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## *Hopes and Fears for Zimbabwe in the Post-Mugabe Era*

*Kuziwakwashe Zigomo takes stock*

**Barely two months since Robert Gabriel Mugabe's resignation, after 37 years in power, the streets of Harare remain jubilant.**

Yet the continued presence of the Zimbabwean Defence Forces (ZDF) both in government and on the streets remains a concern. The airwaves are blaring the prominent musician Jah Prayzah's infamous political song, *Kutonga Kwaro* [Gamba] ('the soldier is ruling'). The local media calls it prophetic – it was released just weeks before the military take-over. It describes how the guerrilla forces used to subdue the villages during the War of Independence in the late 1970s.

The defence forces, under Emmerson Dambudzo (ED) Mnangagwa, and Vice President and retired General Commander of the Armed Forces, Constantino Chiwenga, occupy key positions in government and among those once taken by the Zimbabwean Republican Police (ZRP).

For Mnangagwa, legitimacy remains a key concern, so the leader has wasted no time in calling for an election. The nation must now grapple with the future.

The announcement in November of the new Cabinet by President Mnangagwa served to dampen the fervour of many Zimbabweans after his triumphant military-assisted rise. This was because it became clear that the former Vice President, who had retained strong links with

the military forces, used this as an opportunity to reward his loyalists and military allies with key government positions. This was topped off by the most recent appointment of General Constantino Chiwenga as one of the Vice Presidents, alongside previous Minister of Defence, Security and War Veterans, Kembo Mohadi.

Emmerson Mnangagwa has, however, been exemplary in extending a hand towards the opposition, and engaging the West alongside China and Russia, making it clear to the world that Zimbabwe is once again 'open for business'.

With economic development high on the agenda, the new President has gained some popularity. In his inauguration speech the words, 'jobs, jobs, jobs' blared into the microphone were applauded and, though the leader has made it clear that re-engagement with the West and the rest of the outside world will be crucial in achieving the prosperity the nation so desperately seeks, it still remains to be seen whether he can actually deliver. Mnangagwa's true success in the battle to win over the hearts and minds of most Zimbabweans will come through his ability to make good his promises.

Doing this could narrow the field for the opposition. The Movement for Democratic Change (MDC), in opposition for almost two decades, is in disarray: it has failed to come up with any meaningful strategies to dislodge ZANU-PF, and may lose further relevance if a more robust and progressive ZANU-PF government can deliver on the economic promises.

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### **Primary concerns**

For pragmatic Zimbabweans, economic freedoms have become primary concerns: political and democratic freedoms remain secondary.

This is not surprising in a nation that has undergone sky-rocketing levels of hyperinflation and unemployment. Yet despite this, particularly the acknowledgement by most Zimbabweans that Mnangagwa is not, and may never be, a democratic leader, many are still basking in the freedom of expression that has been evident since he came to power. It is not clear how long this will last, but after three decades of state-repressed media outlets, public arrests and unlawful detention of political and civic actors for airing political grievances, Zimbabweans now rejoice at being able to speak without the fear. The Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation (ZBC) has regained many of its lost viewers and now airs a less partisan selection of programmes.

The military presence has tipped the scales to the Lacoste faction within ZANU PF and, in so doing, it has paralysed potential oppositional forces. What could, however, remain as a hope for ordinary Zimbabweans, is the fickle-mindedness of politics displayed in the recent power struggle that resulted in the G40 faction losing power, and the defection to Lacoste in the regeneration of the Zanu PF under the new leadership. Zimbabweans saw how one leader

can rule today and be out of power tomorrow.

The same Zimbabweans who marched in solidarity with the leader for change because they were tired of Mugabe's monopoly on power could take to the streets against their new leader. In having been a recipient of a ruthless dictatorship, it is hoped that the new leader will dismantle the system of oppression and repression that he bore the brunt of – and benefitted from – as a former aid to the previous President.

### **Will Mnangagwa be any different?**

In a gesture of extending even more goodwill towards the public and demonstrating that he has turned over a new leaf, the current President and leader has exhibited a hard hand towards the corruption of former government ministers (though largely those affiliated to the G40 faction), and called for a three month 'amnesty window' for them to turn in stolen public assets. With these officials facing arrest, and the commencement of the investigations into the acquired wealth of the Mugabe family, the new leader has demonstrated to most that he means business.

However, having been a recipient of the very system he purports to fight, it remains to be seen whether he will lead by example, lay down his acquired wealth and signal that a new era has indeed to Zimbabwe.

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## ***Free and Fair?***

*Brian McGarry considers how the new regime is approaching the election*

**Mnangagwa says he wants free and fair elections. But he rejected demands from churches and civic organisations for a transitional government to prepare the ground for these in favour of consolidating his grip on power.**

He argues that the Constitution requires the elections are held between 23 July and 22 August and, until 12 January, insisted that the laws governing the election already conform to SADC and AU norms.

Then he announced that five laws must be aligned with the Constitution by the Attorney General's office, as part of his 100-day plan. Is he bypassing parliament?

Meanwhile Chief Justice Luke Malaba has allowed diasporans applications on the right to vote – to be heard by the Full Bench of the Constitutional Court 'at a date to be advised' possibly too late to be effective. Thorough monitoring of an election requires careful assessment of the legal framework, observation of how free parties are to campaign, and whether they

have equal access to the media. The level of violence associated with the campaign must also be scrutinised. Rallies by MDC and Mthwakazi Republic Party have already been stopped by police.

This time, we have 'biometric registration', but voters are only given a voting slip to present at the polling station – with no provision for biometric identification on polling day. Already we hear of people being forced to hand their slips to ZANU-PF activists. Rural voters are told this enables the security services to know how they voted. The voter's roll must be ready to be examined by all interested parties before the polling date – but nobody is allowed access to the biometric database.

Yes, Mnangagwa says he wants free and fair elections – but the same man said a couple of years ago: 'The opposition don't deserve to live; if I was God, I would deny them oxygen.'

Reports say 2,000 soldiers (in civilian attire) have

been sent into the villages, and are attacking perceived opposition activists.

ZANU-PF faction-fights continue and violence threatens. The military are bidding to be the strongest faction, against both G40 and Lacoste, and the opposition remains dangerously fragmented.

Free and fair elections are not on the ZANU-PF/military agenda. And how far will outside countries interested in getting a slice of Zimbabwe's mineral wealth turn a blind eye to election irregularities? If they do, their agents in government will be no more financially reliable than in the past 38 years.

That is a recipe for disaster.

### **Economic policy**

There is no evidence that the military rulers have any more ideas on economic policy now than in the past 20 years. All that Mugabe opposed has now become policy: uncontrolled foreign investment, compensation to white farmers, the return of some of those farmers and reopening relations with the West. Some ZANU faithful must have problems with that.

True, foreign investment must be regulated; any government trying it must be vigilant and persistent in negotiating for well-defined aims. Our guys could learn from the story of Botswana's diamond wealth, but they are not ready to do the hard work.

