts to demonstrate how, coming out of the colonial era, the previously colonized masses conceptualized land as a symbol of Zimbabwean nationalism and of Pan-Africanism, as well as the ways in which these conceptualizations would converge with and diverge from those of the government.

The chapter critically demonstrates how the poor—and often landless—peasantry have been the drivers behind the embrace of land as a symbol of African Nationalism, and thus land redistribution is conceived as critical to the liberation of the people. While

the Mugabe government went on to make the land reform the cornerstone of their postcolonial national project, respondents argue that their mishandling of the process resulted in the violence and economic collapse that has compromised the legacy of the noble initiative. Finally, the land reform in Zimbabwe holds special Pan-African significance as both the consummation of African Nationalist project that began in the anticolonial era and a cautionary tale of a national project hampered by governmental corruption and incompetence.

Although this chapter fundamentally centers around the Zimbabwean respondents and relevant popular expressions such as song, poetry, and theatre, I also engage the South African respondents on their perceptions of land contestations in Zimbabwe. This is noteworthy for two reasons: not only does South Africa share in the history of race-based land disparities and (immediate) post-colonial lethargy to redistribute the land, but the country has also borne the weight of the migration boom necessitated by the Zimbabwean economic meltdown that followed the land redistribution program. While popular expressions transcend communities and issues surrounding the land have spared nobody across the country, this chapter faces the limitation of urban bias. That the study and vast majority of Zimbabwean respondents are based in the metropolitan Harare area while the farming communities to which the land was redistributed are largely rural and peri-urban means that there are inevitable gaps in the responses. However, the overarching importance and impact of land to Zimbabwean communities both rural and urban has historically generated significant opinions and expressions that still make for a compelling study of postcolonial nationalism and how it is manifest.

"*MINDA IPE MBESA*!"- LAND AS A NATIONALISTIC SYMBOL IN INDEPENDENT ZIMBABWE

The future polarization of discourse surrounding land was foreshadowed by the seeming ambiguity with which it was handled as the country transitioned into the post-colonial era. On one hand the leaders of the African Nationalist organizations at Lancaster House, Robert Mugabe and Joshua Nkomo, had refused for the negotiations to continue until land redistribution was accounted for (Mlambo 180). The agreed-upon resolution would see 162 000 Black families resettled in the first ten years, after which the land would be resettled on a willing buyer, willing seller basis, with the British and American governments agreeing to fund the bulk of the process (192). The centrality of land and the adjacent agrarian culture to the notion of the Zimbabwean nation was codified when, 1994, *Simudzai Mureza* was chosen after a nationwide competition to replace *Ishe Komborera* as the country's national anthem. Only three verses long, the second is dedicated to invoking the bounty of the land:

> *Mvura ngainaye, minda ipe mbesa*
> Let the rain fall, and the land bring forth crops
> *Vashandi vatuswe, ruzhinji rugutswe*
> So that the workers may be strengthened, and the masses be fed

Despite the Lancaster House provisions and the rhetorical centrality of land as national project, redistribution proved to be slow and fell far beneath the targets in the first two decades. The government, seemingly content with the "miracle" of post-colonial Zimbabwe, buoyed in large part by the economic contributions of the White large scale commercial farmers who had retained the land, appeared lethargic in the pursuit of the comprehensive land redistribution for which they had vehemently fought. This obviously suited the farmers as well. Soon, however, the landless peasantry began to express

184

frustrations at the betrayal of the nation's post-colonial imaginary that heavily rested on the land. Popular theatrical productions, such as *Tseu Yaamai* (Mother's Piece of Land) performed by Chembira Women's Theatre in 1994, lamented the continued plight of landlessness in an independent Zimbabwe.

The absence of comprehensive agricultural reform also became a metaphor for what the public perceived to be ineptness and a lack of commitment to the socialist ideals and post-colonial reforms that the government had promised. Thomas Mapfumo's 1991 hit song, '*Maiti Kurima Hamubvire*' ('*You Said You Were Excellent at Farming*') castigates the rulers of the land for how, after a decade in power, they had failed to deliver on their promises:

> *Kwapera makore mangani vakuru woye*
> How many years have passed, o elders!
> *hona takamirira zvamakavimbisa*
> While we still wait for what you promised us
> *maiti kurima inyore*
> You said that farming was easy
> *maiti kurima hakunetse*
> You said that farming was not difficult
> *maiti mombe hamushaye*
> You said you would find the cows
> *muchiti gejo munaro*
> And that you had the plows!

That this elaborate and drawn out land metaphor to critique the nation's post-independence progress came from Mapfumo, who had almost single-handedly defined the Chimurenga music genre dating back to the war years, makes it a particularly scathing indictment. Other artists also employed similar agrarian metaphors to lament the state of governance in the nation, including sungura star System Tazvida's 1994 song '*Foromani*' (Foreman), in which he croons:

> *Vaforomani ndimi maondonga purazi*

185

Mr. Foreman, you have destroyed the farm
gadzirisai mitemo yenyu vanhu vashande
Fix your laws, and let the people work!

With the farm foreman, a familiar symbol of leadership—especially among the

agrarian communities in peri-urban and rural areas—serving as a thinly-veiled reference

to the president, Tazvida bemoans the growing poverty, landlessness and unemployment

levels compounded by the advent of ESAP in the mid-1990s.

As economic frustrations grew, the decade culminated in the definitive popular

expression of frustration surrounding the coloniality of land in Zimbabwe. Beginning in

1997 villagers, led prominently by veterans of the Second Chimurenga ('war vets'),

began invading unused and underutilized land- the enduring colonial excesses of the

White farmers. Although dozens of occupations would take place between then and the

turn of the century, the 1998 invasion of farms in Svosve and Chikwaka, both in

Mashonaland East elevated the discourse surrounding occupations to a national level.

While the mainstream historical narrative suggests that the land reform was the brainchild

and sole initiative of the Mugabe government, it is critical to recognize its birth as a

grassroots movement. If anything, the government was vehemently opposed to these

initial occupations, with the police arresting leader of the occupation movements, the vice

president being deployed to negotiate the villagers' withdrawal from the farms. While

many of these first-wave occupiers conceded, and withdrew from the farms, the people

had spoken and the "first salvo by a land of hungry and increasingly restless peasantry

had however been fired" (Utete 15).

While the 1998 Mashonaland East farm invasions incontrovertibly put into

motion the series of events culminating in land redistribution, it is critical to acknowledge

the different communities around the country, often dubbed 'squatters' that had continuously advocated for land reform, with their cries often falling on deaf governmental ears. As early as 1985, for example, settlers at the Killarney squatter camp- consisting of three villages[76] and at one time comprising of 4000 families- refused to be resettled unless "the Government will resettle us (on arable land) so that we revert to what we know best: farming" (Mpofu 52). That the overwhelmingly accepted genesis for the land invasions is not only in Mashonaland, but places the war veterans- traditionally sympathetic to ZANU PF- at the center of the narrative is consistent with the top-down, ethnocentric selective articulation of history definitive of Mugabeism (*Do Zimbabweans Exist* 122). While the place of the war veterans in Zimbabwean society vacillates between that of the common man and the political elite, the undisputable yet marginalized voice of the landless peasantry cannot be understated.

Of the ten Zimbabwean respondents in this study who responded to questions about the land redistribution, all of them agreed on the basic premise that Zimbabwe's post-independence was unsustainable and just, and that land redistribution had been essential. Law student JC argued that "we cannot deny that was very crucial because that was one of the main motives that led to the Chimurenga." Mzee went a step further and argued that African ownership of the land was a primordial right, saying "Well land really belongs to us as Black people. It's our land." Hence, despite the evolution of the colloquial narrative into one that equates the entirety of the land reform process with Mugabeism, the call for land redistribution was most loudly uttered by the poor and

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[76] Xotsha, Tshaka and Two Stamp camps

landless in an independent Zimbabwe, and its theoretical importance is widely appreciated outside the scope of the government and formal politics as a whole.

GOVERNMENT COOPTATION OF THE STRUGGLE FOR LAND

There are two critical sequences at the end of the 20th century through which the previously lethargic Mugabe government was thrust into synonymy with land redistribution. The first, alluded to in the previous section, was the increasing political pressure leveled by the landless masses and war vets who were feeling the despair of worsening economic conditions in the aftermath of the ESAP era. The financial compensation given out in 1997 by the government after relentless lobbying from the war vets had set a precedent that would haunt Mugabe until he left power.

The other sequence was the reneging of the UK and USA on the Lancaster House commitment to fund the land redistribution efforts in an independent Zimbabwe. Mugabe and Nkomo had famously refused to proceed with the 1979 negotiations until a roadmap for land redistribution, and the agreement was only reached when the British and American governments conceded to providing financial support to the Zimbabwean government to compensate the farmers. As the 21st century beckoned, however, the government had fallen well under its intended redistribution targets, and attempts to expedite the process with the help of the honored promise from the Western powers were stonewalled. In a now historic communique, British Secretary of State for International Development Clare Short retorted to attempts at further conversation with:

> I should make clear we do not accept that Britain has a special responsibility to meet the costs of land purchase in Zim. We are a new government from diverse backgrounds without links to former colonial interests. My own origins are Irish and, as you know, we were colonized, not colonizers. (Lobel 2003)

Thus, the unrelenting ire towards the Western powers combined with the growing urgency of land reform to quickly manifest into the enduring hallmarks of Mugabeism. The government sought to appeal to the popular memory of the sacrifice of the armed struggle and the inherent enmity of Whites at home or abroad. The fast-track land reform program (FTLRP), implemented beginning in July 2000 to resettle thousands, was dubbed the "Third Chimurenga." This inherently militarized the process and situated in the same continuum as the resistance efforts of Mbuya Nehanda and the ZIPRA and ZANLA forces of yesteryear. Any vacillation by the government ended by November 2000s, when they ran newspaper adverts saying "This land is your land. Don't let them (white farmers) use the courts and constitution against the masses" (Hanlon et al 76).

The Third Chimurenga was sustained in the psyche of the populace by a collection of incessant jingles and songs, mostly borrowed from wartime archives and curated by Jonathan Moyo, who was then the Minister of Information. Under Moyo, the government's propaganda machine jingles such as '*Rambai Makashinga*' every hour on all public radio and television stations (which were all that was accessible to the masses):

> *Piwai minda murambe makashinga imi!*
> Get the land, and stay resolute!
> *Shingirirai, Gadzirirai, ivhu rava redu*
> Persevere, prepare, the land is now ours
> *Tave kutonga, ivhu zvarauya!*
> Now we are really liberated, the land has come!

The jingles, often carrying the celebratory tone of wartime *Pungwe*[77] songs, were complemented by popular songs from an array of popular artists. Cde Chinx reprised his role as the lead chanter of the struggle, this time updating several of his wartime songs to

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[77] See chapter 2

include land repropriation as the new phase of anti-imperialism. In a 2002 song, he sings "*Hondo yakura MuZimbabwe, hondo yeminda*!" (The war is raging in Zimbabwe, the war for land!) Chinx's Third Chimurenga songs adopted a racialized tone that reiterated the enmity of the White farmers and Whites as a whole; a tone whose radical departure from the conciliatory one of '*Makomborero'*[78] mirrors that of the Mugabe administration as a whole. Because the White farmers, seeking political respite from the Mugabe regime, had thrown their vocal weight behind the emergent opposition party Movement for Democratic Change (MDC), popular songs that made it to the heavily censored airwaves often derided the party as "sell-outs". ZANU PF lawmaker and popular musician Elliott Manyika's "*Usazokanganwa*" ("Never Forget") warned the opposition leader Morgan Tsvangirai by name, saying:

> *Morgan, usatengesa nyika kumabhunhu*
> Morgan, don't sell the land to the Whites[79]
> *Usazokanganwa, ZANU yakakurera ukakura!*
> Never forget, ZANU raised you into a man!

While the likes of Chinx and Manyika had overt affiliations to the ZANU government and thus their support of the land reform may have been expected, a myriad of other songs pointing to both the centrality of farming and the importance of land reform in Zimbabwe emerged. '*Siyalima*' by Andy Brown, from his 2001 album *More Fire*, is one of a slew of Ndebele songs produced during the era of the Third Chimurenga-strategically encouraged by the propaganda machine to disrupt the assumption of Shona hegemony that is synonymous with ZANU PF. Because of how closely the land reform had grown to be synonymous with the increasingly-maligned Mugabe regime, Andy

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[78] Explored at length in chapter 3

[79] Literally "Boer", a term adopted from Apartheid South Africa to mean colonialists in the Zimbabwean contexts- despite their predominantly British background.

Brown had to defend himself from accusations of partisanship, saying "if the White settler fast tracked himself on our land, why not us? We have to fast track the program and sort out everything after that" (Eyre 103). Even the typically (at least overtly) apolitical Oliver Mtukudzi proclaimed the centrality of land to the nation on 2001's '*Murimi Munhu*' (The Farmer is Humanity Personified)—a statement made particularly poignant because it appears on the Bvuma/Tolerance, the same album as the Mugabe-admonishing '*Wasakara*'[80]:

> *Murimiwe-e tora kapadza urime*
> Dear farmer pick your hoe and work
> *Mvura nevhu zvayanana babawe-e*
> Let rain and earth build in camaraderie
> *Kuva muvhimi Muimbi Kana musori*
> Whether you be a hunter, singer, or spy
> *Kudya zvemurimi*
> It is because of the farmer's produce

Whether by virtue of being on the government's payroll, opportunistically jumping aboard the land reform train for publicity, or a genuine effort to expedite the redistribution of land in Zimbabwe, it is clear that pro-land reform expressions adopted several modes and platforms. It is also clear that, at least retrospectively, Zimbabweans across the political, socio-economic and generational spectrum feel that the land reform was necessary. This in no way implies that support for the land reform among the masses has been unanimous: it has been anything but.

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[80] Discussed in chapter 3

FROM JAMBANJA TO CRONYISM: EXPRESSING THE SHORTCOMINGS OF THE LAND REFORM PROGRAM

Violence

"I like the land reform for restoring the balance; I don't like the chaos that came with it."

- Taku (27)

Despite the relatively peaceful origins of the land resettlement movement, the war vets-led *Third Chimurenga* did take a more lawless turn as it progressed. This was in large part due to the growing frustration of war vets and the poverty-stricken masses in peri-urban and rural areas, the stiff resistance put up by the farmers, and the government's polarity as they rhetorically supported the reform and yet struggled to enforce it and provide support for the potential and new land owners. With the war vets let by the ominously nicknamed Chenjerai "Hitler" Hunzvi, FTLRP farm invasions became more violent and disorderly, earning the colloquial moniker "Jambanja", which translates to 'spontaneous violence" in Shona. The violence coincided with a surge in political violence as well, as ZANU PF responded to the unprecedented threat posed by the MDC in the 2000 and 2002 elections. In many recollections of the violence of the era, then, narratives often speak of the two symbiotically, and criticisms thereof have appeared accordingly.

The FTLRP's violent turn instantly polarized even those sympathetic to the cause of land redistribution. Theatrical productions such as Amakhosi's *Witnesses and Victims* and the University of Zimbabwe's *Tinoendepi/Where Shall We Go?* (both from 2000) brought to the forefront the victimization of not only the White farmers (many of whom had the economic means to absorb their losses), but also the Black masses meant to be

benefiting from the process. Such plays, as well as documentaries and other media critical of the violence fell under heavy censorship in the country, but other media has explored this reality away from Zimbabwe's borders. NoViolet Bulawayo's 2014 award-winning novel, *We Need New Names,* details a fictional farm invasion over the course of fifteen pages which culminates with an old White couple being force-marched into the forest by ax-wielding 'invaders' led by an assistant police commissioner (120). The climax of the scene is perhaps the philosophical identity debate that continues to galvanize the community to this day:

> This is Black-man country and the Black man is in charge now. Africa for Africans, the Boss (leader of the invasion) says to thunderous applause… I am an African he (the white farmer) says. This is my fucking country too, my father was born here, just like you! (Bulawayo 120-121)

The conversation captured here begs the fundamental post-colonial question: who, indeed, has a right for inclusion in the nation? Mugabe's Independence Day conciliatory proclamations of a multiracial Zimbabwe appear to be at fundamental odds with the spirit of anti-colonial African nationalism, which centered on the Garveyist mantra of "Africa for Africans". Although fictional, the scene is a culmination of many stories that seeped into the public consciousness from the heavily censored walls of the Mugabe regime. Respondents not only repudiated the violence as a moral or civil matter, but because the narrative of human rights abuses tainted the already controversial FTLRP and became the justification for the country's marginalization by the global community. It was in response to this violence that the USA, European Union and Australia placed sanctions on Zimbabwe in 2002 and 2003, further sending the country's economy into a downward spiral (Hanlon et al 92). 27-year-old Nyasha lamented the injection of violence saying:

193

The land reform program was a great idea. The idea of giving land back to the indigenous owners; or at least making sure the land was shared. But the way it was administered, it was a disaster. It was done in a way that bordered on reckless and inhumane, and the economy took a big hit as a result. We should have done better as a country.

