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Preface

The story of Lovemore Majaivana is the story of cultural struggle and revolution. From the seedy days of rock cabarets in white Rhodesia, Lovemore "returned to the source", a return effectively marked by the 1983 epoch-making album, "Isitimela." Culture is the most critical element of revolution. The reconstruction of Zimbabwe economically, politically and socially cannot be achieved without an accompanying cultural shift away from the colonial and neo-colonial cultures that have marginalised black humanity and threatened its creativity. Lovemore's music is a fighting culture. It is for this reason that the music and the story of Majaivana is being recorded.

Introduction

Our work is an attempt of further scholarship on urban black culture. Those who know Zimbabwean music know only the ethnographic exertions of Hugh Tracey and Paul Berliner, or the occasional, though now frequent journalistic coverage of Zimbabwean musicians, either on radio or TV talk-shows on the BBC, or in magazines and newspapers, international or local, or on video by either American, British or New Zealand travelling journalists. J.C.Pongweni's "The Songs that won the Liberation War", rightly recognises the ideologically significant music of Thomas Mapfumo's anti-Rhodesian songs. But the book is largely about the choral mass music of the guerrilla camps. Fred Zindi's 1985 "Roots Rocking in Zimbabwe" was a valuable beginning in the study of black urban music in

rusty journalistic adventure without probing analysis. In its
c, it missed the spirit and ideology of Zimbabwe black music.

This study intends to show that certain musicians, in this case Lovemore cannot be given passing comment (Zindi deals with Lovemore in 2 pages) without missing the resonant, long lasting impact of such artists and their art. And now Michael Raeburn, the Zimbabwean filmmaker, has put the music on film and it is certain to travel far.

While Lovemore can be of interest to ethnographers, because of his "folk-roots", the study seeks to locate Lovemore's art in the revolutionary processes of cultural change, the complex and sometimes symbiotic relationship between the economic, political, social factors and an artist's personal ideology. Art is inseparable from ideology. Majaivana's return to and development of Ndebele folk music was an act of ideological option. One of the characteristics of popular and mass culture is the element of clear ideological choices.

Writing on the art of the Nigerian maverick musician, Fela Anikulapo Kuti, Ayu addressed the issue of ideology candidly:

So far analysis of art and culture in Africa has,
Since the colonial days, idealistically concentrated on the expressive and surface feature.
Clearly the dominance of anthropological paradigms has helped marginalise a properly
grounded historical materialist analysis.

Lovemore fuses the old Ndebele folk songs, and their choral character with the modern **mbaqanga** of electronic instrumentation and succeeds in creating a new art form that is a central part of urban popular culture. It is the mark of great art to fuse the past with the present in a quest for a more relevant and challenging art form. The great jazz bands of South Africa infuse the old **marabi** and **kwela** with new pop forms, American pop soul and disco, Jamaican raggae, and Trinidadian soca. This is in fact a microcosm of the urban experience itself-remnants of rural culture, **amacimbi**, herbal **muti**, donkey-drawn carts mingle with cars and high-tech and Western oriented bureaucracy. Majaivana represents this vibrancy, this hybrid experience that has become distinctly black Zimbabwean.

The Struggle for Culture

In the sweltering heat of Rufaro's massive stage, the fans watch enthralled by one of the most dazzling stage performances ever. The singer waves his hand and brushes aside a chunk of intruding hair over his forehead, the hair a shiny sleek affair dropping as far down as the shoulder. The prodigy is Majaivana, the fans, almost a whole sea of white faces, and **Graceland in Concert** kicks off in Zimbabwe.

It is strange, is it not, that the blacks, most of whom, like their fellow white fans, had never seen Majaivana before, only joined the welcome for the singer as bewildered response to the whites' thunderous welcome? But that could be taken as a microcosm of the whole Paul Simon show itself: that it took an American for an African to appreciate the richness of his culture, the dynamism of music, the dignity of his music.

Lovemore Majaivana, Thomas Mapfumo etc as pop music artists, have been in the forefront of Revolution. The political independence of 1980 was merely a political gesture, a change of guards. The economic and social structures that inspired black revolution and fired the desire to rebuild black dignity, black culture, remained intact. The dominant economic sections of the society, the whites invited sections of the black, the nascent black bourgeois, to participate in the control of the economy, even though pitifully marginally. The practical implication of this state of affairs was that black culture remained subdued by foreign values.

This study comes in the background of a decade of frightening developments. At the onset of the eighties, in America and in Europe, right-wing conservatives swept into power to organise the world in favour of the rich; Reaganomics in America and Thatcherism in Britain, Kohl in Germany. The French Socialists survived by retreating to the path of orthodox capitalism.

In 1985, Gorbachev ushered in glasnost and perestroika, and five years later, in 1989, the Marxist Socialist regimes of Eastern Europe were swept away in wave of anti-Communism fury. Meanwhile

...d to crushing proportions, and Africa, cap in hand went to the
... America, and the IMF for more and more aid. But studies
indicate that in fact the Third World countries remit \$50 billion annually to the West, more than the
money they get in the so-called aid. Africa is poorer now than it was the thirty years ago, and the
effects of economic domination by the West is far more destructive and harrowing, than slavery and the
colonial period. The proxy wars of the Cold War in Mozambique, Angola and The Horn of Africa have
laid waste the continent displacing millions of people. The Gulf War of 1991 showed that with America
commanding the West as the self-appointed sherriff of the world, the domination of the poor by the
rich, the South -North divide, had reached diabolic dimensions. The defeat of Iraq must be seen as the
symbolic victory of Western imperialism and neo-colonialist aggression against the struggling and self-
asserting developing nations who wish to control their own resources.

The implication of these is that the dependence on the West may be enforced through military action
,but that it is being enforced through subtle economic linkages, couched in the so-called structural
adjustment programmes drawn up by the WB and the IMF. The Western media that touts itself as the
epitome of free expression and champion of democratic values, has led the attack in the recolonisation
of Africa. The images of Africa are drawn from the original stereotypes, a Dark Continent irrevocably
steeped in poverty and war and hunger. The aid that some of the African countries receive are
expressions of pity from a Western public exposed to the harrowing images of malnourished and naked
black women and children. It is a public that does not know that the African story in their media is
incomplete. African music, against this background of distortion, has helped act as a force of relief and
reconstruction. When Mbongeni took Sarafina to New York, he told his young actors and actresses,
"You are South Africa's ambassadors". He may very well have been speaking about the rest of Africa's
cultural workers. It is African culture that has been left almost single-handedly to fight the prejudices of
the West and East.

In Zimbabwe the economic domination of the West has many manifestations, the most striking of
which is in the area of culture. But cultural dependence will result in the deferment of genuine
homegrown political economy philosophies.

In Zimbabwe, as in Africa in general, when the skin-bleaching Ambi was banned, a new form of the

in the white female's concept of beauty was expressed in the use of expensive hair straightening chemicals, an operation that leaves the hair in shiny long strands, so that the woman can, with the studied air of her white counterpart, brush it off from the forehead by throwing back the head and feigning annoyance with 'Silly hair'. The health-spas are doing a roaring business from young ladies, who taking their models from "Fair Lady", do lunch time workouts to trim the body and go on a punishing starvation diet to get the body into as scrawny a state as can be possible.

The young urban boys tell a similar story of mental slavery; they look to dreadlocked Jamaica and punk plagued America and Britain. The underclass who identify with reggae, keep twisted hair, wear woolen hats with the black, yellow, red bands, the Rasta colours. In the early eighties, the schools, colleges and universities were teeming with rastas. At the University of Zimbabwe, in 1981, a large contingent of black students who had been studying in Britain were repatriated by the British government, as Zimbabwe had become independent. They created on campus an influential sub-culture of Rasta life. Their dreads were strikingly authentic, having been nursed under the conditions the Zimbabweans had shared with Caribbean brethren in Britain. Some of the Rastas would not eat meat. Reggae became the most popular music on campus with frequent visits by reggae discos from town. The Rasta brethren formed a soccer club on campus and called Mystique Revelation. In the townships the halls were filled with reggae discos, playing packed houses. In Bulawayo, for example such clans as the Nyabinghi and Dub Invaders were established, led by young committed rastas. Rasta culture flourished.

At the other end of the scale were another class of youth culture. The children were largely drawn from the middle class, mid-level civil servants, teachers, nurses, doctors and more interestingly from the newly promoted black management (thanks to the Presidential Decree of 1981). Their children went to expensive schools, formerly whites only, played rugby, wore Nike shoes and rode nice bikes and drove their parent's cars, "shopping baskets." Then they acquired the English accent, and a new culture was born; it fed on the culture of the London-New York-Paris axis, distributed here by foreign-serving mass media. The kids lapped on the music of M. Jackson, revelled at the Communist-bashing Rambo of Hollywood, and fantasised about Dallas's America, brought to them as a land of the rich, of sumptuously beautiful women, and powerful macho men. The youth adopted the culture of America; from speech mannerisms to their hair styles, first the perm craze, men and women looking alike in their



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..., red or green spray paint. Then there was the geometric
... active feature of the youth culture has been the unmitigated
consumption of foreign cultures. The so-called nose brigade, because they speak through the 'nose', the
ordinary blacks' understanding of the English phonology.