Until the land invasions of 2000, government statistics showed that the total wage bill in agriculture and forestry was exactly equal to the number of workers recorded, multiplied by the minimum wage. That can't be true, even without the unrecorded labour of workers' families. Then, many farmers under-reported yields to avoid tax. If the land reform's beneficiaries were to pay what was owing to the workers and the taxman, there wouldn't be much

left to repay bank loans.

Yes, expertise was lost in the invasions; mainly that of the despised farm workers. There is no easy solution to that.

Yes, some corrupt individuals are being prosecuted, but not those supporting the military junta. Nor are the ZANU-PF bosses who privatised such public facilities as urban boreholes. Preference is for pursuing small-time crooks like Jonathan Moyo, whose average fraud was no more than half a million dollars.

Yes, they talked of austerity – followed by news of new 4x4s for the chiefs and cars for MPs.

The ZANU-PF patronage system is expensive to maintain, and dangerous to abandon, even if Mnangagwa uses it more intelligently than Mugabe. He has invested a share of his wealth in scholarships, mostly at the Midlands State University (now the country's largest university, with over 4,000 graduates in 2017) and mostly in his home Masvingo province. That buys plenty of influential support.

### **The unmentioned factor ...**

... is public opinion. Mnangagwa lost his aura of invincibility when Jonathan Moyo told the story we all knew, but no one dared to repeat publicly, of what happened to Godfrey Majonga. A small thing compared to, for example, *Gukurahundi*, but an avalanche starts with the first stone. And Mugabe's removal encouraged many people to believe that change is possible. If Ngwenya tries to ride roughshod over popular opinion, he's in for a difficult time.

At Mbare Musika business confidence is low; after a brief rally, the number of stalls that open at 6 am is as low now as in the week before the coup.

*Father Brian McGarry is semi-retired, living at St.Peter's Church, Mbare.*

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## ***What Next for Zimbabwe?***

*Pat Brickhill describes returning to Harare at a momentous time*

**I arrived in Zimbabwe on 20 November 2017, in the midst of the post-march euphoria where hundreds of thousands of Zimbabweans had taken to the streets to reclaim control over their lives.**

I heard that the festive mood spilled over to the days that followed and 'change' was eagerly awaited. Many white people on the march were told they would 'get their farms back' and there seemed to be a view that every white person had owned a farm. But farms don't need *white* farmers, they just need farmers. Zimbabwe has no shortage of farmers.

But it was hard not to pick up on the mood, in spite of wondering how the Mnangagwa and Chiwenga posters on the march had been produced so speedily.

### **A wake-up call**

The day I arrived I had my first wake-up call when someone told me operatives in the former President's Office – the CIO – were being hunted down. But I know that rumours are always rife in Zimbabwe – and often prove to be exaggerated or untrue, and in spite of a shiver of concern, I did not allow my optimism to be muted.

At his inauguration, the President said something to the effect that people must let bygones be bygones – but some bygones are more difficult to let go than others. Much has been said about *Gukurahundi* and it is clear that this remains the elephant in the room. The reason for this could be the time that has passed without recognition of the genocide, exacerbated by

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*Drinking water on sale in Harare,  
Photo © Pat Brickhill*

has been in Davos meeting with the economic ‘experts’ and ‘foreign investors’. But are these really our friends?

### **Short memories?**

People in Zimbabwe have short memories. I am no economist but I remember the last time Zimbabwe was ‘saved’ by the IMF and the subsequent Economic Structural Adjustment Programme.

Sadly, many people are desperate enough to believe that by welcoming foreign

historical resentments used to full effect under the colonial regime, but this does not tell the full story.

People I have spoken to in Harare have often expressed views that tell a distorted history of events, or a total lack of knowledge of them. The past is never healed simply by the passage of time, and after almost forty years I feel little has been done to truly unite the people of Zimbabwe and ensure that everyone felt safe and equal.

Like hundreds of thousands, some say millions, of Zimbabweans, I have not lived in the country for more than ten years. Perhaps this is part of my hesitation at the role the military played, and continues to play – memories of past military dictatorships in other countries. This was not the case during the coup that was not a coup in the early days when everyone loved a soldier. More recently, the appointment of several members of the military to government posts raised a few eyebrows. In January the Vice President fired high ranking police officials while the President was away and on his return the President reinstated half of them. Are these cracks or just early glitches?

I could not celebrate stories of the arrest and torture of Chombo and Chipanga as so many did. But someone once said that the way you treat your enemies, especially those who have not earned the right to compassion, is the way that a just society is established.

My apprehension is brushed away by others – one friend admitting that while she felt qualms, lack of concern for the wellbeing of Chombo and Chipanga were tempered by the hardships most Zimbabweans had endured for decades.

One December day someone I know drew US\$ 400 out of her bank account – but this good fortune is rare. Actual cash is almost impossible to lay your hands on outside the murky world of money spinning. When I found an ancient US\$2 note as I sifted through receipts, my daughter let out whoops of excitement.

A couple of months down the line, the new President

investment all will be well. Judging from an article in the *Sunday Mail* last year listing the 50 richest people in Zimbabwe, if investment by people with money will turn the economy around, we already have the people to do it.

Prices rise almost daily. A friend told me a KFC chicken wings bucket has risen from US\$13 to US\$17 in just weeks. Supermarkets do not have the leeway to have three-tiered prices for different methods of payment – the most expensive being a virtual payment; payment in Bond is cheaper and in the elusive US\$, cheapest of all, but I believe there are retailers who offer incentives of a three tiered price system in order to encourage customers to pay in US dollars.

### **An accumulation of wealth**

I am not a nay-sayer promoting a negative view of the ‘new’ Zimbabwe: neither do I underestimate the difficulties of dealing with the debris of the past 37 years and, before that, the colonial oppression. But I just don’t feel salvation is going to come through rich capitalists from abroad hungry for new pickings.

There has been obscene accumulation of wealth since the birth of Zimbabwe. I don’t understand why an individual needs to own 10 farms or 20 houses when some people don’t have a house, not even a shack. I don’t understand why, in a country reputed to have 90 per cent unemployment, vendors were being warned to cease operating in certain areas. I don’t understand how there can be no clean water supply.

I don’t understand why government schools are so expensive and out of the reach of many, condemning the generation to come to a life as hard, if not harder, than their parents. I don’t understand why the media is not free and independent, and why civil servants are not forced to provide an efficient, polite and reliable service.

I don’t understand why the basic necessities of life

are not available to all.

I don't understand why there is no public transport and why people tell me that many commuter omnibuses are owned by high-ranking police officers or big businessmen. I don't understand why nobody with power and wealth cares about the people being trampled underfoot.

I don't understand why the former president was given a vast 'golden handshake' which apparently will continue as will a slightly lesser amount to the woman who became known as 'Dr Amai'.

And I don't understand why some people aren't embarrassed by their plenty, when others have

nothing – literally nothing.