Lack of Investment in the Human Capital of Farming

Harkening back to Thomas Mapfumo's seemingly prophetic refrain from 1991 "*Maiti kurima inyore!*" ("You thought farming was easy!"), a recurrent criticism of the land reform has been that it handed the crucial industry to people who severely underprepared for the task at hand. The contemporaneous economic collapse that accompanied the FLTRP is often cited as evidence of a cataclysmic misstep on the part of the government. A 2006 land audit revealed that 44% of all the new farmers who had received land as part of the land reform were either under-utilizing it or not utilizing it at all (Hanlon et al 87). Respondents in this study attributed this under-utilization to an absence of know-how, governmental support, or genuine interest on the part of the new farmers. Munashe (30) opines that "(the reform was good because) we were just taking the land back from people who took the land from us. Unfortunately, some of the people who got the land aren't productive." Nyasha lamented similarly, stating that "some of the people who took it aren't even farmers. They just took it because they know that land is wealth." Mzee (32) reiterates the sentiment, arguing that:

> If you take, for example, a thousand acres and give it to me, I have no experience in chicken rearing or animal husbandry, I can't plant on it; at the end of the day, if it's supposed to be producing maize and nothing is happening, there is no point. It just won't work. At the end of the day we need to empower people; give them specific knowledge, find people who may be doing farming at a small scale, teach them to do it at a bigger scale- that way it benefits everyone. Empower them first, before giving them. If I'm a mechanic, and you give me land, by the end of the year you'll find cars parked on fertile land.

194

The debate here thus becomes that between ownership of the nation for nationalism's sake versus for the sake of functionalism. That is to say, does the mantra "Africa for Africans" mean it should be reserved for Africans and up to them how they utilize it, or should claims to land be based on one's productivity on the land? Tino (19) argues the latter, saying while the land reform:

> benefited us because we got our land, the idea of Whites being out and no longer being allowed… is no longer benefiting us. They should allow a certain number to come for improvement; Because right now, as we are speaking, Zim is going through a lot- the economy is not settled; so that's not even benefitting the nation.

The question of land as an African birthright as opposed to one earned via productivity essentially falls within the confines of the nationalism and post-nationalism debate introduced in chapter tree. It is also one that continues to haunt Zimbabwe's national project especially as the country attempts to chart a national identity in the post-Mugabe era.

Cronyism

> *Vatora chingwa chese vobva vatifonyora brain/ wosiya tichirwira mafufu zvekutorovana nemheni (*They've taken all the bread and played mind games with us/ left us scrambling for scraps enough to put curses on each other)- (Jnr. Brown)

The lyric above, from rapper Jnr Brown's 2016 single 'Tongogara', encapsulated the frustrations that the Zimbabwean masses continue to hold towards rampant governmental corruption that manifests itself prominently in a patronage system that richly reward cronies. Popular expressions of dissent through art date back to the early post-independence area, as demonstrated in the songs and theatre surrounding the

Willowgate Scandal[81]. It is also a central theme in *Ivhu versus the State* which features

the following conversation:

> Troy: We are losing millions right here at home
> Reward: But now affirmative action affirms the chosen few. Indigenous business
> is business for a few who are more indigenous than others.
> Troy: It's like rats in a cage – as the food keeps coming, they get fatter and fatter
> and then you turn off the food and they start eating each other.

While referencing indigenized businesses in general, the consummate indigenized

industry benefiting from affirmative action at the turn of the century (when the play was

debuted) was farming via FTLRP. The particularly telling reference here is that to "a few

who are more indigenous than others." The implication here is that, even after navigating

the claim by the White farmers that they too are African and Zimbabwean, there is still a

caste among the indigenous granted preferential treatment and access to wealth. Ndlovu-

Gatsheni argued that this caste of the 'more indigenous' has been defined by the ZANU

PF elites in party and cultural-nativist terms as those who "embraced the national

liberation struggle, participating actively in it or supporting it" as well as being "

patriotic...belonging politically to ZANU PF" (*Do Zimbabweans Exists* 93).

Fanon criticized this phenomenon as one of the main pitfalls of post-colonial

nationalism, wherein the exclusive bourgeoisie whose primarily interest is to "transfer

into native hands of those unfair advantages which are a legacy of the colonial period"

(152). Popular dissent against cronyism is particularly emphatic surrounding the FTLRP

because it is associated with the incompetence and ill-preparation (discussed in the

previous section) that many regard as having led to the country's economic collapse.

Douglas Mpondi has gone as far as proclaiming that "Zimbabwe is now a colony of the

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[81] Discussed in chapter 3

political elites and land barons and cabals who purport to represent the interests of the majority but enriching themselves" (137). Thus, even as contemporary studies have suggested less than 5% of the land recipients (whose land adds up to less than 10% of distributed land) fit these definitions of cronies, popular perceptions argue that this number is much higher- much to the detriment of an otherwise noble process.

Gender Imbalances

Already marginalized by traditional and colonial-era land and property ownership policies, women entered the Zimbabwean post-colonial national project already facing an uphill task in pursuit of liberation and equality. Already the popular subject of several post-independence works, including songs like Steve Makoni's *Handiende* and such novels as Tsitsi Dangarembga's *Nervous Condition*s and Chenjerai Hove's *Bones*, the seemingly perpetual disenfranchisement of women took center stage through two seminal films during the 1990s. In *Neria* (1993), also penned by Dangarembga, the eponymous protagonist finds herself a sudden widow after her husband is involved in an accident. Immediately thereafter, her middle-class existence is stripped from her as the husband's brother makes brazen claim on all her family's property under the traditional guise of being next in line for his deceased brother's wealth. Arguably the most beloved film in Zimbabwe's cinematic history, the movie highlighted how the socio-economic fate of women continued to be tied to their spouse, leaving them essentially disempowered as individuals and, as in the case of Neria, with children to fend for.

Flame (1996), on the other hand, addressed more directly the plight and agency within Zimbabwean nationalism. The story centers on two village girls, Florence and Nyasha, who decide to leave high school and join the liberation struggle. After they make

197

the way to Mozambique and join the ranks of ZANLA fighters, they are renamed

Comrade Flame and Comrade Liberty respectively, and go on to experience the struggles

and trauma that came with being a woman on the guerrilla frontlines. After independence

and a brief period of celebrated heroism, Florence (Flame) finds herself back in the rural

areas in abject poverty and with an abusive husband. At the beginning of the film,

Nyasha (Liberty) narrates that "The story of two girls is just one of many…when we won

the war, we thought we were free, but life did not live up to our dreams." As the film

ends, Flame asks her old friend Liberty about that year's Independence celebrations (now

in the 1990s), and whether they would be celebrated again:

> Florence (Flame): That's for us...aren't we heroes?
> Nyasha (Liberty): No Flame, we're just women.

The marginalization of women in the New Zimbabwe, from Flame and Liberty to

Neria, confronted the nation as a whole as it stood on the precipice of land redistribution:

and much like Flame and Liberty, "women were at the forefront (of the FTLRP),

participating alongside men in the struggle to gain access to the land" (Hanlon et al 158).

Organizations such as Women and Land in Zimbabwe (WLZ) and Women Farmers Land

and Agriculture Trust (WFLA), founded in 1998 and 2006 respectively, are examples of

organizations providing logistical and advocacy support for women farmers. Their labors

have not been in vain, as the government reserved 20% of the land redistributed for

women and, unlike the colonial era Communal Lands Acts, female farmers under FTLRP

had "full control of the land allocated to them," regardless of marital or familial standing

(Maruzani et al 29). These policy gains, however, have not necessarily translated into

reality. Women still make up more than half the population, and lead almost 40% of the

households in the country with the majority of these households in the rural areas

(Hanlon et al 161). Thus the 20% allocation, which has translated into 18% in reality, still represents an underrepresentation of women in as custodians of the national project that is land redistribution in Zimbabwe.

ZIMBABWEAN LAND REDISTRIBUTION AS A PAN-AFRICAN PROJECT

With the FTLRP underway in 2001, Mugabe made the declaration that "our sister countries on the continent have now fully accepted that our struggle for land rights is an integral part of common struggles against imperialism and for full sovereignty of our continent" (42). While the land is indeed a metaphor for sovereignty across all of Africa and the formerly colonized world, the national question of remedying colonial legacies of land ownership is a post-colonial challenge distinct to the former settler colonies. These disparities of post-colonial land ownership have been described by scholars as "a festering wound that won't go away" (Cousins 307). As such, African Nationalism in these spaces developed largely as a project to reclaim the land. It is the essence of the Pan African Congress of Azania's (PAC) founding slogan that persists to the present day, "Afrika ilizwe lethu! (Africa is our Land!). In 1976, Steve Biko lamented how, in South Africa, "20% of the population are in control of 87% of the land while 80% "control" 13%" and further bemoaned the fact that the 13% that had been carved into Bantustans was mostly unsuitable for agriculture (82). These dynamics are land disparity are not unlike those found in Rhodesia. During our interview, PAC secretary of political and Pan-African affairs Jackie Seroke embarked on a long and detailed explanation of how the colonial dynamics of land in Zimbabwe had come to be, and concluded his thoughts with the triumphant declaration, "I just explained South Africa by explaining Zimbabwe!"

While Seroke's declaration may oversimplify the particular dynamics of each country, their mutual struggle has not been lost on the people and has often been addressed on popular platforms. Alouis Tineyi Sagota's poem '*Ivai neShanje MuAfrica*' (Have Pride in/Jealously Guard in Africa) challenges Africans to remain wary of the neocolonial abuse of their resources:

> *Ungasvikepiko Zimbabwe, uri muhusungwa hwevachena?*
> How far can you get Zimbabwe, while in White captivity?
> *Ungakore Sei Africa, uchingokamwa*
> How can you grow fat, when they keep milking you? (72).

What is most telling in Sagoti's poem is the interchangeability of Zimbabwe and Africa as points of reference for the continent's contemporary plight. While exploitation takes different forms across the continent and even in Zimbabwe, land remains a ubiquitous and easily identifiable site of contested national sovereignty. '*Kutapira*' by Andy Brown, also from 2001's *More Fire* album serves as both a celebration of Zimbabwe's land redistribution and a cautionary tale to the rest of the continent to safeguard the legacy that is land. Laced over an upbeat rendition of a traditional Shona harvest song, Brown sings:

> *South Africa, uchakamirirei ko kurima mumunda mako?*
> South Africa, why are you still waiting to farm in your fields?
> *Mozambique, usambofa wakatengesa ivhu rako!*
> Mozambique, don't ever sell your soil!
> *Zimbabwe iwe kutapira kunoita kurima,*
> Zimbabwe, how sweet it is to farm,
> *Africa, usafa wakanyengerwa*
> Africa, don't ever be tricked!

Assuming a didactic positionality based on embarking on the consummate African Nationalist endeavor that is land redistribution, the song challenges South Africa, a few years into its post-Apartheid era, to embark on comprehensive Black

empowerment. The song also references Zambia, Namibia, and Mozambique in an ode to regionalism, before leveling out a challenge to the entire continent. Like Sagota's poem, the Shona song would not be readily intelligible to communities in the countries mentioned: the significance lies in the notion that, whether in Shona or any other African language, there are universal Pan-African values that need no translation.

The didactic sentiments of '*Kutapira*' towards other African countries is mirrored by this study's human subjects. Of the ten Zimbabwean respondents who spoke on land redistribution, seven felt that land redistribution was important for the future of South Africa. This is especially interesting because three of the seven migrated from Zimbabwe to South Africa at the height of Zimbabwe's economic crisis in the 2000s. Thus, despite land redistribution having been a factor in the demise of their home economy that precipitated their own relocation, they still see it as necessary in their host economy. JC, a Zimbabwean student at the University of South Africa who had lamented the economic challenges that necessitated his migration to South Africa, still felt that Zimbabwe was better off for having redistributed the land, saying "We may be having challenges economically, but we have power, unlike South Africa. We can only rise from here. Also, much of our upheaval is not due to the land reform itself; but due to some other interests." He then faults the external sanctions leveled against the country, as well as cronyism and the lack of capacity building in preparation for land ownership as compromising the gains of the land reform.

Dambudzo (28) recommended that South Africa redistribute the land sooner than later in their post-Apartheid national project, saying "SA should deal with that now. But at the same time, not to say the Whites should not own anything in South Africa- they

should call for equal distribution. That's what's healthy for an economy." Nyasha (27)

reiterated these sentiments:

> There was no need to chase away everyone. We understand the disproportionate land ownership by Whites in Zim- so definitely it had to be redistributed. It is a process that was supposed to be done over time; some of the people who took it aren't even farmers. They just took it because they know that land is wealth. We should have done better. South Africa needs to reform its land policy as well, but they should use Zimbabwe as a cautionary tale.

> Thus, even as Zimbabweans recognize the merits and necessity of the land reform

program, they are under no illusions as to how it would have to be done differently in

South Africa. Munashe (30) was less optimistic about the prospects of land reform in

South Africa, arguing that "I don't think it'll happen because the economy is not run by

Black people as it is in Zim. It's still in the Boer's hands. So, land reform in SA- we shall

see." While her opinions may paint a bleaker picture than the other Zimbabwean

respondents, it does echo sentiments of persistent racial economic disparities in the

country discussed at length in chapter four. Kiri (29), an economist and agricultural

financing consultant in Harare, argued that, while land reform was imminent in South

Africa, it should be done with an understanding that the disruption of the country's socio-

economic reality is inevitable in the process:

> (South Africa should) do it right. At the end of the day, expropriation will never be swift and easy. When there's dispute in wealth, particularly a relatively less influential entity contests against the more powerful entity, there's no efficient and well-planned execution; people should get that out their minds. *Zvekuti*[82] land reform could have been well-done and fast is nonsense. It's bullshit. So be ready for the repercussions, which Zimbabwe has been a very good case of. At the end of the day, it has to happen, but like Bob[83] himself tells the South Africans, you have to do it your way at your time, but Black empowerment is undeniable and has to take place.

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[82] "This business of saying..."
[83] Robert Mugabe.

Recent data from South Africa has demonstrated a large majority keen on land redistribution. A November 2018 AfroBarometer study showed that more than eight out of 10 South Africans (84%) state viewed land redistribution as a priority, while only one in 20 (5%) say that land should not be redistributed. (Nkomo 2). South African respondents also described looking to Zimbabwe's land reform as they stand on the imminent precipice of their own, though often as a cause for hesitation. Bathanda (27), a researcher with the National Council of Trade Unions in Pretoria, described how the outcome of the FTLRP highlighted the importance of government in upholding of rule of law as the nation embarked on such a critical phase of their national evolution:

> What are we going to do with the land? Are we just gonna go somewhere and set up shacks on land? I think the lesson SA can learn from Zim is that policies are extremely important. Robert Sobukwe spoke about land also, but we also need regulations and policies in our country. The issue of land is a very psychological issue. When you take land, you don't just take it: you have to take land and you have to know what to do with it.

Her comments here mirror those expressed by Zimbabwean respondents in regards to ensuing violence and the underqualified nature of many who received land in the FTLRP. She also then reiterates the matter of limited Black empowerment in South Africa as of the present moment, saying "we have 85% land and businesses, everything is still owned by White people...we still have a long way to go; even if we get land tomorrow, what are we going to do with it? How many African businessmen do we have? And then what?" Buhle, an administrator with the PAC, described how Zimbabwe's economic collapse actually dissuaded segments of the Black South African community from pursuing the goal of land reform, noting that "people are afraid that we are going to redistribute the land and end up looking like Zimbabwe. We watch the news; people are scared; I don't know how true this is, but we hear that people are dying of hunger."

South African political leaders have also paid close attention to how land reform in Zimbabwe has evolved. Many, particularly those hailing from an Africanist school of thought, express admiration for the Zimbabwean initiative. As early as in 2000, the PAC was one of the first political organizations outside Zimbabwe to declare support for the FTLRP, with their president saying at their annual meeting "We want to assure our comrades here that we support our comrades in Zimbabwe in their struggle to recover their ancestral land" (Quintal 2000). In a 2016 speech whose video has since gone viral, Mbeki spoke of five Zimbabweans who had lent a piece of land abandoned by a White South African farmer in 2014 in Malmesbury, South Africa. Initially deemed unusable due to poor soils, the farm was thriving by 2016 and the farmers were winning awards for their work (Washinyira 2016). Mbeki concluded his speech by highlighting what he deems a fundamental difference between South Africans and Zimbabweans, saying:

> 'It's a good story to tell because it's Africans, but it is Zimbabweans. It is not any South African who went to the farmer to say can I use your farm, but Zimbabweans did. It is because Zimbabweans have got a very different attitude to land...If you look at the records of the land claims that have been settled over the last 22 years, you will find that in the majority of cases, the people who win the claim prefer to take the money rather than keep the land and work the land. That is the reality of South Africa. (Washinyira 2016).

Mbeki's speech thus served multiple purposes: it celebrated an African success story in South Africa (South African or otherwise), celebrated Zimbabwe's much-maligned land reforms, all the while challenging the failure of South Africa's post-Apartheid nationalism in addressing the country's economic disparity as represented by the attitudes and conversations surrounding the land.

Even as some have taken an admiring stance on Zimbabwe, most are also utilizing the country as a cautionary tale. The Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF), who have invigorated the conversation around land redistribution in South Africa since their founding in 2013, envision a more methodical redistribution of the land. At a 2018 meeting, EFF president Julius Malema declared that according to their plan, unlike in Zimbabwe, "There won't be violence...We are going to share the land, but it must first be owned by the state and reallocated back to all of us -- black and white" (AFP 2018). In so doing, the party hopes to avoid the violence that tarnished the otherwise noble exercise in nation-building.

