

Reliving the Second Chimurenga: A Nationalist Female Perspective

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Summary

The aim of this article is to add a non-black, non-white female dimension to the male dominated discourse of the Chimurenga. The collective hero in female narratives is compared and contrasted to the individual hero in male narratives. A narration by a non-white, non-black female nationalist challenges the black-white binary perception of the struggle, heroism and legitimacy in black and white narratives.

The researcher has chosen this literary tool for its convenience in the following regard. Firstly, the narrating-self may consciously be articulating a particular view or version of events, while unconsciously articulating another. The narrating-subject may be contrasting a particular identity at the conscious level, while unconsciously undermining or contradicting the conscious effort. Secondly, tracing repression enables the autobiographical reader to read the 'silences' and critique them. Further, an understanding of sublimation will, hopefully, enable an evaluation of political motive. That is, to evaluate its authenticity, or whether it is a manifestation in noble form of the desire for, say, fame. The super ego or conscience plays a significant role in the confessional aspects of autobiography. This part is significant as it is used to construct identities. Selective memory is also convenient in assessing the motive behind material selected and omitted by the narrating subject.

Opsomming

Die doel van hierdie artikel is om 'n nieswart, niewit vroulike dimensie te verleen aan die Chimurenga-diskoers wat deur mans oorheers word. Die kollektiewe held in vroulike narratiewe en die individuele held in manlike narratiewe word vergelyk en teenoor mekaar gestel. 'n Vertelling deur 'n niewit, nieswart vrouenasionalis betwis die binêre swart-witpersepsie van die strugle, die heroïese en legitimitieit in swart en wit narratiewe.

Die navorser het op hierdie literêre instrument besluit op grond van die gerieflikheid daarvan in sekere opsigte. Eerstens kan die ekverteller bewustelik 'n bepaalde beskouing of weergawe van gebeure probeer verwoord maar onbewustelik aan 'n ander siening uiting gee. Die vertellersubjek kan op die vlak van die bewussyn 'n bepaalde identiteit met 'n ander kontrasteer en onbewustelik hierdie bewuste poging ondermyn of weerspreek. Tweedens kan die outobiografiese leser wat die spoor van onderdrukking volg, die "stiltes" raaklees en kritiseer. Verder sal insig in sublimasie hopelik die beoordeling van politieke motiewe moontlik maak; met ander woorde, of

die motief suiwer is of byvoorbeeld roemsug in 'n edel gestalte is. Die superego of die gewete speel 'n belangrike rol in die belydenisaspek van outobiografieë. Dit is van groot belang aangesien identiteit daarmee gekonstrueer word. 'n Selektiewe geheue is eweneens gerieflik om te bepaal waarom die vertellersubjek van slegs sekere materiaal gebruik maak en ander weglaat.

Introduction

The self-narration selected for discussion here is *Re-Living the Second Chimurenga* by Fay Chung. This self-narration is highly stimulating. It is enriching in several ways. Firstly, it is narrated by a female narrating-self. The Zimbabwean canon of autobiographies of the struggle is male-dominated, as is the discourse of legitimacy and heroism. Secondly, Fay Chung is a Zimbabwean descendent of Chinese immigrants, thus, challenging assumptions of Zimbabwean identities and heroic identities of the struggle and claims to legitimacy. Also, Chung's autobiography is highly intellectual. Its focus is not on employment of autobiography experience, but interpretation and conceptualisation. It often refuses to be a narration of the self but instead insists on narrating the collective. Its primary claims to legitimacy and heroism are those of the collective individual heroism and legitimacy is somewhat dimmed in the background. This makes it relational autobiography. Friedman (cited in Smith & Watson 2001: 201) defines relational autobiography as being characterised by "a sense of shared identity with the women, an aspect of identification which exists in tension with a sense of their own uniqueness."

The boundary between self and other becomes fluid. This invariably influences the approach that this research is going to take in critiquing this text. Firstly, the focus will be on the collectives to which Chung belongs and narrates. Secondly, Chung refuses to be calibrated in her narrative in the stereotype of a woman narrating the experience of women. Perhaps because of her intellectual stature, she narrates the experience of both men and women. She articulates society. Chung deals with ideas, concepts and visions. Therefore, this researcher will attempt to trace and interrogate the construction of heroic identities and legitimacy in the same vein. Furthermore, as the narrative is heavily influenced by socialist philosophy, a class analysis will be conducted simultaneously with a psychoanalysis approach. Cultural materialism, a theoretical tool also selected for this research, employs a class analysis.