But the issue is one of the structural imbalances, how the culture of the metropolis is foisted on its
economic dependents, of which Zimbabwe is a part. Zimbabwe's economy is dominated by TNCs who
are headquartered in American and European capitals, and control 90% of the economy, Lonrho,
Unilever, Union Cabide, Coca-Cola, Bata.

The nationalist leadership has simply been partners in this skewed distribution of the resources,
including land. Thus the nationalist leaders project, sometimes unconsciously their total dependence on
the foreign. Mugabe has met foreign musicians, Steve Wonder and I Jah Man, but has not received
local musicians. Reagan and Bush have received M. Jackson. When Bhundu bass player, David
Mankaba was down with Aids, the Duchess of York and Cliff Richard visited him in hospital. The
marginalisation of the indigenous cultural initiative in Africa is thus a deeper problem than might seem
from the surface.

The mass media, so critical in the promotion of indigenous values remained in the thrall of the petty-
bourgeois, foreign culture huggers. The Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation for example created
Radio One to cater for the white population and Radio Two for the blacks. But in 1981,ZBC added
Radio Three, since then much subject of resentment by people appalled by its unashamed promotion of
Western culture by playing rock from Britain and disco-funk from the ghettos of America.

The role that Lovemore has played in the promotion of Zimbabwean culture through music must be
studied in the context of the neo-colonial position that Zimbabwe found itself in after 90 years of
colonial rule.

Foreign Competition and Radio

We begin by radio for one main reason. Music promotion in the country is still very rudimentary. Radio

on. Radio shapes attitudes and influences the market's taste. Gramma use radio extensively to promote their artists. But most Djs at ZBC suffered, at least intensively in the 6 or 7 years of independence from addiction to Western culture as indeed they still do. Black Zimbabwean music was subordinated to foreign music. The country's leading DJs the most prominent of whom were ZBC announcers, nightly spread the craze for foreign music; these were the days of Wham, Shalamer Diana Ross, Lionel Richie etc. The night-clubs of Bulawayo and Harare sought the number one spot by playing as outrageously as possible the disco-funk that poured from EMI, RPM, Warner relentlessly, and the fame (or notoriety) of such DJs as Josh Makawa, John Matinde, Peter Johns, Caleb Thodhlana spread strongly.

Disc-funk was not in fact, the only menace. The black youth of the townships identified themselves with the music of Jamaica's under-class, as disco-funk was perceived as the music of high culture. Bob Marley's performance at Rufaro on 18 April, 1980 gave raggae a massive boost in the country, so that even today raggae commands the greatest number of fans. Bob Marley, Peter Tosh Burning Spear, Culture, Bunny Wailer, became household names. In 1984, Don Carlos toured Zimbabwe. It was a poorly organised show, with Zimbabwe still using an ancient PA system that choked off the sound to create one of the saddest out-door music shows in post-independence Zimbabwe. Still raggae was the winner and Zimbabwean musicians got a further squeeze.

In 1980 Solomon Skhuza and the Fallen Heroes stunned the country with a hit single called "Banolila". Perhaps no other single has been as "Banolila", which reputedly sold over 75000 copies and ran on request show on Radio Two's Ukubingelelana/Kwaziso for more than a year. Rumba was here to stay, it seemed. Solomon and the Fallen Heroes had played in Zambia as Zipra cultural cadres. Then there was the Kassongo Band. Kassongo had played in Tanzania and they sought to import their brand of Swahili rumba to Zimbabwe. Then there was the overwhelming rumba of Zairian origin, epitomised by the hard lead guitar of the legendary Franco and Zairian Sam Mangwana, who made visit to Zimbabwe, pointing out Masvingo as the place of the origin of the Mangwanas.

Zimbabwean musician faced formidable foreign competition. So Lovemore, Thomas, Zexie, The Four Brothers etc had the formidable task of maintaining, on a commercial scale, Zimbabwe's homegrown sound as a force to take on the fierce competition.

Love faced was South African competition. In 1983 Love and the Jobs Combination released the epoch-making album, "Isitimela". The hits laden volume contained greats, "Okwabanye" and "Isitimela". In the shebeens of Bulawayo, a reliable indicator of the quality of music, the album reigned supreme, upstaging Izinkunzi and Amankentshane with their gem albums. There was excitement about the possibilities of Zimbabwean music. It was yet possible to develop away from rumba and American stuff and still remain commercially significant. But there skeptics. Solomon said in a lift to Bulawayo that Loves album was instrumentally a triumph, but lyrically a disaster. This was representative of the majority those who did not understand Lovemore's art. Love took old folk-songs that his mother MaTshuma sung and taped for him re-worked them by sometimes adding new words and references and adapted them to the modern instruments, the guitar and keyboards. To many people Love was therefore uncreative; songs like "Ukhozi "reminded the people of their cattle-herding days in the distant past. The commercial musician, the people reasoned, must sing about the immediate material conditions of the urban reality; cantankerous neighbours, drunken youth, irresponsible working class husbands who squandered their pay on prostitutes etc. This is the kind of stuff that South African musicians had turned into money spinning formula. Soul Brothers, Steve Kekana, etc(Nobody stopped though to reflect that Soul Brothers music was apartheid music.)

South African Influence.

South Africa has always through its massive economic resources commanded mystical respect from the peoples of the hinterland, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Malawi and indeed Zaire. The wealth of SA largely rests on diamonds and gold discovered in 1867 and 1886 respectively, attracting thousands of men to work on the mines. These men since the 20s and 30s brought back stories of a fairy tale land of glittering riches and savage, if not somewhat fascinating crime of the vast urban townships. The economic muscle of SA has always been felt on the culture of these countries, especially in the area of music. SA bands from the 60s toured the then Rhodesia extensively. There was in fact an explosion, with virtually every three months recording a visit; Mahlathini and the Mahotella Queens, Nzimande, Soul Shabalala, Spho Bhengu, John Moriri, Felix' Teaspoon 'Ndelu, Mthunzini Girls. These bands would tour for about a month, starting off in Chiredzi, Hippo Valley, Mutare, Harare, Gweru, Kwekwe, Bulawayo. The label HVN is found in virtually all the households of this country. The

. When Robert Mkhize, "Umfana wembazo" and Abafana there was a galaxy of 404s in Lexington colours. The crowds fully appreciated the awesome power of SA culture in motion. In Bulawayo, Jerry Mhlanga are still vividly remembered. Jerry's 1973 hit "Mpofu Special", was composed after Mpofu, the shebeen king of Mpopoma. The Mzilikazi Family Association's long time chairman, Madlibi Hlabangana, would write to Jerry in the 70s inviting him to perform in Bulawayo as part of cultural cooperation with the South Africans.

In the 1980s South African domination would hardly change. Love's chief audience would in fact have changed. The development of Ndebele nationalism, away from Zimbabwean nationhood was among the aims to provide Bulawayo with Radio Mthwakazi and TVM. The radio aggressively played SA mbaqanga. The Djs played SA marabi, during the heydays of Isibaya and the instrumental music called in Bulwayo, "irabi."

It meant that Love and other musicians faced a market closed already. Zindi's main weakness in discussing the foreign influence is to minimize the power of SA influence. "Instead groups which toured Zimbabwe in the fifties and sixties were mainly from Zaire and South Africa...From Zaire groups like the Baba Ganston Band, The OK Success, The Limpop Jazz Band, Les Mangelepa Orchestra, toured Zimbabwe between 1954 and 1984."p.12. Twenty years are treated as single uninterrupted period; the point here is that South African music was an avalanche. Today only the Zairian led Real Sounds play rumba in Zimbabwe, while mbaqanga has become generic to the music style of most bands. The OK Success has not lived up to their names' expectations. John Ozidi, is inconsistent and can hardly be considered a rumba force. Mtukudz's cough recalls the glamorous prince of South African mbaqanga, Mpharanyana, whose real name was Jacob Radebe, who died in 1978. Parade followed the music scene keenly, and in their March,1970 issue one their correspondents wrote,

"Simanje-manje is a sex explosion. Marriages have been broken. Men are jailbirds. The game is performed half-naked with lipstick and a wig to complete the picture.

Mr. Ncube.

In the April,1970 issue another replied,

ing one of those who hate Simanje-manje. But it is there to stay.

by Joe Titus K.Phiri, Zomba.

Indeed, South African influence was here to stay and the local musicians would have to face up to it. Today such SA musicians and groups like Brenda Fassie, Yvonne Chaka Chaka, Soul Brothers, Ray Phiri and Stimela, Chicco, Abangani ,Abakhwenyana dominate Zimbabwe's airwaves.

Love himself acknowledges the South African influence; "The Nguni actually originated from Zululand so the Zulu influence in my music. In Bulawayo where I was born Mbube music is the traditional thing. That is why Black Mambazo music is not strange to me. I have played host to groups like Mahotella Queens, Izintombi Zesimanje-Manje when they toured Zimbabwe(then Rhodesia.) He goes on. "My music was influenced by South African groups like the City Quads and the Golden City Crooners, whom I heard on radio." Love was later to sing to the world on the plight of the South Africans.