But I come from another era when the desire was to build socialism, a more egalitarian society, to each according to his need – and there was a general consensus that the weakest members of society must be supported by government.

My dearest wish is for the country to thrive, for the rains to fall and for people to be able to live happy and fulfilled lives.

Zimbabwe is standing on the brink – I just cannot see exactly what is beyond the brink.

*Pat Brickhill is secretary of the Britain Zimbabwe Society. She is writing in a personal capacity.*

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## ***Zimbabwe: Back to the Commonwealth Family Fold?***

*Lyn Johnstone asks what is to be gained by Zimbabwe rejoining the Commonwealth*

**In February 2015, while conducting fieldwork in Zimbabwe on the country's severed relationship with the Commonwealth of nations, I came across a newspaper article with a speech from Emmerson Mnangagwa, then Vice President, who talked of re-engaging with the West and ending a decade of isolation.<sup>1</sup>**

Now, as Zimbabwe enters an era of uncertainty, with Mugabe gone and the possibility of Mnangagwa only temporarily at the helm, there is talk in both UK and from Mnangagwa of the country being welcomed back into the Commonwealth family.

The British Foreign Secretary Boris Johnson recently made a statement recognising Zimbabwe's return to the Commonwealth on the condition that the Zimbabwean government take the steps necessary to heal the country's wounds and prove itself capable of respecting the Harare Declaration – the Commonwealth principal human rights document.<sup>2</sup>

Notwithstanding Johnson's lack of understanding that the Commonwealth's governance is no longer under the auspices of the British Foreign Office (Britain would only be one of the decision makers welcoming Zimbabwe back if it were a member of the Commonwealth Ministerial Action Group at the time of any application from Zimbabwe), we might very well ask, amid the political bluster, what Zimbabwe would actually get out of this possible return?

### **An opportunity – for the Commonwealth?**

The loss of Zimbabwe, more than any other country, had a profound effect on the Commonwealth. This is evident in the near constant talk in Commonwealth circles, since Mugabe withdrew in 2003, of bringing the errant state back in. If we were to turn the question

around, therefore, and ask what the Commonwealth gets from Zimbabwe's return, it would not be far from the truth to suggest that the return of Zimbabwe signals an opportunity for the Commonwealth family to repair itself and gain a renewed sense of purpose.

But how can a renewed sense of purpose for an organisation, which even some of its keenest observers believe ought to have retired long ago, help heal a country that has been left severely bruised and battered through almost four decades of abuse by its elites?

The answer lies in the observations of one of the country's most prolific abusers - the interim president Mnangagwa himself. In an interview with the Financial Times on 19 January 2018, Mnangagwa discussed the possibility of Zimbabwe's return to the Commonwealth. Couching his comments in a discussion of Zimbabwe's reintegration with the international community, Mnangagwa observed, 'Zimbabwe will accept those who accept her'<sup>3</sup>.

Regardless of Mnangagwa's history and how Zimbabweans deal with this in future, to the extent that Zimbabwe enters into mutually beneficial relationships, Mnangagwa's observation, I believe, is key to explaining why Zimbabwe ought to rejoin the Commonwealth and what it will get out of the return.

The Commonwealth has over the years been referred to as many things from a 'club' to a 'jamboree of repression'<sup>4</sup>, it has never stopped referring to itself as a 'family' – an epithet coined by the Queen. And, while families can be messy, complex, troubled and dysfunctional, they are also the place, as Hegel noted, where we learn to integrate into civil society and it is often among family where we find our way into the world.

Rejoining the Commonwealth family would

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reunite Zimbabwe with an organisation that is part of its modern history, having played a role in the talks that led to independence. But, equally importantly, it would re-open channels of communication, trade, investment, and technical assistance – and Zimbabwean students could apply for Commonwealth scholarships once more.

## Notes

1 Emmerson Mnangagwa cited in Bernard Chiketo, 'VP Mnangagwa contradicts Mugabe', Daily News, 27 February 2015. Available at: <https://www.dailynews.co.zw/articles/2015/02/27/vp-mnangagwa-contradicts-mugabe>.

2 'UK Foreign Secretary concedes Zimbabwe could re-join Commonwealth', Commonwealth Business Communications Newsletter, 22 November 2017. Available at: <http://www.commonwealthcbc.com/news/uk-foreign-secretary-concedes-zimbabwe-could-re-join-commonwealth>.

3 'Transcript of FT interview with Emmerson Mnangagwa', Financial Times, 19 January 2018. Available at: <https://www.ft.com/content/b5bcf4b2-fd13-11e7-9b32-d7d59aace167>

4 This is a label given to the Commonwealth in 2009 by Tom Porteus, the head of the UK wing of Human Rights Watch.

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## ***A 'Bloodless Correction'***

### *Bill Kinsey looks to the future, and the problems that face the new regime*

**It was a balmy evening some 38 years ago, with the champagne air that only April in Zimbabwe brings. I sat high in the stands in Rufaro Stadium and watched as the Union Jack came down and the new Zimbabwean flag was raised.**

I was there as part of the Commonwealth team sent after the January 1980 elections to act as midwives for the birth of a new nation. Earlier the same evening I had listened to the broadcast speech of the new prime minister, Robert Mugabe. So inspiring and promise-filled was that speech that I remember *thinking ... I'd be willing to walk through hell for that man.*

Ironically, I and millions of others have done just that.

While there are still legalistic debates as to whether the events of late November last year constituted a coup or not, the term applied by the agents of the change seems more apt. Whatever the terminology, it would be a mistake at this juncture to conclude, as many did at the time, that the departure of Mugabe meant the end of ZANU-PF rule.

But I shall leave it to others to speculate on the fate of a 'revolutionary' party 38 years after independence.

### **Cautious optimism**

The mood in Harare has changed from the absolute euphoria last November to one of cautious optimism today. Nevertheless, there is a new and palpable buoyancy and an atmosphere of greater openness and hope. With the reining in of the police and the CIO, fear no longer walks the streets. But with the optimism also comes an enormous set of expectations. How long the patience will last is a moot point.

What will that future hold? The challenges are

enormous. Economists such as Oxford's Paul Collier, who have studied the fate of derelict economies conclude that, even with a complete reversal of policies and consistent implementation, it takes 15 to 20 years for an economy to return to where it was before the decline set in. There is no such thing as the quick turnaround many believe possible (Mnangagwa promises in 100 days), much less the economic boom some hope for.

And, while some encouraging noises are being made, ZANU-PF has not reversed all the policies that have caused so much harm. For just one example, the land-grabbing of white-owned farms is continuing in 2018.

### **Foreign investment**

As far as one can gather, the major policy thrust is to lure foreign investment, particularly in the industrial and infrastructure sectors. But there may be serious hurdles. Even with changes to the indigenisation policy to safeguard industry, the assumption is that the skilled manpower needed to drive an industrial renaissance is readily available. Yet, despite the numerous impatient honours graduates selling bananas on the pavements, it is forgotten that many of the best, brightest and most skilled and experienced workers have left the country. Will they return on the strength of promises – when ZANU-PF has such a record of hollow assurances?