Politics, Class and Issues of Identity Formation

It is important to add that this narrative defies calibration as it is a memoir, oughtobiography, a scriptotherapy, a survivor and trauma narrative, as well

as a confessional. Fay Chung was born in colonial Rhodesia in the 1940's to Chinese immigrants. Living a lower middle class life, she successfully completed primary, secondary and high school in institutions reserved for Asians and Coloureds. She enrolled at the University of Rhodesia and Nyasaland in the 1960's where she was deeply involved in the ideological life of the institution. After graduating, she taught in black township schools, before leaving for Britain to study for a master's degree at Leeds University. Chung returned to Africa where she lectured at the University of Zambia. It is here that she joined ZANU, becoming a protagonist in the liberation struggle. Her role was primarily in information and propaganda. Following ZANU's fall out with the Zambian government, she joined the struggle in Mozambique. On Zimbabwe's independence, she joined the ministry of education, rising to the portfolio of minister, resigning in 1993. Selected for discussion are leadership, intellectual, gender, welfare and protector identities. Visionary identities will also be examined.

Leadership is a quality groomed from a tender age. The narrator informs us that, "without being conscious of it", the pupils at her school were "inducted into political awareness" (33). We are told that every week well known leaders came to address them. These included white clerics and Black Nationalist journalists. The idea was to teach them to look for professional and leadership qualities without being mesmerised by the racism that permeated society. It is no wonder that she made it to the executive of six societies at universities. She owes her "high degree of social consciousness to the catholic church" (40). The narrating-subject, here, locates leadership qualities in the temporal realm, that is one's youth. It is the opinion of many psychologists and psychoanalysts that early childhood is the most formative stage in life (Zindi 1988: 51). This view lends authenticity and credibility to any claims to legitimately hold any leadership posts thereafter. She was groomed. She already has the required experience by early childhood. The exposure to role models on a weekly basis is testimony to the thoroughness of the grooming. That they were well-known reflects the individual narrating-self's recruitment of the collective voice to emphasize the credibility of the leaders. Their multi-racial composition spreads Chung's credibility to white and black autobiographical readers alike. That the models were heroes is interpreted by the reader to mean that she is a hero too by association. She, however, spreads this heroism to all her fellow school mates with the same exposure showing her collective perception of heroism.

On the other hand, this portrayal can be read as inclusive, as reflected above, or exclusive. The exclusiveness of this autobiographical claim is manifest if one undertakes a class analysis. It is likely that it is urban middle class schools which had the privilege of receiving some eminent guests, officially too. The Asian and coloured communities were largely not seen as sources of subversion. They were living a semi-privileged life and groomed

for the minor leadership roles, forming a buffer between white and black. Those from under-privileged, marginalised schools, became undermined and have their claims to heroism and legitimacy compromised. Chung, conscious of class snobbery as her narrative is, is likely to be communicating this exclusion at an unconscious level. Secondly, the narrator excludes on the basis of age. This ageism undermines those such as Nkomo (2001) who were exposed to an environment which develops social consciousness in early adulthood.

Therefore, while it is true that early exposure during the formative years has a great impact on identity formation, it is equally correct that such children may rebel against the values of childhood role models, in childhood or adulthood. Also, those who are exposed to leadership models in adulthood may value and emulate them more, being conscious of what they missed in childhood. This is compensatory behaviour (Zindi 1988).

The narrator identifies ZANU leaders as model leaders. As a member of that leadership, the party, a collective identity, becomes a signifier of her own heroism and legitimacy. The underlying implication is that being an effective party leader in a liberation struggle context makes one an effective national leader in the post-independence context. ZANU leaders are portrayed as great orators. On being released from prison, Mugabe and Sithole arrive in Zambia to brief the ZANU supporters and leaders in exile on the state of negotiation with the Smith regime. Mugabe was the first to speak. We are told “Mugabe gave a very detailed and factual speech, outlining exactly what had happened ... it was clear that he remained, as always, a teacher, anxious to ensure that all his listeners knew and understood.” (86)

Not only is Mugabe portrayed as informative, but he is analytical too. As he “pointed at the possibilities as well as the dangers that the new turn of events offered”. Sithole, in contrast, displays “emotive flair” and “the magic power that typifies a charismatic leader” (86). The “intoxicated crowd” suddenly surged him forward to lift him up in triumph (p. 86). Sithole made them believe independence was imminent.