The Soul Brothers provided the toughest competition. Their music was new, having evolved around 1978; slow, heavy bass and sharp keyboards. SB music was fresh, or even novel; it infused American jazz saxophone, and Soweto lead guitar, while Jerry Mhlanga's sax had been the sweet marabi as Kippie Moeketsi had played-Sophiatown, hard, mourning sax. Love's sound after the split with Jobs sounded like tired Soweto marabi. The Zulu Band, except for "Dabuka mhlaba" on their debut album, merely took an old sound and hoped Lovemore's voice would salvage their shoddy instrumentation. But Love and perhaps too, Thomas were lucky .The early years of Zimbabwean independence witnessed a return to virulent sub-nationalism. Even though Love was not openly partisan as in the case of Thomas, his spirit his philosophy appealed to a Ndebele audience seeking a common cultural ground. His music was more relevant than most SA stuff; his "Badlala Njani ibhola" roused visible passions in football stadia as he enumerated the heroes, Madinda Ndlovu, Netsai, Duoglas the mainstays of Highlanders. The music provided a sharp focal point for an embattled nationalism.

Loves' idea was different from the ordinary expectations; his was in very crucial ways the kernel of Cultural Revolution. He sought to make people appreciate the richness of their orature. To liberate the

s while whining for Don William's American bush music and
emed accepted and respected as his "Isitimela" won him gold
from Gallo. Perhaps the struggle for cultural independence was being won. Joey Khumalo wrote in the
South African magazine, Pace that he was surprised that Love could perform in front of 25000 mostly
whites and not feel the pressure of singing in Ndebele. South Africa Artists think singing in English is
the mark of accomplishment. "The opening act for the Paul Simon Graceland show was an eye-opener.
I stood amid the mammoth crowd, in Rufaro, mystified as to what tick the Zimbabweans were trying
to pull. Here was the opening band to the greatest show on earth singing in some language akin to Zulu
but known as Ndebele in Zimbabwe. You see back home in South Africa, top acts like the Soul
Brothers, Mahlathini and the Mahotella Queens rank among the riff-raff because they sing in the
vernacular. We prefer something more ersatz, some poor man's Michael Jackson or Teddy
Pendergrass. But up north in Zimbabwe black pride swells in their bosom and they are proud of their
language. They'll apologise to no one in singing in it." In 1985, Love was invited by the SRC to
perform at the University. The Student Union hall was packed with curious students. For a great many
had never seen Love perform live. He slithered onto the stage at 9 p.m. in sartorial elegance, sporting a
golden outfit and his trademark-dancing boots. He put up one the most stunning performances of his
career, opening with the time-defying "Okwabanye." The students went wild with excitement, and after
the show young ladies were visibly emotional as LM was mobbed by such giants as D.Sibanda. Love
conquest of the intellectual mind was accomplished.

Love, unlike his cultural counterpart, Thomas who uses mbira-guitar with Thomas's original lyrics,
takes in raw form the old songs and igquzu a slow dance in which the inner feet especially the ankles
are struck against each other in unison with choral sequences. His acceptance is the more dramatic.

Lovemore and his Ideas.

Love talks with traceable anger and disillusionment in his voice. If he had made it in life he would be
driving a big car, wearing a suit and doing a fine job that society respect, doctor lawyer, accountant, he
says. "I spent 15 years of my life lining other people's pockets. Sure, they didn't force me to, and now I
wanted to get out. Playing at a night club is never satisfactory because people come firstly to drink and
to talk to their friends, whereas on the road they come for the show." p.53. Love like so many

Zimbabwe, did not sing by choice. Love had to leave school the fees, the typical reason that most musicians advance. It is ironic that Love is bitter. He lives in 2-tier house in Braeside, drives a 504, sports a pair of 1000 pounds boots bought in London, and eats softly. Many graduates live in reduced circumstances. This is failure of society. Zimbabwe's nation building has been accomplished with critical help of culture transformation. At the frontline of such a hard struggle has been the popular culture of urban black music of Love and Thomas. But when Love say goes out of the country nobody bothers to interview him. Thomas once publicly complained. Love is an imbongi an old art that flourished under Shaka. Love hit song "Badlala Njani Ibhola" was a flop. But it showed that his early critics had misunderstood him. It was beautiful song on Highlanders, a football club that is was one of the flagships of urban black culture in Bulawayo. He demonstrated that oral art could be adapted to express the contemporary experiences of the society. His art was not inextricably linked to the past. In spite of his achievements Love has retained his negative view of musicians. He sees them as marginalised and we have already shown this attitude.

Society has always reined a negative attitude to performing artists, perhaps largely due to the very strong influence that Christianity has over Zimbabweans. In "An African Troubadour. The music of Josaya Hadebe. "S.J.M.Mhlabi discusses the social hostility towards popular music. An old woman rejoiced after she had crushed the famous "masignda" of the 50s, Sabelo Mathe's guitar; "Ngimbule' uSathane. Ngimqamul' imbambo!"(I have killed Satan. I have broken his ribs!) P.19. In 1968, Mhlabi reminisces, the Ministry of Education decreed that schools not only teach singing, but music. When as headmaster of the St. Columbus School, he bought a guitar for the music lessons. He earned the wrath of an Anglican Church member who fumed over the presence of "Satan's ribs." P.20 But that the guitar was referred to as Satan's ribs indicate that this was largely a Christian prejudice.

This attitude is especially true of Government, which has consistently rejected calls to assist the music industry in so many possible ways. Like easing import restrictions on electronic equipment that is needed by the industry. In Zimbabwe a second hand guitar costs \$1500, while a new guitar costs 30 pounds in London. The PA system was old until a local promoter, Dunn Gould brought a descent PA after the Child Survival show in 1988. The Frontline PA currently in use does not match South Africa's ancient ones.

The most comic aspect of Zimbabwe's infant music industry is perhaps the lack of skilled personnel to man the studios, qualified producers and engineers.

Interview

Lovemore Majaivana

T. Nkabinde-A few years ago you were in the newspapers criticizing the record companies for what you saw as their lack of support for local musicians. How can this be resolved?

L.M.-I must say that ZMC have in fact done a lot of good for the music industry in this country. My earlier criticism was misplaced it was my ignorance, I'm mature, more experienced than at that time.

T.N.-How is it so?

L.M.-Look, the record company does not charge you a cent to record, press, advertise and distribute. They cover all those expenses, and it is a calculated risk. What if the record is a flop? The risk in fact is very high because our market is small. Here you talk of only 5000 sales while say in America a star can sell as much as 3 million records.

T.N.-What are the royalties like?

L.M.-It depends really with the individual artist, they are not uniform, and so they vary say between 8% and 15%,those are the figures that I remember.

T.N.-Your sound changed when you left Jobs, the unique sound that you had developed with Jobs was lost in the new outfit you joined, the Zulu Band.

L.M.-No, the sound did not change, what changed was the tempo.

T.M.-But the Champ Band song "Thula wenhliziyo" is more typical of the original sound that you played.

L.M.-You must remember that I played with those guys, you remember Fanyana Dube.

T.N.-Are you happy with the support you have got?

L.M.-I would say yes,I would say no. You know the jackal looks after its own. I can't be bitter because in the first place I don't know what \$50,000 is like. But the people in Bulawayo kept me strong with their moral support, they did not let me crumble even in the darkest of hours. There was a

ne crowds here are excellent.

L.M.-Scots music is traditional, they have traditional instrument to create modern music. Thomas(Mapfumo) is traditional. I play play traditional music. But I spice it up. To make old wine you don't have to have old grapes.

T.N.-Ever heard about Sabelo Mathe and Josaya Hadebe?

L.M.-Of course what do mean, if they had not lived I wouldn't be here myself. Sabelo and Josaya are the pioneers of this music. What I did was to broaden it. I think this is what it should be like, the young and up-coming artist will take from me one day and broaden the sound, experiment further.

T.N.-The language issue, what is your answer to that?

L.M.-You sing in the language that best expresses your feelings. Things are not as serious when you say them in English than they really are.

T.N.-How many albums have you so far?

L.M.-I have six. But they could have been more, I am not of commercial value. My message is going to be around for a very long time. What happens to me in 10 years' time if I released two albums a year. I want to around for as long as I can. Sour grapes? I don't miss the record sales. I have not earned gold.

T.N.-Traditional music in South Africa has been disdained as apartheid music because it tended to reinforce tribal sentiment and philosophy.

L.M.-I did not choose to sing this music. My elders thought I should sing this type of music. And so I see myself as just link in long chain that must discharge the duty of teaching our youth their culture. For example I don't know Njele myself, but when a child hears that song, he will ask what it is. Njelele is an important part of our culture.

Interview

Paddy Ndlovu, keyboards

Themba Nkabinde- You are a star, how does this affect your life?

PN- When most people see me and other musicians they think that our life is rosy. It is not, society is dishonest, the people love us only on the stage. Who talks to me after I live the stage?

TN-How exactly do you mean?

we drunks and we are drug dependent, but tell me, all those being fined in the courts for pushing drugs, how many are musicians? It is society that is corrupt and dishonest. I don't tell people in town that I'm a musician. I get hurt when they visibly ignore you or say " Oh, so how are you?", but rush to ask more questions to the guy who said he worked for Grinaker or some other company. I can't marry. A girlfriend broke with me after a letter from her brother warned her off from a good-for nothing " abantu bamakatali". You would show the same attitude to me if you did not happen to know me. Women would rather get married to garden boys. This is why even in Britain, musicians marry among themselves. Here I can't get an account facility from Sales House, or from Beverly building Society. I have become rather like a sponge to absorb all the shit that society arrogantly pours on me.

TN-Has the nation shown no appreciation of the role that music has played in the revolution, the social changes that followed independence?