Moreover, there is a backlog of legislative changes that need to be made to labour policy if new investment is to be forthcoming. Among these is an employment system where pay is based on grades and grades are based on pieces of paper. It is this system that has led to the thriving market in fake degrees, from which both the current and past governors of the Reserve Bank (among others) have benefitted.

Yes, genuine qualifications do count, but performance has been overlooked. A related change that is needed is for employers to be able to sack or reassign employees who do not perform. But it is difficult to imagine ZANU-PF legislating itself out of the power that restrictive labour policies have given it.

Other difficulties also relate to manpower. There are 116 state-owned, money-losing enterprises, all headed by Mugabe's friends and family. These have sucked money out of the economy and into private pockets for decades. Most should be sold off, and competent management brought in to change direction for those that should remain under state control.

But will this happen? Or will the military men who support Mnangagwa be rewarded with posts for which they have no competence?

### **The role of social media**

One thing the events of November brought home to Zimbabweans is that the USA has no monopoly on fake news and alternative facts.

In 48 hours, I received 1,200 emails, SMSs and social media messages, almost each with a conflicting story. Even two months later, we do not know exactly what happened. One version has it that the page-shuffling during Mugabe's televised speech was a deliberate ploy to lose the expected announcement of his resignation. This seems unlikely, given that he declared in the same speech that he'd be presiding over the party congress in December. Another version says it was the analogies pointed out between him and what happened to Gaddafi that persuaded Mugabe to step down. Given the personality, my vote goes to his calling a cabinet meeting and the handful that showed up walking out on him. That is the kind of rebuff he has never been able to handle.

But, if the data can be had, there is a good PhD for a researcher interested in the role of social media. The largest public demonstration in Zimbabwe's history was the result of this – no organisers, no bussed-in demonstrators, no promises of free meals. It was sheer celebration, and all organised by social media. I even know people who left their sick beds to join the throng. All races, all cultures. Look again at the faces in those photographs, and all you'll see is joy.

The joy was not just at the departure of an old man people felt should have stepped down long ago. It was also delight that Marie Antoinette on steroids, Grace Mugabe, would be going too. Zimbabweans would have forgiven her ostentatious consumption, but her aggressive mannerisms and her disdain for the welfare and rights of ordinary people did not sit

well. However, it was her overt and covert political manipulations that ultimately triggered the fall of her husband.

### **A disastrous farming season**

Another handicap the new government faces is that 2017/18 is likely to be another disastrous farming season. Although November's rainfall was average in many places, December's was less than a third of average, and during the last days of January the rainfall was only 18 percent of the monthly average.

This long dry spell plus extremely hot weather will mean a huge loss not only for farmers but also for taxpayers, since it was their money that funded the Command Agriculture programme. Because government has not resolved the issues surrounding property, so that farmers can use land as collateral with the banks, agriculture is now funded from the public purse. A considerable portion of these funds will never be repaid, meaning of course that other urgent needs in the economy will not be met.

Despite Mnangagwa's commitment to 100-day 'performance cycles' for delivering tangible results and for evaluating his government's accomplishments, the continuing shortages of cash, linked to rapidly rising prices, mean that impatience for rapid improvement is growing. And, although some of the right noises have been made, other statements have been less than reassuring.

Mnangagwa's BBC interview in Davos, for example, downplayed Gukuruhundi, denied reliable estimates of its extent, and reiterated Zanu PF's refusal of complicity. Although free and fair elections are promised before August, with another promise that the results will be accepted, troublesome questions remain regarding the roles the security sector and traditional leaders will play.

### **Restoring a legacy?**

So it remains an open question what legacy Operation Restore Legacy intends to restore. Most observers would argue that ZANU-PF's legacy is nothing to be proud of. With both positive and negative indicators, the signs are very mixed.

*Bill Kinsey has been a resident of, and researcher in, Zimbabwe since 1980. He joins the diaspora in March to take up a visiting professorship at the African Studies Centre at the University of Leiden, where he will be working on a book on the long-term consequences of the first two decades of Zimbabwe's land reform. He can be contacted via email on [aloe143@gmail.com](mailto:aloe143@gmail.com).*

# *What Now For the Zimbabwean Diaspora?*

*Dr Langton Miriyoga suggests that there may not be an immediate rush to 'go home'*

## **Could this be the moment Zimbabweans outside Zimbabwe have been waiting for?**

It has been believed that Zimbabweans were just waiting for Mugabe to go before returning home – some sections of the South African media suggested, just after 15 November, that indeed, this was the time for them to do just that. Many members of the Zimbabwean diaspora have shared the same general sentiment.

So why are there not large numbers of Zimbabweans queuing at border posts and airports? The answer is that there are contradictions and ambivalence surrounding the question of return.

### **A sense of scepticism**

Firstly, there is a deep sense of scepticism towards President Emmerson Mnangagwa – with many Zimbabweans suspecting he is no different from Mugabe. Indeed, the fact that he was Mugabe's key ally and chief enforcer for over 37 years dampens hopes that he might drive meaningful reform. President Mnangagwa himself refers to Mugabe as his mentor and father, which suggests the chances are limited that he will depart radically from his predecessor's way of governing.

Besides, President Mnangagwa is believed to have participated in some of the worst human rights violations and political repression in post-independence Zimbabwe, which makes it difficult for some ordinary Zimbabweans to trust him. He has, for instance, been implicated in the violence in Matabeleland in the early 1980s. More recently, he has been accused of directing the manipulation of the March 2008 elections, which brought him closer to Mugabe. Mnangagwa himself led the Joint Operations Command which directed the violence, intimidation and harassment targeting perceived opposition supporters in the 2008 June election re-run.

President Mnangagwa has also been implicated in a number of corruption scandals, including the looting of DRC diamonds during the 1997 conflict and of Marange diamonds by the security forces when he was Minister of Defence. So, one of the necessary preconditions for return is that the fundamental issues at the root of displacement are addressed.

So far, President Mnangagwa has made efforts to gain the confidence of the international community and potential investors, without much emphasis on

the need to do the same for Zimbabweans themselves both at home and abroad. Before the majority of the Zimbabwean diaspora even begin considering returning permanently they will want to see how he negotiates underlying issues that resulted in the scattering of nearly a quarter of the nation's population.

### **Changing asylum policies**

There are other contradictions associated for the diaspora, too. While his ascendancy may represent a new horizon for some, it may mean adverse consequences for those who sought asylum in the UK, South Africa and many other host countries. It seems most governments have warmed to President Mnangagwa, and are likely to start reviewing their asylum policies. It would not be surprising to see the UK government, for example, designating Zimbabwe a safe country of return, meaning those granted refugee status and with pending asylum claims could have their statuses reviewed, and possibly required to return to Zimbabwe.