The ascendancy to the country's presidency by ANC's Cyril Ramaphosa in February 2018 brought with it more elaborate declarations of intent regarding the land reform in the country. At the same December 2017 ANC national conference that Ramaphosa was elected party president, the party resolved to proceed with expropriation without compensation to expedite land-reform, and the parliament thereafter adopted the motion to amend the constitution to allow for this to happen (Nkomo 1). Expectedly, this immediately drew fears, both externally and internally, of the country ending up as "another Zimbabwe" (Hammond 2018). Ramaphosa has been deliberate in acknowledging the parallels, saying to the Zimbabwean president that "we are going to be drawing some examples, some lessons from Zimbabwe" (Dube 2018), while also ensuring that he intends to avoid the violence, international alienation, and economic collapse associated with the FTLRP. In a September 2018 speech, Ramaphosa was asked about the possibility of these, to which he responded:

> There is no reason to think any country would impose sanctions on us for the actions we take...There is broad support for the government position that

measures for accelerating land reform must be guided by the Constitution, almost unanimous support, that whatever we do in addressing this question must be done in terms of our Constitution and also in terms of the rule of law and we must also advance the property rights of all South Africans, not just a few, and in doing so must ensure we don't undermine the Economy. (Ferreira 2018)

Even when Zimbabwe is not expressly stated, the concerns brought to the forefront as South Africa prepares for a possible extensive land reform show that Zimbabwe's own experience inspires other pushes for land reform and Black empowerment in the global African community, while its shortcomings only sharpen the procedural resolve thereof.

In his seminal postcolonialist work, I*n My Father's House*, Kwame Anthony Appiah endeavors to discredit the theoretic bases upon which Pan-Africanism had been built, arguing at one point that:

> Whatever Africans share, we do not have a common traditional culture, common languages or conceptual vocabularies. Unanimism is not entitled to what is, in my view, a fundamental presupposition. Africans share too many problems and projects to be distracted by a bogus basis for solidarity. (26)

Yet in making this claim, Appiah betrays a fundamental misunderstanding of Pan-Africanism's ideological objective since its invocation. In 1968, for example, John Gibbs St. Clair Drake defined Pan-Africanism as "the idea that Africans...should develop racial solidarity for the purpose of abolishing discrimination, enforced segregation, and political and economic exploitation" (Edozie xxvii). In other words, St. Clair Drake's definition was premised, as had others before it, on Africans "sharing too many problems and projects": the very basis for Pan-Africanism that Appiah attempts to offer as an alternative has, indeed, been the practical basis for Pan-Africanism since the colonial era. I have belabored the point here to point to the shared history of settler colonialism and the

resulting land disparities and in Zimbabwe and South Africa as constituting both the "shared problems and projects" of Appiah's detraction and the historical "economic exploitation" of St Clair Drake's definition. The exchange of ideas, lessons, and resources as pertains to the redistribution of land between Zimbabwe and South Africa, constitutes a prime instance of the utility of Pan-Africanism in the 21st century.

CONCLUSION

"Land reform is something that I agree with… I think it could have been done better, but that's a cheap shot- we all can say that."- King Isaac

The sentiment above perhaps accurately describes the ambiguity surrounding the legacy of Zimbabwe's land reform as a national project. Contrary to the conventional wisdom that posits Zimbabwe's land redistribution efforts as an entirely Mugabe national project, this study shows that communities across the country insisting on the promise of land that had driven the First and Second Chimurenga, and it was to their will that the government finally capitulated. Even when looking in retrospect, given the resulting international alienation and economic collapse, respondents in this study still feel that that the land redistribution was a necessary step towards the liberation and Black empowerment for which the country had fought. Reports from recent years have even began to show a return to pre-land reform levels of production, including a quadrupling of 2016-2017 maize production in the 2017- 2018 agricultural year (Chikowore & Banda 2018). These trends suggest that perhaps the economic turmoil of the past two decades were the inevitable growing pains of such a radical national exercise, and the desired results are only being borne now.

This recognition, however does not absolve the government of responsibility in the deemed failures of the land reform program. Respondents argue that the violence, international sanctions and economic collapse that followed in the two decades since the land was distributed could have been avoided with more deliberate planning and a clampdown on corruption by the government. Other negative outcomes, such as the FTLRP's environmental cost and the continued marginalization of the handicapped and other communities, were not brought up by respondents but have been the subject of nascent scholarship and also represent other areas in which the government may have done better in regulating. While the public continues to be the pulse of nationalism in Zimbabwe, the government retains the authority and responsibility to serve as the facilitator of the national agenda.

Through its successes and failures, Zimbabwe's land reform is of immense Pan-African significance as a manifestation of the Garveyist "Africa for Africans" dictum that was the muse behind many an African Nationalist anti-imperial movement. The program takes on particular importance among other settler colonies, such as South Africa, who are still haunted by the colonial ghost of land disparities between White farmers and the indigenous communities. South African respondents, as well as politicians and other lobbyists, explained how Zimbabwe was both an inspiration and a cautionary tale whose lessons will greatly influence the development of their own national projects of land redistribution.

CHAPTER SIX: A STAIN ON THE RAINBOW: RECONCILING XENOPHOBIA IN SOUTH AFRICAN WITH RAINBOW NATIONALISM AND ANTI-APARTHEID PAN-AFRICANISM

It was a Thursday in winter time Pretoria, and I decided to spend the evening listening to music and gallivanting with other patrons at the Manhattan Hotel, a city establishment that had become my go-to place for study, subject interviews and, as in this case, just relax. As we pulled into a hotel parking lot, our car came face to face with another, a situation where one had to cede way to the other. Because the other car, driven by a White South African, had entered through an unauthorized entrance (the exit), our Zimbabwean driver rightfully remained still, waiting for him to move. Just then, the Black South African security guard, seemingly disregarding protocol, ran towards our car, frantically signaling for us to move out of the other car's way. While our driver still didn't budge, I decided to jump out of the car and into the hotel to avoid any further hostilities; but not before I heard the security guard chastise our driver's apparent insolence, saying "why do you people from Africa always come down here and cause us problems?"

At the most of surface of levels, this rhetorical question is almost humorous in its geographic and cultural absurdity: a Black South African calls other Black Africans "you people from Africa"? Almost humorous; except that it mirrored questions and derisions expressed by more than 80% of respondents in this study's interviews who were African immigrants to South Africa. Furthermore, it echoes the rhetoric that surrounds recent spurts of violent xenophobic attacks on African immigrants across the country.

Whence cometh this xenophobic animosity? What is the source of this dislocation, whereby an African in Africa feels appropriately placed to patronize a fellow

209

African "from" Africa? How has a country whose revolutionary history is deeply steeped in Pan-Africanism, and whose post-Apartheid national project has been grounded in the rhetoric of Ubuntu and domestic harmony in diversity and leadership of the continent's political economy, become this hub of vile popular Anti-African xenophobia, dubbed Afrophobia? How are we to understand its being in relation to South Africa's Pan-African and Rainbow Nation identities?

This chapter interrogates the ways in which segments of South African society, as represented by data collected from both South African citizens and African immigrants to the country, conceptualizes Afrophobia, vis-a-vis the inclusive, interdependent narrative of the country's proclaimed national and Pan-African projects. The chapter thus makes several critical interjections to contemporary discourse on South Africa's post-Apartheid nationalism and its role in the African Renaissance. Furthermore, findings from the study contribute to the prescriptive literature that may ultimately reduce or prevent the loss of human life, property, home, and identity at the hands of xenophobia. Finally, the study also has Pan-African resonance and beyond. South Africa is neither the only country where Afrophobia exists nor is it the only one with an ethnically fragmented postcolonial society and a significant African immigrant population. The study contributes to the development of a national and Pan-African framework that may not only be applicable to contemporary African states, but to different incarnations thereof that may develop in the future.

The chapter commences with a brief synopsis of xenophobia towards African immigrants with a particular emphasis on the violent attacks of 2008 and 2015. Thereafter I establish ways in which Afrophobia as a popular expression deviates from

the country's Pan-African history, its post-Apartheid national project of the Rainbow Nation and its contemporary leadership in the Pan-African movement that is the African Renaissance. I then interrogate various theories offered up by both scholars and study respondents to account for the existence of Afrophobia in a postcolonial society built along national projects of inclusivity and Pan-Africanism. These theories include: frustration stemming from a high and growing unemployment rate and economic disparities among the worst in the world; ethnocentrism and South African exceptionalism that are a legacy of the Apartheid era; and a deficient educational system that has failed to make a comprehensive transition to the post-Apartheid era. This is followed by counternarratives that have developed, whether by design or by default, through various platforms, attitudes and initiatives in the face of Afrophobia. In conclusion, I venture that Afrophobia is not necessarily symptomatic of the failure of South Africa's post-Apartheid national project. It is, instead, a symptom of the current state of the national project itself: a nationalism founded upon the preservation of several pillars of the Apartheid system.

AFROPHOBIA IN RECENT TIMES

While instances of xenophobia have been documented throughout South Africa's brief post-Apartheid history, and the phenomenon's long duree is indispensable for a complete analysis, contemporary discourse often uses the attacks of 2008 as the seminal point of departure. These attacks, which began on May 11 in the Alexandra township of Johannesburg, soon spread to other townships and cities, including Durban and Cape Town. After a week of violence that targeted immigrants from across the continent, the

death toll stood between 56 and 62, with 100s more injured and an estimated 170,000 displaced (UNHCR).

Although we have not seen death and destruction that rises to the level of May 2008, attacks, displacements, and anti-immigrant sentiments continue to be a mainstay across the various strata of society. In 2015, Zulu king Goodwill Zwelithini publicly lamented that foreigners should return to where they came from because they were "inconveniencing the locals" by encroaching onto their wealth (Ndou 2015). These comments immediately preceded another spurt of violent attacks, leading to a general consensus that the king's vitriol had- at least in part- spurred the wave (Hans 2015).

The populace may not have needed this encouragement though, as surveys over the past two decades show consistently significant xenophobic among the masses. A 2015 Afrobarometer survey revealed that more than 40% of the respondents felt that "foreigners should not be allowed to live in South Africa because they take jobs and benefits away from South Africans" (Chingwete 2016), while another revealed that more than 30% expressed that they would be likely or very likely to take action to prevent foreigners from moving in and/or setting up a business in their neighborhoods (Kronke 2011). These statistics are in tandem with the interviews conducted for this study (2017), where four out of ten South African citizen respondents noted the criminal behavior of specific immigrant groups and the scramble for resources among the poor as the impetus behind the xenophobia.

On the other hand, four out of five immigrants I interviewed expressed strong negative feelings towards their interactions with the South African host community, ranging from fear to disdain. Dambudzo, a 28-year-old male entrepreneur from

Zimbabwe who lived a few years in Johannesburg before moving to Pretoria explained that:

> There is a general perception by South Africans that the Zimbabweans are coming to South Africa to make life miserable for the South Africans on the economic front. So, when they ask me where I'm from, I'll just say another country. As long as it's not an African country. The easiest, and it's not just myself, even others will also say they from France, just because there's actually a lot of Black French people here in SA.

Realizing the often-dangerous disdain for African immigrants to the country, Dambudzo thus chooses to identify with a country to which he has neither been nor whose culture he is familiar with as a safety measure.

A growing reputation of Afrophobia in South Africa has induced critical backlash from the Pan-African community. Newspaper headlines such as "South Africa: Stop the Killing Now" (Tanzania) and "South Africa Killing Nigerians" (Nigeria) appeared across the continent. In 2017, the Malawian government sent out a message to its citizens in South Africa telling them to "come home" as worries that another bout of xenophobic attacks was on the horizon (Khamula 2017). The diplomatic strain of the attacks thus compromises South Africa's purported role as a regional Pan-African leader and their claim to a Rainbow Nation, Ubuntu and the African renaissance.

To fully grasp the ways in which Afrophobia represents a failure in the national project and contemporary Pan-Africanism, it is important that we first establish what these platforms are in the Post-Apartheid South Africa. In the next section then, I illustrate how, in theory, democratic South Africa's nationalism and Pan-Africanism ought to be the antithesis of Anti-African sentiment.

POINT OF DIVERGENCE: (UN) SETTING THE STAGE

The rebirth of South Africa as a post-Apartheid state has been punctuated by

conciliatory rhetoric, policies, and initiatives of unity in diversity— the essence of

Rainbow Nationalism. These ideals would also be routinely echoed by Nelson Mandela

and immortalized in Thabo Mbeki's 1996 speech, "I am an African":

> ...I owe my being to the Khoi and the San whose desolate souls haunt the great
> expanses of the beautiful Cape...I am formed of the migrants who left Europe to
> find a new home on our native land. Whatever their own actions, they remain still,
> part of me. In my veins courses the blood of the Malay slaves who came from the
> East... I am the grandchild of the warrior men and women that Hintsa and
> Sekhukhune led, the patriots that Cetshwayo and Mphephu took to battle, the
> soldiers Moshoeshoe and Ngungunyane taught never to dishonor the cause of
> freedom. My mind and my knowledge of myself is formed by the victories that
> are the jewels in our African crown, the victories we earned from Isandhlwana to
> Khartoum, as Ethiopians and as the Ashanti of Ghana, as the Berbers of
> the desert. I am the grandchild who lays fresh flowers on the Boer graves...I come
> of those who were transported from India and China, whose being resided in the
> fact, solely, that they were able to provide physical labor...Being part of all these
> people, and in the knowledge that none dare contest that assertion, I shall claim
> that - I am an African.

In this albeit polemical declaration, Mbeki redefines South African citizenship

(and thus ownership) to include the oppressed and oppressor of yesteryear; the

marginalized and the marginalizer. Mbeki's accommodative rhetoric was, indeed,

codified into law in the post-Apartheid constitution, as well as in initiatives definitive of

the country's conciliatory national project, such as the TRCs. These ideals of social

concord as national project, of course, have their roots in the anti-Apartheid struggle, and

were notably dictated in the 1955 Freedom Charter, which famously opens with the

declaration that "South Africa belongs to all those who live in it" (Freedom Charter

1955). Tying these declarations and actions together is the often-evoked spirit of

214

Ubuntu[84] the essence of being human. As Tutu explains, the Ubuntu principle is best summed up by the Xhosa saying "Umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu," which loosely translates to "A person is a person because of other people": that is to say one's humanity is intractably tied to that of their neighbor (Buqa 4).

While these projects sought to answer the fundamental internal national question of a fractured post-Apartheid South Africa, they had laid a platform of Pan-African acceptance for immigrants in the country. After all, Mbeki's speech had not declared himself to be South African but, rather, an African, and even evoked sentiments of a history and being intractable to the rest of Africa through the Ethiopians and the Ashanti. The concept of Ubuntu bases itself not on the relatively recent idea of assigned citizenship, but on the recognized humanity of all.Thus, if Ubuntu was the defining spirit of contemporary South Africa, that South African citizens of Bantu stock would primarily lead the hateful charge against predominantly Bantu neighbors speaks to a critical socio-political and moral breakdown.

The Freedom Charter had also, at least semantically, declared South Africa to belong to all those who lived in it. Not only would this include the recent immigrants, but South Africa has a long history of foreign nationals immigrating there for work that dates back to the turn of the 20th century. Landau writes that, in Alexandra Park, the hotbed of the 2008 attacks is "where people from various parts of South Africa, and indeed Africa, have congregates since the early 20th century to establish a foothold in South Africa" (L. Landau 110). In addition, South Africa's neighbors, from where most of the immigrants come, had played an immeasurable role and thus paid a staggering cost in the fight

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[84] In IsiZulu and IsiXhosa.

against Apartheid. In what has been described as the "second front" of the struggle, the neighboring countries' involvement in anti-apartheid activity saw the death of more than 100 000 people between 1980 and 1986, displaced more than one million, and cost the region more than $90 Billion (US) - a figure more than three times the region's GDP for the 1980s (Hanlon 1). Thus, with the end of Apartheid marking the falling of the final domino of explicit imperialism on the continent, the rest of the region viewed South Africa as "the last bastion of hope which may 'drag' the continent out of its current malaise" (Ahluwalia & McEachern, 81). After all, the country's relatively gigantic GDP which constitutes more than 50% of SADC's GDP, as well as proclamations of South Africa's leadership role in the African Renaissance, as most prominently proclaimed by Thabo Mbeki, set in place heightened Pan-African expectations.

With a redoubtable post-Apartheid national spirit that is morally and legally given to tolerance, Pan-African roots going back over a century, and a well-articulated contemporary Pan-Africanist platform, how do we make sense of the rampant anti-African sentiment in South Africa? The next section interrogates the theories put forth to account for this apparent disconnect between national expectation and practice, focusing on the responses of this study's subjects.

WHENCE COMETH THE STAIN?

Throughout this study, respondents accounted for this seeming disconnect between an idealized national project of acceptance and Pan-Africanism and the reality of Afrophobia as a macro-expression, and anti-African immigrant rhetoric, violence, and policies as the micro-expressions thereof by citing a number of theories. Themes of continued economic disparities, crime increases, unresolved exclusionary legacies of

Apartheid, xenophobic governance, and a flawed educational system showed up recurrently in responses.

Rugged Economic Terrain

Increased unemployment levels, continued existence of Apartheid era living conditions among low income communities, as well as an increase in crime are often cited as the most accessible and immediate impetus behind anti-African violence and sentiment. 25% of the South African citizen respondents in my study also pointed directly to economic hardship and frustration as the drive behind the xenophobic attacks, in particular. Naledi, a 22-year-old college student from Kwazulu Natal studying media and business management, cited the high unemployment rate in the country as the source of much disdain for foreigners. At 28%, South Africa's unemployment is among the top 20 highest globally, and is significantly higher than recorded statistics for regional neighbors such as Malawi, Botswana, and Mozambique (CIA World Factbook 2018). Residents interviewed over the years continue to express this sentiment, with one woman lamenting that "They (foreigners) must go, we don't want the foreigners here. We don't have jobs. The foreigners come here for our jobs" (Mwakikagile 232). The notion of unemployment and economic hardship as the impetus behind the violence is given further credence by instances of South African locals being killed for hiring foreign workers (Fuphe 2008). This may also explain why these violent attacks are almost exclusively in the low-income communities, despite the significant presence of immigrants- African or otherwise- in middle-income communities and beyond.