PN-No. Look, who understands the importance of music? If anybody had cared, they would not have closed Kwanongoma. There was everything to promote music, a well-developed infrastructure that was well funded by the Lutheran Church. I would not be playing live here to make a living, I would be teaching. Alport Mhlanga went into economic exile in Botswana, and another young man has gone to Cuba.

Interview

Ernie Konson

T.N.-You play Lovemore's music every Saturday here at the Grey's Inn, you like Lovemore's music then?

E.K-Yes, I do.

T.N-When did you start liking Lovemore's music?

E.K-It was in 1978, on the release of his first song, "Vuka Jona". It was good, man. I knew this was the music for me.

T.N- What are your own plans as a recording artist?

E.K-I am recording on Monday here in Bulawayo, a single called "Amadolo Adiniwe".

T.N-No, you can't be serious, I mean that sounds like Lovemore's "Emagumeni", amadolo adiniwe.

E.K-So you see what I mean when I say I liked Lovemore's style.

make here playing his music to Zimra.
inition

"Mbaqanga" is defined by Muff Anderson in *Music in the Mix* as the Zulu word for "steamed mealie bread". In Ndebele it is called amaqebelengwana. Mealie-meal is kneaded into small pieces and allowed to steam and to get firm. But this is a quick operation, so was the new music of the 1950s in Sophiatown. Jack "Big Voice" Lerole and Mahlathini were at the forefront. This was a revolt against the American swing and bebop and Miles Davis jazz. Mbaqanga, popularly known then as "mgqashiyo" was despised by the urbarnites as rustic music. But the term mbaqanga, it must be conceded is an extremely ambiguous, all embracing. It has continued to evolve and all the new styles still being referred to as mbaqanga, even the new Brenda-Chicco electronic music, to fusion bands like Via Afrika Hot Line and now Mango Groove.

In Zimbabwe the chief exponents have been Zexie Manatsa and Oliver Mutukudzi, from the early 70s (theses were under the guidance of the mbaqanga guru, West Nkosi. In fact it could be argued that Mtukudzi has taken mbaqanga a little further than the South Africans who abandoned it foe bubble gum. He has such a natural feel for the art form that we could regard mbaqanga as a properly Zimbabwean art form.

But the elements of mbaqanga are infused in the music of many Zimbabwean bands of different styles, Mike Lannas, Talking Drum, Devera Ngwena, Champ, and the gospel music as in Mechanic Manyeruke's guitar, The Family Singers' ballads and Brian Sibalo. In fact the pedantic reach for labels is a formalistic and sometimes very fruitless habit. Musicians simply want to play and create a good sound. But the media with characteristic know-it all Smart Alec syndrome set about to invent names for a sound they quite could not label. The Herald led to invent the term Chimurenga to account for Thomas's music. What is Chimurenga, is it the mbira-based music of Thomas? Are the lyrics the criterion. On the Revolution, because Thomas sung on the Revolution? But Zexie who sung on the Revolution has never had his music intimated by The Herald to be Chimurenga. Leonard Dembo's music is distinctively Zimbabwean, but what type, jit?, rumba?, mbaqanga? Certainly neither of these, but perhaps a mixture of each.



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ve's music mbaqanga more so now that it has shifted from the
aw mbaqanga form.

A Hard Industry

A common sight in the cities is of beggars, and they are usually blind, singing Xian hymns. But sometimes there are those who get together home made guitars and drums made from tin pots. They settle down at First Street and show their talent, they sing for the few cents that the audience may throw on the small bowl. Many bands were originally young people who were desperate and simply went begging. A big man with the money might happen along and offer instruments and manage them, or make money out of their skills.

In Zimbabwe there are close on 15,000 people who are dependent on the music industry for their livelihood; musicians, their families, the record companies and their employees, engineers, packers, sale reps, the small business that rent space in cafe on the busiest streets in order to sell records for a living.

But the industry is still very much treated like any other informal industry, it's largely ignored by Government. About 20000 groups have to beg a chance from the two companies before RTP. The equipment used by the average band is Stone Age, and yet very expensive. Classed as a luxury industry electronic equipment attracts heavy customs duties, so heavy it is out of the reach of the majority. Big names in the industry still don't own the equipment they use. The kit is normally owned by a rich man who in most cases owns the venues, the hotels at which the group must play in order to make a living. Zum got together with the aim of sensitising government of the plight of musicians. They sought audience with the Vice-president, Simon Muzenda. But nothing really materialised and the groups still find themselves struggling as ever before. Thomas does not own the kit he uses, he hires it from Frontline Studios, so also do Ilanga and Love and Mtukudzi. When Zexie had his kit damaged in a car accident he was like a workman without tools, thrown out of showbiz. He went to beg, reminding the powers that be that he had in fact sung to boost the morale and chances of ZANU victory on the long campaigns. He is destitute. He is the man who had big hit after big hit beginning with "Chipo" in 1975 and gold in 1980 for "Tiyi Hobvu". But to hit gold an artist must sell over 50000 copies a daunting task even in better markets like in SA. Glover said that very often his company had to absorb losses when a



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Miller, a big name could only sell 200, what about an unknown

The only two record companies in the country, Teal and ZMC have done a tremendous job promote Zimbabwean music. There has been relentless efforts especially in the media to attack the companies for their lack support for musicians. The musicians themselves have given the companies a sharky image. But Fred Zindi, musician and music critic, put up a more sober picture in his book "Roos Rocking in Zimbabwe". Love has been a leading critic of the record companies, especially his, Gallo, who he lambasted in the Sunday Mail for paying pittance, 7% in royalties and lack of support. Once his child, Samantha was ill. He went to Tymon the producer for ZMC and for an advance to pay the hospital bill. Tymon refused. Love was on contract with ZMC and he was visibly bitter when he recalled that experience. Zexie Manatsa is a destitute. He is the man who churned hit after hit since 1975. Now he is appealing for help to rest himself up after his equipment was destroyed in car accident. The company that got rich through his work could not oblige. Thomas has no instrument to date. The musicians must perform every Friday and Saturday and now increasingly on Sundays and mid-week holidays in order to make ends meet.

But an informed view of the music industry would yield different and perhaps sympathetic conclusions. Already Love himself has seen the and appreciated the differences between the music industry in Britain and the industry in Zimbabwe. Parade at one time led the onslaught against the record companies. Leo Hatugari then at the Sunday Mail poured venom on the industry in his weekly column, "In the Groove with Leo Hatugari." Andrew Moyse, then editor of Parade, covered the meeting in 1989 at which Gramma's Chief Executive, Julian Howard spoke to the press in a gkastnost-like contact. "We are getting fed up of being accused of reaping up all the profits in the music industry at the expense of all and sundry..." Parade p.37, Howard said. Parade had always complained that they had been ignored and at times threatened with "lawyers' letters" p.37. Howard explained that it was the company that covered the cost of recording at the commercial rate of \$135 an hour and \$110 an hour to those 150 or so groups contracted to Gramma. The profit base of the country was very narrow, Howard demonstrated, because half of the population is under the age of 16. And to many people music was a luxury item that they would rather do without than let their families starve. To show that there were genuine problems in the industry, ZMC had had to close their Bulawayo factory and come



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Breakdown of the cost of recording; these costs are wholesale prices of \$9,13 a Lp and \$1,79 a single.

Album Single

.Artists and composers royalties.....	127,8	25.1
.Production and engineers'commission.....	22,8	4,5c
.Sales commission.....	22,8c	4,5c
.PVC/Plastic.....	41,9c	13,0c
.Labels/Background.....	18,0c	9,0c
.Inner sleeve.....	4,5c	
.Packaging.....	1,9c	0,5c
.Outer sleeve.....	50,0c	3,1c

GENERAL OVERHEADS

.Factory.....	89,8c	22,5c
.Administration.....	127,8c	31,9c
.Distribution(includes advertising).....	129,7c	32,4c
TOTAL COST.....	641,9c	146,5c
GROSS PROFIT.....	271,1c	32,5c

Perhaps it is true that there was an air of secrecy that needed to be cleared. In Britain that many more bands that fail than those that succeed. The system where a record company pays bands in advance is based on the anticipation that the formula the producer has come up with is going to work. Sometimes it does not as Whitney 's album has amply shown. The system therefore is highly risky and a record company will simply prefer to handle a small number of bands a year. If this were applied here there would be an outcry. The arrival of RTP did not mean the demise of the old companies, why? It is because there is more to the industry than meets the eye, even if it is true that TRP were offering very competitive terms. Big names like Oliver Mtukudzi, Ilanga left ZMC to join RTP.