Timing also matters. President Mnangagwa has indicated his plans to hold elections in the next few months. Given that elections have historically been marred by intimidation, harassment and violence, it would be reckless for host governments to start reviewing their asylum policies now. Furthermore, some people were too traumatised by past injustices and abuse to trust the government. They are likely to fear a relapse to repressive rule, and the possibility of having to flee again, and will want to wait until they are convinced that change is indeed happening.

### **More than physical relocation**

Furthermore, diaspora return should not be narrowly construed as the mere physical relocation. Instead, it entails reintegration into the socioeconomic, cultural and political fabric of the nation. Not all Zimbabweans living outside the country will be able to achieve this. Having lived in places where they were exposed to diverse cultures, lifestyles, political systems and so on, it will be naïve to expect return to be smooth and unproblematic.

Although there are hopes that Zimbabwe is now on course to recovery, not every Zimbabwean would benefit from the new dispensation. Returnees who fail to reintegrate, particularly those who would have been living precariously in host countries, are at risk.

They could find it difficult to meet their basic needs, especially while unemployment levels are so high. Without any form of state support, some of these returnees may end up worse off following their repatriation. One way of circumventing this potential challenge would be to have a systematic diaspora return programme under which resources and other forms of support are provided.

There are other complicating factors. Zimbabweans scattered across the globe constitute a fractured community. Involuntary repatriation based on the presumption of homogeneity is unworkable.

### **Integration in host countries**

Not every member of the Zimbabwean diaspora continues to identify with Zimbabwe, certainly not to the extent of committing to return. There are some who may have become integrated in host countries, even obtaining citizenship. They are less likely to feel the pressure to return and would find it hard to give up their social ties, place attachment, employment opportunities and educational opportunities, just for the love of Zimbabwe.

Gender is also significant. Men are likely to feel the need to return sooner than women, for whom settlement in foreign countries tended to be accompanied by more opportunities for social mobility and empowerment. Many Zimbabwean women, especially those in the UK, Australia, Canada and other advanced economies, have been able to earn their own incomes and make their own decisions independently of men. They have begun to feel 'at home' in these host countries, compared to their experiences before emigration.

Women have also tended to enjoy greater protection in some host countries – this has certainly been the case in the UK, where domestic violence and abuse victims have had significant legal protection, compared with the Zimbabwe they left.

Legal status is also an important determinant. There might be more ambivalence in relation to those without secure legal status in their host countries. It is easy to assume that they would be happy to return to Zimbabwe, but it depends on how they weigh their perceived prospects back in Zimbabwe. For those who experienced difficulties in emigrating and settling in their respective host countries, returning voluntarily might be a gamble. Instead, they may opt to continue the struggle for legal status with the hope of accessing socioeconomic and other opportunities available in the host country.

Those who acquired dual citizenship and

permanent residency/indefinite leave to remain are also likely to be ambivalent – as would be those who have married local spouses and started families with their host country partners.

Host country context will also be of significance. Zimbabweans in countries which offer comparatively better livelihood opportunities than even a new Zimbabwe, may be reluctant to return. This might be a prevalent trend in the UK, Canada, Australia and the US. However, in some cases, limited socioeconomic opportunities, social instability and hostility towards immigrants are some of the forces likely to push others back to Zimbabwe for better fortunes.

### **Precarious lives**

Conversely, some, especially those living precarious lives, may feel embarrassed to return without accumulating wealth, which is generally expected of someone who has lived abroad. Fear of being regarded as failures, may make them decide to stay, hoping that their fortunes will improve.

The new dispensation may have created new expectations on some host populations that many Zimbabweans would start to return to their home country. This would be tragic for Zimbabweans in South Africa, given the xenophobic tensions that currently exist there. The media and politicians in South Africa should be careful not to create the impression that Zimbabweans should be returning because of the change. It is still early days. The country had collapsed: more time will be needed before any reconstruction efforts yield any meaningful positive impact.

### **Problems of a mass return**

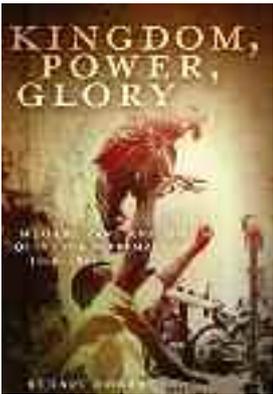
Involuntary mass return of Zimbabweans will be problematic. Return should be voluntary and responsive to the needs of various sections of Zimbabweans. Deportations, tightening immigration, asylum and citizenship policies and other mechanisms of achieving the involuntary return of Zimbabweans will not be helpful. Greater caution and prudence is needed.

The Zimbabwean diaspora is incredibly diversified, with much variation in their interests, circumstances and preferences regarding their futures. It would, perhaps, be useful for host governments, civil society and international organisations involved in supporting return migration to engage and consult ordinary diasporas when developing their interventions.

*Dr Langton Miriyoga is a Visiting Teacher in the Department of Politics and International Relations at Royal Holloway, University of London.*

## REVIEW

### *Trevor Grundy on Kingdom, Power, Glory – Mugabe, Zanu And The Quest For Supremacy 1960-1987 – a timely book by Australian historian Stuart Doran*



*This is a shortened version of a review that was distributed to BZS members in January.*

Lytton Strachey, the author of *Eminent Victorians*, suggested that a wise historian ‘will attack his subject in unexpected places; he will ... row out over the great ocean of material, and lower ... into it ... a little bucket, which will bring up ... some characteristic specimen, ... to be examined with a careful curiosity.’

In *Kingdom, Power, Glory – Mugabe, Zanu and the Quest for Supremacy 1960-1987*, Stuart Doran has lowered a vast container into an opaque plastic-media-rubbish-filled African ocean.

He has brought to the surface for our ‘careful curiosity’ not only the crooks who ran Rhodesia under Ian Smith from 1962-1979 but a whole cast of villains, mass-murderers and self-serving sycophants who dominated Zimbabwe from 1980 to the fall of Robert Mugabe. His overwhelming theme is the way Robert Mugabe was able to bamboozle people of all backgrounds and his determination to create an over-arching ruling political party, which many liken to the Nazification of Germany in the 1930s.

But here’s the overwhelming question: can Emmerson Mnangagwa – the new brush from the old storeroom – return Zanu (PF) to the grassroots organisation it became at the home of the late Enos Nkala in 1963?

#### **A well-worn path**

Doran’s book follows a well-worn path from the last days of Ian Smith’s Rhodesia and a seven-year war that cost an estimated 35,000 black lives, into a peace process [that led to] ... Independence in April 1980. Its strength is what comes after Mugabe’s appointment as Prime Minister: his use of power and the rise of a ruthless nouveau-riche that went on to grab anything of worth in a land once described as the Jewel of Africa.

\* \* \*

Every honest journalist I’ve spoken to about this new book says the same thing – ‘We didn’t know much, did we?’