Psychoanalysis and the Reading of Re-Living the Second Chimurenga

A psychoanalysis of the above depiction would inform us of the following; firstly, the narrator privileges Mugabe’s oration as more heroic than Sithole’s, though this is not explicitly disclosed. As a teacher herself, Mugabe’s didactic approach would be one she identifies with. Secondly, Sithole’s speech is filled with emotion but has no substance. The fact that Sithole’s prediction of imminent independence does not materialise undermines him and elevates Mugabe. Their juxtaposition emphasises the contrast elevating Mugabe further. The narrator’s heroism and legitimacy are but-

tressed by the common professional identification with Mugabe as teachers. Still, Sithole's undermining is simultaneous with his elevation as is Mugabe's. Sithole is in touch with the pulse of the people. War requires emotional investment of the psychological level. That is, bravery, determination, and even resentment of the enemy. These are motivators, as is belief in the leader's vision. Mugabe's unemotional approach may reflect an emotional remoteness from the people. It also reflects essential rationality. They, therefore, complement each other. Of course, one cannot forget that Sithole moves those who are prepared to trample on others to lift up their leader, which smacks of hooliganism (86). Mugabe appeals to those who listen quietly, critiquing the speech. Perhaps, unconsciously, the narrating-subject is communicating intellectual and class snobbery, exacerbated by the fact that she was "unceremoniously trampled on" (86). All the same, it is ZANU and therefore the narrator, who are elevated for being in touch with the peoples "hearts and minds" (152) and also rational, intellectual, both vital components of leadership.

The leadership of ZANU is credited with a conciliator identity by the narrator. Conciliation is a source of coercion, unity and nationhood. ZANU becomes the logical choice for leadership of both the struggle and Zimbabwe. It is saliently implied. Mugabe and Muzenda are presented as ideal for this task. This is not only because of the heterogeneous nature of the society, but ZANU itself. ZANU contains people with "all sorts and shades of opinion on almost every subject" (156). These disparate people were only united by opposition to the Smith regime and colonialism. ZANU contained "the most idealistic people" (120). It also accommodated criminal elements that had fled from the arms of the law in Rhodesia. In addition, ZANU has cunning politicians. Finally, the militarist spear heading the struggle who would overthrow him if offended. Mugabe is presented as being ideal because he has the ability to listen patiently to different views. This, no doubt, is attributable to his intellectual strain. Also, Mugabe, while listening at length "was able to keep his opinions to himself". Actually, it was not easy to tell what his real opinions were. This is praised by the narrator as an important characteristic in a party like ZANU.

The above heterogeneous identity is worth critiquing. Firstly, ZANU's heterogeneity makes it a microcosm of the emerging nation state. This legitimizes it. Secondly, this heterogeneity may be read as delegitimizing it. It lacks an ideological identity. It is defined only in terms of what is against. Perhaps this can be seen as a concrete identity as part of identity is what we are not (Woodward 2001). However, what one is not signifies what one is moving away from, not where one is actually going. This means at election time one knows what they are voting against, not for. What one is voting for depends on what identity is dominant at that point in the heterogeneous identity of the mass movement. This is complicated by possible shifts in dominance within each election cycle. This is a characteristic of all mass

movements including the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC), ZANU's arch rival.

Secondly, the confession that criminal identities are a significant component of the party undermines its legitimacy as a custodian of cultural and constitutional values. Still, criminals may be more adept at fighting criminal illegal regimes such as Smith's Rhodesian front after the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI). This, ironically, elevates ZANU, and therefore, ironically, too the non-criminal narrator.

In addition, the significance of the military identity creates an identity for ZANU. It is at once a political and military institution or collective. The military's spearheading of the struggle elevates ZANU leadership in a military struggle. It becomes a heroic institution. In the post-independence era, it is the political identity which legitimises, that is, in the absence of a threat to national security. In such a scenario, the dominance of the military identity creates a villainous identity as the military may become an instrument of repression. It makes electoral engagement of ZANU by its antagonists impossible. If ZANU is essentially a military institution, elections, a political site of constructing heroism and legitimacy, are irrelevant to it. Still, it is naïve to expect the legacy of the Chimurenga, which necessitated the dominance of the military identity and military masculinity to be reversed in one generation.