Another aspect of the tough industry comes from the nature of the work. Paddy already put it well. The musician is viewed as part of the society's moral destroyer, he plays in nightclubs where people go to drink. The problems of alcohol in Zimbabwe are very serious, family neglect by husband who spend

pub or pub. The music is played at night as part of adult
debarred from going. The law forbids under 18 to drink at the
bars. There is sexual abandon, violence and all manner of debauchery. All the while the musician is seen
as ministering to these base needs and therefore abetting or promoting the accompanying social
degeneracy. People never stop to give the other side of the story, the image of music in the country is
negative because of the very powerful position that the Church has on the country. Issues of morality
may seem far fetched her but there is no denying the existence of Xian feeling in this negative view of
showbiz. But then the majority of the musicians actually justify such views. They drink hard and chase
cheap women. Music is one of the areas in which stars are made, besides sport. Fans sometimes seem
to lose their heads when their favorite band is playing, and it is common to find even respected women
surrendering to the mystic power of music by accepting the inevitable sexual requests from the star.
And this includes married women. Those who don't drink smoke dagga, perhaps to relieve the stress of
long hours of work with little remuneration. Storm's Andrew Brown said of his original bassist who left
the band. Jabu Zondo, "He drank too much, he didn't buy a pair of trousers in two years. "Popular
blind singer Matavire was jailed for two years in 1991, he raped a disabled woman after a show. There
is virtually no band that has not had any split resulting from the general indiscipline and injustice that
are very often that hall mark of the musicians, Love and the Jobs, Mtukudzi's Black Spirits have broken
with him and reunited for about two times before finally breaking for good, some members left Thomas
to form the Herb, Ebony Sheik, Ilanga, Devera Ngwenya,

The New Bands

Although we have spoken of the foreign bands as the major competitors, it would be erroneous to
leave out the impact of Zimbabwe's new bands. Love and Thomas's sounds have become familiar so
that from time to time, the fans crave for a new refreshing sound. But perhaps more importantly it is
the generation gap and class factors that count most. Such was the arrival of Ilanga and Talking Drum.

Ilanga was formed in 1985 with a galaxy of stars, Brian Paul, Don gumbo, Keith Farquasson, Andy
Brown and Emmanuel Frank. Munya beat the drums. Their debut single, "Thandiwe" showed that
local music had matured. There had justifiable lament about the poor quality of local music. Ilanga
relied on complicated scale, used heavy keyboards and an aggressive bassline.

ians Mike Lannas, Brian rusike etc. Both Ilanga and Talking Drum appealed to the urbanites, who were too timid to play hard-core mbaqanga or spikey rumba, and yet sufficiently Zimbabwean to relegate American pop. Ilanga's first album "Visions Foretold " was a smasher and many instantly compared Don's with South Africa top act Ray Phiri and Stimela. They followed up with the hit dance song "True Love" in which their lead singer was he exciting energetic Busi Ncube one of the handful women in showbiz in the country. Then the Mutare based Runn Family came in, led by the talented Peter Mparutsa. They released a hit in 1987 "Moyo muti". All these represented new possibilities in local music and always threatened the established music of the senior bands.

Lovemore and his songs

We have already said something about Love's music. Love could be described more accurately as folk-singer but like all Zimbabwean musicians Love is eclectic. Zindi discusses this phenomenon. The musicians are not rigidly exclusive; Thomas plays hard mbira but also marabi and raggae. Devera Ngwenya played rumba and mbaqanga, John Chibadura plays his Zim sound together with Zimbabweanised raggae. Perhaps the best exponent of this phenomenon is Solomon skhuza. Skhuza plays accomplished mbaqanga, complete with the groaner, Mahlathini-like, and plays shangara as in "MaKhumalo," as well as rumba. He is able to do so because he changes his line-up to suit his needs, from the Fallen Heroes to the Soul Birds, Kwejani, The Leaders, Kasambabezi, O.C.B. So also has Love shown this versatility. But it must be borne in mind that be that as it may, each artist develops a main feature, which is so resonant it becomes his trademark. The song "Prayer for Mandela" is a raggae sound, and he sometimes sings Shona inspired songs, "Zwembudzi" in the album "Jiri." Love sings too about personal biographical material. After he was kicked out of Jobs Nite Spot, his first album with Zulus was a record of his travails on the thorny road of showbiz. He mocked in the song "Uzalixotsha" that the remaining Jobs Combination guys like Fanyana Dube would also be fired. "Kuleliya Ilizwe" is an nostalgic indulgent about his prime though brief induced by the phenomenal success of "Isitimela."

Easily the most striking feature about Love music is the lyrics unfamiliarity, the words of the songs are

ener, for example, in the song "Entabeni zabathakathi",

Entabeni zabathakathi

Entabeni zabaloyayo.

Or "Ihlanzi"

Njelele njelele inhlanzi yesiziba

Zwino yabanjwa ngumdaka

Or "Yingwe bani leyi, elamabala, yingwe yedolobheni mama, elamabala."

In 1986 he released a single entitled "Amazinyo enyoni"

Lake lawabona

Amazinyo enyoni

Selake lazibona lapho eziluma khona?

Loma liduma lindindizela

Sengizofihla abantwababi.

Amahlolanyama adl'abantwabami.

The lyrics are esoteric. Birds do not have teeth, but the singer is asking whether his audience has ever seen them before. The youth listening to the song would be hard put to understand the meaning of the song; they may not know for example "amahlolanyama" are. (They may think it refers to Highlanders who popularly referred to as "Amahloanyama" owing to the black and white uniform.)

Most of the Ndebele songs that are inherited from a substantially old past have this generation gap that affects meaning and seems indeed absurd to the urban fan.

Love songs express communally held beliefs and practices; the songs cover the whole spectrum of the society's experience, ranging from songs that advise against human foibles like greed and selfishness or adulterous behaviour to songs of sorrow and joy and celebration. The classic "Okwabanye" is a song that advises against greed and selfishness, "...okwabanye nwayi nwayi, okwkho finyo. Wen'othand'okwabanye." It is a song that children sung as they grew up, it was one of the socialising agents, molding good morals before the young grew up. Selfishness was held to be one of the most undesirable of vices in Ndebele society. Music was one of the ways in which society transmitted the old

for the building of a nation. In the second album, Salanini of advice to a promiscuous man to desist from running around with other people's wives, "Uzakufa kubi ngabafazi babantu,Uhambe ebhoreni labafazi babantu, esiy'emahotela labafazi babantu,Ujah'uzakufa kubi." An interesting feature in the development of Love music was his desire to tell his own experiences, hence he wrote some original music. When he left Jobs, for example he gave a piece of advice to the remaining band members,"Uzaxotsha lundoda ,lingazelimenzel'imali."

Lovemore and the early days.

Lovemore was born in 1954, Dec 14,in the Midlands city of Gweru. Both his parents were church people. He began singing at 15,his mother actually led the church choir. When the family relocated to Bulawayo, Love had made up his mind on singing. He and some friends formed a group called "The Youth Club Band. "A doctor gave them the electronic guitars and they got off. In about a year, he left the Youth to join The High Chords, where he became the Best Vocalist. After completing his school, he left for greener pastures in Harare, where bands were better paid than in Bulawayo. He joined "The Swag Unit", playing at whites only joints. When his father died of car accident, Love went back to Bulawayo where he gave showbiz a break. But he was back in 1977 as the Best Vocalist in the rock contest. In 1978,he went back to Harare for the better conditions. There he joined "Elbow", a group that came third in the competition that was organised for the year. His mother, MaTshuma, came from Lower Gwelo, while his father was a Ngoni from Malawi. He left school and started singing. He spent much of his early childhood in Mzilikazi and affectionately known as 'iboyes yezikweyeni". Love rarely sings in Bulawayo and when he does, those who remember from Mzilikazi flock to watch him and indulge themselves with memories of Love as Tom Jones when he did the cabaret circuit during white Rhodesia.

Love's greatest assets are both his pretty looks and his rich baritone voice. At independence it was difficult to make out one singer from the others, they all creakily sounded the same. But Love voice stood out deep evocative. In a harsh competitive market, distinction is a marketing asset. Love is the most flamboyantly dressed musician around. His flashy, bright colours are custom-made shirts, sometimes bright goldor flashy pink. When the Zulu Band traveled to Swaziland in 1987,Love bought

eld. He sewed it into a bright showbiz shirt. Love has no and insensitive. Sometimes big stars can not relate easily with their fans. David Masekela pretty and dovish can not relate easily with the eager fans; Michael Jackson is withdrawn and arrogant; Thomas's fans except the drunken ones, are cautious lest they break their hearts.; Masekela is arrogant; the catalogue goes on. Love is married with three kids. Samantha and Jane his wife are the subject of one of his songs, "Ikula." In May 1991 a son was born into the family and was named George after his paternal grandfather.

Love loves movies and since he does not drink he spends most of his afternoons watching movies. Anderson was related the story when Bee had been drunk and were at Love's home. When Mother Nature called, Bee could tried to get up and relieve himself. He swaggered in a drunken manner. Love sent him a lightning bolt of an eye. Anderson appreciated then Love's intense dislike of alcohol. For a very long time the Zuluø stayed in Bulawayo, and did the 434 km journey every week to fulfil their weekly commitments in Harare. Bulawayo was an economically dead city offering very little business for full time musicians. The separation had a negative impact on the bands's performance, they hardly practised and so played the same tunes week after week, driving loyal fans to the more energetic bands. This was the time that Thomas really took of after a bad spell around 1985. Anderson, Bee Sithole guitars, Yutah Dube on bass, Bhikiza Mapfymo on drums all stayed in Bulawayo except the trombone player, Frank Mapfumo and Love himself.

Commercialization

The pressure to commercialize cannot be ignored. A musician like Love seems to have learnt his lesson well. His stage dress reflects this marketing objective, colourful, distinctive. His hairdressing is striking, sometimes a bizarre imitation of American pop stars-his Doobie Grey Afro of the early 80s, his shiny perm later, or the ponytail. The desire to be ahead, in-step, fashionable, in a neo-colonial culture, expresses itself within the trends of the metropolis culture. It is the dream of every musician to make it abroad.