Elinor Sisulu wrote in her introduction to *Gukurahundi in Zimbabwe* (Hurst & Company, London, 2007): ‘... I felt a deep sense of shame about my own silence.’

This well-respected writer said that during those years (when 20,000 – 50,000 men, women, children and babies were slaughtered by the North Korean-trained Fifth Brigade of the Zimbabwe National Army) the eyes and ears of the international community were closed.

And what courage to write – ‘I was taken aback by the account of the mass shooting of 62 young men and

women on the banks of the Cewale River in Lupane on 5 March 1983. The silence that greeted this is in direct contrast to the way the Sharpeville Massacre of 1960 reverberated around the world.’

\* \* \*

Perhaps the saddest voice belonged to Mike Auret, who served for so many years on Zimbabwe’s Catholic Commission of Justice and Peace (CCJP). It was only after Mugabe dismissed reports by Auret and (Senator) David Coltart that Five Brigade was carrying out Nazi-style executions in North/South Matabeleland, the Midland and parts of Mashonaland that the scales fell from his eyes.

‘I could now see what I had refused to recognise before – that Mugabe would ... do anything that was necessary to maintain the power of the party and his own position within it. ...’ (*From Liberator to Dictator – An Insider’s Account of Robert Mugabe’s Descent into Tyranny*, Michael Auret (David Philip, 2009, page 150.)

#### **Democracy**

Mugabe had released a balloon with the word ‘Democracy’ on it. While Zimbabweans raised their eyes to the sky, knaves, charlatans and sycophants pinched their wallets and wrecked their economy.

\* \* \*

Several Africanists say that Doran’s is the best book, so far, about a pivotal time in Zimbabwe’s history.

There are certainly other books worthy of our attention – the most valuable (is) *Gukurahundi in Zimbabwe – A Report on the Disturbances in Matabeleland and the Midlands 1980 –1988* (Hurst & Company, London, 2007) – originally published in 1997 as *Breaking the Silence: Building True Peace*, by The Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace in Zimbabwe and the Legal Resources Foundation).

But I believe *Kingdom, Power, Glory* is unique in the author’s sourcing of almost all the great turning points in the Zimbabwean story between 1980 and 1987.

The author’s interest in Zimbabwe started as a boy in 1980, when his father had been commissioned by the World Bank and the Zimbabwean government to design the land resettlement programme for Matabeleland.

Three years later, field workers started bringing in stories about mass killings by the army.

Doran explained, ‘... My interest was further fuelled by 1997 reports on the *Gukurahundi* written by David Coltart, ... I decided to focus on the political and military angles ... The source material ... presented itself in 2003 when I was working as an historian for the Australian government. ... I read through the still-classified files from the Australian High Commission in Harare ... The extent to which Zanu (PF) ministers leaked information to diplomats during the *Gukurahundi* was a revelation. They implicated each other

... pointed the finger directly at Mugabe ...'

Doran has, for the first time, drawn from material (from) British, Australian, Canadian and South African diplomatic missions ... but it was left to that great Irish journalist, Fergal Keane, to tell how Britain told its diplomats to shut up and not annoy Mugabe because Britain had 'bigger fish to fry in Africa.' (BBC: *The Price of Silence*, 10 March, 2002). Keane spoke to Sir Martin Ewans, British High Commissioner from 1983–1985, also to the former Roman Catholic Archbishop of Bulawayo, Pius Ncube, and Mike Auret.

*Keane*: Did you protest personally about what was happening?

*Ewans*: No, I didn't.

*Keane*: Do you have any regret about that?

*Ewans*: No. I think this business has really perhaps been rather blown up ...

*Keane*: What was the advice from London about how one dealt with Mugabe, particularly around something like Matabeleland?

*Ewans*: I think the advice was to steer clear of it ... help to build Zimbabwe up as a nation. ... We had very much an eye to ... South Africa ... we were hopeful that Zimbabwe would be something of a contrast and South Africans would say ah yes, it is possible to work with a multiracial society. So I think Matabeleland is a side issue. ...

*Archbishop Ncube*: He should imagine if his own family is being murdered. Is that a side issue?

### **Gukurahundi**

It is Doran's research into *Gukurahundi* that the reader will find most interesting, especially the roles played by ... Emmerson Mnangagwa and those closest to him in the new post-Mugabe set-up.

Yet already Mnangagwa's spin-doctors and rapidly on-side journalists ... are saying ... it's a new world so why dredge up the past? But the military clique that surrounded Mugabe then is still (largely) with us today.

\* \* \*

One of the most fascinating parts of Doran's book is the way he shows how the officers of the outgoing Rhodesian Security Forces and the CIO sided with Mugabe: '... it was the established connection between senior members of Zanu and Zanla (the party's military wing) that drove the Five Brigade operation – one in which officers from otherwise separate units played a part in operational planning. An illustration of this ... is provided by an account by Kevin Woods, a white CIO officer who was a double agent working for the apartheid regime, of a meeting in Bulawayo ... attended by Mugabe, Emmerson Mnangagwa, Edison Shiri (a former Zanu (PF) MP and the CIO's acting deputy director of political affairs) ... the room was filled "wall to wall with political and military wannabees".' (Pages 450/451.)

When Woods mentioned the possibility of international repercussions arising from the planned killings, Shiri told him 'amid great mirth' that he would

'personally deal with any international hassles' and that Woods should 'stay out of their war.' (*The Kevin Woods Story – In the Shadow of Mugabe's Gallows*, 30 degrees South Publishers, South Africa 2007.)

### **Back to Fergal Keane ...**

*Keane*: Two names recur in this horror (*Gukurahundi*). Robert Mugabe who sent in the 5th Brigade and his close associate the Brigade Commander Perence Shiri.

*Mandla Nyathi* (a survivor): I saw [Shiri] ... beating a peasant ... using a massive log ... buttocks, and head, anywhere ...

*Keane*: Some eye-witnesses still live in fear of Shiri. What do local people call this man?

*Anonymous*: ... Black Jesus.

*Keane*: Why?

*Anonymous*: Because he could determine your life like Jesus Christ. He could heal, raise the dead, whatever.... He could say if you live or not.

\* \* \*

After the death of thousands of Ndebeles, the Queen knighted Robert Mugabe. His title was removed after the death of 12 white farmers in 2000.

I doubt we'll ever know the exact number slaughtered almost 35 years ago. The government's figure is 3,000.

Doran draws attention to an interview Danny Stannard (formerly of the Rhodesian security services) gave to Dr Sue Onslow (now Deputy Director of the Institute of Commonwealth Studies) in October 2008.

*Stannard*: We knew that they were having operations in Matabeleland ... no personnel were allowed in there other than the Fifth Brigade ... Nobody knows the actual figure, but between 30-50 thousand.

*Onslow*: ... I've read between 10 and 20 (thousand).

*Stannard*: No, it's more than that.