Lastly, a leader whose real opinion is never really known creates a crisis of values as he is not a role model for any ideology or values. On the other hand, this is heroic in that it opens the way for contestation of ideas, a prerequisite of democracy. This is also manifested in Muzenda, also a patient listener and trusted by the groups as none see him as "a rival or contender" (158). He is an expert at diffusing tension and conflict. Such experts need to be many in a heterogeneous party and nation. The narrator, therefore, to use psychoanalysis is a conciliator by association with the party and its leadership. Mugabe and Muzenda became the significant others (Smith & Watson 2001) whom Chung conflates with the self, especially as she consults or warns Muzenda of impending intra party fighting in Zambia. A significant other in autobiography is one whose story is deeply implicated in the narrator and through whom the narrator understands her or his self formation (Smith & Watson 2001: 65).

Gender, Identities and Self Formation

The narrator constructs contingent others who are undermined and elevated to construct heroic and legitimate leadership identities for ZANU and herself in the narrative. Tekere is "brilliant" though ruthless (158). Zvobgo is a brilliant academic and lawyer, though some suspect he has ties with the CIA. Joe Taderera is a brilliant academic and clever politician (161) though not wholly trusted by those around him. Tongogara's military inner circle is

brilliant though generally not well educated (162). Ushewokunze is a brilliant and charismatic leader (163) though he is impatient and factionalist. All the above are ZANU leaders. Chung's narrative is rich in vocabulary. The repetition of the adjective "brilliant" can therefore only be deliberate. It provides emphasis of the intelligence of the ZANU leadership and the narrator too. It makes intelligence exclusive to ZANU. Intelligence is vital as a leader needs to have conceptual skills. Leaders of other parties such as Nkomo and Muzorewa are portrayed as well-meaning but lacking intelligence. They fail to realise that Smith is negotiating with them to use them to create legitimacy for himself. Their lack of wit or conceptual understanding makes them unwittingly complicit with white hegemony.

Chung's narrative recruits gender identities to construct heroic identities and legitimacy. An interesting strand runs through the gendered narrative. That is, mothering of the party, the struggle, the leaders and the nation. The narrator's self-identification is with masculine females. In terms of heredity, her grandmother was masculine. She asserted her will subverting tradition. Her grandmother took the unusual step of leaving China to join her husband in Africa (28). Others "remained in China, waiting for their husbands return". The narrator's grandmother took her fate into her own hands (29). This reflects a great degree of reflexivity and self-assertion. She refuses domesticity. Going to a continent, of which she had no knowledge, displays courage. Bravery is traditionally associated with masculinity as is subversion and self-assertion. Migration becomes a source of re-gendering females. Chung's presence in Africa becomes a marker of strength and not weakness. Migrants tend to be a feminised group. Identity through stigmatisation, alienation and marginalisation, unless they are colonisers. Her migration to join her husband can also be seen as a mothering process. Most traditions (patriarchal) hold that every man needs a wife to survive. This is not so much about the sexual than domestic needs such as cooking, washing and nursing, which are part of the essence of motherhood in patriarchal cultures. Even in patriarchy, mothers provide for their children. Similarly, she laid the foundation of the family wealth (29). Wealth is regarded as masculine as it is a source of power prestige and security. Through her grandmother, we the autobiographical readers, expect that Chung's identity is masculine. The reader's expectations are moulded. Any claims to heroism become credible.

The narrating subject identifies herself with masculine female's embodiment. The catholic school she attends has a farm which is run by a "broad-backed, red-faced German nun" (37). She was helped by (only one) black worker. She would push the wheelbarrow alone across the school yard. The school kitchen was also run by a strong German nun of peasant extraction. The muscular female body becomes a site and signifier of masculine female heroism. It legitimates women's claims to strength and leadership. These significant others' embodied identities conflate with Chung's own masculin-

ity by psychological association, though she is small in stature. She constructs her masculinity through conquering the intellectual terrain as an undergraduate and post graduate. The white farmer's daughters in the Gwelo hostel teach her to clean a car engine and change the wheels. This is masculine male territory traditionally. Tekere himself is at pains to describe or at least name every car he drove in his narrative. Cars are symbols of masculinity. Chung's embodiment becomes masculine and heroic when Tekere sends men to kidnap her (202). She began to fight these men while shouting and screaming. This attracts the attention of many witnesses thus saving herself from possible assassination. While she is still transferred to another camp she has made it too risky to be killed. She attracted witnesses. She has been defeated in a masculine fight on masculine terms by a tag team. Her defeat does not feminise her. She has publicised, through her embodied resistance and autobiography the plight of the weak in society and within liberation struggles. This awareness conscientises and sensitises society, therefore, protecting the weak like a mother protects her little children. Masculine females become the mothers of the struggle and society.