Thomas's attempt at the upbeat look is manifested by his dreadlocks, he is inspired by Jamaica. John

Love went to London in 1990, he was pictured naked from the waist down as a dancer. The Europeans are still steeped in the old ethnic prejudices of King Solomon's Mines. They love to see half-naked Africans prance on the stage while making music. Mahlathini; or the aptly named Zimbabweans, the Bhundu Boys. They feed European prejudices. A band that attempts to be sleek and original in Oxford street would get the next flight to Africa. Britain is the land of the BBC that still has African News separate from World News. West African and Central African musicians dress up in colourful ethnic garments to keep the image of Africa alive. Love open neck and glittering rings are a reminder of the macho era of American soul singers like James Brown. The musicians build these images practically to lean on them, to boost their confidence. The contradiction in Love is very fascinating. Here is a man who has dedicated his life to the cultural struggle of this country, and yet still depends on the foreign values that his art is fighting against.

But perhaps this is to be simplistic, the problem may be too advanced for such cheap observation. "Artists who choose to take advantage of twentieth century travel are inevitably exposed to new cultural influences and perhaps by making use of this, fusing them into new art forms, they can progress into the future." P.49 New African no.283. Put in another way, technology changes will not spare even African music from commercial forms. When the musician has been to a cosmopolitan setting like London and seen how varied cultures are, he may develop in the direction that acknowledges these realities. He even considers his borrowing as a sign of growth away from a single, linear tradition. A good example of how international has affected African music is from Yasour N'Dour music; writing of his brilliant album, Brian Ward said that the "exposure to rock, pop, jazz and soul of many continents" had contributed to the rich power of Yassour's album "Set". New African Life, No.5, December, 1990. Hugh Masekela's music is now a mixture of many art forms, taking in much of Africa's varied music forms, jazz, mbaqanga, soukous, raggae, western ballads. Masekela employs musicians from all over Africa to reflect this varied sound. Majaivana and his fellow Zimbabweans are after all also looking for international stardom. Their success may be boosted by the ability to fuse the many different forms in order to cross over cultural boundaries that frustrate many African artists. Jiri was one such attempt. The album featured such musicians as Walla to provide the bright punchy brass and organ to give it a jazz tonic and liberate it from the constraints of mbaqanga. Thomas in fact even went as far as recording a raggae album, in 1987, "Mugarandega", in his quest to

record producer, Nkono Teles feels that African music has
use to technological possibilities. Teles, who has worked with
Fela Kuti, Ade and Sonny Okusun suggests that African music exploit sampling. Masekela says that the
much-despised South African jive "bubble gum" is good. In other words, the veteran master of jazz
recognises the motion of culture.

Lovemore's Music: Apartheid Music

The music of Love is rooted in the history of the peasants and the workers. A familiar experience is that of Matabele men sporting white British coal miners' caps, popularly known as "isancele" and blue overalls loaded with 5 litre gallons of opaque beer from the nearby aptly named MaDlodlo beer garden, boarding buses on Friday evenings to Nkayi, Tsholotsho, Gwanda, Gwatemba. ERenkini teems with eager working-class travelers, who when they have boarded the buses, would burst into song, urging the driver to burn the gas, "Sizakufakazela"(We shall be witnesses in court). They sing the timeless tunes like EGwelutshena, Thelamanzi, Ukhozi Lwangithatha, vibrant folk songs that are still sung even in the football stadia in the metropolis of Bulawayo. The songs unified the men in their common relief of the burdens of a five-day week of hard labour. But there is the other reason why they should sing so loud; old Matabele men advise constantly that when you have been away for such as along time as a week, you must sing when you approach your homestead; your wife's lover would then have enough warning for him to beat it. The songs have an important social function. These are the songs from which Lovemore has taken his material and put on celluloid.

Sometimes Love's music may be challenged as reactionary. It is not entirely true that we become revolutionary when move back to pre-colonial black traditions. This is precisely the reasoning, the music that Europeans want, in their so-called reception of the revolution of African music-skin-clad Mahlathini, wild beat drums of m'balanx, exotic bush names like Bhundu, mbira-wielding musicians like Stella Chiweshe, half-naked black dames from the fantasies of Ipi-Tombi.

The argument for adapting and synthesising foreign forms to create indigenous ones is valid. In any case, black music was able to remain unchanged for long periods because the basic instruments did not change, the wood-carved instruments for example. When the technology was introduced that made

ments the sound of the music too, changed. Challenged on
ary efforts to deny history its much, veteran mbira musician,
Dumi Maraire (interview 1 July, 1991) agreed that changes were inexorable. He says even the mbira
that he plays gets transformed through such interference as sound amplifying equipment; the sound of
mbira itself has not remained the same over ages. "Instead of using snail shells to produce percussion,
mbira makers now uses Coca-Cola bottle-tops", Maraire says. Black SA music is a case in point.

The music of Sakhile, Sankomota, Masekela, eclectically borrow from alien forms to create an
indigenous distinctly South African jazz sound. It rejects the raw importation of alien forms as
alienating agents. This results in a new consciousness. The music of Mahlathini, perhaps surely is
apartheid. In Zimbabwe, the music of
Ilanga, Talking Drum, Mandebvu brings about a new consciousness too, a new sound that clearly
rejects the raw forms of American jazz or rock, while taming the more primitive traditional sound.
Rusike Brothers, Midnight Magic stands for the polishing of foreign sound, to make rock made in
Zimbabwe like any other. Even though in hybrid music the tug is still there, there is no mistaking the
new spirit, the new mood, revolutionary even. It is revolutionary precisely because it is a rejection of
the raw forms of alien music, rock, funk, new Orleans jazz, country, but all the while acknowledging
the dynamics of cultural change, perhaps even managing that change. In SA folk-singers like IHashi
Elimhlophe and Thwalofu are considered apartheid musicians, largely because of their pastoral spirit;
they invoke the Zulu past black and undisrupted order and peace, of the romanticized years of black
rural-urban migration. Lovemore sometimes exhibits this oppressive praxis. It does not mean that
because certain beliefs and practices or culture are consumed by the majority they become necessarily
desirable. The masses can wallow in and reproduce thought processes that support oppressive
ideology. "Amathamsanqa" is reactionary, oppressive because it transfers the material transformation of
the environment to abstract spiritual agency.

Wo mama ngivulele amathamnsanqa

"Mother" is key, is the shaman to the underworld to intercede benevolently on the living. The singer
reenacting the community is impotent, powerless and therefore anti revolution.

Love mastered the idiom of the Ndebele, perhaps to sound as authentic as the original rendition. For

pronounces Zimbabwe as "Zimbabe"; the old folk could not
the song "Badlala njani ibhola", uDagilasi, where the English
would say Douglas, or "utitshala" in the song of the same name, instead of the shorter version, "titsha"
preferred by the younger speakers. Or in the song "Umoya", he says "UJeshuwa" instead of
"UJoshuwa", ie Joshua.

But in Love the lyrics can hardly qualify him as reactionary pastoral singer. Love's music moves
backwards and lashes forward like a cyclone. "Umya Wami" is a combative call against the
impoverishment of a people.

"Ngabe bona basakhel'amafekithali
Ngabe ngiyabuyela ngiyegcina abadala.

It is the tortured voice a marginalised proletariat who has been forced to work in Harare because of the
skewed economic policies of the country. There is therefore a crucial departure from apartheid singers.
But Juluka was by its very nature a metaphor of resistance to the regime.

Promotion

Music, ultimately is a commercial commodity, production. It must be marketed. In its marketing there
are no sentimental considerations. The record companies will chase an artist if he can sell a sound. The
show promoters like Dunn Gould and JJ simply look for a potential crowd puller regardless of the
quality of his songs. The business of promotion is so risky and complex that many local artists have
bitter memories about their promotional experiences. Love has never conducted a national tour of the
cities and towns of Zimbabwe. Such a tour would require good promotion and tip-top equipment. In
other countries live shows are meant to boost new releases, but in Zimbabwe they are meant to
promote the image of the musician, new song or no new song.

There have been calls to have the record companies promote music ,promote the bands who
contracted to them in a way that they are not now. The only promotion that hits the public is radio.
Gramma has a slot every day on Radio Three, "In the Groove with Gramma", except on Wednesdays
when new releases are played. But perhaps the most popular are on Radio Two. ZMC Hits are played

is may not be a consistent slot. The DJ plays new songs from the last few years has actually shifted to local releases. The Radio Two ZMC TOP HITS has largely been made successful by the veteran DJ, Sam Sibanda. In 1989, Prize Magazine conducted listeners' survey to find out the most popular DJ in the country and Sam "Sammy Boy" came out tops. Then there is the Spinalong, his named after the record shops, Spinalong, a subsidiary of ZMC, played on Radio Three in the morning.

Then occasionally companies take advantage of the radio's popularity to market their products. They do so by compiling the ten or twenty most popular records into a hit parade. One of the most well-known now is the Lyons Maid Hits of the Day. This has since gone off the air and on Radio, TWO there is Sparletta TOP TWENTY, presented by Gramma records Sales representative, Lazarus Tembo, a former Radio DJ.

