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Obituary: Morgan Richard Tsvangirai, 10 March 1952–14 February 2018

Brian Raftopoulos assesses the legacy of Zimbabwe's best-known opposition leader

On the 14 February 2018, Morgan Tsvangirai passed away after a long illness.

By the time of his death, Tsvangirai had established himself as the central and most outstanding opposition figure in post-colonial Zimbabwe.

From his background as a trade unionist, he had led the change of political discourse in the Zimbabwean public sphere, igniting the language and struggles of trade unionism that had been marginalised both during period of the liberation struggle and in the selective nationalist celebration of Zanu PF's 'patriotic history'.

Tsvangirai was also at the head of the movement that expanded the debate on constitutionalism and the need for a more pluralised form of political belonging in the country.

However, under his watch, the opposition movement fractured and began to take on many of the features of the very system his party and the civic movement fought so hard to change since the late 1990s.

Early years

Morgan Richard Tsvangirai was born on 10 March 1952 in Gutu district in eastern Zimbabwe, the son of a bricklayer, and the oldest of eight children. He attended primary school at Munyara Primary (1959–1966), and then secondary schools at Silveira Secondary (1967–1969) and Gokomere Secondary (1970–1971) where he completed four years of secondary school and sat his 'O' level examinations. In 1986, he acquired a Diploma in Employment Services from Cresta College, Nottingham, England.

Between 1972–74, Tsvangirai began his working life in a textile factory. He then moved into the mining sector and was appointed a foreman at Bindura Nickel Corporation, one of Zimbabwe's largest mining groups where he remained for a decade (1975–1985). In 1979, he married Susan Nyaradzo Mhundwa (1958–2009) from the Gunde area in Buhera district in eastern Zimbabwe and in a thirty-one year marriage they had six children.

Trade unionism

During this period Morgan Tsvangirai came into contact with trade unionism, an association that would later catapult him into national politics. He became branch chairman of the Associated Miners Union – Trojan Mine Branch (1980–1983), and was elected to the national executive of the Associated Mineworkers Union

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(1983-1985). He was now responsible for shop floor representation of 2,500 mineworkers.

By the time he was elected Vice-President of the Miners' Union (1985–1988), he was part of the largest and arguably best organised union in Zimbabwe, responsible for worker education. During this period he was also elected Secretary General for the Southern African Miners Federation (1987) in which position he was responsible for coordination of miners unions throughout Southern Africa. This experience gave Tsvangirai valuable training in both popular organisation and the building of alliances in the region.

ZCTU years

He continued his ascent in the trade union movement when he was elected the Secretary General of the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions, ZCTU (1988-1999), and Secretary General for the Southern African Trade Union Coordination Council (SAT-UCC) in 1999. In the latter position he was responsible for coordinating trade union issues and strategies in the framework of the regional charter of the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC), and combined such activities with his membership of the International Congress of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) Human Rights Committee established to monitor the violation of trade unions rights internationally.

In addition to the growing trade union contacts he established in Southern Africa, Tsvangirai travelled widely during his tenure at the ZCTU, visiting a number of countries, including the United Kingdom, Belgium, Netherlands, Norway, Venezuela, Japan, Russia, Germany and Australia.

He took the helm of the national trade union movement in Zimbabwe as it was emerging from the control of the ruling party, Robert Mugabe's Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (Zanu-PF), and played a key role in establishing the critical autonomy of the labour movement.

The 1980s

For much of the 1980s, the newly-formed ZCTU had operated under the patronage of Zanu-PF and served as little more than the labour wing of the ruling party. Under Tsvangirai's influence and that of a new crop of union leaders, the ZCTU revitalised its structures in the second half of the 1980s.

This was achieved through various campaigns,

including more interventions at the shop floor, wider tripartite consultations on the Labour Relations Act, sustained pressure to lessen the influence of the state in the collective bargaining process, demands for greater commitment on the government's purported socialist policies and a critical engagement with the state's move towards neo-liberal economic policies in the late 1980s.

At the end of the first decade of independence, as the cracks in the legitimacy of the party of liberation began to widen, Tsvangirai added his voice to the student protests over state corruption and Zanu PF's attempt to foist a one-party state on the Zimbabwean polity. As a result, Tsvangirai was arrested and detained for several weeks, accused of being a South African spy.

In the early 1990s, Tsvangirai attempted a rapprochement with the state over its newly adopted Structural Adjustment programme.

However, this period of attempted dialogue with the state came to a halt in the latter part of the 1990s, in the context of the hardships produced by the government's neo-liberal programmes and a growing civil society built around the struggle for human rights and constitutionalism.