Masculine females have a protector identity constructed for them by the narrative. This is a heroic role legitimated by its success. During the internal ZANU Nhari rebellion, Richard Hove is kidnapped in Zambia by this faction. Fearing that her husband will be killed, his wife, Sheila, appeals to Kaunda. She allegedly refuses to leave his office by "stripping off her clothes to bare her breasts, a Zimbabwean symbol of anguish" (94). Kenneth Kaunda, the Zambian president, promptly ordered Hove to be brought to him, "and so Sheila saved her husband's life" (94). Her assertion, only conveniently using her embodied female identity, is masculine. This autobiographical act is threatening, striking fear and compliance in the contingent other. A contingent other is one whose story is not deeply implicated in that of the narrating self, recruited only to illustrate a particular point or event (Smith & Watson 2001: 65). The fact that the contingent other forced into compliance is a president, a symbol of power, elevates and accentuates the heroism of the masculine female, protecting her husband and leaders of the struggle and future nation. This research chooses to read this in two ways. That is, as a wife protecting her husband and secondly, as a surrogate mother protecting her adopted son, which society calls her husband due to the adoption which society calls marriage.

The above view is strengthened by the portrayal of Mugabe's marriages. He is portrayed as an intelligent, cunning teacher. It is Sally who is masculinised. She is benevolent, providing for former prostitutes, orphans and the disabled. This is reminiscent of Ouzgane and Morells (1997) Big Man who is wealthy and powerful, entrenching his hegemony through a patronage system of benevolence. She is further masculinised through traits such as being "very ruthless" where she finds it necessary. She is so "intense" that others find it difficult to relax in her presence (183). She is

both respected and feared. This over-bearing personality is more masculine than the “shy intellectual” Mugabe portrayed by Nkomo (2001). It would seem that it is Mugabe’s leadership position which masculinises his image rather than his personality. Furthermore, Sally protects the person of Mugabe as she instinctively sensed that an opponent well-wisher who sends a tube of toothpaste to Mugabe has poisoned it. Only later does this politician reveal his hostility for Mugabe. This protection of Mugabe’s person and health is highly reminiscent of a mother and child relationship. Sally mothers Robert. If we are to insist that this protection does not masculinise the wife and feminise the husband, by implication we are saying that it creates an adult identity for wives and a juvenile identity for husbands. Either way, mothering a leader is mothering a nation. Mugabe’s death would have further fuelled intra-party division in a party dogged by factions such as the Sithole, Mugabe and Nhari and Tongogara factions and Vashandi too. This would have compromised the struggle and impending nationhood. This makes heroes of women in the struggle and legitimises their claims to power and nationhood. It is the masculine women of whom the narrator is one, who are privileged.

Mugabe’s wives serve as political capital. Chung informs us that Sally was identified with her social work with the underprivileged while Grace is identified with the young, fashionable and wealthy. Both wives serve as symbols of the change from politics of the armed struggle to bourgeoisification respectively. The narrator says “Sally was loved by the poor but hated by the powerful; Grace is the darling of the fashionable but hated by the poor” (316). Chung is quick to point out that Sally’s charity work would never have alleviated poverty, neither could Grace’s extravagance cause poverty. Neither attributes are enough to change the system that traps the majority of the people in poverty. All the above point to a class analysis. The dominant class culture during the struggle and soon after independence was that of the peasant and the proletariat. The advent of economic neo-liberalism made the aspirant bourgeois the dominant class culture. The identities of the first ladies reflect the identities of the classes in alliance with the political elite. This makes the wives powerful political capital, winning for the political elite the confidence of the class they identify with. As political power is masculine in character, this masculinises Grace and Sally. Chung herself resigns at the onset of the bourgeois project at the beginning of ESAP. Her socialist inclination inclines her to the peasants and proletariat and creates antipathy towards the bourgeoisie. She is political capital for the government’s socialist era and liability for the capitalists’ era. Their heroic status and legitimacy comes from their role in maintaining the hegemony of the political elite and dominant ideology.