Closely associated with high unemployment and poverty levels is the prevalence of crime in the country, and particularly in the low-income communities. At 30.4 out of

every 1000 people, South Africa's murder rate ranks eighth globally, according to World

Bank reports (2018). Crimes such as rape, carjacking, and robberies are also among the

highest in the world. Thirty percent of the South African citizen respondents in this study

felt that consistently high crime was due to the immigrants, and thus the source of

xenophobic sentiment in their communities. Mohau Mokoena, an ANC youth and labor

activist, lamented:

> When you see way of life being disrupted, hijacked building, drugs and so forth, you have to ask what the source of this is. For example, or Nigerian brothers-there are many good Nigerians[85] and many bad ones- in the same way that there are many good and bad South Africans. But you find that those problems can be traced to our brothers from Up North Africa, then we have to address them. That's why you see this kind of popular unrest.

The notion of immigrant-driven crime has further been exacerbated by

government officials and other societal leaders making public statements to support that

theory. In July 2017, deputy police minister Bongani Mkongi gave an impassioned press

conference in which he lamented how the low-income Johannesburg neighborhood of

Hillbrow was overrun by crime stemming from its "80% foreigner" population, going on

to argue, among other points, that:

> If we don't debate that, that necessarily means the whole of South Africa could be 80% dominated by foreign nationals and the future president of South Africa could be a foreign national… You won't find South Africans in another country dominating a city into 80%...We fought for this country, not only for us but for generations of South Africans to live in harmony in a non-racial, non-sexist and prosperous South Africa. (Ratshitanga 2019)

This part of the press conference is only four minutes long, and yet it is ridden

with misinformation and logical fallacies. Firstly, the conversation centered on Hillbrow,

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[85] It is worth noting that three out of four people who brought up crime as the impetus for xenophobia cited Nigerian immigrants as being "notorious for all the wrong stuff." One woman went as far as to argue that there was no Afrophobia, just Naijaphobia spilling onto other immigrants. A separate study on this phenomenon may be necessary.

a neighborhood, yet he repeatedly talks about population of "the city." While this is confusing, the foreign population in either falls way short of 80%: it is 35% in Hillbrow, and 26.2% overall in the Johannesburg inner city suburbs (Skosana 2017). The 80% claim would be regurgitated by incoming Johannesburg Mayor Herman Mashaba, further implanting the falsehood as part of the city's foreign invasion narrative (Mkokeli 2017). Furthermore, the president of South Africa is constitutionally bound to be a citizen of South Africa, thus Mkongi's claim about a foreign national presidency is baseless and calculated to induce further panic. The false equivalency of a city in a foreign land where South Africans make up 80% of the population (a premise based on a figure we have already debunked) negates both the fact that South Africa's relative stability and economic opportunities are at the present moment an incomparable draw for regional immigrants and that- unlike the 80% South African premise- the albeit exaggerated foreign population is a conglomerate of people from several neighboring countries. Finally, the assertion that only South Africans fought against Apartheid is ahistorical and contributes to the continued miseducation of the South African society, as I discuss later in this chapter.

Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini's 2015 comments are undoubtedly the most infamous instance of political leadership inciting xenophobia in post-Apartheid South Africa, primarily because they coincided with the worst xenophobic violence since 2008. Speaking to the residents of Pongolo, a small town in Kwazulu Natal, the king advocated for the mass deportation of foreigners living in the area, whom he likened to lice that needed to be squashed, declaring:

> We are requesting those who come from outside to please go back to their countries...The fact that there were countries that played a role in the country's

struggle for liberation should not be used as an excuse to create a situation where foreigners are allowed to inconvenience locals. I know you were in their countries during the struggle for liberation. But the fact of the matter is you did not set up businesses in their countries. (Ndou 2015)

Unlike the deputy police minister, who strategically did not mention the Pan-African nature of the anti-Apartheid movement, the king acknowledges it and then deems it to have become a nuisance to the post-Apartheid national agenda, and thus dispensable. The same sentiment- the dilemma between recognizing a common African identity and anti-imperialist struggle and the apparent burden on society that African immigrants have become- was recurrent in my interviews as well. In the speech, Zwelithini continues to say "My ancestor King Cetshwayo fought for this country, which in 1994 was liberated. It cannot be that in 2015 the liberation is being damaged by (local) people who are not obeying the law, are thieves, child rapists and too lazy to plough the fields." By singling out the liberatory role of a Zulu ancestor, King Zwelithini not only establishes a nativist rapport with his subjects, he also reverts to a revisionist narrative of the anti-Apartheid struggle that minimizes the role played by the Pan-African community. A much-revered leader among the Zulus and within South Africa as a whole, his words resonated loud.

Dambudzo described being particularly unsettled in the aftermath of the remarks (despite being in Johannesburg and not in KwaZulu Natal), explaining that "automatically, you get the response (to Zwelithini's speech); because the Zulus themselves listen to the king. I myself can't just be found among the Zulus!" Attempts at damage control by different sectors of the community after the remarks were mostly futile, Naledi explained, as "the media and celebrities came out to speak against it, but there's only so much they can do (because) predominantly, leaders don't take a good stance on this and the people just follow suit." Thus, even with King Zwelithini himself

feverishly trying to retract his comments, at least seven deaths due to xenophobic

violence were reported in less than a month (Quist-Arcton 2015). In fact, the King's

remarks became an emboldening rallying cry for the already pervasive xenophobic

elements in South African society, as seen in this WhatsApp message from various South

African civil groups that included Patriotic Movement, Pan Local Forum, Unemployed

Workers Forum, and the Anti-Crime Movement that went viral only two weeks after he

uttered them:

> Dear Neighbor from Africa & Other Parts of the World We have travelled the world and have not found one country that allows the floods of humans across its borders as South Africa is experiencing. Even in war torn part[s] like Syria, Ukraine, Yemen and Somali. We were 7 million people in Johannesburg City in 2011; today we have an estimated 13 million. Of course, our infrastructure and services must collapse. If you were quite prepared to disrespect the first Law of the sovereignty of our country why should you respect the rest of our laws? We have just come out of an oppressive bloody Apartheid system while you north of the Limpopo had been enjoying freedom since 1960, 1975 and 1981 respectively. We remember those proud milestones. But we are all still developing countries and our development must be impeded with so many strangers and illegals in our midst. In Johannesburg alone you have taken over entire suburbs: Yeoville, Berea, Bez Valley, and Turfontein amongst many. You have even moved into rural parts of our country that have 80% unemployment; and there are no visible signs that you have jobs either. *But there are signs of drug-dealing, prostitution and other criminal acts that you conduct – sometimes in cahoots with desperate locals*. Your presence at this moment in our history is most destructive and destabilizing to our country and our citizens.
>
> *We are pleading with you to return to your home countries – as our King Goodwill and many other great leaders have asked.*[86] Go and build up those countries so that we can all live in economic, social and political prosperity and peace – as neighbors. The genocide in this corner of Africa will be far worse than what happened in Rwanda in 1994. Then the entire continent will be condemned to ashes. Is that what you want? Our people built this country with their blood and tears, but built it we did. For you to come here and take jobs at cheaper rates, use and abuse our scarce resources (schools, hospitals, shelters, clinics, parks, streets – even our churches and shacks and open spaces to live in while shops are literally running out of food) and further add to already high

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[86] Italicized emphasis mine.

crime rates, IS WRONG and IMMORAL. South Africans not fully employed or who were found guilty of crimes, were recently repatriated from Nigeria and rightly so. Our people are preparing for war against all foreigners (from Bulgaria to Pakistan and Bangladesh to Africa north of the Limpopo) and we are all very scared. Please GO HOME and BUILD Africa. Millions will die if you don't. This we can guarantee.

Good luck with your return. (Anonymous 2015)[87]

This statement is ridden with misinformation. First, census data shows the population in the Johannesburg Metropolitan area to have grown from just over seven million in 2011 to an estimated eight million in 2018, and not 13 million by 2016 as the message suggests (Johannesburg Population 2017). The opening claim about there not being "one country in the world that allows the floods of humans through its borders like South Africa" is also largely untrue: the CIA World Factbook 2017 estimates ranks South Africa's net migration rate at 136th in the world[88], and the World Bank ranks its absolute net migration at a much higher 12th, but still behind countries like Lebanon and Turkey. The flawed logic of the message is further highlighted by its pointing to war-torn countries that are not letting in as many immigrants as South Africa, yet common sense and evidence tells us that people often pour out of warzones and not into them. The citing of only three "respective" dates of African independence emphasizes the intellectual deficiencies of the message, and its erasure of the continent's role in defeating Apartheid is consistent with other messages we have already seen. Not only are there more than a dozen years during which African nations were liberated, none of them were 1981—one of the dates specified in the letter. Of particular interest here is the authority derived by

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[87] Although published in the article by "anonymous", I had also received the viral WhatsApp message via several virtual groups I am a part of. I happened to be in South Africa at the time it went viral.
[88] https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/rankorder/2112rank.html

the parties behind the message from "our King Goodwill and many other great leaders."

Despite its centering on Johannesburg, and not KwaZulu Natal or Durban (the King's actual constituency), Zwelithini's nativist rhetoric is easily co-opted due to the historical weight of his position. It is also worth noting that less than 5% of South Africa's prison population are foreign born (News24 2011). While this figure falls short of accounting for those committing crimes without being caught, it is a good proxy for the criminal impact of immigrants in the country and suggests that impact has been subject to hyperbole from frustrated sectors of the society and those seeking a scapegoat.

The advent of democracy that heralded the birth of the Rainbow Nation had been expected, albeit optimistically, to transform the socio-economic conditions of the previously marginalized groups, primarily made up of the poor Black masses. While access to basic necessities (sanitation, piped water, health, electricity, subsidized housing etc.). has dramatically improved since the end of Apartheid (Mattes 4), and the absolute number of the black middle class has multiplied tenfold since then (5), high levels of unemployment, persistent poverty and unparalleled disparities have left large sectors of the community vulnerable and frustrated. In essence, their condition represents a fundamental failing in the post-Apartheid national project. But if the socio-economic positionality is at the heart of Afrophobia and the rhetoric of those in leadership fans the flames, yet realities laid out in this section reveal that frustrations are largely misdirected at foreigners, then why are African immigrants the scapegoat upon which these frustrations are enacted? How does a populace, less than three decades removed from the gigantic Pan-African anti-Apartheid effort and proclamations of a national project of tolerance and reconciliation, develop such a passionate disdain for their foreign-born

neighbors in particular? This may be explained by the enduring legacies of Apartheid, as I argue in the next section.

Enduring Apartheid Legacies

By its very definition, Apartheid was a system of exclusionary citizenship and separation. Black people were only allowed into White spaces in as much as their presence there was to the benefit of the White South Africans. Otherwise, they were confined to their ethnically determined rural homelands known as the Bantustans. A defining pillar of late Apartheid, these native homelands have their roots in legislation passed decades before its existence. The Land Act of 1913 and the Trust Land Act of 1936 demarcated what would be the borders to these homelands under Voerword's 1959 Promotion of Black Self Government Act, with the first of these homelands (Transkei) created in 1963 (Khounou 3). These acts culminated in 1970's Bantu Homeland Citizenship Act, which was devised to "eventually deprive all the Africans in the country of their South African citizenship" Marshall 19). Instead of South African citizenship, they were thus granted citizenship restricted to these homelands, based on the major African language or culture they were deemed to belong to, regardless of their birthplace or their current residence. Essentially, then, the Black masses in Apartheid South Africa became non-citizens overnight, and were forcibly displaced by the millions to their designated homeland. Landau explains that "under its grandest machinations, apartheid turned Black South Africans into foreign natives within their county, guests of the South African Republic should they stray beyond the homelands" (L. Landau 5).

Zingiswa, an art gallery curator at the University of South Africa, observed "with SA, even that concept of Rainbow Nation- it only opened it specifically to Whites, but

224

not our brothers and sisters in Africa- look now, Xenophobia." Thus, at the advent of democracy, the previously unrecognized Black South Africans became- at least in theory-part of the "insider" community. In the absence of a comprehensive post-Apartheid socio-economic transformation, however, the exclusionary coding remained steadfast; except now it was largely African immigrants who dominated the enduring "outsider" space. This insider/outsider divide was violently enforced as a matter of law during the Apartheid era and, with the poor South African masses frustrated by the government's apparent failure to deliver on the promise of wellbeing that was supposed to come with being an insider as well as at reinforcing the exclusion of the outsider, increased Afrophobic violence has become the voice of the voiceless; a popular expression of a national project that is viewed as having failed to deliver on its promises.

As such, Landau continues, there are two fundamental legacies out of which Afrophobia grows: the coding of regulated (or even unregulated) human mobility as a threat to insiders' economic and physical wellbeing and national achievement and the use of individuals' immutable geographic or cultural points of origin to determine potential utility and the right to claim national or subnational citizenship. The homelands fostered sentiments of ethnic particularism which not only manifest in acrimony towards immigrants to the country, but towards other Black South Africans from different ethnic groups as well. Lisa, a Pretoria resident and member of the Lobedu ethnic group originally from the Limpopo province, spoke at length about not only experiencing ethnophobia upon moving to Gauteng for university, but how her own childhood in Limpopo had shaped her perception of other ethnic groups, saying "(I was always told that) if I'm Lobedu I can't relate with Tswanas; it is based on different ethnic groups." In

April 2008, a Tsonga family originally from the Limpopo province reported having their

shack set alight by assailants in Mamelodi (Pretoria), despite their pleas and showing

their South African IDs. In May of the same year Nomsa Sibanda, a Zimbabwean woman

was quoted as saying "It's the Zulus doing this and doing it to their own people" before

noting how her Pedi and Shangaan neighbors were told to "go back to Limpopo"

(Mwakikagile 250). Takalane Muga, a Venda woman married to a Zimbabwean man and

residing in Soweto explained that "I don't feel safe in my own country, and my husband

is always in hiding" (Ratsatsi 2008). This ethnophobia comprises of rhetoric and violence

not unlike that minted out to foreigners, thereby giving credence to the theory that

Afrophobia, as an expression of identity, is rooted in the legacies of Apartheid.

Ethnic Particularism

While ethnically diverse South African mobs have spurred the xenophobic

sentiment and violence, study respondents and segments of the media have routinely

singled out Zulu ethnocentrists as being prominently involved. The preceding sections

describe the influence that King Zwelithini's speech had on his audience, and how it was

used to provide agency in the WhatsApp letter from the Gauteng civil groups, as well as

the repeated singling out of "The Zulus" as being behind the violence by victims and

survivors of Afrophobic attacks. In the aftermath of the 2008 attacks, John Dumba, a

foreign national who had found refuge at a Johannesburg church, described how "a lot of

Zulus came in Kombis...they were shouting *Makwerekwere* (Foreigners)" (Van Hoom

2008).

Not only is pre-colonial Zulu history particularly storied, ethnic Zulus make up

22% of South Africa's population (29% of the Black population), and isiZulu is the most

widely spoken official language in the country. Zulu nationalism was institutionalized as an anti-Apartheid movement with the birth of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) in the Kwazulu homeland under Chief Mangosutho (Gatsha) Buthelezi in 1972. Initially named the Inkatha Cultural Movement, the party extended membership to all ethnic Zulus across the country and had more than 200 000 members by 1974 (ibid). Initially built on a non-violent platform, the IFP became particularly brutal after the 1985 State of Emergency put in place by the Apartheid government. Mainly targeting members of other African anti-Apartheid organizations, casualties of the IFP's violent campaign were up to an estimated 4000 by 1990, and the violence continued in spurts up until the 1994 elections. Evidence has since been put forth suggesting that it was the Apartheid government's mysterious "Third Force" that had trained and armed IFP as a ploy to showcase Black disunity and their inability to govern (Dubow). IFP went on to secure more than 10% of the vote in that election and, despite decreasing support over the years, continues to be a political force in the country. Whether through the IFP or otherwise, Zulu ethnocentrism thus continues to be a particular force of identity in post-Apartheid South Africa.

In addition to the historical institutionalization and sheer numbers to accompany Zulu nationalism, contemporary socio-economic dynamics are a particular source of frustration for this demographic. While we have already seen the enduring levels of poverty among the Black South Africans, scholars have suggested poverty rates to be about 20 percentage points higher among the Zulu and Xhosa than among the Sotho/Tswana, a figure comparable to the Black/White disparities in the USA (Gradin 6)[89]. Theories abound have suggested different industrial foci in the different provinces as

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[89] This particular data point has been contested.

well as distinct socio-cultural conditions to account for these elevated poverty levels, but research remains inconclusive.

It has also been reported that a significant number of the violent perpetrators belonged to the Zulu working class arising from the Gauteng hostels, where their marauding was accompanied by the call-and-response anti-Apartheid anthem *Umshini Wami* (Glaser 58). Translating to "my machine", the song makes reference to the AK47s synonymous with the MK militants during the Apartheid era. The evocation of this overtly violent anthem in mobilizations against African immigrants suggests that their presence infringes on the social stability, autonomy, and mobility of the locals like the Apartheid government did, albeit in different ways. At the height of the violence, Zulu gangs subjected those suspected of being foreigners to what became known as the "elbow test" in which they asked them to say the Zulu word for elbow, *indololwane* (Ochieng 2017). In 2008 Bheki Cele, Kwazulu Natal's safety and minister at the time[90], had a high-profile confrontation with the IFP, whom he accused of organizing "100 hostel dwellers" at an IFP branch meeting before raiding a tavern and smashing cars (Mail & Guardian 2008). The IFP denied these accusations, arguing that 'IFP is all about Ubuntu… in the African lifestyle, you never chase away people." The evidence echoed by numerous respondents and even high ranking political figures however asserts that values of Ubuntu may have been relegated to the periphery by ethnocentric chauvinism in the face of sustained poverty and increased immigration.