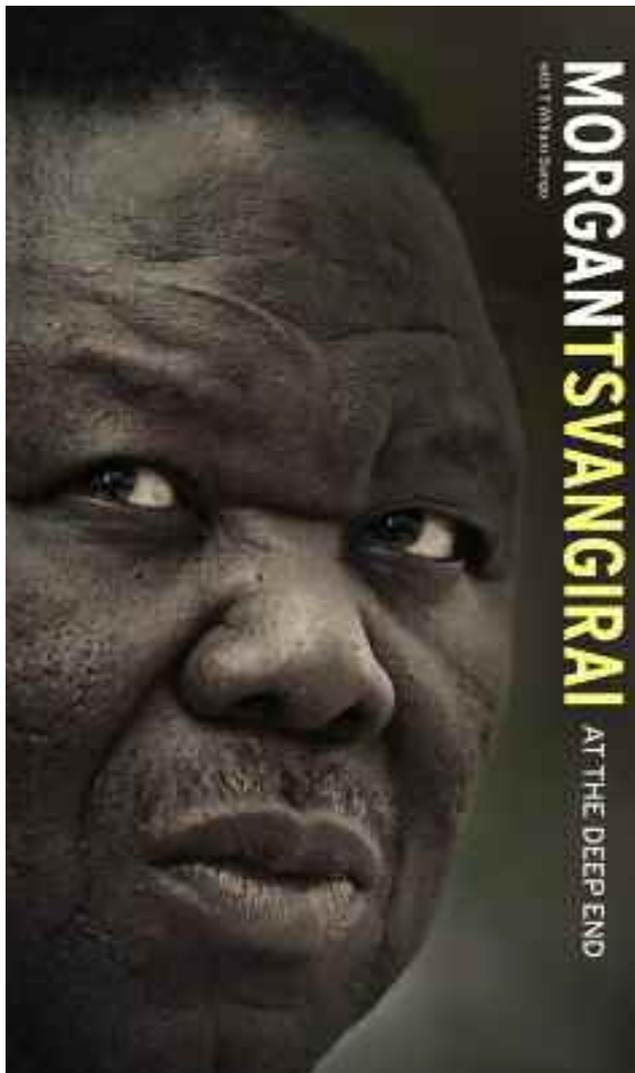
Three formative interventions

In this new political environment Tsvangirai led the movement into strategic alliances with other sectors of Zimbabwean society, seeking to combine its proposed economic vision for the country with an intensified political critique of the ruling party and state. Moreover the labour movement clearly saw itself as playing a leading role in this process.

In 1998 an initiative emerged that provided an ideal vehicle for activating this vision. In that year, the National Constitutional Assembly (NCA) was formed, with Tsvangirai as its first Chair, and with the primary objective of lobbying for a new constitution in the country.

In the last years of the 1990s, Tsvangirai led three formative interventions that changed the map of Zimbabwean politics. The first was a general strike in 1997 and three national stay-aways against state economic policies in 1998 that proved very successful in establishing the national mobilisation capacity of the labour movement and its potential threat to state power.

The second was the formation of the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) in September 1999, the outcome of the broad alliances that the labour movement had succeeded in creating from the early



Morgan Tsvangirai's autobiography, At the Deep End, co-written with his friend and colleague William Bango, was published in 2011.

In November 2017, just after the former President Mugabe was deposed, Morgan Tsvangirai's publisher, Dan Hiscocks of Eye books wrote in the Bookseller magazine (the trade publication for the UK publishing industry): 'He struck me as an immensely clever man with a massive aura - when he was in the room, you could not help but be impressed, yet he made everyone feel very welcome and at ease. ...

'He had a vision for a fair and safe Zimbabwe, based upon strong, moral, social and political foundations. The book would reflect both his life and his vision. ...

I don't know what will happen in the next few days and weeks in Harare, but I hope that Morgan's vision to restore the country to its true potential is implemented.

'Perhaps we can finally talk about that second book again now.'

As we know, that was not to be,

577 pages, Eye Books; 1st edition (21 Oct. 2011)
ISBN-10: 1908646004 ISBN-13: 978-190846002
hardback

1990s, and which became the strongest opposition party to emerge in the post-colonial period.

The third was the successful campaign of the NCA in 2000 to oppose the government's attempt to hijack the constitutional reform process, with a NO vote in the referendum of that year sending shock waves through the body Zanu PF.

These events quickly aroused the coercive instincts of the ruling party, which made a series of violent interventions. In 1997, in the midst of the general strike an assassination attempt was made on Tsvangirai life in his office at the ZCTU headquarters.

Frustrations

In the aftermath of the formation of the MDC and the state's defeat in the constitutional referendum in 2000, a series of national land occupations ensued, which were accompanied by widespread political violence.

This marred the general and Presidential elections in 2000 and 2002 respectively. In the highly polarised political environment that marked much of the 2000s, Tsvangirai was twice charged with treason (in 2000 and 2004).

Caught between growing national support, regional state solidarity with Mugabe, and international diplomatic support that often proved counter-productive for his image in Southern Africa, Tsvangirai and the MDC faced a difficult strategic problem, namely how to translate growing electoral support into state power against a ruling party that remained in control of military power and refused to respect electoral outcomes.

The frustrations of this predicament took its toll on the internal organisation of the MDC and in 2005 the party split with the majority membership remaining behind the Tsvangirai leadership.

The politics of the split, however, revealed some of the weaknesses of Tsvangirai's leadership in particular in the areas of organisation and accountability in the party.

South Africa steps in

In a rapidly deteriorating economic and political environment, the opposition and the civic movement continued to protest in the spaces available to them.

At one such event in March 2007 a prayer meeting organised by an alliance of churches and attended by Tsvangirai and other political and civic leaders, was disrupted by state security agents.

Tsvangirai and other leaders were brutally beaten in full view of the media, leading to an international outcry, and renewed pressure to find a solution to Zimbabwe's crisis.

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Following this event, SADC mandated South African President Thabo Mbeki to facilitate a negotiated settlement between Zanu-PF and the two MDCs, which would allow them to proceed to a free and fair election in 2008.

In the general election of March the MDC won the parliamentary election and Tsvangirai defeated Mugabe in the Presidential vote, but without receiving the 51 per cent required to claim outright victory.

The controversy surrounding the counting of the votes and the irregularities of the state's electoral processes extended the political crisis in the country.

The Mbeki facilitation continued, resulting in the signing of the Global Political Agreement (GPA) in September 2008 which allowed for the three parties to share power in which the interim government would create the conditions for another election, the result of which it was hoped would be generally acceptable.

On 6 March 2009, Tsvangirai was involved in a car crash as he was travelling to a rally in his hometown of Buhera when their car was hit on a road south of Harare.

Susan was killed, but Tsvangirai himself was not severely injured. Many in the MDC believed this was an assassination attempt.

A weakened MDC

The MDC-T emerged weakened after the period of the GPA and the loss in the 2013 elections, and

further splits took place in the party. However in his final years Tsvangirai also built bridges with his old party foes, Welshman Ncube and Tendai Biti in an attempt to rebuild a unified opposition, leading to the formation of the MDC Alliance.

A struggle for succession

However, following Tsvangirai's death, his party descended into a struggle over his succession. This battle was unfortunately set up by Tsvangirai's decision to appoint two more Vice Presidents in his party in 2016, adding to the one who had been elected at the previous MDC-T congress.

The ensuing battle between Thoko Khupe and Nelson Chamisa for the party presidency has been conducted through outbreaks of violence and in a language marked by both misogyny and tribal appellations.