\* \* \*

Maybe the British satirical magazine *Private Eye* (1-14 December, 2017) got it right when it headlined a story about the generals taking over from Mugabe – 'Zimbabwe rejoices at choice of mass murderer to replace the previous one.'

\* \* \*

Will Stuart Doran's book become a bestseller? Maybe there'll be a cry of 'too much information', and the book will end up as a well-respected reference work.

I hope not, because it deserves a wide readership. It stands as a monument to good research, fine writing and a deep understanding of Zimbabwe's past and present. It is essential reading for anyone trying to make sense of a hard-to-understand country as it embarks on a perilous journey into the future, where there are many landmines.

*Trevor Grundy is a British reporter who lived and worked in Central, Eastern and Southern Africa from 1966-1996. Politicsweb, 20 December 2017: <http://www.politicsweb.co.za/opinion/zimbabwe-forward-to-the-past> Kingdom, Power, Glory – Mugabe, Zanu and the Quest for Supremacy 1960-1987 by Stuart Doran (Sithatha, 2018 pp. 842*

# ***Obituary: Father Ted Rogers***

*Nigel Hall and Chris Crompton pay tribute to a remarkable man*

*Nigel Hall writes: **Father Ted Rogers, a remarkable Jesuit priest who founded the School of Social Work in Rhodesia, and who later went on to achieve much in Zimbabwe, passed away on 30 December 2017.***

When ill-health necessitated his return to UK in 2011, he remained at the Corpus Christi Jesuit Community in Bournemouth, actively engaged, until his death at 93 years.

Well-respected, with a great sense of humour, he leaves a large, loving family, numerous friends, colleagues and members of the Jesuit Order. A Requiem Mass was held for him at Corpus Christi Church in Boscombe on 13 January, 2018.

## **A life of service**

In 2012 Ted completed his memoirs *Ted Rogers: Jesuit, Social Pioneer and AIDS Activist in Zimbabwe and, in 2017, his latest book *The Missionary Martyrs by of Rhodesia and Zimbabwe*, was published Cluster Publications (SA).*

All his life, Fr Ted saw it as a priority to work in areas of urgent social need and social injustice.

Born in Liverpool in 1924, the third of nine surviving children, Ted volunteered for the Merchant Navy in 1940. His first convoy, transporting cargo to West Africa, was torpedoed, and he and other survivors spent four days in a lifeboat, before reaching Freetown. He was later awarded a medal for his contribution during the Battle of the Atlantic.

Following his demobilisation, Ted was ordained as a Jesuit priest and was sent to Rhodesia in 1960 to work at St Paul's Mission, Musami, where he became the headmaster of the Secondary School. After moving to St Peter's Church in Mbare, Ted started a community secondary school, firstly hot-seating in the St Peter's primary school after the regular pupils had gone home, then moving to the new township of Kambuzuma. In the 1970s the school moved to Glen Norah, becoming St. Peter's, Kubatana.

In 1964, he set up the School of Social Work, initially with 18 students. This was one of his major achievements, as the School – which became the first Associate College of the University of Rhodesia in 1969 – went on to train hundreds of social workers – many, because of instability in Zimbabwe, now practising in the UK. He remained the Director of the School for 21 years. The University of Zimbabwe later awarded him an honorary doctorate for his contribution to social work. I knew

Ted when I was teaching at the School of Social Work and know how much his contribution in founding that School was appreciated.

## **Working for peace**

He was part of the Justice and Peace Commission during the Smith regime, and worked with various charitable organisations, Catholic Women's Clubs, co-founded SASCAM (for learning-disabled children), and was chair of the Council of Social Services (later known as VOICE and NANGO), Christian Care and the Commission on Social Service and Development (CSSD) for the Archdiocese of Salisbury. He also became involved with practical assistance to people in the protected villages.

In 1986, the Zimbabwe Catholic Bishops Conference (ZCBC) asked Ted to develop a programme on HIV/AIDS, and he later helped set up the AIDS Counselling Trust (ACT). Ted continued his interest in AIDS in his post (from 1988) as the Director of IMBISA – the Interregional Meeting of Bishops in Southern Africa.

## **Work with AIDS**

In the 1990s Ted developed training sessions for youth on peer education, setting up Youth Against AIDS clubs in 40 schools. He also worked with Shelter Trust – an organisation for women at risk of abandoning their babies.

Ted set up the Zimbabwe AIDS Orphans Project, which has been running for more than 20 years and helped hundreds of children – providing fees, uniforms and stationery. See below for how to donate.)\*

Fr Ted was respected throughout Southern Africa for his contribution to the fight against HIV/AIDS and his work towards peace and reconciliation.

On completing his second book, he mentioned that he was now content to go to his maker, and noted in an email shortly before his death: 'St Therese of Lisieux wanted to be a small flower in God's garden. I would be happy to be a blade of grass.'

He was a great deal more than that.

*Nigel Hall*

*Chris Crompton writes: **I came into Father Ted's life in 1968 when he recruited me to help with the School of Social Service (SSS), with a small involvement with St Peter's Community School.** Eventually, I got more involved with the school and less with the SSS, but we shared accommodation at*



*Left: Father Ted in his wartime days. Far left, with students at the School of Social Work. Photograph © Nigel Hall*

the SSS hostel site. Looking back, it's amazing that over all our shared meals he never mentioned the drama of his survival after the torpedoing of his ship and four days under equatorial sun in a lifeboat – he was preoccupied with more immediate tasks.

After St Peter's Community School became St Peter's Kubatana, it expanded and a higher level Technology Training Centre was added. The School of Social Service became the School of Social Work, affiliated to the University College of Rhodesia. I kept in touch with Ted after my return to the UK in 1970.

Of particular interest to BZS members is his role at St Antony's College, Oxford, in 1985. He'd stepped down from the School of Social Work and, during a year's sabbatical had been offered Senior Associate Membership of the college. He gave a seminar on 'The Development of Social Work in Africa' and prepared for a visit to study 'Basic Christian Communities' stimulated by emerging Liberation Theology and the subject of a further seminar at St Antony's in May 1986.

As Nigel has reported, Ted became involved in social activities, particularly Justice and Peace issues and dealing with HIV/AIDS. He had prepared a chapter on the AMANI Trust for his biography – at the time, considered too hot for publication. In 1993, Ted was a founder member of the AMANI Trust, a non-profit NGO dedicated to preventing organised violence and torture – which advocated for the rights of victims and their rehabilitation through community-based care. It was suppressed in 2002, accused of working with the British government to unseat President Robert Mugabe.

His last years in Zimbabwe were spent running peer education on HIV/AIDS and organising assistance for AIDS orphans. At a launch on 28 November last year of his latest book, Cardinal Wilfrid Napier of Durban, sent this message: '... He was truly a trail-blazer as he was developing an approach to this

scourge ... The most fruitful time in our friendship when he was Director of the Secretariat of IMBISA (Inter Religious Meeting of Bishops in Southern Africa). True to form, Fr. Ted was not only thinking up new things to do and ways to do them. No, he was always challenging us ... to see to the needs of the people in our care and to devise the most effective ways of meeting them. If the word 'Martyr' means a 'Witness' to the Faith and all that entails, then Ted has to be one of the greatest living Martyrs I have been privileged to know and work with. May the good Lord continue to bless and keep him.'