It is estimated that about 40% of Zimbabwe's households own a radio set, so the impact of radio is quite tremendous. But there are several factors that militate against a full impact of radio as far as music is concerned. ZBC is a Government owned organization. Its brief is primarily to serve as wide a spectrum of interests as is possible; there are programmes that cover news on rural development, there are debates on culture in which usually a panel of elderly presenters entertain a panel that laments the destruction of old morals among the youth, there are programmes that cover activities of other parastatals like the Forestry Commission the Literature Bureau books read; women clubs news, church services on Sunday mornings, death notices, police announcements etc. It means that on average a programme is about 20 minutes. Music is clearly a of secondary nature. Most music programmes are short, sometimes as short as 2 minutes. The standard of the majority of the DJs is poor. The majority do not know the music that they are called upon to play; they show a shallow knowledge of the background of even the big names in showbiz. ZBC has a policy that militates against developing these DJs. Most of the music programmes are compiled by two or so individuals. For a long time it has been either Lawrence Micir or Lizzy Chideme. It means that there is little individual room for choice, that the whole nation is almost exclusively dependent on the taste and whims of two people. One suspects that this may have been done deliberately for political reasons. Recognising the diversity of Zimbabwe's culture, it made political sense to have a small number of people, they are easier to control on matters of policy. But at Radio Three the DJs were free to play the music of their choice. What the Radio TWO Djs do is wait until one of them stumbles upon a tune, he next in the studio will play the same, so

When they play the title track, they reason that it must be good. They should not have chosen the track to lead the album. Good songs come in and stay as long as two weeks before they are played, a contrast with Radio Three whose DJs sometimes actually play good albums before they are released here.

The print media has done its fair share of harm to the industry. There has been frothy criticism of radio and television by some music critics, especially against Radio Three. The local DJs are accused of neglecting local music and showing an appalling attitude to black culture, and once Leo Hatugari started his zealous mission the rest of the journalists had a field day. The good journalists have succeeded in flogging Radio Three and turn away attention to, their appalling record. They have not for example touched Radio Two and the crisis there, the station's lack of vitality and adventuresome that characterises the Radio THREE. Consider some of the following. When Biggie Tembo left Bhundu a critic Leo Hatugari had the headlines screaming "The full Story." But it was in fact an unresearched piece of writing in which the "full story " is that Biggie got fed up with playing more in Britain than in Zimbabwe. Viv Maravanyika castigated Thomas Maptumo for what was described as Maptumo's "habit "of producing himself. True, the record in question The Game is Over was shoddily done, but an informed criticism would highlight the lack of skilled producers in this country. Sedgwick a leading critic wrote in a review of the Soul Birds release, "Who's that Lady" that he had never heard of the Soul Birds before. If a writer is in the industry and does not know the most senior bands, he must quit. The Soul Birds had already recorded many hit songs with Solomon Skhuza, who incidentally only attracted the Harare based journalists after he began writing reggae music. Another journalist wrote on the music of Mango Groove the South African Afro-jazz outfit that the play" afro-rock". The problem with the media is its lack of professional approach. The music industry has become a truly mammoth multi-million dollar industry and I therefore need equally sophisticated personnel to act as a supporting base. It does not matter how talented or hardworking the musicians can be, without support from knowledgeable people they can not make it, here and abroad.

It must be added that the Sunday News of Bulawayo has done a tremendous job of promoting Zimbabwe's music, and their progressive attitude was expressed in their coverage of even the small unrecorded bands. Farai Mandemwa and Emmanuel Chuma must get the praise. Otherwise we expect that the rest of the writers join in effort of bringing change to ZBC regarding Radio Two. ZBC must

Radio Two and Radio Four to match the quality of Radio Three. Or calling for the establishment of an independent station that would play black music for the greater part of the broadcasting time and relieve the listeners of the heavy politics at Radio Two.

Another way of promotion are the occasional adverts for big companies. Love rich baritone voice has helped secure adverts assignments with Bata and Coca-Cola. Love lives in the minds of the consumers as an immediate and powerful force. Oliver Mtukudzi is another singer who is used extensively in commercial advertising, for Bata, Express Stores; Don Gumbo has an advert for Sparletta, bottled by Coca-Cola. Thus in Zimbabwe we talk of self-promotion. There is little the record companies do beyond buying time on radio for the new record. It means that the young or new unknown bands with great potential are submerged under the rag-tag stampede for self-promotion in an industry quite living in the Middle Ages.

Towards the end the war, the vast majority of people had come into contact with the songs of liberation, songs composed and sung by the people. Black music took on a new significance. Thomas and Zexie had been in the forefront, with this music that sang about the immediate experiences of the people, the breakup of the tribal order in Thomas's "Chiruzevha Chapera." This music was not about "Babe I love you" stuff of American music. Love sang about Highlanders and about KonakaMandla, topics more immediate than even the Soul Brothers'. We could say that the particular historical period of Love was propitious, the people were ripe to be shown the way. Love's promotion is largely done through the usual billboard posters three or so days before a performance. These are done from cheap paper as they have to be splashed all over town. But there is lack of proper approach to long term promotion. Gibson Ncube who took over as manager was merely a fan of Love. As an enthusiast, he devised means of promoting his idol. He had caps or T-shirts printed Love name or slogans and car stickers with such praises as "Lovemore Majaivana. Inyoni ye Zulu." These were distributed among friends to sell them as widely as was possible.

Other bands have their names advertised for them by bus drivers on the rural runs; they have the buses mud guards or their, painted with the hit songs. The most dramatic was Devera Ngwena's "Masvingo neCarpet. "Others include Solo naMutsai", "Isiphalaphala", "Isicelo". Everything that catches the



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of the buses. There is a bus that carries the picture of a missile
are used even by orthodox advertising companies for carrying
commercial adverts.

Love as Activist

The role that music has played in the struggle against colonialism in Africa is tremendous. On the day of Zimbabwe's independence, Bob Marley, for a long time recognised as a champion of human rights and freedom, came to witness the birth of the nation. The only Zimbabwean musician to share the stage with him for the most momentous event was Lovemore Majaivana. The stadium was packed with 20,000 who included the Prince Charles.

"Black opposition movements in Southern Africa and in South Africa are associated, either officially or informally with programmes of cultural revivalism, in music has played perhaps the most important and emotive and symbolic role." Deborah James, *Musical Form and Social History: research perspectives on black southern African music*. Wits University. Perhaps the most outstanding of such groups is the ANC Cultural ensemble, Amandla. Under the directorship of Jonas Gwngwa Amandla wage a tireless cultural, with outstanding albums recorded in Moscow. Amandla performed in the capitals all over Europe. They stayed briefly in Zimbabwe. But Zimbabweans had already been singing in camps in and outside the country in Zambia and in Mozambique. Solomon Skhuza, one of the most outstanding artists was a cultural worker in Zambia, after having been injured in the Zpra nad Zanla clashes. Kassongo Band was formed from ex-combatants who had stayed in Tanzania. We would be happy in fact if we recognised that music has not simply been "revivalist", but that it was in many cases deliberately and expressly political, more so in the struggle against apartheid. And Love recognised the potency of the medium of music. But Love was doing something slightly different; his songs were not the direct attacks on enemy. The resistance was rooted in the invocation of the past spirit, of the past culture, to serve as the basis of a new society new thinking and indeed a new ideology.

Love started with the song "Free Nelson Mandela", followed by "UMkonto weSizwe". The next in the line against apartheid was "Vanochema-Bayakhla." The song "Ngugama" another anti-apartheid song is entitled after the Ndebele word for weapon. "Mandela is in not jail because of what the white people term atrocities he had committed, but he is in jail because he wanted to see his people free, his country

entertainment. "I have played with a few musicians from South
rney Rachabane, Siph Mabuse to name but a few...I always
feel sorry for them. When they are here with us we talk freely, we eat and drink, there is no thinking of
the pass laws or what time you are going home because there will be someone with a gun waiting for
you out there."

Love was invited in 1987 by the ANC to take part in the music campaign against apartheid by the ANC
and the Scandinavians. He had already sung against apartheid in the song "Ngugama" and "A Prayer
for Mandela. "Love reflected a broader scope than most bands who at during the early years of
independence, largely sang about the war and its heroes, lauding such figures as the Frontline
presidents, Samora and Nyerere, who had helped ZANU.

So Love got down to work with Caiphus Semenya, who was here on the business of Buwa. Buwa is
the Sotho word for "speak out"; Semenya's musical, which boasted the most talented show this country
has ever had, was in fact an anti-apartheid campaign.(Among the Buwa greats were Masekela,
Semenya and Letta Mbulu, Siph Gumedede, Makhaya Mahlangu, Condry Ziqubu, Barney Rachabane,
Duke Makhsisi. Semenya took the Zulus, who had changed their name for the tour to Batshise,
through their paces. They practised at the University of Zimbabwe. Because the exile community in
Europe was composed of diverse ethnic groups all struggling against apartheid, it would have appeared
partisan for the band to retain its name "Zulu" for the tour. Indeed when Zindi invited the to London
exiled South Africans pulled down the posters saying hey were incensed with the claim of Zulu. In
Sweden Love and Bachise played with Randy's band before enthusiastic crowds. "When we were
invited to Sweden to sing in a concert in aid of the ANC, organizer Tommy Rander requested us to
record at least one song in English for the benefit of Swedish audience but we dug our heels in and
issued a big 'No'. But when we started singing the Swedes went crazy and danced for two hours. And
what is amazing is that they never danced to Swedish music." Pce p.19. Europe is the Mecca of Third
World bands, a great achievement. It means flying usually the first time in one's life, getting a feel of
First World culture and high-tech life, bullet trains, talking doors and automated bank tellers, and
buying the scarce ghetto bluster.