The legacy of the party that once stood for constitutionalism, non-violence and national inclusion has been seriously brought into question.

A mixed legacy

As the 2018 elections approach, Morgan Tsvangirai's mixed legacy will remain a central part of the legacy of the opposition and the nation, with even Zanu PF acceding to the importance of his historic role.

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Belonging In Zimbabwe

Alice Mpfu Coles talks to young Zimbabweans about their lives and hopes

I had the privilege of spending two weeks in the 'new' Zimbabwe – as it is now called after the ousting of President Mugabe who had ruled the country for 37 years. The current President had just been sworn in on 24 November 2017.

In two weeks, I travelled throughout Zimbabwe and had a chance to talk informally to young people. The conversations were completely voluntary and took place in different geographical settings.

Young people's identities are constructed, and their belonging is shaped in the current space, political and economic framework. The population dynamics of Zimbabwe have changed and more young people now than in earlier times, unfortunately, are not employed or in mainstream education.

Unemployment stands at over 80 per cent and

many people survive through informal trading. Most of the young people I spoke to have only lived under one Head of State and one Ruling Party. Only recently can they say there is a new Head of State – President Mnangagwa, but many say he is not 'new', as he was part of the Mugabe regime

I wanted to have a 'conversation' with these young people and, unless it was relevant, to avoid engaging into politics as, in previous years when visiting Zimbabwe that was a controlled subject and was not discussed in open spaces.

I wanted to discover how they perceived themselves and how they felt they fitted into their environment. I also wanted to find out how development, if any, was taking place in different parts of the country and what could be done differently. The young

people I spoke to were male and female, between the ages of 18 and 35 years. During my conversations with them I picked the following themes:

- Identity, culture, language and gender issues ;
- Economic and educational endurance;
- Disparities between different regions and levels of development.

Culture

Young people overall said that education had become the object of consumerism, especially in cities, where putting children through private school was seen as important, whatever the cost. The same went for getting to university

These silos of information and education were, historically, key to getting good jobs – but there are no jobs. So entrepreneurship, or ‘hassling’ as the young people call it, was really all they felt they could aspire to. Their ambitions were more external than internal – meaning that they were being directed by the outside world only to desire a better life – but this was at the expense of social and cultural capital.

This was evidenced by the fact that none of those in cities or towns considered speaking in their mother tongue – they only wanted to fit in with globalisation. Many are concerned about this.

‘People have nothing to anchor on, as the generational inheritance is based on inherited culture,’ I was told. ‘They are more concerned to fit in with the western culture.’

‘The local ZBCTV is called DEAD BC.’ (There was laughter when someone said that.)

‘We call it “brand Zimbabwe” – you must sell yourself using the western style of life.’

Only those young people in the villages or very small towns have continuity when it comes to speaking their mother tongue. These felt that the cultural respect for elderly people is eroding in towns, though villages are still holding on to this treasured culture.

Young people also felt that due to the availability of internet and westernised concept of life, speaking the mother tongue was not ‘cool’, and that this view was further compounded by the government leaders who, when addressing Zimbabweans, spoke in English, and dressed in very western styles – which meant culture was no longer being passed from generation to generation.

Young people seemed thirsty for culture and said, ‘We are remoulding our culture as we go. Absent parents who are outside the country, due to the economy or for political reasons are not there to implement, enforce or explain the reasoning behind the cultural obligation, and so our culture and language are eroding.’

Economics and regional disparity

Most of the young people I spoke to felt that ‘parents’ were busy ‘hassling’ and that strong family ties were things of the past – all compounded by migration.

Feminism as an identity was permeating the society but some liked some things about it, but others felt that they still want to hold on to some aspects of cultural norms: ‘feminism can’t be spread like butter on bread for everyone.’

The young people in Matabeleland were able to conceptualise the difference between young people living in Bulawayo and those living in Harare by saying that the ones who lived in Harare were having at least their aspirations shaped as they were nearer to the institutions of governance.

The young people in Matabeleland said that they really aspired to nothing, as they feel that they are the minority group, and their voice is never heard, so they don’t bother any more.

Many young people described ‘hustling’ in these areas, in Matabeleland, they felt, it is hard and physical compared with what they thought it was like in Mashonaland, where ‘hustlers’ use brainpower. Matabeleland young people tend to rely on working menial jobs in South Africa as their families could not afford to go abroad as many in Mashonaland could.

In some areas, it was possible to rely on tourism to get jobs but, sometimes, due to politics influencing tourism, there were times where there were no jobs.

A silent game

Many young people felt that politics was a silent game and they had stopped participating as they didn’t think any change would ever happen, or that there was really anyone who heard their voice or represented them or their identity ‘Madhara awa hatina basa navo, taneta,’ they said. (‘Everyone is educated but there are no jobs for young people’).

Waiting, and navigating crisis after crisis seemed a permanent state for young people – thus emphasising the need for of practically grounded institutions to help them build their lives.

Alice Mpofo Coles is a current PhD researcher at University of Reading and also a speaker/writer on disenfranchised people and refugees. She has featured on the BBC and for other institutions.

Help for Alice

Alice is looking for an editor for a short book she has written about her experience of suffering from cancer. If anyone is interested, please contact her through the BZS email list.

Youth and Experience

Natalie Tegama discusses the role of the younger generation in Zimbabwe and the diaspora

#IfAfricaWasABar Zimbabwe would be the guy telling stories about how it fought bouncers to get inside (Tinashe@TheGaryCahill)*. That's a winning tweet from a conversation about a hashtag; #IfAfricaWasABar.

It reflects the debate about generational shifts on what it means to be Zimbabwean for the youth, contextualising their experiences and contrasting their experiences with those of previous generations. It's an increasingly difficult subject to compress into one article, because Zimbabwe is such a paradoxical place.

The narrative of the liberation struggle

The liberation struggle (Chimurenga) and Independence were not only definitive of one generation, but have become the narrative that has justified these paradoxes that have existed within Zimbabwe as an independent state for decades.