Yet it would be dangerous and simplistic to finger the Zulu people as the chief drivers behind Afrophobia in South Africa. Despite xenophobic attacks occurring in

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[90] Currently South Africa's national police commissioner.

South Africa since before the advent of democracy, there were none such attacks in KwaZulu Natal prior to 2008 (P. Landau 48). This contradicts the suggested primordial link between Zulu ethnocentrism and exclusionary violence. Political scientist Laurence Piper has cited the decreasing popularity of the IFP and surge in that of the ANC among the Zulu people in recent elections as proof that "being Zulu does not mean being Zulu nationalist" (403). If anything, Zulu Nationalism was only "strategically embraced by the IFP to capitalize on a popular ethnic identity" and hence manipulated (403). If anything, then, a narrative that singularly scapegoats Zulu people in conversations surrounding Afrophobia runs the risk of duplicating the top-down, elite-driven narrative that this study is meant to help disrupt. As such, the findings in this section ought to be put in conversation with the rest of the chapter and evaluated accordingly.

Education and Exceptionalism

The acrimony, prejudice, and violence that African immigrants encounter can, in many ways, be traced to the ideology of South African exceptionalism. This idea "contends that South Africa – due to its industrialized, democratic character – is fundamentally different from other African countries" (Gordon 504). Political theorist Achille Mbembe describes this attitude, which he argues Black South Africans continue to be socialized into, as 'National Chauvinism' (2015). That this notion posits South Africa as being particularly superior to "other African countries" explains, at least in part, why hostilities are overwhelmingly aimed at Africans as opposed to immigrants from elsewhere. It is this belief in South African exceptionalism that is on show in this chapter's opening anecdote involving my Zimbabwean driver and the South African security guard. In fact, 60% of the African immigrants to South Africa interviewed for

this study revealed seemingly benign conversations with Black South Africans that betrayed this exceptionalist sentiment. Didier, a second-year college student from Benin, remarked, "You know what it is? (laughing) These people here- they call other foreigners- African foreigners African, like they're not African themselves. We're all part of Africa!" Vivian, a Ugandan hotel receptionist in her late 20s who had moved to Pretoria only six months prior to the interview, described being asked "what Africa was like" by her colleagues.

Even South African citizens have observed these attitudes among the compatriots. Lisa, originally from Venda, commented that "I hear people (South Africans in Gauteng) calling people from the continent, "Hey Africa, you Africa" like they're not Africans themselves!" Zingiswa added that "...there is still a problem in SA where we still think this is a specific, capital country of Africa." Buhle, a Xhosa PAC administrator, described a common occurrence that "when you get someone from East Africa or West Africa comes to SA, a South African will say Oh that person from Africa', so there is sense of excluding oneself from the others. There is a sense of superiority; because of the development in SA. So, they don't entirely identify as African; it's I'm *South* African."

Even as large sections of South Africa's populace have embraced the exceptionalism, scholars have sought to debunk it as a myth. Mamdani argues that "Apartheid, usually considered the exceptional feature in the South African experience, is actually its one aspect that is uniquely African" (27). Despite its identifiably distinct name as a segregatory system and its particular visibility due to its continued existence decades after the end of colonialism in neighboring countries, he continues to argue, Apartheid depended on structures of indirect rule and labor system built upon "a double

230

divide: ethnic on one hand, and rural-urban on the other" (27). These are the structures, albeit with differing specificities, that upheld colonialism across the continent. Earlier chapters herein spoke significantly to the similarities (and, often, duplications) in colonial policies and structures between the settler colonialism in South Africa and Zimbabwe, and Mamdani draws further parallels with other systems of colonial governance.

It would, however, be disingenuous to deny South Africa any exceptionalism. There are, after all, aspects of the republic- indeed rooted in its industrialization and democracy- that millions from neighboring countries have come to their borders in pursuit of. Mamdani even concedes this point, observing that "it is only from a perspective that focuses single-mindedly on the labor question that the South African experience appears exceptional" (*Citizens* 28). In essence, then, any recognition of this apparent exceptionalism inherently keeps guarded Apartheid's legacy; for it is only through its history of brutal and long-lasting settler colonialism and industrialization driven by slavery and forced servitude and exclusion that this distinction was largely achieved. Yet even with South Africa's exceptionalism objectively conceded, it is diminishingly apparent the further we get into the Post-Apartheid era. The country's overall economic might lags behind Nigeria and has Egypt trailing just behind it, while it ranks only sixth in GDP per Capita, behind neighbors Botswana, among others (worldbank.org). As shown earlier, inequality is among the highest in the world. Countries such as Ghana, Mauritius, and Zambia have also demonstrated the democratic maturity that was once upon a time the country's distinct domain on the continent. The perpetuation of the idea of South African exceptionalism, then, seems to be less about objective exceptionalism than it is about an enduring subjective belief in its mythology.

231

Throughout this study, respondents recurrently indicted the nature of South Africa's post-Apartheid educational system for being significantly responsible for the perpetuation of the exceptionalist sentiment. Some immigrants opined that it wasn't rigorous enough, and that is why immigrants posed an employment and overall economic threat to the locals. Didier observed of his Tshwane Technical College peers that:

> The problem is this: South Africans, most of them are not as skilled.as Foreigners are, so when they get an opportunity to build the country, they succeed… (giving an example of why South Africans are not skilled) they don't do mathematics here. Maths is optional from primary school! Me, I learnt math in my country: I have a degree in Stats before coming here. (Didier)

Although the idea of math being optional in primary school was no more than just a rumor and the subject actually remains compulsory until the 12th grade (sanews.gov.za), it grows out of legitimate critiques of the educational system that are often cited in explaining the country's alarming inequality. A 2015 report by the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development ranked the country's educational system 75th out of the 76 countries it reported on (Nonjinge 2018). Other disconcerting statistics revealed that almost 60% of the country's students were functionally illiterate by the time they were in fourth grade, 48% of college students drop out, and a remarkable 5% of Black and Colored South Africans successfully complete university (Nonjinge 2018). These shortcomings are birthed out of the enduring Apartheid legacies, and have been the impetus for contemporary student-led movements such as the #MustFall protests discussed in Chapter four. In essence, the underperforming post-Apartheid educational system is yet another indictment of a national question unanswered and national project incomplete.

While a sub-par educational system generally explains, at least in part, the economic threat felt by South Africans at the advent of neighboring immigrants, it is the ways in which the curriculum teaches- or does not teach- about the rest of the continent that betray the country's rich Pan-African history and the proclamations of the African Renaissance by its contemporary political elites. That is to say the myth of South African exceptionalism, and thus the resulting Afrophobia, can be attributed to an Apartheid remnant, inward-looking curricula that has largely neglected the country's Pan-African history in particular- and the rest of the continent in general. African immigrants expressed awe at the ignorance about the rest of Africa that they have encountered in the country. Vivian recalled being asked if Uganda was in Europe, and Didier lamented that "They (South Africans) don't know about any other countries... I can tell you about the Congo, but these guys don't even know who Didier Drogba[91] is!" After Dambudzo had suggested that "letting them (South Africans) know about the role fellow Africans played in the Anti-Apartheid struggle. I asked if he truly believed that they did not know, to which he responded:

> Ignorance. Why (do I say it is ignorance?); because the other time we had a general conversation with, not adults, (but South African) graduates and those in college; they don't know that stuff; people already in university and they are the future of the country; what more do you expect in old age? (Dambudzo)

The sentiment was not unique to African immigrants either. Seven out of ten South African respondents, ranging from political leaders to artists and students, all bemoaned how their education- both formal and informal- had failed to successfully

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[91] Famed Ivorian soccer star who was, among innumerable other accolades, twice voted the African Player of the Year (2006, 2009)

incorporate the rest of the continent into academic and mainstream discourse. Bathanda, a researcher with the National Council of Trade Unions, argued of the Frontline States and anti-Apartheid Pan-Africanism:

> ... that history is unknown to a majority of South Africans. All we know is so and so was exiled in Namibia...as to other countries losing their GDP and other sacrifices; it isn't that known as it should be. There isn't that much written into it. Even if you were to ask other people, it isn't part of our history. All that is known is our Robben Islands, Nelson Mandela, Political Freedom Fighters, mostly featuring South African Figures.

Buhle (PAC), emphasized the link between the lack of relevant information that is a relic Apartheid and the prevalence of xenophobia, arguing that:

> I think this a Masterpiece of what the Apartheid government did; they isolated South Africans so they had no knowledge of what is happening abroad. The Apartheid regime regulated the media... Imagine if there had been emphasis on saying 'Look, South Africa you didn't receive your independence alone; the likes of Nyerere, Botswana, XYZ helped,' do you think Xenophobia would have happened? No I don't think so.

While, as with King Zwelithini's incendiary speech, Afrophobia and acknowledgment of the continent's role have proven to not necessarily be mutually exclusive, the dearth of information and education continues to compound the xenophobic tensions.

The misinformation machinery of Apartheid rested not only in its omissions, but in the adopted narrative as well. Jackie Seroke, the Political and Pan-African Affairs secretary of the PAC, explained how:

> Apartheid forces churned out a very strong censorship system: people had no access to information. They don't know. The information they have is Apartheid propaganda. They heard that Africa is a dark continent with people who live in

the jungle and forest; who'd come out to eat your babies alive. So that propaganda is real, and if you talk to people you can still find it today because the people- generation after generation- believe in that. The school system did that.

Despite numerous advances, the current educational system and other platforms for information dissemination retain their Apartheid roots. Itself a legacy of a discriminatory school system dating back to the 19th century, the 1953 Bantu Education Act further enforced segregation of schools, and Black schools were grossly under-resourced and handed a curriculum that served two fundamental purposes: to secure a constant supply of labor for the Apartheid industries and to curtail any fermentation of dissent within the student community. This indictment of the system in general, and mathematics in particular, harkens back to earlier in the section when perceptions and realities of contemporary math education were discussed. In addition, the system resorted to the ethnicization of schools, in tandem with the Homelands Act and other pillars of Apartheid, as a way to "deprive Africans and isolate them from 'subversive' ideas" (Meier 1963). The sub-par educational system was hampered by a lack of resources in the rural and township school, as evidenced by a continuing "large significant number of under-qualified staff...dilapidated (buildings) in need of repair with holes in the ceilings and wall...acute shortage of textbooks and other learning materials" (Ngcobo & Tikly 209).

While frustrations with the curriculum culminated in the 1976 Soweto Uprisings and the Act was repealed in 1979, segregation in the schools continued until the end of Apartheid, but many argue that many tenets of Bantu Education are still in place today. For example, Hendrik Verwoerd, Minister of Native Affairs at the time of Act's implementation (and future prime minister), famously remarked "There is no place for [the Bantu] in the European community above the level of certain forms of labor ... What

is the use of teaching the Bantu child mathematics when it cannot use it in practice?" (Clark & Worger 48). The first set of post-Apartheid reforms set out to "purge the apartheid curriculum of 'racially offensive and outdated content" (Jansen). In so doing, however, they avoided reforms in the teaching of history in particular, reasoning that "avoiding the past in the curriculum allowed for the expression of new values and a national identity located in a vision of an economically prosperous nation" (Weldon 2009). Even with the progress shown in 2002's Revised National Curriculum Statement (RCNS) where "South African history is routinely situated within a broader African and world history so that South Africans see themselves as part of the African continent… the history of Great Zimbabwe is included in the curriculum as are accounts of the recruitment of migrant workers from neighboring countries in the history and development of mining in South Africa," (Chisholm) many of the teachers who grew up and were trained under different curricula tend to prefer to use older instead of newer textbooks, and students in poorer communities largely do not have access to these books as well, thus the cycle continues (Chisholm).

Nothing exemplified the tension between South Africa's rich Pan-Africanist history and the fundamental dearth of disseminated Pan-African information than the launch of the *Learning African History: African Freedom Fighters* book series launch at the Kara Heritage Institute (Kara)[92] in Pretoria on June 26, 2017 at which South African Minister of Basic Education Angie Motshekga was the keynote speaker. Each of the books in the ten-book collection features a biographical account of an icon of the African anti-colonial era, including the likes of Nyerere, Nkrumah, Mugabe and Kenyatta. When

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[92] Described in-depth in Chapter 4

we were invited to the launch a week earlier, however, I was struck by the fact that the Kara administrative assistant passing out information on the event could only positively identify Nelson Mandela and Robert Mugabe by other face or name from the ten figureheads profiled, quipping "I'm sure they are all musicians." Surprised as I was, I thought no more of it until the day of the event. Another Kara employee, tasked with introducing the series and the minister, also positively identified two of the profiled leaders, before mispronouncing Sam Nujoma of neighboring Namibia and finally declaring "Kenyatta? He's from Kenya, right? He has Kenya in his name." Minister Motshekga had not arrived when these comments were uttered, so when she took to the stage and spoke, her remarks were an unbeknownst scathe on the overall ignorance that they represented:

> I was talking to students after the death of (then recently-deceased Namibia anti-Apartheid activist) Toivo- they had no idea who he was. Ask Nigerians who Mandela is, they all know. But ask our children who Augustin Neto is, they won't. They will know who Mugabe is because of all the insults being hurled at him, so they learn about Africans negatively. We need to show our children how they're bound to other Africans by blood and struggle. (Motshekga)

Motshekga's comments are a particularly noteworthy indictment of the educational system's discourse on Africa, especially coming from the top government official tasked with advancing and guarding that system since 2009. If the minister herself lambasted curricula and media's disconnect with the rest of the continent, and two representatives of a prominent African-centered organization confused the list of renowned African dignitaries with musicians, one can hardly be surprised by the absence of a strong and relevant Pan-African narrative to counter Afrophobic sentiments among the masses

COUNTERNARRATIVES: RESPONSES TO AFROPHOBIA

Despite the notoriety of anti-African xenophobia in post-Apartheid South Africa, large segments of society are standing up in defiance to the phenomenon. This defiance can be broadly broken down into three into three categories: deliberate reactions that have come up in direct response to Afrophobia; default tenets of the post-Apartheid national project that innately combat xenophobia; and other noticeable forms of solidarity and reconfiguration of identities by both foreign nationals and South African natives.

Deliberate Responses to Afrophobia

In the aftermath of both the 2008 and 2015 violence, thousands of South Africans took to the streets in solidarity marches and rallies. In April 2015, more than 5000 people marched in Durban, with one marcher quoted as saying "I definitely think that it's about time people stood up for our brothers and sisters because we are Africans" (Al Jazeera). It is worth noting that this march took place in KwaZulu Natal in the immediate aftermath of King Zwelithini's comments and in the face of Zulu nationalism being touted as a driving impetus behind Afrophobia. Four days after the Durban march, Zwelithini himself bowed to the backlash and denied inciting violence, arguing the media had misquoted him, before denouncing the xenophobic attacks. The king fell short of apologizing for the comments- misquoted or otherwise- and the subsequent deaths. His apparent lack of remorse combined with dozens of counter-protesters who sought to disrupt the solidarity march compromised the attempts at comprehensive damage control in the heart of Zululand.

The South African state also played a significant role in the aftermath of the xenophobic violence. Schools and other public places were turned into temporary refugee

centers, while the police and army were deployed to restore order. While these are standard procedures at maintaining law and order, the government put in place a 27-point program aimed at dealing with xenophobia and immigration issues in 2015. While other programs had been institutionalized in the past (for ex. After the 2008 attacks) and were largely deemed failures, the government and immigrant population alike are hopeful that this program's combination of legal action, socio-economic reforms, and an elaborate educational campaign will be effective in combating Afrophobia. Marc Gbaffou, the Ivorian chairperson of the African Diaspora Forum in South Africa, affirmed the program's educational thrust, saying:

> If, after the violence, nothing more happens in terms of educating people and changing their perceptions about what migration is and who migrants are, then you will still be living with this evil and the possibility of another outbreak. We need to eradicate it, to root it out of our society. To achieve this, we need to embark on a very large education Campaign. (News24, 2015)

Study respondents, however, overwhelmingly said it was too early to tell if the program had paid any dividends already.

Economists have consistently criticized the economic rationale behind Afrophobia, arguing that immigration in fact tends to have a positive net impact on South Africa's economy. Dambudzo has observed this rhetoric from among the economists as well, noting that, "Most of them (economists) look at Zimbabweans contributing to the GDP of the country; look at road constructions; it's mainly Zimbabweans there, looking at the fast food industry- so they can see that Zimbabweans are important to the economy. They realize that if we remove these people from our country, they are going to create a problem." Although probably speaking with the partiality that his own positionality as a

Zimbabwean immigrant accords, the data seems to corroborate Dambudzo's overall

argument. A 2017 study from the University of Pretoria concluded that:

> Owing to the fact that African immigrants in South Africa are according to research findings established to be highly educated, skilled and entrepreneurial, their presence in the country could more effectively be explored to develop the productive capabilities of the majority of largely unskilled South African citizens and by so doing, significantly advance socio-economic transformation in the country. (Sawa 1)

The immigration "crisis", in other words, did not pose the threat perceived by the

government and those within the community moved unto Afrophobia. If anything, the

study argues, such fear was only holding back the country's "transformational project"

(Sawa 57). Another study discovered that African immigrants were often more prone to

undertaking business ventures and, instead of 'stealing' jobs, were more likely to create

employment for themselves and the local South Africans (Kalitanya & Visser 388).