In London Bachise met DJ Walla, Fred Zindi. The two helped Love record Jiri. The album was good

as well as the remix of "Ukhozi." The tour was a success by all South African struggle.

His reception in London was glowing. "Is there no end to the amount of talent coming out Zimbabwe?" remarked one fan after watching Lovemore Majaivana. Virtually unknown in Britain, Love is regarded as the King of Mbaqanga music and I could not agree more. The Little Richard look-alike backed by his magnificent eight-piece Zulu band from Bulawayo, dished a pulsating set in the Zulu language and I can not see no reason why he should not make big, if not bigger than his compatriots in Britain and Europe. His performance in my estimation was one of the high points of the weekend." "Platform", Womad Festival, 15 September, 1987. And then the tour moved to Hyde Park where Sam Nujoma Swapo President, Archbishop Trevor Huddleson, president of the AAM, Bernie Grant MP, Joan Lester MP, appeared to address the gathering on the issue of sanctions and Love provided the music.

Love so impressed that the leader of Swapo, Sam Nujoma personally invited Love to perform in Namibia when the country achieved independence. Three years later, when Nujoma became president of an independent Namibia, it was not Love who represented Zimbabwe. Thomas and Devera Ngwenya among others travelled to Windhoek. The SA music magazine, "Jive" described the some of the Zimbabwean contingent as "badly behaved, uninvited Zimbabweans." The singer-champion of the liberation war against SA missed the chance to celebrate. Maybe he shall yet be invited to SA on the day of reckoning.

Paul Simon and Graceland

The 1980s was a decade of African music. Not that African music had never been there but that Britain and Europe opened up and welcomed perhaps as warmly as they had welcomed Jamaican and Caribbean music in the 70s. But for many black musicians especially from Zimbabwe it could be said that Graceland had a great impact in exposing black music and getting it generally accepted by the Europeans. Simon gathered a galaxy of SA music stars, Ray Phiri, Bakithi Khumalo, Miriam Makeba, Hugh Masekela, Barney Rachabane, brought them to Harare and started a music revolution. But there remains much bitterness about Paul Simon especially among South Africans who viewed the whole project as an act of piracy and condemned the musicians who collaborated with him as traitors. Simon

or helpers. Love said of Simon, "Paul Simon found what he
won't go wrong."Pacep.20.

The lasting significance of the Graceland was its trade fair like magic-African music became fashionable, respectable and what's more, moneymaking. Inspired by Graceland the inimitable Harry Belafonte recorded South African music as well in the album "Gazankulu"; it included such groups as Soul Brothers, Makgona Tsohle, P.J.Powers.

Zimbabwean musicians would rerun to London with renewed confidence. A few years later, Gordon Muir came to Harare, the land of graceful music, and discovered for the West, Zimbabwe's most successful band in Europe, The Bhundu Boys. Writing about the Bhundu Boys, Stuart Colgrave said Graceland was a boost for "African music, "or "folk-roots. "The album's "influence indirectly helped their career."

"If you name a part of the world that has had the strongest influence on contemporary popular music everywhere, it would be Africa. In recent years, music from that vast continent has been gaining worldwide popularity in its own right-a trend that was held along substantially by Paul Simon's 1986 recorded collaboration with South African musicians, "Graceland."

Before then, most African music, with the exception of a few isolated artists like Babatunde Olatunji, King Sunny Ade, Mirriam Makeba, and Hugh Masekela-was relegated, at least by Europeans and their descendants to the cerebral sphere of the ethnomusicologist... Today, Western ears becoming accustomed to hearing juju music from Nigeria (the talking drum of the Yorubas), mbalax from Senegal (rhythmic Middle-Eastern flavoured music popularised by Youssou N'Dour), mbube (South African choral music most often associated with Ladysmith Black Mambazo who sang on 'Graceland".) Soukous (dance music from Zaire),and the chimurenga music of Zimbabwe(often played in 6/8 time, and popularised by Thomas Mapfumo), among others." Christian Science Monitor, quoted by The Sunday News, May 19,1991,p7.

In Zimbabwe, the album itself had spent more than a year on the shelf without any interest from the DJs. But after the tour the song became such a mammoth hit it surprised that a spent force like the Ladysmith even topped the charts at the strangle hold of Western culture, Radio 3. Zimbabwean would show more respect afterwards for their culture, for their music. After all, their imperialist motherhens in

e nod. "Graceland " won a Grammy Award.

Chapter 2

Popular Culture and Love's music

Love's music is part of the popular culture. We shall discuss the term briefly in order to show that it is applicable to the art of Love and to draw conclusions about its impact. "Commercial in organization and distinctly urban in tone" these are the two principal features of popular culture today." A more exciting and incisive definition comes from Jegede, the Nigerian scholar. We shall quote his definition in full below,

Popular culture suggests contemporary cultural expressions carried by the masses in contrast to both modern elitist and traditional "tribal" culture; it evokes historical conditions characterised by mass communications, mass participation(c) it implies a challenge to the accepted beliefs in the "superiority of "pure" or "high" culture, but also to the notion of folk-lore, it signifies, potentially at least, processes occurring behind the back of established powers and accepted interpretations and thus offers a better conceptual approach to decolonization of which it is undoubtedly an important element. Johannes Fabian, 1978.

In his otherwise brilliant critique of Nigerian high-life and juju, Jegede ignores the existing structures of imbalance, that culture flows from the metropolis to the periphery, that African countries are involved in relentless struggle against foreign domination (whether they win or not is another matter altogether.) Love's struggle must be understood in the context of the neo-colonial struggle, in which all that is American exalted, DJs, TV, newspapers fall over each other to announce the name of M. Jackson's latest animal pet.

But there is an interesting, crucial departure between Nigeria and Zimbabwe. In Nigeria the youth are enthusiastic about the high-life, which is easily the national music of Nigeria; in Zimbabwe, depending on their social class, the youth consume the music appropriate to them; disco-funk in the case of the middle class and its pretenders, or raggae in the townships. The prospects of the music in Zimbabwe playing a revolutionary role is blunted by the non-participation of the youth such a critical element of

economic bedrock of the average musician, they are the ones
age group.

But much of the failure of Zimbabwe pop music must be blamed on the nature of the artists' response to the changes in international culture. The average singer in Zimbabwe is didactic, is revoltingly moralistic, like his novelist counterpart. The listeners are bombarded by advice that they must look after the madlozis, they must not abandon their rural roots, culture, they must not jealousy of neighbours, the kind of stuff that chases the kids from Sunday school. The themes from the days of Devera Ngwenya especially narrowly revolve around harmless gossip type discourse, "Mayadi", "Taxi driver." The youth now live in a culture with strong sex images, hard leftist rhetoric from Jamaica, and vibrant urban identity that makes the talk about madlozis seem indeed silly.

What pop culture does is to mediate between the vulgar extremes of the foreign and the traditional, while retaining its essentially forward-looking character. John Chibadura's love and midzimu themes appeal to the down trodden of the mines and the farms (there are middle-class urbanites who buy him to listen to music in their own idiom.; Four Brothers about their love poetry, amusing but old fashioned and without the blasting effects of Yellowman's abandon, or Maddona's excesses; S.Skhuza, witty, but whose style is the crude rumba of the mines. Thomas is too serious about the political topics of the time. The youth looked for a voice to carry forward their rebellion against received social wisdom, a voice to scrutinise the behaviour of society, in other words, a radical reinterpretation of the urban social experience. In Nigeria Fela Kuti provides the youth, urban lumpen proletariat and radical university thinkers with a popular voice against oppression and the excesses of the military. Fela is a sizzling sex symbol with 28 wives. This is the maverick, radical idiom that the pop artists of Zimbabwe lack. This explains in part why the youth stay out of their concerts largely. Perhaps we run the risk of contradicting ourselves. The point is that popular art ought to adapt and move away from the restrictive codes of old morality, of cramping pre-colonial values that the greatest of the pop artists in Zimbabwe continued to do. While Love is original in his concept he has not been able to provide evidence of critical look at the culture that gave rise to his inspiration, for example its Romantic mood, "Kuleliya", "Isitimeala seGoli""Ukhozi", "UJiri", this looking back pastoral streak. Love is fighting new kinds of battles, he isn't going to get stuck on outdated communal values. This is the contradictory ideological practice of Love. The material conditions that gave rise to the songs that Love is recreating

art now? A great deal of the songs that Love sings were the
which he is operating now. For example most of the songs
simply reproduced the existing ideology, communal wisdom, consuls, over individual judgement,
creativity, deviation, dynamic self-expression. Folk-tales taught obedience, honesty and the values of
good neighbourliness or that the neighbour who is the immediate representative of the society, is a very
important person. But the generally underdeveloped mode of production, characterised by highly
socialised forces of production, provided the enabling material conditions for the development of a
highly anthropocentric culture. But now the changes that have occurred promote a differing cultural
imperative altogether. Art has become a commodity product that must be marketed; a commercial
product must serve the aesthetic as well as other needs of the group for which it is targeted. Where his
music stood for communal solidarity it now must give expression to the highly fragmented,
individualistic culture in an advanced social formation that now characterises neo-colonial Zimbabwe;
highly distinct social classes, each vying for the vantage point visa the control of the means of
production, but with one winner. There is need then to carry out a more rigorous analysis of
phenomena.