Those in office have implemented policies that have cumulatively led to the regression of a dynamic economy into barter trading and consequently worsening everyday existence for the citizenry – but this has often been under the guise of 'Chimurenga'.

This piece is not intending to make light of the liberation struggle but to bring into the fold the youth, the 'born frees' and their struggles and experiences of Zimbabwe.

The article will look at the complexities and contradictions of the post-independence era that have led nearly a quarter of the population to seek a better life beyond the borders of Zimbabwe – arguably more than those who fled during the war.

No longer monolithic

The exodus of the '00s and the decade that followed caused a dynamic social shift, as millions fled to all corners of the world.

Zimbabwean youth can therefore no longer be assessed as a monolithic profile with a linear experience because of the breadth of a 'Youth experience' that is jagged and crosses borders, oceans, class systems, dips in and out of societies and still maintains that it is Zimbabwean.

It is a place where one may easily diverge into the politics of identity or belonging and who is more Zimbabwean than the next person. A richer scope of history would play to Zimbabwe's strengths and

explore how it could be possible to unite a diverse populace that has been exposed to various education systems, economies and industries, to rebuild a country that has undergone socio-economic meltdown.

Creating opportunities

Zimbabwe maintains a good literacy rate in the face of a declining education system that has weathered the battering of political and economic instability. Economically, education remains a central part of growth and human capital development. Whilst faced by access issues in certain areas, the glaring problem across the education sector is quality and relevance. Zimbabwe's education system remains a key part of explaining the perennial problem of the underutilisation of human resources, underdevelopment and high unemployment rates in the country.

The immediate youth-related issue that the new government is now facing is how to create opportunity for the youth both at home and abroad. One may question what qualifies an individual youth to comment on such a disparate youth experience? The answer lies in neither having remained nor left Zimbabwe. Instead it's founded in one's citizenship, yet even that is arguably a limiting criteria.

Scattered

The Zimbabwean youth experience is scattered across the world, where some are still in Zimbabwe, many have left then gone back and others are looking to leave. A recent survey of the youth both at home and abroad to gauge where the youth is at 38 years post independence (with a new government and elections coming up) was not as hopeful as one may expect.

Prior to any watershed election, one would expect to be met with high hopes and expectations. But, although a minority actively opted to look through the rose-tinted glasses, the majority responded negatively, based on personal situations and a shattered faith in government.

But Zimbabweans have, for the first time in 38 years, been given the chance to laugh at themselves and the previous incumbent through the drama *Operation Restore Legacy* (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=o169noaY2sA>), which has refreshingly signalled a change in the creative industries.

Whether the creative industries will continue to

be afforded the political freedom to run commentaries on the current incumbent would signal the change we are hoping for.

The youth has indeed seen unpalatable suffering. Abroad they are embroiled in the politics of identity, the struggles of fitting into new societies, forging new identities that embody both the place they come from and the space they exist in. They are torn between the home they were born in, grew up in or the home they now have. At home, the youth has gained degrees that have been met by market failure on graduation day, without hope of entering a diminishing job market. Some have tapped into the informal economy, others have left and yet many remain in the daily drudgery looking for opportunities to make a living.

A poignant struggle

The struggle is particularly poignant for the youth because of the structure of our society. The state of the nation restricts the citizenry's ability to access basic rights such as health care: denial of service incumbent on user-fee payments is common practice across the country, pregnant mothers are denied treatment until they pay and those who are treated are detained until their relatives can afford to pay for the necessary treatment they received.

It impedes the pursuit of happiness. Young people cannot afford to marry and start a family and couples cannot afford normal aspirations such as renting, let alone buying, a house. Parents cannot afford school fees. Those that have sat in office on the basis of having fought the war have unwittingly eroded the fabric of the very society that they fought for.

For the youth, whilst the policies of the past few decades have carved out heterogeneity in experiences, looking forward, the best hope lies in finding common ground. In empathising with those who left, albeit not out of choice, and in the diaspora stretching their hands out to help those who stayed.

Attitudes to 'coming home'

The young diaspora have varying dispositions to returning home. The 2009 coalition were advocates of the 'come home' gospel and Zimbabwe experienced some growth and stability during those years before digressing economically again, making it clear that Zimbabwe is neither ready nor stable enough to offer the diaspora the opportunities that they are being afforded elsewhere. One is more inclined to be an avid advocate of the 'visit home' camp or the 'give regularly' camp (remittances make a difference) and the 'invest' camp. Visiting home to find opportunities

whilst holding a footing wherever one may have found a better life is perhaps the best option for those that have found a higher standard of living beyond the borders of Zimbabwe.

Letting government catch up

There is a chicken and egg question in economics, where governance, rule of law and the informal economy are concerned. It is not debatable that there is corruption and toxicity within Zimbabwe: a simple visit to the passport office or a routine stop by the police often means a brush with corruption.

For the youth at home, perhaps their best bet is not in waiting on government to create new opportunities – instead, it is in looking for opportunities in the informal sector and letting the government eventually catch up.

Just as the West has seen the way in which traditional industry has been challenged and undermined by rise of technology, there is scope for business in broken systems. That is, in employing the disruptive spirit that entrepreneurs embodied when they saw the chance to bring efficiency in their operations. Tech companies such as Uber (controversies regardless) have seen global success based on information asymmetry. Put simply they link driver to passenger and that's it.

Zimbabwe's tomorrow does not lie in traditional routes, in pursuing degrees that are not relevant to our economies. Instead it lies in our ability to correctly spot the gaps in our economy and in addressing market failures. Fortunately, countries in the West and our African counterparts have developed ahead of us, addressed issues in their economies. We would do well to take a closer look at the likes of South Africa and Kenya.

Changing the narrative

The chance to change this narrative depends on the youth's ability to move beyond traditional routes, the willingness to create, innovate and to plough politically, socially and economically. The youth cannot afford to simply look to government to create a better Zimbabwe. There is a genuine need for a systems-based approach that accepts that our problems are multi-causal and will require dynamic solutions where both in- and out-of-state players must engage.