Africanization as an Equalizer

In addition to the deliberate responses specific to Afrophobia described above,

there are other expressions that—although not responses to Afrophobia— also cultivate a

South African community more tolerant to the immigrants. The culmination of these

movements, whether directly related or otherwise, are collectively referred to as

'Africanization.' Ndlovu- Gatsheni describes the ideological shift as a "counter-discourse

that emerged from various layers of resistance to the (Apartheid) politics of radical

difference to restore core aspects of Ubuntu, those informed by traditions of embracing

and absorbing strangers" (*Empire* 135). Initiatives of Africanization in post-Apartheid

South Africa have included the #RhodesMustFall and #AfrikaansMustFall movements, as

well as the development of cultural hubs and events centered at celebrating South

Africa's Africanness.

The #MustFall movements[93] critically cultivated a contemporary platform of solidarity between Black South African students and those from neighboring countries. For example, with 7% of UCT student body coming from Southern African Development Community SADC countries (excluding South Africa) and significant portion of that figure hailing from Zimbabwe and Zambia, the relatable historical trauma of Cecil John Rhodes led to many neighboring voices expressing their support for the movement (T Moyo 2015). As the movement grew and spread, fellow Africans even took up leadership roles among their South African peers. One such prominent example is Swazi-born #FeesMustFall leader and University of Witwatersrand (Wits) student body president, Mcebo Dlamini, who made international headlines when he was arrested for leading protests in Johannesburg and would not be released for fear that he would flee back to Swaziland (Tandwa 2016). These student movements have illuminated shared histories and marginalization that are a basis for African solidarity.

JC, a Zimbabwean law student at the University of South Africa (UNISA), who has been involved in the #FeesMustFall movement, described the reception by his South African counterparts as:

> I am very appreciative of the support we have received. They just take you as you are. They love foreign students, and they treat you just as a fellow student. So they are part and parcel of pushing our issues to the higher ups so that our cries may be heard. I think the issue is what binds us; which is being under the college of law. However, there is also a sense of Africanism which binds us, which is Ubuntu- which drives them to support us in that they understand our plight...our law organization was part and parcel of the (#FeesMustFall) movement because, as I just said, our aim is to address the needs of students. We find that many

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[93] See chapter 4.

students are being deprived of their right to education; a fundamental right protected by the SA constitution.

JC's response speaks to a mutually beneficial solidarity, through which local activists advocated for the international students while holding authorities accountable in their treatment of South African citizens as well. These student movements have also situated South Africa as part of an African story, and this is manifest in ways in which African symbolism from other parts of the continent has been appropriated in protests. During the #RhodesMustFall protests at the University of Cape Town, for example, Soweto-born Zulu spoken word artist Sethembile Msezane would evoke the fish eagle symbol from the Great Zimbabwean civilization of yesteryear, where the bird was said to deliver messages from the spirit world (Foster 2015). In utilizing a metaphor that is synonymous with Zimbabwean nationalism to connect with ancestral voices for whom Africa had not been bordered and segregated, Msezane essentially removes the apparent spiritual barrier between the two contemporary nation states. Universities then, and the student-led movements thereof, have become a site primed for combating the symptoms and root causes of contemporary Afrophobia.

Despite the overall criticism of the post-Apartheid national project's failure to break away from isolation and misinformation of the Apartheid era, the South African government has made some strides towards the Africanization of the country. Since 2000, for example, streets and communities named after Apartheid icons have been renamed with names of anti-Apartheid activists such as Mandela, Sobukwe, Biko, and Lilian Ngoyi (tshwane.gov.za). Durban, in particular, has triumphed in incorporating non-South African Pan-African leaders in their cityscape, with new street names including Julius Nyerere, Kenneth Kaunda, SWAPO, Samora Machel, among others. The federal

government has also worked to establish African heritage sites, often with a deliberate Pan-African thrust. The colossal Freedom Park in Pretoria, for example, dedicates significant portions of its 52-hectare space to the Pan-African cause, telling extensively the stories of the likes of Nyerere and Amilcar Cabral as well as honoring by name soldiers from across the continent (and beyond, as with Cuban militants) who died in the anti-Apartheid cause. In 2016, the government declared the month of May as Africa Month turning the day-long commemoration that is Africa Day (May 25) into a month-long series of events, conversations and celebration. The initiative, spearheaded by the department of arts and culture, is founded on the basis that, "South Africa recognizes itself as an integral part of the African continent. Therefore, the country understands its national interest to be intrinsically linked to continental stability, unity and prosperity. Our national interest is therefore defined by the development and upliftment of all African people" (http://www.dac.gov.za).

Africa Month was not highlighted as a significant Africanizing or Pan-African initiative by this study's subjects, and this is largely due to its infancy. However, its commitment towards "inculcating an African identity through the popularization of the national flag and continental flag as well as the National Anthem and the African Union Anthem, a festival of ideas, a celebration of what it means to be African to deepen and expand our knowledge, engage in cultural exchange, sharpen our ideas but also together to face our continental destiny" (Department of Arts and Culture) has the potential to combat the dearth of continental awareness that has contributed to Afrophobia.

Shared Human Experience against Xenophobia

On that winter Pretoria evening, after the unpleasant Afrophobic harangue by the

security guard towards our driver, I went into the Manhattan hotel for a drink and to see what 'local' artist was singing in the lounge that day. Depending on what evening you show up, you could run into a Zimbabwean band, a drummer from Botswana, or a jazz crooner from Lesotho putting on a show for the predominantly Black South African- yet still ethnically and nationally diverse- group of revelers. On this evening, it was Bebe from the DRC strumming along his popular Afropop sound to the cheers of an adoring crowd. This wholesome Pan-African experience is hardly an oddity in the city. It is every Friday evening at the old fire station where Xhosa poets take turns on the microphone with Mozambican drummers and Pedi reggae singers; or every Saturday at an open-air amphitheater, Market @ the Sheds, where young Zimbabwean singer Lynol Siwela routinely steals the show with his renditions of popular Nigerian songs. The African ambience is ubiquitous right down to restaurants' playlists that feature legendary African musicians such as Zimbabwe's Oliver Mtukudzi, Mozambique's Jimmy Dludlu, Nigeria's Davido and Lesotho's Sankomota in rotation.

True to its role in shaping the national psyche, the arts scene has emerged as a vocal counteragent to Afrophobia. Tumi, a South African vocal and stage artist, reiterated sentiments expressed by various artists- whether native or foreigner- interviewed for this study, saying "Artists have this beautiful thing where we connect so much on an artistic level that it's not the first thing that comes to my mind; I recognize the talent more than anything else. I met this Senegalese guy; he's so soulful man; that's what comes to my mind. That's what it is among artists." In the Pan-African spirit of yesteryear music icons such as Miriam Makeba, Lucky Dube, and Hugh Masekela, the music platform (and arts in general) continues to be one battlefront where Afrophobia is constantly defeated.

In light of Afrophobia, other boundary-defying, pan-ethnic bonds have also been established. Given the ethnophobia directed their way by the more dominant groups, members of smaller ethnic South African groups have described establishing kinship with African immigrants instead. Lisa, of the Balobedu ethnic group from Limpopo, explained that "we relate with people of other countries; there is a lot of xenophobia as you can see, (sometimes I feel that) if I'm Lobedu I can't relate with Tswanas, with Zulus- they think we're lower class… but if I hear someone speaking Shona, I go "ahh these people are from home" (Lisa).

The geographic and cultural proximity of the Shona people of Zimbabwe, coupled with the similar marginalization she has felt as a Lobedu woman in Gauteng by her compatriots, have driven her to solidarity with technical foreigners. Conversely, Dambudzo from Zimbabwe explained that the three families with which he shares an apartment were all from Venda, saying "it feels like you really have brothers and sisters around" and observing that they, too, were "regarded as being non-existent. That's why you see cartoons circulating that mock the Venda; they're regarded as inferior," a sentiment echoed by Lisa almost verbatim. Although significant, these instances of camaraderie between fringe ethnic groups and foreign nationals are, however, not universal: many foreigners have also taken to blaming each other for bringing unwanted attention on the immigrant community. Tino, a recent Zimbabwean immigrant to Pretoria, described how "I have seen so many in the streets, for example the Nigerians- when they are drunk, they just start shouting at each other," while Anthony of Malawi was quoted as saying "the number one factor behind this trouble is the influx of Zimbabweans" (Mwakikagile 317). Such discrepancies are due in part to the innate

impulse to establish difference and blame between our own and competing identities and, more importantly, a self-preserving rationalization and survival tactic in a literal life and death situation.

In a poignant way, social media has emerged as a platform to forge solidarity and community in the 21st century. This was illustrated in November 2017 when, in the aftermath of Robert Mugabe's removal from power and the ensuing sociopolitical uncertainty, a popular Facebook community page The Joburger asked their predominantly South African audience what they appreciated about their Zimbabwean neighbors. With the exception of a few mean-spirited sentiments, the comments were overwhelmingly complimentary, praising their intellect, work ethic, and resilience among other things. Comments also came from Africans from other countries as well, and included "I admire that you have come here and take on any job that would be seen as beneath others. Housekeeper that has a degree, or a factory worker that's a banker," and "Zimbabweans come to RSA and learn most languages in months. Y'all are masters in adaptation" (Shange 2017).

Afrophobia casts a menacing shadow over South African society. Constant rumors about pending attacks keep immigrant populations on edge, and several drivers of Afrophobia remain unaddressed. It is, however, critical that we acknowledge both the progressive responses to Afrophobia, as well as the communities, spaces, and initiatives in South Africa that inherently foster a more tolerant atmosphere for immigrants.

CONCLUSION: AFROPHOBIA AS SOUTH AFRICAN NATIONALISM?

At first glance, the existence of Afrophobia in South Africa appears to be at odds with a national project built upon the values of tolerance and inclusion as represented by

Ubuntu and the Rainbow Nation, a rich Pan-African history, and an assumed leadership role in the African Renaissance. Yet this study reveals that the anti-African sentiments and violence are deeply rooted in the country's historical cultivation of notions of nationalism. The negotiated transition to democracy retained several critical markers of Apartheid's South Africa's national project, including an inward-looking educational system that fosters continental dislocation, ethnocentrism and the resulting inter-ethnic conflicts, as well as heightened economic disparities. Thus, despite proclamations to the contrary, Afrophobia is actually a popular expression of South Africa's post-Apartheid nationalism, and not a departure from it.

Yet even as we acknowledge the magnitude of Afrophobia in contemporary South Africa's national psyche, it is critical to acknowledge the counternarratives that have emerged as well. Deliberate campaigns in the aftermath of xenophobic violence, Africanization as an initiative driven by both government and civil society, as well as the shared human experiences that highlight the virtues of Ubuntu, have all been critical weapons against the culture of xenophobia in the country.

Comprehensive national reform through which the pandemic inequality in the country is addressed and a redrawing of the curriculum to make it both competitive in the global market and inclusive of South Africa's symbiosis with the rest of Africa are essential for the fight against Afrophobia. Furthermore, elaborate anti-Afrophobic policy declarations by the government, as well as civil society- led decolonial and Africanization initiatives are necessary steps towards the vile expression of nationalism that is Afrophobia.

CONCLUSION: POPULAR EXPRESSIONS OF AFRICAN NATIONALISM(S)—RECONSIDERING CONVERGENCES AND DIVERGENCES AMONG ETHNIC POLITICS, NATIONALISM AND PAN-AFRICANISM

C Concepts of belonging, such as nationalism, ethnicity, and regionalism are in a constant state of evolution. They tend to be susceptible to geo-political and geographic influences, local and global socio-economic phenomena and the inevitable march of father time. This evolution is particularly true for the tripartite of African nationalist expressions and identities that have been the subject of this study – ethnicism, African Nationalism, and Pan-Africanism. Ethnic dynamics have changed dramatically from their incarnations before and during the colonial era, the national projects facing both countries bear significant differences from those they faced even at independence, and the objectives and strategies of yesteryear Pan-Africanism have also shifted.

The narratives, events, stories presented in this work thus far has endeavored to represent the evolution of these conceptual realities, as demonstrated by the historical and contemporary popular expressions thereof. In this chapter, I analyze the overwhelming trends identified throughout the project, putting them in conversation with existent related literature and theorizing as to their implications on the South African and Zimbabwean communities. In addition, the analysis also interrogates the utility and limitations of these findings in the larger Pan-African context.

Of the several trends observed, there are four that I intend to focus my analysis on. The first involves the primacy of ethnic nationalism in the 21st century and argues that, while ethnic considerations remain important, other intrastate identifiers such as economic status are more influential markers of being and solidarity among communities.

Put simply, ethnicity's role in driving notions of nationalism still exists, but it is no longer as definitive a factor as it has been described as in the past. This not only fundamentally disrupts archaic understandings of African society as primordially and inflexibly organized along 'tribal' or ethnic lines, it also reveals ways in which leaders have manipulated differences in ethnicities for political gain- elevating these differences to apparent importance that a bottom-up approach appears to dismiss. The second focuses on the enduring popular appeal of the nation, even in the era of post-nationalism as an attractive alternative. That is to say, even among those deluded by the seeming failures of their respective country's post-colonial national project, the concept of the nation-state remains a primary source of belonging. Thus, contrary to conventional scholarship that posits contemporary nationalism as being the primary- if not sole- creation of political leadership, the nation in many ways continues to be defined by the people.

The third critical point runs parallel and complementary to the previous one. While the masses define the parameters of nationalism, they place the overwhelming responsibility on government to enforce and make viable the national project. If nationalism is largely conceived and curated by the people, the data suggests that it ought to be enforced and sustained by the government. The fourth and final dynamic borne of the data complicates the contemporary relationship between South African and Zimbabwean nationalisms with Pan-Africanism. Evidence gathered from this study demonstrates that people in either community engage Pan-African phenomena positively in their daily lives. Any propensity towards Pan-Africanism is however dampened by perceived shortcomings within the political leadership's stewardship of their individual national project. Hence, while some 20th century scholars suggested that heightened

nationalism was an obstacle to Pan-African unity, the assertion misses out on critical

nuance. People are keen on a Pan-Africanism whose parochial benefits to their individual

communities are well outlined and whose practical execution does not compromise

responses to their pressing national questions. Critically, each of these four findings have

fundamentally informed the various nationalisms interrogated in this study, both

convergent and divergent. As such, each will be discussed within the context of the

relevant nationalism and nationalistic expressions out of which it arises. The following

table harkens back to the dissertation's introduction (**Table 1**), where I categorized

convergent and divergent nationalisms only now fleshed out with the various

manifestations and impetuses that inform these nationalisms, as emerged over the course

of this study.

Table 3: Convergent and Divergent Nationalisms[94]

	South Africa	Zimbabwe

Convergent	• Post-Apartheid Reconciliation & Multi-Racialism
	  o Rainbow Nationalism
	• Inter-ethnic contestations
	  o Zulu Nationalism
	• Pan-Africanism
	  o African Renaissance
	  o Africanization
		• Post-Independence Reconciliation and Multiracialism
		  o "Miracle of Zimbabwe"
		• Inter-ethnic contestations
		  o Gukurahundi
		• Pan-Africanism
		  o Frontline States/SADC
		  o Mugabeism)

Divergent	• Afrophobia
	  o Economic Disparities
	  o Enduring Apartheid Legacy
	  o Deficient Educational System
	  o South African Exceptionalism
		• Land Redistribution
		  o Centrality of Land as a National Metaphor
		  o Post ESAP economic collapse
		  o Opposition Rise
		  o Western Reneging on Lancaster House promise
		  o Mugabeism

DIMINISHED IMPORTANCE? RETHINKING THE CONTEMPORARY CENTRALITY OF ETHNIC NATIONALISM IN SOUTH AFRICA AND ZIMBABWE

The definitive centrality of ethnocentrism as an obstacle to African Nationalism has long stood as an unchallenged truism. While ethnic identity was indeed a primary precolonial marker of identity, colonial authorities manipulated it as a 'divide and conquer' tool to facilitate the subjugation of the indigenous peoples. For example, the

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[94] This is the same framework as developed in **Table 1**, only now accounting for the motivators, expressions and phenomena that facilitated the divergent nationalisms examined in the study.

Rhodesian authorities thrived on perpetuating a narrative of the Ndebele being a belligerent and barbaric people who had conquered the lands of the meek and unsophisticated Shona. The manipulation becomes even more glaring when we consider that it was not until 1896 that British commissioners set out to create an "Ndebele ethnicity" out of those who lived in the plateau, using the Natal Code of 1891 that had been used by the South Africans in defining the Zulu. Thus, what became to be known as "Ndebele" thereafter consisted of 60% Shona people and other ethnic groups that were essentially "taught how to be Ndebele" by the native commissioners (Mamdani 81).