While the above analysis looks at Chung’s portrayal of the collective mothering by women, her individual mothering in the narrative is

overshadowed by the relationality of the autobiography. It, nevertheless, is worthy of mention.

The narrator mothers the community and the nation through the creation of a welfare heroic identity. Her grandmother, as an employer, had her employees' interests at heart and so received the absolute loyalty. She was also kind-hearted and helpful to those in need or in trouble. As an undergraduate student, Chung devoted much of her time and energy to a night school programme teaching adult black learners. She insists on teaching in an African school after graduation. She protects late-comers from the abusive white racist headmaster who whips about forty boys a day. She sources books for pupils, apart from her usual job description as a teacher. In Mozambique, as a protagonist in the struggle, she teaches in the camps. She adopts a boy alienated from his guerrilla mother; the boy's father had died in combat. We see the fracturing of the motherhood and welfare identifies in multiple identities of mothering the individual, the community and the nation. This accentuates her heroism. A cultural materialist analysis would inform us that Chung commits class suicide (Trotsky 1960). Her class location is middle class, but her class position is peasant and proletarian. Class location denotes socio-economic status, while class position denotes one's empathy. A psychoanalyst would argue that Chung is a guilt ridden individual. Her background of privilege in the context of underprivileged affects her conscience. She was merely born into privilege as others were merely born into poverty. Neither group is responsible for its condition. This worsens the guilt. She says herself, "it was impossible, we felt, for us to pursue our totally selfish careers and personal goals. We had to make a difference" (45). The conscience and willingness to commit class suicide became signifies of heroic welfare identities. The personal sacrifice, in terms of time, energy, risk and wealth, legitimate autobiographical claims to heroism. Writing an autobiography projecting the plight of the marginalised is as therapeutic and cathartic for the narrator. Feelings of guilt are assuaged. This gives some credence to the argument that, when one does good to others, it is for the benefit of the self, not the other. Selfishness is disguised as altruism. The benefits are lack of guilt, and even self-importance. This research however takes the position that altruism and benevolence benefit both the narrating self and the narrated other. A central aspect of Fay Chung's character is her intellectual identity. This is a preoccupation of her narrative and moulds the quality of the narrative. Events are mere triggers for discussing ideas. It is in keeping with the view expressed by Leon Trotsky, also a leftist/socialist politician, in his autobiography. He says of his narrative (1960) "describing also characterize and evaluate, ... it seems to me that this is the only method of making an autobiography objective in a higher sense, that is, of making it the most adequate expression and personality, conditions and epoch (xiv)".

In other words, an autobiography of a leftist revolutionary should critique events, locating them historically, culturally, temporally and spatially. A concept of society should emerge, that is, aspects such as class, gender, the individual, the collective, economics, politics, culture and how all these interact. This is what Chung attempts to do accounting for the detail, referencing of sources and analysis as well as length of her narrative. She performs this to distinction.

To begin with, we are informed that she went to a school for Asians. There the Asian Headmaster drummed it into the pupils that they were not whites, and so would only make it in the world through education. She is assuring the reader that though she is not black, her narrative of a predominantly black people's struggle in an African nation is not white, perceived as the antithesis of blackness in a polemical colonial setting. She satirises her consciousness to win the credibility of the autobiographical reader. That education was the only way for her to succeed, creates mutual identification with African readers she describes as having an insatiable appetite for education, the only source of upward class mobility. That nationalist journalists frequently address the pupils, authenticates and legitimises both her participation in the struggle and her narration of that struggle (33).

The narrator uses ideological commitment to create a leftist status for herself. She says at university, "The University was very far from radical or leftwing" (37) the life was "the epitome of middle class conservatism" (37). Students' rooms were cleared by maids, dinners served by waiters (38). We are further informed that "We were being groomed to be the elite, the rulers of the future based on meritocracy ..." (39). That she chooses to forsake this comfortable life by becoming subversive through joining the struggle is clearly heroic. Her personal investment in the struggle and the lower class leaning towards socialist ideology is accepted by the reader as genuine, not opportunism or populist posturing.