*<https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2015/07/if-africa-was-a-bar-hashtag-twitter/399926/>

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Cricket in a Time of Crisis

Liam Brickhill reflects on how the Cricket World Cup Qualifiers went ahead amid political turmoil

Four months before Zimbabwe was due to host the biggest cricket tournament in its history, there were armoured vehicles and soldiers surrounding Harare Sports Club (HSC).

Amid a tectonic shift in political power, the army brought an end to Robert Mugabe's 37-year rule. No-one was quite sure what would happen next.

Within hours of seeing soldiers and armoured vehicles on the streets of Harare, Western journalists opined that, in such circumstances, the country could not possibly host the Cricket World Cup Qualifiers.

A peaceful transition

But what followed was a remarkably peaceful transition of power. A First Class cricket match happening at HSC wasn't even disturbed, and a week after the countrywide marches of 17 November, all had pretty much returned to normal.

While initially apprehensive about making any public statements about the situation, Zimbabwe Cricket insisted they were confident in their abilities to host the Qualifier (helped by a million dollar grant from the ICC to upgrade facilities), and they suspended the domestic cricket season to allow for the necessary improvements to ovals in Harare, Bulawayo and Kwekwe.

At the end of February, teams from Afghanistan,

the West Indies, the Netherlands, Scotland, Ireland, Hong Kong, Papua New Guinea, the United Arab Emirates and Nepal arrived. Hosts Zimbabwe had been in camp for some time, ramping up preparations ahead of the all-important qualifiers. Never has more been at stake in a qualifying event – and not only for the Zimbabweans. The tournament finalists would secure their passage to the full World Cup in England and Wales next year, and with it significant increases in funding and exposure. After a couple of warm-ups, the tournament kicked off on 4 March, followed by 34 games of high-quality, absorbing and often nail-bitingly tense cricket.

Initial progress

Afghanistan and the West Indies were touted as pre-tournament favourites, but Zimbabwe and Scotland initially led the field. The Zimbabweans demolished Nepal in their opener, Brendan Taylor and Sikandar Raza both hitting centuries as the hosts soared to 380 for six before holding Nepal to 264 for 8.

That match set a pattern for the Zimbabweans, as they repeatedly chose to bat first and then relied on incisive bowling, all-round brilliance in the field and the inspirational backing of full stadiums in every match they played in.

Zimbabwe progressed into the Super Six stage of



Bulawayo's Queen's Park grounds hosted many of the World Cup qualifying matches.

Photo © Liam Brickhill



Many of Zimbabwe's cricket squad saw the World Cup Qualifier their last big chance: if they didn't qualify (and they didn't) Zimbabwe would no longer be one of the World Cup countries. Their reduced status means reduced international support. Together with the fact that nine of the players are over 30, this means that things don't auger well for Zimbabwe cricket. Photo © -Liam Brickhill

the tournament unbeaten, and after their virtually perfect win over Ireland needed only victory over the West Indies or the UAE to book their spot in the final. They pushed the West Indies to the brink, with Taylor cracking his second hundred of the tournament. But in the denouement, the men from the Caribbean came out on top. That gave Zimbabwe one more chance – against UAE.

Hopes dashed

The biggest crowd of the entire event came out in support, and for the first time ever the gates of Harare Sports Club were closed and latecomers turned away as close to 13,000 people packed the stands. Midday rain left Zimbabwe needing 230 from 40 overs.

For the first time in the tournament, they had chosen to chase rather than set a target, adding an extra layer of pressure to this crucial game. In the end, it all came down to the final delivery. Craig Ervine needed to hit the last ball for six to secure his country's cricket future, but it was not to be.

The loss sent shockwaves through the Zimbabwean cricket community. Scrambling for a response, ZC fired every senior cricket coach in the country – even those in charge of the A and Under-19 sides – while national captain Graeme Cremer was relieved of his duties. Yet Zimbabwe had only lost two matches throughout, and in Taylor and Raza they had the leading scorer and official Player of the Tournament.

An uncertain future

But that was not enough, and with the 'Big Three' of India, England and Australia having pushed through their profit-driven move to a 10-team World Cup next year, Zimbabwe's future as a cricketing nation is more uncertain than ever.

They are not the only ones: Ireland and Scotland similarly scuppered. A qualifying tournament that had begun in ecstasy ended in tragedy for all but Afghanistan and the West Indies.

Liam Brickhill is a freelance sports writer based in Harare.

Zimbabwe International Book Fair Indaba Conference, 2017

A Personal Perspective from Hosea Tokwe

The Zimbabwe International Book Fair dates back to the eighties. I first heard about it in 1988, the year I started my Library Science Diploma at the Harare Polytechnic Library School.

Almost thirty years down the line, I still have vivid memories of the multitude of international exhibitors from Europe, America, Asia, the Middle East and Africa as they converged on Harare to showcase their book industries.

This year's ZIBF Zimbabwe International Book

Fair) INDABA Conference was held under the theme: 'Making the Book Pay'.

Guest of Honour keynote speech

I had missed this event over the years but, luckily, a friend based in the United Kingdom was kind enough to sponsor me to register and attend the 2017 event.

The two-day ZIBF INDABA Conference started on Monday 31 July. The veteran playwright, storyteller and

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cultural consultant Stephen Chifunyise was Guest of Honour, and he presented the keynote speech. He applauded ZIBF for its determination despite economic challenges.

He told us, ‘Last year, one international participant in the INDABA observed that the ZIBF mirrors effectively the Zimbabwe spirit of “no surrender”; the spirit of not giving up; the spirit of self-belief and of seeing tomorrow as a new opportunity to try out new survival approaches and of seeing the next day as a chance to declare victory over what many other nations may consider as the last nail on the coffin of demise.’

Beware of pirates!

Stephen Chifunyise said he believed that book piracy in Zimbabwe today has reached an alarming level, with vendors lining street pavements selling cheaply-produced copies of books.

This looks good to the buying public, but is a major threat to the book industry which, as it has to pay for so many overheads when producing publications, cannot compete and can be driven out of business.

Stephen Chifunyise urged stakeholders to, ‘re-group, remobilise, refocus, and re-strategise for a comprehensive viable book industry.’