Yet, even after the fall of colonialism and the rise of African and African-centered scholarship, theorists continue to contend with the question of ethnicity as it relates to the postcolonial nation. Mamdani questions whether, with the advent of independence, Africa has fallen back into "the grip of a specifically African particularism: tribalism, ethnic conflict, and primordial combat?" (Mamdani 285). The findings of this study would resoundingly suggest otherwise. Out of a combined 23 combined subjects from South Africa (11) and Zimbabwe (12) who responded to the question regarding which identity-ranging from specific ethnicity to African- most readily resonated with them, the overwhelming majority- 19 (eight South Africans and eleven Zimbabweans)- identified with their African-ness, followed by their state nationality. Only four of the respondents-three South African and one Zimbabwean- stated their ethnicity as their primary identifier. The three South Africans bore a distinction from the other South African respondents of having grown up away from Gauteng in areas particularly associated with their ethnic group (A Lobedu woman from Limpopo, a Zulu woman from KwaZulu Natal, and a Thembu man from the Eastern Cape- all who moved to Gauteng after the age

of 15). This suggests that the centrality of ethnicity as an identifier is more pronounced in parts of the country traditionally defined by the presence of the relevant ethnic group.

Other studies regarding inter-ethnic relationships also point to the relegation to a peripheral role in contemporary incarnations of nationalism in both countries. A 2016 Afrobarometer study revealed that 93% of interviewed Zimbabweans would either strongly like or would not mind having neighbors who belonged to a different ethnic group (Kokera & Ndoma 2). This dynamic has not been lost on contemporary scholars, with Moyo and Yeros declaring that post-colonial nationalism "made the error of believing that ethnic identity was incompatible with nation-building" (36). Despite its continued significance as a marker of identity, evidence from this study's sites of analysis shows that it is not the obstacle to nationalism that it has been assumed to be.

That the significance of ethnocentrism as an obstacle to nation-building has either been exaggerated or has objectively declined the further we forage into the post-colonial era does not, however, negate any of its continued importance within the national project. UMthwakazi nationalism, driven largely by members of the Ndebele community and other smaller ethnic groups in Southwestern Zimbabwe, is an increasingly noteworthy voice in the country's contemporary socio-political landscape[95]. In South Africa, Zulu Nationalism has not only been accused of fueling xenophobic sentiments and violence, but has even targeted other native South Africans from smaller ethnic groups.[96] Yet superficial analyses often turn a blind eye to the coloniality and opportunism of the political elite in perpetuating ethnicity as an identity intrinsically inimical to another.

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[95] See chapter 3
[96] See chapter 5

Piper explains how "Zulu nationalism was strategically embraced by the IFP in an attempt to capitalize on a popular ethnic group, and then jettisoned when it no longer suited their needs" (403). Similar cases can be made for the different ethnic groups in both nations.

Closer interrogation of these ethnocentric conflicts point towards broader marginalization- whether objective or perceived- of the groups by the government and other drivers of the country's national project. For example, Ndlovu-Gatsheni notes that many organizations and individuals founded on the ideas of Ndebele particularism are driven by the "resentment of the postcolonial nation as a Shona nation, and the postcolonial state as serving Shona interests at the expense of the Ndebele" (*Do Zimbabweans Exist?* 183). Thus, ethnocentrism arises not out of a primordial particularism irreconcilable with the contemporary notion of state nationalism but, rather, as a cry to be accounted for socially, economically, and politically in the postcolonial nation. Enocent Msindo arrives at this very conclusion as well, arguing that "Although ethnic groups were not necessarily against the rise of nationalism, a potentially competing identity, they wanted assurances that nationalism would not threaten their own ethnic agendas and wished to see ethnicity and nationalism coexist" (183).

Instead of the continued fixation on ethnocentrism as obstacles to nationalism, I posit that we turn our attention to the economic schisms that are actively destabilizing the postcolonial African nation. South Africa's notorious inequality not only disadvantages the vast majority of the country across ethnic lines, they also replicate a socio-economic dynamic reminiscent of the Apartheid era: a system whose design was to exclude the majority population from the national question. While democracy may have brought

socio-political empowerment unfathomable under Apartheid, the continued absence of economic power disrupts the romanticized notions of the postcolonial nation such as Rainbow Nationalism. Furthermore, that poverty and inequality have been shown to be a major driver behind xenophobic violence prove them to be obstacles to both nationalism and an uncompromising contribution to the Pan-African project that is the African Renaissance.

Even in Zimbabwe where respondents took pride in their Pan-Africanism, with reports of Xenophobia being a yesteryear relic (and where hundreds of thousands have left for neighboring countries since the turn of the century), incompetent governance manifest in an ailing economy have roused Afrophobic rhetoric as well. For example in 2017, Tendai Biti, national chairman of the opposition party MDC, came under fire after he tweeted "Malawi is one of Africa's poorest countries. When one of its Banks buys a major Zim Bank something's not right in the motherland. #SHAME" in response to the takeover of Barclays Zimbabwe by a Malawian banking group. Many tweets castigated the tweets as xenophobic, a label hitherto not associated with the MDC or contemporary Zimbabwe as a whole. This again reiterates ways in which the economic shortcomings of the nation inevitably disrupt even the most noble of national projects and identities.

Perhaps the starkest manifestation of the socio-economic schism can be seen in the rural/urban divide in South Africa and Zimbabwe. In both countries, the ruling parties since the advent of majority rule (ZANU PF in Zimbabwe, ANC in South Africa) maintain electoral dominance[97] in the rural areas, while the opposition parties that have campaigned on a post-nationalist platform (MDC in Zimbabwe, the Democratic Alliance

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[97] Albeit diminishing with each election cycle.

in South Africa[98]) have achieved the bulk of their support in urban centers (*Sunday Times* 2018). That this represents a fundamental disconnect in imaginaries of the national project between rural and urban communities was recently illustrated emphatically in the aftermath of the 2018 harmonized Zimbabwean elections. While the MDC comprehensively trounced ZANU PF in the urban areas, ZANU PF retained their landslide popularity in rural communities. When the overall results revealed ZANU PF having won the presidential and parliamentary elections, frustrated MDC supporters in urban areas directed much vitriol towards the rural communities on social media and other public spaces. Even when, months later in November, floods hit the rural Uzumba district in Mashonaland East which has been a consistent and significant vote mill for ZANU PF, many urbanites posted on social media such condemnations as "heavy rains are not enough for this constituency: *ngakunaye moto chaiwo*[99]!" and "*ngavafe avo*[100]! They don't even pay taxes *basa kuparadza*[101] our lives and future..."

The binary voting patterns and the resultant resentment as seen above speak to an increasingly bifurcated sense of nationalism, and present a more daunting challenge to the country's leadership than any notions of ethnic nationalism if they are to draw that curtain back together.

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[98] The MDC is vastly more popular, trouncing ZANU PF in urban elections since 2000. The DA is significantly popular in urban areas than in rural areas, but still trails the ANC in both by significant margins

[99] "Let it rain fire!"

[100] "May they all die!"

[101] "All they do is destroy…"

"NATIONALISM IS DEAD: LONG LIVE THE NATION!" THE ENDURING APPEAL OF NATIONALISM IN AN ERA OF POST-NATIONALISM

In the introductory chapter of this study, we established the definition of nationalism as conceptualized by traditional scholars such as Anthony D Smith as "an ideological movement for attaining and maintaining identity, unity and autonomy of a social group whose members deem it to constitute an actual or potential nation" (18). Arising prominently in over the 20th century, African Nationalism was more specifically defined as "a political feeling manifesting itself against European rule in favor of African rule for the benefit of another" (Sithole 56). In Zimbabwe, the values of African Nationalism would thus be manifest in the liberation movements and, prominently, by Mugabe and ZANU PF in the post-colonial era. The manipulation of these values into "patronage and cronyism" became a rallying point for opposition parties- chiefly the MDC- who called for the embrace of "post-nationalism" (*Do Zimbabweans Exist* 318). The opposition party went as far as declaring, in 2000, that "MDC politics are not nationalist-inspired" (ibid). This declaration marked a critical departure: MDC (and thus opposition politics) was no longer wrestling the notion of nationalism away from ZANU PF's monopolistic grasp. Instead, they had decided that nationalism was obsolete at its core, and ZANU PF could keep it.

Despite this turn-of-the-century rhetoric, and the continued (if increasing) popularity of the MDC and other political and civic communities antithetical to Mugabeism and ZANU PF, evidence presented in this study demonstrates that the notion of the nation still holds supreme weight. As the people of Zimbabwe grow increasingly deluded with the politics of cronyism and singular, revolutionary war narrative of nationalism, they are pushing back with counter-expressions of nationalism. Even the

MDC, in later iterations of its manifesto, embraced the centrality of the nation, albeit with an emphasis on the virtues of democracy and rule of law that the Mugabe regime had grown less synonymous with. Hence, as argued in chapter three, we see the anti-government movements such as #ThisFlag centered around the country's most enduring symbol of nationalism, and the government being forced to act counter-intuitively by outlawing the flag and propagating an #OurFlag movement to wrestle back their supposed sole agency over the banner (and ipso facto, the nation). The same can be said for the resurgent utility of deceased ZANU/ZANLA liberation war heroes such as Herbert Chitepo[102] and Josiah Tongogara[103] in songs and other popular media as avenues to castigate the government. The contemporary struggle in Zimbabwe is thus not one centered on moving away from nationalism or even its anti-colonial gains: rather, it is a struggle by the different constituencies therein to reclaim the nationalistic narrative from ZANU PF's clenched fists.

If Zimbabwe presents the reality of a dogmatic African Nationalist doctrine (Mugabeism) whose shortcomings have come under pressure from post-nationalism, South Africa may well represent the opposite trajectory. Determined to wash clean the abominable stains of the Apartheid era and keen to avoid perceived social and economic retribution from radical African Nationalists in the country, the nation settled for a new and eclectic post-nationalist project in the form of Rainbow Nationalism. Buoyed by the principles of multi-racialism and Ubuntu, and facilitated by such structures as a constitution commended for its progressiveness and the Truth and Reconciliation

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[102] See Freeman and Nutty O's "Ambuya Nehanda" (discussed in chapter 3)
[103] See Junior Brown's "Tongogara" (discussed in chapter 5)

Commissions (TRCs), Rainbow Nationalism posited an alternative to the archetypal post-colonial African national project.

Despite the early successes of Rainbow Nationalism, with its agents and structures celebrated internationally, persistent socio-economic disparities and rising poverty levels are forcing the country back onto the national question drawing board. These structural inadequacies are compounded by, or contribute to, the high crime levels and Anti-African xenophobic violence that have been a blight on the Rainbow nation's post-Apartheid national project. As more and more members of the civil society express their discontent, we have witnessed a surge in Africanist socio-political sentiment, represented by the rise of such groups as the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) and Black First Land First (BLF) who advocate for the redistribution of land and wealth to the suffering African masses and (at least on the part of the former) deliberate and nuanced Pan-African engagement. The mirage of Rainbow Nationalism has also come under scrutiny from social movements such as those represented under the #MustFall umbrella, as well as the push towards 'Africanization' within different communities.

Even the ANC government, at the political center of Rainbow Nationalism and synonymous with its centrist "broad church" politics, appears to be heeding calls to adopt some of the hallmarks of African Nationalism as part of their national project. Within the past decade, major streets with Apartheid-era Afrikaner names have been renamed after prominent anti-Apartheid icons, May was declared Africa Month, and the government is making accommodations towards free tertiary education for first year students from families earning less than R350 000 per year: a demographic that includes the vast majority of the masses (Xala 2018). The advent of Cyril Ramaphosa to the presidency

has seen invigorated plans towards comprehensive land redistribution, with parliament adopting a motion to amend the constitution to allow for expropriation without compensation (Nkomo 1). While some of these policies represent nuanced national projects that still require extensive discourse and resources before implementation, the existence of their very idea harkens back to more radical versions of South African Nationalism articulated in the ANC's African Claims (1943), as well as by the likes of Anton Lembede, Robert Sobukwe and Steve Biko.

Despite the different trajectories in their overall democratic-era national projects, trends in both South Africa and Zimbabwe are indicative of the very peculiar task of nation-building that lay before the leaders and communities in the settler colonies. Regardless of the order in which they have arisen, the seemingly conflicting ideals represent the ongoing negotiation between an African Nationalism defined by anti-imperial, anti-capitalistic sovereignty and the neo-liberal, post-nationalist, capitalistic model more in tandem with contemporary global political economy. The national question facing the former settler colonies in the 21st century, hence, involves striking balance between disrupting the legacies of their colonialism in the pursuit of holistic African freedom and empowerment and the vital task of operating within a globalized system which is often apathetic (if not hostile) to this disruption.

"...VATUNGAMIRI VAVE NENDURAMO!"[104] **THE PERIPHERAL YET CRITICAL ROLE OF GOVERNMENT IN CONTEMPORARY NATIONALISM**

The core premise of this study has been the disruption of elitist conceptualization of African nationalisms that has gone largely unchallenged in by both scholars and

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[104] Penultimate line of the Zimbabwean national anthem, translating to "May Our Leaders Be Exemplary"

society. By highlighting different communities within South Africa and Zimbabwe and their popular expressions of ethnic nationalism, state nationalism, and Pan-Africanism, I have sought to demonstrate their role in the assertion of relevant agency- either in place of or complementary to that played by the political elites. While the data presented herein posits the populace as drivers and primary participants in the assertion of the national identities in their variations, respondents also overwhelmingly placed the burden of stewarding and enforcing the national agenda on their relevant political leadership. Consequently, then, respondents also felt that the abuse of political authority- whether by corruption or gross incompetence- was the biggest barrier to nation-building.

Zimbabwean respondents argued that, while the civic society was making strides towards rebuilding the nation, it was the government that was actually proving to the main obstacle. Singer and women's rights activist, Nyaradzo, explained that "The activists are united and clearly speak with one voice: the problem is leadership. We are here trying to make our communities better, but we are met with issues of corruption… the leaders have made it about themselves." Tino, 19-year-old male, went as far as declaring that the country could only achieve economic prosperity "if we wipe out that government that's there." In regards to the land reform program in Zimbabwe, philanthropist Nyasha (27) argues that "We should have done better as a country. The government should have done better." What is most telling here is not only the holding government accountable, but the interchangeable use of "we...as a country" and government, which implies a recognized symbiosis between the people and government: that whatever the national project as desired by the people may be, the failures of the government are ultimately theirs as well. Conversely, the leadership's repeated betrayal

of their stewardship of the national agenda creates a rift of trust between them and the people, which ultimately results in decreased nationalistic enthusiasm.

In South Africa, conversations surrounding economic and educational reforms were brought up repeatedly as key to the contemporary national question. Bathanda, a 27-year-old researcher with the National Council of Trade Unions, observed:

> The Post-Apartheid government is doing is first to heal the wounds of the nation…but is still lack of African literature in our schools; but as Black people, I still think we need to decolonize our minds, because without knowing exactly what we stand for, we'll never know where we are going. (Bathanda)

The point here is that, while the South African masses recognize their deficiencies and thus ideally set the national agenda with their calls, the onus to facilitate the achieving of the national agenda ultimately rests on the government. Naledi reiterates this sentiment when singing the praises of the innovative curriculum offered by the private school she attended, the African Leadership Academy in Gauteng:

> I think South Africa, and African countries in general need to start there, looking at schools like African Leadership Academy that have created their own curriculum; they teach African philosophy, they're starting to teach these things so I think, if governments lent their support and encouraged these sort of research institutions; I left ALA after only two years, and I was so patriotic to Africa! I read about Africa, I do my projects on Africa, when I do international business I go back to an African country, I try to make sure that Africa is represented…

Initiatives such as curriculum changes and infrastructure are fundamentally the domain of the government, thus making them an indispensable component of post-colonial national project- even in the most bottom-up approaches to nationalism.

The argument positing political leaders as facilitators of African Nationalism is most pronounced in discourse surround Pan-Africanism. While the majority of respondents engage, encounter, and enact Pan-African phenomena in their everyday

lives, they also realize the limits of the parochial reach in the ultimate fostering of continental solidarity. In Zimbabwe, amidst the polarizing thereof, respondents attributed the country's overarching Pan-Africanism to the influence of Mugabe and the ZANU PF government. Dambudzo (28) described how "in Zimbabwe, the president himself (Mugabe) views the continent as a united force against the Whites", echoing not only the sentiments of other respondents, but the elocution of anti-imperialism as an enduring pillar of Mugabeism by contemporary scholars *(Do Zimbabweans Exist* 237). Taku (27) articulated this relationship anecdotally, explaining that:

> That's the nice thing about the top down approach. The authorities decided that Zimbabweans can travel free to Mozambique and vice versa, right? And I went to Mozambique and came back with food from Mozambique when things were tough. Just like that!

Taku's experience epitomizes the dichotomy between the masses and the political leadership in the attainment of such ideals as Pan-Africanism: while his personal predicament necessitated this expression of regionalism, it was government policy that facilitated his participation therein. Kiri (29) went a step further and asserted that "Pan-Africanism is more of an ideal of government- interaction with other nations, but in terms of microcosm citizen, he doesn't relate much with it." While data collected and presented in earlier chapters shows regular expressions of Pan-Africanism- even as the name is not necessarily attached to it and its utility has evolved in the post-colonial era, Kiri's sentiments point to the pivotal role government is still expected to play in creating an environment where Pan-Africanism can flourish. Nyasha sums up the facilitatory role of government thus:

> Now, we must say we want our kids growing up knowing and appreciating the fact that they are Africans. Even to come up with a policy framework as government, or as the African Union, to come up with resolutions that, as

263

Africans, what are we going to do to reinstall that African pride? Perhaps work with churches, you know? If churches can be made to see that they're Africans- because religion is a big thing; so as long as people are being told that it's evil to be African, they will reject it. Civil society organizations, government institutions, universities, colleges, everything!

The critical idea reiterated here is that, even as the Zimbabwean civic society engages in expressions of nationalism and Pan-Africanism, the Zimbabwean government retains the critical role of manifesting and maintaining a platform in which these expressions can exist.