The narrator centres intellectualism in the Chimurenga at par with militarism and politicking. The intellectual identity is portrayed as being as heroic and legitimate as military and political identities. Edison Zvobgo is a brilliant academic and politician, an architect of the independence winning Lancaster House Constitution (159). Joe Taderera is also "a brilliant academic and clever politician" (161). Mugabe has many degrees. Tongogara, the military supreme and genius, is fond of discussing and consulting with ZANU academics at the University of Zambia. Chung is one of these academics. Academic and intellectual accomplishments are portrayed as creating brilliant political and military identities. The academics such as Chung and Mutumbuka are strategists responsible for propaganda and information dissemination. These are essential for winning the 'hearts and minds' of the people. The peoples' support is essential for the struggle. Chung's narrative intelligently and stubbornly refuses the marginalisation

and undermining of intellectual identities, intellectual heroism and intellectual legitimacy.

Closely tied to Chung's intellectual heroism is her identity as a visionary. Her teacher education programme in the camps of Mozambique during the struggle was "an invaluable testing ground" for policies that were to be pursued after independence (224). This was later branded as the ZINTEC programme. It combined distance education, in service and fulltime teacher-training, therefore, alleviating the strain on limited facilities. This provided upward mobility for many and expanded the country's human resources base. In Zambia, she foresaw the tragedy of taking over mission schools when the government is under-resourced. This enabled the Zimbabwe government to avoid the same. Her economic vision is one of utilizing Zimbabwe's heterogeneous identity. Zimbabwe's Jewish immigrants are skilled industrialists, the Scottish great engineers and whites are able farmers (334). Accommodation is key for economic development as is meritocracy rather than democracy in land redistribution (330). Published in a historical context of economic depression in Zimbabwe, the narrative's construction of a visionary identity is multiple as it is economic, political and social for Chung heroism and legitimacy. It makes the reader feel that Zimbabwe sorely needs her.

Conclusion

Chung's narrative is enriching. It offers a female perspective. This is made even more refreshing by its acknowledging a marginalised concept, masculine femaleness. Her voice is also that of an Asian migrant. As an intellectual narrative, it offers more than just a version of historical events. Further, the heroism posited is collective more than it is individual, making the narrative relational. The sites selected for discussion were intellectual, leadership, gender, welfare, protector and visionary identities.

In Chung's narrative, her protagonism is relational and spatial. She lives in the military camps during the struggle, educating the guerrillas and refugees as well as helping provide for their welfare. The military identity is highly elevated during the period of the Chimurenga. This is because political and diplomatic strategies had failed to bring independence. In a military struggle, it is the military identity which legitimates and makes heroes of narrators. Through analysis of this phenomenon, it becomes clear why it has proved difficult to remove the military identity from the discourses of legitimacy and heroism in Zimbabwe. It is almost sacred. It may explain ZANU-PF's reluctance to acknowledge the legitimacy of the non-military opposition identities as well as to consider the possibility of its own illegitimacy. Even in the selected narratives, criticism of Tongogara, the military supreme, is restrained consciously. Indeed, any political party in a

country which waged war to gain independence compromise its legitimacy by not aligning itself, if not in deed then in sentiments, with the military identity of the Chimurenga. An embodied military autobiography experience in the Chimurenga is the most deified. This identity is temporal, located from the mid-60s to 1980. Hence, this period is extensively accounted for in narrated lives. Military identity in the narratives is spatial. Narrators locate themselves in Tanzania, Zambia and Mozambique where the struggle was waged. The only fluidity these narratives permit is within the framework of military identities e.g. rising in rank. It is only Chung who does not portray herself as a military fighter, but military aide. As a woman, society may not have told her to glorify violence and claim it for herself whenever she can. Also, as an intellectual, she has other forms of heroism at her disposal besides brute force, for example, running the propaganda machinery and teaching.

Other existing sites offered by the narrative include spiritual, military, ethnic, racial, refugee, complicit and subversive identities. The narrative is a memoir for its intellectual approach, scriptotherapy where it is emotional and sentimental, a trauma narrative when it becomes tragic, a witness where it remembers abuse and aught biography where it confesses errors in the struggle and government. The witnessing autobiographical and confessional aspects were, however, beyond the scope selected for discussion.

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