He went on to recommend that dialogue should be started to establish a National Book Week.

‘Establishing the ZIBF Week as a National Book Week ensures that the entire nation relates for one week to all issues about the book, book production, book provision and book reading,’ he said. ‘The current Indaba and Book Fair would remain major activities of the National Book Week.’

The need for a national strategy

He recalled that in the mid-1990s the Zimbabwe Book Development Council went on a nationwide campaign to strengthen and promote reading under programmes such as National Reading Campaign, The Book Fund Project and the National Reading Week project.

This programme was aimed at nurturing the love of reading in people and encouraging them to be readers for life and to broaden their experience of books.

In conclusion, he said that the onus was on the whole creative industry and the government to be involved in a national strategy, observing that the government needs to take on a political will to thwart piracy, and also for copyright-holders to build and effect this by advocating it with one voice.

Presentations

The first day’s deliberations addressed the need to reclaim the local book industry’s former glory, but as a librarian, I observed that the absence of international and regional exhibitors, let alone local NGOs and UN Agencies, was evidence to signal the poor state of our book industry.

Going through my registration folder I browsed through the presentations on offer.

Presenters discussed topics on economics of the book, information literacy skills for the digital age and intellectual property and copyright – but it was hard not to remember the warnings of the keynote speech.

It had touched hearts and minds – but seated there I felt sad for the loss of the international appeal that has in the past attracted international publishers, booksellers, writers and librarians from the different continents.

Sessions

Over the two days, there was a huge amount of information and discussion, covering a wide range of aspects of the Zimbabwean – and African – publishing industry.

In addition to the themes covered by the presentations mentioned above, the sessions included ‘Creating the Africa we want through Reading’ (including motivating younger children, and the role of parents in children’s reading), attitudes to children’s reading culture and ‘Making the most of Scarcity’ and publishing in indigenous languages;

Finally, there was, once again, the problem of book piracy, which can mean that authors and publishers see their earnings evaporate as pirated books go for half, or even less, the cost of the original versions.

This, speakers emphasised, is a huge threat to the Zimbabwean book industry, which must be tackled.

Hope for the future

Looking back over the years, I could not help remembering vividly that, in the past, delegates participated in lively breakaway sessions during the ZIBF INDABA Conference. But times have changed.

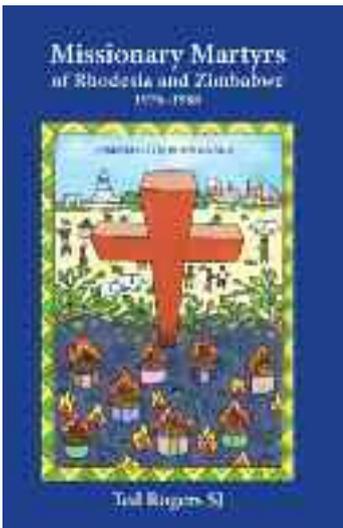
This time, after the two-day Conference, surprisingly after the two-day Conference there was no longer any activity at the Monomotapa Crowne Plaza, not even a book launch.

Let us hope for a better future.

Hosea Tokwe is Chief Library Assistant at Midlands State University, Gweru.

REVIEWS

David Crystal reviews Missionary Martyrs of Rhodesia and Zimbabwe 1976-1988: the last book by Father Ted Rogers SJ.



There are stories that need to be told, and this is one. But who is in a position to tell it? Only someone who, as they say, was there. And that was the Jesuit priest Ted Rogers.

It is the story of the thirty missionaries who were murdered during the liberation war in Rhodesia and the early years of Zimbabwe.

Father Rogers worked in the country for over fifty years as a priest, teacher,

and Catholic social activist, and knew many of the people whose deaths are recorded in this poignant book. He also knew the power-brokers, such as Ian Smith, Joshua Nkomo, and Robert Mugabe. And, most important of all for this particular memoir, he remained in touch with many of those who could provide first-hand reports of the causes and consequences of the killings.

It is all told here, in a restrained, factual style. It could hardly have been otherwise. There comes a point when only a dispassionate description can convey the horror and pointlessness of killing on this scale, and this is what the author does, succinctly and effectively. Each chapter begins with a short account of the murder (or, often, murders), an explanation of the event, insofar as this can be reconstructed from witness memories, and a biography of the victim(s), including many of their personal statements. A black-and-white centre section presents photographs of each of the missionaries.

Determination

They all knew the danger they were in, yet they stayed with the people they were caring for, even when given the chance to leave. Repeatedly we read of their determination to remain in the country and serve. We read of their fears and their feelings of inadequacy, and sense their faith and courage. Each story is awe-inspiring, humbling, and profoundly moving. Some of their writings contain insights and prayers that deserve a wider circulation, such as the diary of Sister Elsbeth van den Berg CPS, with its prayer of gratitude (p. 56): 'Thank you for the morning; thank you for each new day; thank you that I can offload my worries to you. Thank you for my friends; thank you for all people even my biggest enemies, whom I can forgive ...'

The selection of information brings together historical, personal, and interpretive dimensions. A recurrent question is 'why?'

This can be given a political answer, in terms of the

turmoil of the times; but it is here given a more profound answer, well articulated by Bishop Haene of Gwelo, who said at one of the funeral masses: 'Their death was a sacrifice of identification with the ordinary people, a sacrifice of salvation and a sacrifice of reconciliation' (p. 38). He was talking specifically about three of the victims, but his words apply to all thirty – and of course to many others whose names are not recorded in this book.

The other recurrent question is 'who?' Who carried out these crimes?