Bishop emeritus Bucher of Bethlehem, SA, wrote: 'I remember him as the one who sensitised early our Bishops' conference to the need to be ready for the onslaught of AIDS in South Africa, long before the public became aware of it, to say nothing of the State and the later denial of the AIDS pandemic by the second President of South Africa.'

Help for the AIDS orphans continues: we currently have 46 enrolled, providing basic necessities to attend schooling up to O-level (GCSE equivalent) at the end of Form 4. Although anti-retroviral drugs have softened the problem, unfortunately new drug-resistant strains of HIV are emerging.

Ted's work isn't over yet!

*Chris Crompton*

*Nigel Hall is (currently) Human Rights Commissioner, International Federation of Social Workers (IFSW)*

*Chris Crompton worked with Father Ted Rogers in 1968 at St Peter's Kubatana, where he set up a science and technology programme.*

\* To donate to the Jesuit Orphans' Trust Zimbabwe, contact Jesuit Missions, 11 Edge Hill, Wimbledon, London, SW19 4LR.

## ***The death of Morgan Tsvangirai***

The announcement of Morgan Tsvangirai's death in South Africa on 14 February came too late for us to include an obituary in this edition of the *Zimbabwe Review*. We plan to include assessments of his life and work in our next edition.

## ***Zimbabwe's Post-Mugabe Era – discussion***

*Pauline Dodgson-Katiyo, chair of the Britain Zimbabwe Society, reports on a discussion on Zimbabwe's Post-Mugabe Era held by held by Zim Abroad magazine and the University of Westminster's Africa Media Centre on 26 January at the University's central London campus.*

**There were two panels, the first centred on economics and the second on politics. Two Q and A sessions were chaired by Agnes Zengeya (activist), and the event was streamed live on Zimbo Live TV.**

**Winston Mano** (Africa Media Centre) asked: what does the 'post' in 'post-Mugabe' mean?

**Arthur Mutambara** (former Deputy PM) gave his view that it wasn't a post-Mugabe era because the political culture had not yet changed – though no one will have the same grip on power Mugabe had as a founding father of the nation.

**Elliot Pfebve** (MDC) said a new dispensation with a different ideology was needed, and called for freedom of expression and association. According to **Lloyd Msipa** (political analyst), perception was everything; Mnangagwa would give donors and investors confidence in Zimbabwe because he would concentrate on the economy, not politics.

**Lance Mambodiani** (Steward Bank) said that economic growth should replace political slogans. The balance of payments is not sustainable and Zimbabwe cannot do everything on its own. Agriculture alone will not meet development needs; reintegration into the international community is essential. **Taffi Nyawanza** (Zimbabwe Diaspora Investment Group) agreed that business people should rise above politics. Diasporan investment in the economy needed to be focused as, often, remittances were not channelled or efficient.

However, **Grace Mupfurutsa** ('Tete Rasta') warned against neo-liberalism in the guise of Zimbabwe being 'open for business'.

Some speakers felt that holding an election this year would interrupt the process of recovery. Others

felt that elections were needed to give the country and its government legitimacy. It was important to adhere to the constitution. Lloyd Msipa argued that there wasn't enough time to change the Electoral Act to allow diasporans to vote. Arthur Mutambara, though, said that all stakeholders should have a vote. The majority view was that mechanisms could be put in place for this.

**Nick Mangwana** (ZANU-PF) criticised the diaspora for demanding the vote and deploring the conditions in Zimbabwe's hospitals and roads while not doing enough practically. He advised diasporans to invest in health and to bring their experience back to the country.

**Alex Magaisa** (law lecturer/political analyst) pointed to a tendency among the diaspora to see themselves as saviours rather than working together for mutual benefit.

**Dorcas Gwata** (health practitioner) emphasised the pain and hardship now being experienced by the young through malnutrition, HIV infection and substance abuse. Foreign aid was not sufficient. Too much aid was deployed in Harare while the rural areas were struggling. Diaspora activities must avoid duplication. To do well economically, Zimbabwe must invest in women and youth.

Grace Mupfurutsa emphasised the importance of women taking an interest in politics and civil society. **Chengetai Mupara** (barrister) focused on youth and the impact they could have in elections, especially through social media networks, since mainstream media is now discredited.

For **Charity Nzegwu** (Christian minister) it was important for Zimbabweans to share the trauma and pain they had experienced across their history so that people can find transformation together and help the poor and marginalised.

Alex Magaisa said that *Gukurahundi* must be addressed. There was some disappointment that Mnangagwa had not apologised in Davos, but that was not the right forum for it.

**Thamsanqa Zhou** (media practitioner) stressed the importance of the narratives we tell: those of the individual, the family, the region, and the nation. For Dorcas Gwata, the Arts industry must survive and become Zimbabwe's narrative.

Alex Magaisa suggested that Zimbabweans should learn about their past. What was happening now was nothing new. Zimbabweans had a sense of exceptionalism because they didn't read enough: other African countries had undergone similar experiences.

*Pauline Dodgson-Katiyo*

### **From BZS member Richard Pantlin**

BZS member Richard Pantlin has drawn our attention to a proposal for a Chaminuka Cultural Village about 8km outside Chitungwiza city. The plan is to create ‘ a leading cultural, arts and recreation hub in Harare and Chitungwiza. Visitors are expected to experience ‘cultural exhibits that unravel the purity, richness and uniqueness of African culture.’ For more details, contact Richard through the BZS mailing group.



### **Stevenage-Kadoma Link Association (SKLA)**

The picture on the right was taken during a visit by SKLA chair Rose Hamilton to Kadoma in November. It shows a class at Rimuka 2 School, Kadoma, where three pupils are beneficiaries of the SKLA scheme. Rose visited several schools where pupils are funded by the Association’s School Fees schemes, and met with

representatives who manage the scheme for the SKLA. She also visited Tariro Children’s Home where most children’s fees paid by SKLA.

*Any donations to ‘Stevenage-Kadoma Link Association’ for primary or secondary School Fees Schemes, or orphans at Tariro, can be sent to Jan Addison, 11 Friday Furlong, Hitchin, Herts SG5 2ND, stating whether primary, secondary or Tariro is preferred.*

## **Contact the Britain Zimbabwe Society**

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

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

**President:** Knox Chitiyo

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Yvonne Kassim

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Richard Pantlin

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Yvonne Kassim

Representatives of: Stevenage-Kadoma Link Association; Zimbabwe Association

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

## **Britain Zimbabwe Society Membership Form**

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

**Margaret Ling 25 Endymion Road, London N4 1EE**

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