In South Africa, this idea is illustrated at both ends of the spectrum, as leadership has both been an obstacle to, and the impetus behind, Pan-Africanism. As established in chapter six, a reputation of Afrophobia has severely compromised South Africa's positioning as a contemporary leader within the African Renaissance. While the violence, itself a popular (albeit ugly) expression of nationalism, appears to emanate in a bottom-up fashion, evidence points to an incontrovertible role in rousing these sentiments among the people. Respondents, including both South African citizens and African immigrants thereto, noted the role that Zulu king Goodwill Zwelithini's 2015 comments telling foreigners to "go back home" had in spurring that year's xenophobic violence. Dambudzo, a 28-year-old Zimbabwean immigrant to Johannesburg, explained that "For example, we have the king, I forget his name… (saying) 'They are taking our jobs; they are committing crime here in South Africa!' Automatically, you get the response- because the Zulus themselves listen to the king; so, I myself can't just be found among the Zulus." Naledi, herself a Zulu woman, reiterated the influence that the King's words had on the people, saying:

you also see we have the case of (King) Zweli[105], the king of the Zulus- who then reinforces this narrative; he becomes a Fascist or Trumpist; then the media and celebrities came out to speak against it, but there's only so much they can do, but predominantly, leaders don't take a good stance on this and the people just follow suit.

Employing the neologism that is "Trumpist", used to describe the ideology of ethnocentric nationalism currently on the rise globally and made contemporarily popular by American president Donald Trump, Naledi demonstrates the continued power of the King's rhetoric in influencing popular sentiment. This was not lost on the parliamentary ad-hoc committee put in place to investigate these attacks, as one of their recommendations was for the king to ""actively participate" in dialogue between South Africans and cross-border migrants to improve social cohesion in the country" (Lamprecht 2015). Such intervention, combined with the previously recommended economic and educational reforms, are potential remedies to the Afrophobic crisis that require critical interference by the country's leadership- both elected and traditional.

Yet it would be disingenuous to demonstrate the influence of South African leaders by pointing to its negative impact on Pan-Africanism without also showing the numerous examples of the opposite being true. Former president Thabo Mbeki emerged synonymous with the ideals of contemporary Pan-Africanism under the lens of the African Renaissance, and was a driving force behind the advent of the African Union (AU) in 2002. Fellow high-ranking ANC official Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma served as chair of the AU Commission between 2012 and 2017, critically presiding over the adoption of "Agenda 2063", a roadmap towards more nuanced African solidarity and

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[105] Colloquial shortening of "Zwelithini"

empowerment agreed upon in 2013 (*Agenda 2063* 1). These, and other governmental initiatives such as the 2016 declaration of May as Africa Month, represent ways in which the country's leadership can still create an environment that situates South Africa and its people within the definitive discourse of Pan-Africanism.

The EFF, under Julius Malema's leadership, has become the prominent Africanist opposition party in the past decade, and has emerged as the generation's radical Pan-African voice. Malema has recently reignited the Nkrumahist rhetoric of a United States of Africa that had last been significantly championed by now deposed leaders such as Mugabe and Muammar Gaddafi. In 2018, his advocacy for the adoption of Swahili as the continental Pan-African language became a reality after South African minister of education Angie Motshekga announced that Swahili classes will be added to the school curriculum beginning in 2020. Malema had argued that "decolonizing Africa starts with simple things... with doing away with colonial symbols and colonial ways of doing things. We must, and even if it's not our generation, generations to come must have a language that unites Africans like Kiswahili" (Ngcobo 2018). While the Swahili classes will be introduced alongside others such as Japanese and French, Motshekga noted that Swahili would be funded by the South African government and the others by their countries of origin (Ngcobo 2018). In this instance, we witness the growing political elite (Malema and the EFF) who are not government but still hold sway, utilizing that voice to influence policy in the direction of Pan-Africanism. In addition, despite the Pan-African inclinations (or lack thereof) of the people, only the government is positioned to implement such initiatives.

Paulo Freire masterfully articulated this dialectic, arguing that while "not even the best-intentioned leadership can bestow independence as a gift… the liberation of the oppressed is a liberation of men and women," it is also important to note that true change can only be brought about "only by the leader's own involvement in reality, within an historical situation" (48- 49). Thus, even as the disruption of elitist understandings of nationalism and Pan-Africanism aims to shift the discourse from a top-down towards a bottom-up approach, the facilitatory role of government is indispensable.

PAN-AFRICANISM BEGINS AT HOME: RECONCILING AFRICAN NATIONALISM(S) WITH PAN-AFRICANISM

"Pan-Africanism has always run the risk of falsely assuming that national identity inherently undermines the Pan-African project" (Moyo & Yeros 36).

Since its inception as a school of thought, Pan-Africanism has been the source of several debates. Individuals and communities have argued over who was represented under the umbrella, what its ultimate objectives were, what its relationship with external entities would be, among other conflicts. Arguably the most important of the debates, however, has focused on the relationship between individual states as nations and the Pan-African community as a whole. Is the sovereignty that countries cherish in the utmost fundamentally opposed to the idea of a united Africa? Does, as the assumption articulated in this section's opening quote asserts, national identity inherently undermine the Pan-African project? How much sovereignty are countries prepared to give up in pursuit of the Pan-African objective? Furthermore, what do they envision the Pan-African entity that arise therefrom to look and act vis-a-vis their self-determination?

This ideological divide is perhaps best represented by Nkrumah-Nyerere "debates"[106] that took place in the early 1960s surrounding the intended nature and functionality of what became the Organization of African Unity (OAU). Nkrumah, eager to see his vision of a 'United African States' manifest in the immediate post-independence era, declared that "we need the strength of our combined numbers as a resource for protecting ourselves from the very positive dangers of returning colonialism in disguised forms" (Nkrumah 217). Nyerere, on the other hand, advocated for a more cautious approach centered on establishing strong sovereign states with the ultimate goal of African unity. He noted:

> "Indeed, I believe that a real dilemma faces Pan-Africanist. One is the fact that Pan-Africanism demands an African consciousness and an African loyalty, on the other hand is that each pan-Africanist must also concern himself with the freedom and development of one of the nations of Africa. These things can conflict. (*Empire* 66)

Nigeria's Nnamdi Azikiwe painted an even bleaker outlook for post-independence Pan-African unity, saying "it was naïve… to expect that freedom fighters who passed through the crucible of persecution to win their independence would enthusiastically renounce their newly won power" (Esedebe 182).

Although these ideological schisms are enshrined as ideas of the political elite, they foreshadowed the lived experiences and resulting attitudes of the masses as articulated in this study. When, in 2017, Mugabe pledged to donate one million dollars to

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[106] While other scholars have portrayed these differences as iconoclastic confrontations between two of the continent's revolutionaries, I use 'debates' in quotes to emphasize that, while they represent two schools of thought, Nkrumah and Nyerere never actually debated (on record), with Nyerere's viewpoints being articulated after Nkrumah had already been deposed as Ghana president. While the idea of positing Nyerere as the anti-Nkrumah and thus the ideological obstacle to the United African States, other leaders (the Monrovia Bloc, and especially those from Francophone countries) were far less enthusiastic about the creation of a politically united African bloc.

the African Union in a bid to lessen the body's dependence on foreign funds and inspire

other leaders to do so, Zimbabweans expressed their displeasure on social media and in

interviews conducted for this study.[107] This came despite not only an overwhelming Pan-

African sentiment by the respondents, but a rich history of popular expressions that

celebrated Zimbabwe's symbiotic relationship with the rest of the continent. While many

of these expressions are the subject of chapter three, "One Way", a 1989 ode to the OAU

by Simon Chimbetu and the Marxist Brothers, is particularly relevant here:

> One way... One Way for Africa-aah!
> One way for Africa to be the conqueror
> One way from Cairo to Cape woye!
> O A Unity is the way!

Expressed popular opinion regarding the formal structures of Pan-Africanism, such as

AU and SADC, has continued to be a polarizing trope within Zimbabwe's post-colonial

national project. After the tumultuous 2008 presidential election that precipitated further

socio-political and economic instability in Zimbabwe, Thabo Mbeki (as SADC chairman)

was tasked with leading the mediation process between the dueling politicians in

Zimbabwe. Many Zimbabweans regard Mbeki's 'quiet diplomacy' at the time, as well as

SADC's refusal to condemn the fraudulent elections that kept Mugabe in power, as his

complicity to the country's deterioration. Many pundits have pointed the ANC's historic

relationship with ZANU PF as the reason behind Mbeki's seeming reticence in

castigating Mugabe (Adelmann 253). Thus, when Mugabe was deposed from power at

the end of 2017, and it appeared that the AU and SADC may intervene in defense of

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[107] See chapter 3.

Mugabe, a plethora of Zimbabwean voices preemptively spoke up against the idea.

Human rights lawyer Fadzai Mahere said, in a tweet liked by more than 5000 people:

> When Zimbabwe has faced real security issues, including 2016 uprisings and 2008 election violence, SADC was nowhere to be seen. South Africa said there was "no crisis." Zim is at its most peaceful today. SADC wants to come and ruin it. Please just stay out of it. Bob must go.

The sentiment was echoed by several Zimbabweans on social media and beyond. Yet in 2019, when the new government deployed armed forces onto the streets and blocked public access to social media, the public once again lamented the blind eye the continental community was turning to their plight. One user tweeted,

> Where is @SADC_News, @UN and the @_AfricanUnion? Zimbabwe is burning, people are being beaten, tortured and killed. Basic rights being violated. These atrocities will continue if we do not speak up #Zimshutdown #Zimbabwe #ShutdownZimbabwe.

Indeed, the same constituents who had, only a year before, fervently told SADC and others to respect their sovereignty and not intervene on what they deemed a domestic matter were now bemoaning their silence on yet another domestic affair. Although this may seem contradictory at best and otherwise neurotic, it points to a critical finding of this study: while Zimbabweans experience, express and are partial to microcosmic Pan-Africanism in their daily lives, they also desire that the macrocosmic and formal Pan-African communities that are the continental and regional blocs also put their welfare first. Kiri (29) makes the case that "Pan-Africanism is only relevant as it relates to someone's well-being… It is not relevant because we relate to their struggle or through Bantuism. Nobody thinks that deeply." Although rhetorically more cynical than the other respondents in this study, his argument- that, at grassroots, Pan-Africanism is a fringe

ideal if the people's rudimentary needs are not being met- is corroborated by other respondents and the social media activity presented herein.

The conflict, thus, arises from the reality that these structures were created and are sustained as tools of and for the political elite, with the masses often collateral. Moyo and Yeros assert this argument, stating that "One major weakness of Pan-Africanism and Africa's regional arrangements has been the failure to protect Africans from their home-made tyrants" (36). Thus, discontent from segments of the civic society is not Pan-Africanism as an ideal, but the elitist realities of its formalized structures, and the resulting strain it places on the realization of their national imaginary.

South Africa experiences the conflict between Pan-Africanism and the deficiencies of its national project in a theoretically similar but distinct way. That the country's national identity has, especially in the past decade, been intractable from Afrophobia despite a storied Pan-African history and post-Apartheid proclamations of an African Renaissance, speaks to a fundamental disconnect between the lived realities of the people and the aspirational notions of Pan-Africanism. While- as demonstrated in chapter six- Apartheid legacies manifesting in an antiquated educational system and a hyperbolic sense of exceptionalism sustain a toxic environment, poverty and its byproducts (economic disparities, crime etc.) serve as the immediate catalyst to the festering animosity and, at times, violent attacks. ANC youth and labor activist, Mohau Mokoena expresses this sentiment in an argument reiterated by other respondents:

> When you see way of life being disrupted, high-jacked building etc., you have to ask what the source of this is. For example, or Nigerian brothers- there are many good Nigerians and many bad ones- in the same way that there are many good and bad South Africans. But you find that those problems can be traced to our

brothers from Up North Africa, then we have to address them. That's why you
see these kinds of popular unrest.

Afrophobia may indeed be a symptom, but the illness out of which it is borne is a

national project that is struggling to sustain its primary constituents: the masses of South

Africa. Microcosmic Pan-Africanism, most readily represented by the embrace of other

Africans of different ethnic, national and regional origin than you, is relegated to the

peripheries of individual and community consciousness when the latter are starved. The

result is the emergence of a sense of defensive nativism. Frantz Fanon spoke of this

enduring conflict when he described "a permanent seesaw between African unity, which

fades quicker and quicker into the mists of oblivion, and a heartbreaking return to

chauvinism in its most bitter and detestable form" (162). This chauvinism manifests in

different forms in different spaces: in post- Apartheid South Africa, it often takes the

form of exceptionalism and Afrophobia.

> Moyo and Yeros have surmised that:
>
> The problems that nation-states have created for Pan-Africanism are not the
> consequences of nations taking their national projects seriously to the neglect of
> the Pan-African project… Rather, it is that nation-states did not take their national
> projects seriously enough to see that their consummation required the collective
> self-reliance which was so central to Pan-Africanism.

Their analysis is corroborated by the findings presented herein. In Zimbabwe, the

popularity of once-revered Pan-African institutions such as the AU and SADC has

diminished as citizens felt that the institutions were more invested in appeasing the

country's leaders than them. Afrophobia runs rampant in South Africa not because of an

[108]overwhelming innate anti-African sentiment but, rather, a national project that has not

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[108] This is the same framework as developed in **Table 1**, only now accounting for the motivators,
expressions and phenomena that facilitated the divergent nationalisms examined in the study.

sufficiently dismantled Apartheid legacies and has left the masses in a struggle for a livelihood and resources with the majority of the country's lower-income immigrants.

CONCLUSION

"Muzivi wenzira yeparuvare ndiye mufambi wayo"- Shona proverb ("he/she who knows the path over the rocky hill is the one who walks it.")

The preceding proverb aptly captures not only the thrust of the analysis in this chapter, but of the orientation of this entire project. The articulation of the impetuses, expressions, and outcomes of such critical individual and communal identity concepts such as Pan-Africanism, state nationalism, and ethnic nationalism, has almost always been the domain of the political and intellectual elites. Yet, like the proverbial rocky hill, our individual and communal lived experiences are inherently our own- hence do not leave behind a perfect footprint trail (as one may expect to see in a sandy or muddy hill). As much as someone can study the hill from afar or even hear about it extensively, nobody can articulate that pathway better than they who walk it routinely. Similarly, as much as scholars and presidents are well-versed in the lexicon of these concepts, a bottom-up approach allows us unparalleled insight into the lived conceptualizations of these identities, and this may yet challenge long standing assumptions thereof.

By looking at the popular expressions of African nationalisms and Pan-Africanism in South Africa and Zimbabwe, as gathered for this study, and putting them in conversation, the enduring and evolving nature of these complex concepts is apparent in several dynamics. First, while the traditional academy insists on the colonial era narrative that fundamentally posits ethnic nationalism as an impediment to state nationalism, this study suggests otherwise. Although ethnic identity retains an important role among the

people, it emerged as a complementary and not conflicting identity, with people primarily rallying around it in response to historic and contemporary marginalization by the national government. A continued singular focus on ethnicity as a primary source of schism takes away from the importance of other important dynamics, such as income disparities and the rural/urban divide. Secondly, the masses still espouse the values of nationalism as cultivated in the anti-colonial era, even in the era of growing post-nationalism. While the revolutionary governments that are ZANU PF and the ANC often attempt to monopolize the definition of the nation and nationalism to one that includes primarily (if not only) their contributions, various sectors of the civic society actively and passively reclaim the nation as theirs. Put simply, significant segments of the populace retain a sense of nationalism in tandem with that of the yesteryear nationalists, while the others do so in spite of them: either way, the nation remains dear- if not supreme- among the masses.

Even as this study aims for a disruption of the elitist, top-down approach to the understanding of nationalisms and Pan-Africanism, the study also pointed to an indispensable role for government and other political leadership in fostering an environment in which the expressions provided and analyzed herein can exist. While a top-down has typically seen diminishing agency the further one goes from the top towards 'down' until there is none left by the time they get there, a holistic bottom-up framework should retain significant relevant agency throughout. Finally, while yesteryear political philosophers assumed that state nationalism was inimical to the ideals of Pan-Africanism, I would argue that the contemporary evidence suggests a different, slightly more complex relationship between the two phenomena. Many segments of the populace

274

expressed favorability to Pan-Africanism on both a microcosmic (personal interactions, art consumption and so forth) and macrocosmic (structures such as the AU and SADC), but only in an environment in which their microcosmic condition is catered for. Many then see the nation as the vehicle through which the latter can be achieved, and thus may express some cynicism. Ultimately, however, nationalism—whether state or ethnic— is not the enemy of Pan-Africanism. Instead of the archaic and simplistic notion, a better argument would be that stronger functional states create an environment more amicable to Pan-Africanism.

The overarching findings speak to the critical importance of acknowledging the masses, via their macrocosmic and microcosmic popular expressions, in ongoing discourse about the conceptualization of African nationalisms and Pan-Africanism. The blind eye turned to the people, as scholarship and politicking have focused overwhelmingly on the political elite over the past century, have created what can only be described as deficient conceptualizations of these identity-defining and dependent ideas. Not only does this erase popular agency en masse, it widens the schisms between the people and the political elites in both theory and practice, further frustrating any efforts at successful and inclusive nation- building and transnational solidarities. The past few decades have, indeed, witnessed an upsurge in scholarship that pays homage to popular histories. This shift has been propelled in large part under such umbrellas as postcolonial, post-modernist, and subaltern studies. My hope is that this study—even as it only attempts to answer critical questions regarding popular expressions of nationalism— contributes to this growing body of important work.

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