Ted Rogers is especially good at collating all the available information about the perpetrators. Not all are

The martyrs

Fr Georges Joerger SMB (1934-76)
Bishop Adolph Schmitt CMM (1905-76)
Fr Possenti Weggartner CMM (1907-76)
Sr Francis Elsbeth van den Berg CPS (1935-76)
Fr Martin Paul Thomas SJ (1932-77)
Br John Conway SJ (1920-77)
Fr Christopher Shepherd-Smith SJ (1943-77)
Sr Magdala Lewandowski OP (1943-77)
Sr Epiphany Schneider OP (1903-77)
Sr Ceslaus Stiegler OP (1916-77)
Sr Joseph Wilkinson OP (1917-77)
Dr Hannah Decker (1918-77)
Sr Ferdinanda (Anna) Pioner CPS (1925-77)
Fr José Manuel Rubio Diaz (1919-77)
Fr Desmond (Gus) Donovan SJ (1927-78)
Fr Gregor Richert SJ (1930-78)
Br Bernhard Lisson SJ (1909-78)
Fr Gerhard Pieper SJ (1940-78)
Br Peter Edmund Geyermann CMM (1941-78)
Br Andreas Georg Von Arx CMM (1933-78)
Dr Luisa Guidotti (1932-79)
John Bradburne OFS (1921-79)
Fr Martin Hostenstein SMB (1934-79)
Sr Rita Neff OP (1940-79)
Fr Raymond Machikicho (1941-80)
Edson Mutekedza (?-1980)
Fr Kilian Huesser SMB (1941-80)
Fr Edmar Georg Sommerreisser CMM (1913-81)
Br Matthias Paul Sutterlüty (1933-83)
Br Kilian Valentin Knoerl CMM (1930-88)

CMM Congregation of the Missionaries of Mariannahill
CPS Congregation of the Missionary Sisters of the Precious Blood
OFS Ordo Franciscanus Saecularis (Secular Franciscan Order)
OP Order of Preachers (Dominicans)
SJ Society of Jesus (Jesuits)
SMB Society of Bethlehem Mission Immensee

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known, and there is still much confusion about whose side carried out the various killings. But it is surprising how much has come to light – not least from those who were directly involved, and from one who later became a Catholic.

Surprises

There are some surprises. Few people will know that prisons were used during the civil war – one of the facts revealed in an invaluable opening chapter, in which he summarises the political background and main events of the war.

He wrote this book bearing in mind that many readers will be unfamiliar with recent Zimbabwean history. So, in addition to the introductory chapter, he adds pages explaining the many place-names that changed pre- and post-independence, a list of the political acronyms of the period (ZANU, ZAPU, etc), and a map showing the locations of the various missions where the deaths occurred.

Epilogue

He ends his book with an epilogue in which he makes a strong case for the canonisation of all those included, pointing to the many local shrines and devotions that have evolved in recent decades, ‘not places of tears, but of happiness and joy’.

Of the thirty, only two causes are currently going forward: the servant of lepers John Bradburne and the medical missionary Luisa Guidotti, both lay people but affiliated to religious orders.

As someone who has been much involved with the

former, having edited his poetry, I was especially taken by Father Rogers’ opinion that ‘John Bradburne was perhaps the most interesting and challenging of all the Rhodesian martyrs’ (p. 151). Challenging indeed, given that his vast poetic oeuvre consists of over 5,000 poems expressing a mind-stretching array of theological and devotional insights as well as an unprecedented poetic picture of the landscape, fauna, flora, and lepers of Mutemwa.

Looking for peace

Ted Rogers SJ was able to see a copy of *Missionary Martyrs* before he died on the 30th of December 2017. His last words in the book (p. 208) make a fine memorial both to him and to the people and country he served. They are a plea for peace.

‘Now is the time when all should work together, both victims and perpetrators, for lasting peace and harmony. That is the best way we can honour the memory of these 30 courageous martyrs who “stayed on” for “our people”.’

It must have been a very difficult book to write, given his personal connections and memories. It is a difficult one to read, for most readers will find the stories powerful to the point of tears. Yet it must be read.

Missionary Martyrs of Rhodesia and Zimbabwe 1976-1988. Pietermaritzburg: Cluster Publications, 2017, 215 pp.

Professor David Crystal is Honorary Professor of Linguistics, University of Bangor. He is author of A Life Made of Words: the Poetry and Thought of John Bradburne (2017, available through www.davidcrystal.com.

Trevor Grundy reviews Garfield Todd – The End of the Liberal Dream in Rhodesia by Susan Woodhouse

The story of Garfield Todd in Central Africa starts in 1934. At the age of 26 he and his 23-year old wife, Grace and their adopted daughter, Alycen, came from New Zealand to the British self-governing colony of Southern Rhodesia to run the New Zealand Churches of Christ mission station at Dadaya in the Lundi Native Reserve near Shabani (Zvishavane).

An article in the Commonwealth magazine *The Round Table* in 2011, pointed out the unusual way the Todds arrived in Africa.¹

It said: ‘They had no orientation period at any of the established missions and came to Dadaya un-tutored in the ways of the white world, or how Europeans were expected to treat the “natives.” The couple found their own way of doing things and the only baggage they carried in Africa was their Christianity and a fundamental belief in the kind of democracy and equality of their native New Zealand.’

This ‘lack of orientation’ and their lack of knowledge about the ways of the white world in Rhodesia were the couple’s greatest strength where their missionary life was

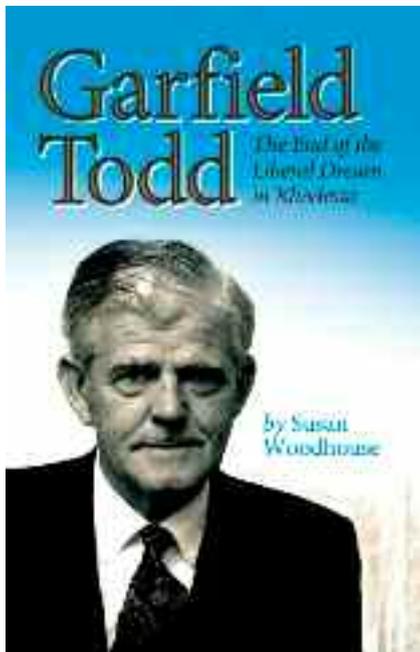
concerned and – arguably – the source of Garfield Todd’s greatest weakness soon after he entered politics in 1946.

Earlier books

Garfield Todd’s life as a missionary and preacher of unrivalled excellence was written about by the late Michael W. Casey in his book *The Rhetoric of Sir Garfield Todd – Christian Imagination and the Dream of African Democracy* (Baylor University Press, 2007). The veteran journalist Ruth Weiss has also written about Todd in *Sir Garfield Todd and the Making of Zimbabwe* (British Academic Press 1998) and so have the important Zimbabwean historians, Lawrence Vambe and Judith Todd.

Professor Terence Ranger (*Revolt in Southern Rhodesia 1986-7 – Heinemann, 1967*) and Hardwicke Holderness (*Lost Chance in Rhodesia – African Publishing Group, 1985*) have both made important contributions to our understanding of the short-lived attempt by Garfield Todd and his followers to install a Western liberal system in Rhodesia.

Now, three cheers for Susan Woodhouse who has written the longest and most authoritative and readable work



to date about a man who has been, almost, air-brushed out of the Zimbabwean story.

The author of this important book worked for Garfield Todd when he was Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia (1953–1958) and then as a close family friend, who eventually went to live with the Todds at their home at Hokonui Ranch in Matabeleland.

The family's request

A life-long friend of Grace Todd, Susan Woodhouse was asked by the family in 1992 to write the biography of the by then Sir Garfield Todd, knighted for the various services he had rendered to the well-being of the Commonwealth.

Twenty-six years later, the job is done. The Woodhouse book will soon be available in bookshops throughout Central and Southern Africa, the UK and various countries in the English-speaking Commonwealth, with launches first in Harare and then in Edinburgh, Scotland, where both Garfield and Grace had their ancestral roots.

As Superintendent of the Dadaya Mission from 1934–1953, MP from 1946 and then from 1953–1958 as Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia during many of the key moments during the life of the Central African Federation (CAF) the Todd story is enthralling, although little known to most young Zimbabweans.

A great man

Sixty years ago, in 1958, Garfield Todd was removed from office by his own all-white cabinet, fearful he was moving too fast by suggesting a widening of the African franchise. Thereafter, Todd continued his increasingly desperate attempt to persuade his adopted country's whites that their only hope lay in co-operating with African nationalists who – perhaps ironically – began effective action against the government during his premiership.

Yet, when he was overthrown, thousands of African wept and sang songs in his praise. An editorial in the *African Daily News* said that Garfield Todd was the one white politician that blacks admired and trusted and that his fall was 'a severe blow to the forces of co-operation in this country.'

By any standard Sir Garfield Todd (1908–2002) was a great man. But was his legacy anything more than a deferred dream about the need for a multi-cultural, non-racial society in Southern Rhodesia?

This and other questions can only be answered by discerning readers with open minds.

Woodhouse provides the clues but the reader must join up the dots and reach his/her own conclusions. I know how determined she was not to produce a piece of hagiography. Over the last 12 years I came to know her well, respect her greatly and witness – because of some research I did for her on nationalist politics in the 1960s and 1970s – the massive effort she made to check facts, name sources and say thanks to the numerous scholars who laid the foundations upon which her own book now stands.

My deepest wish is that this new book about Garfield Todd – his significant achievements as well as his lamentable failures – opens up discussion and debate in post-Mugabe Zimbabwe. The Scotland-based author draws our attention to both. She worked largely on her own, travelling tens of thousands of miles studying archives and interviewing many of the men and women who worked alongside Todd, first at Dadaya and, later on, during his days first in the Rhodesian wilderness and then towards the end of his life when Mugabe appointed him as a senator before falling out with the man who had done so much to promote and advance the cause of black nationalism in Africa.

'In my end is my beginning,' wrote T. S. Eliot in his *Four Quartets*. These are words that strongly apply to Garfield Todd as he approached the close of a long, controversial, sometimes turbulent but almost always fascinating life.

'A missionary'

At the age of 94, Todd wrote to Woodhouse: 'I was a missionary. I am a missionary. I was not ever a politician.'

In one of the last letters he wrote to her, he said, 'Dadaya stays at the centre of things.'

As I said earlier, for a whole range of reasons, the story of this remarkable man has been (almost) air-brushed out of Zimbabwe's history. Most young Zimbabweans are unaware that there were many in Rhodesia ready to risk their careers – even their lives – to stop Ian Smith coming to power.

This book takes the reader from 1930s Rhodesia, across a spectrum of political, economic, educational and social developments.

He was 94 when he died in 2002.

Standing with courage

Earlier that year, a peeved Robert Mugabe took away Garfield Todd's citizenship, his passport and his right to vote. Todd had earlier denounced many of Mugabe's economic and political programmes.

'I am horrified by the destruction of our economy, the starving of our people, the undermining of our constitution, the torture and humiliation of our nation by Zanu-PF,' said Todd, who promised to defy the man he had once so admired by a symbolic act that caught the world's attention.

He said: 'Just as we stood with courage against the

Continued on next page

New books from and about Zimbabwe



Joni Brenner
Making Marigold: Beaders of Bulawayo

A portrait of a women's co-operative specialising in loomed beadwork, based in Bulawayo, Zimbabwe. Over 200 colour photographs reveal the sumptuous glamour of the Marigold beadwork and necklaces. Short, stand-alone narrative vignettes offer background insights into the making and development of the Marigold co-operative.

Joni Brenner is an artist who revisits the same subject over and over again, a practice that informs her understanding of learning through doing, looking closely and recognising shifts. Her belief in the value of repetition underpins her fascination, and her collaboration, with the Marigold beading co-operative. 132 pp, Palimpsest (Bookstorm), December 2017, ISBN 978981114576 6, Paperback. (A deluxe hardcover limited edition is also available, each copy signed and numbered and featuring a unique hand-loomed beadwork inset on a linen cover.)



Ian Scoones
Land Reform in Zimbabwe: Challenges for Policy

This is a selection of the author's blogs, with newly written introductions, on the controversial subject of land reform. It aims to present empirical realities and detailed analysis, rather than any ideological position. It draws on extensive longitudinal research from across Zimbabwe, pointing to policy challenges, as well as solutions.

In the post-Mugabe era, moving forward is vital if the agrarian economy is to revive and the benefits of the land reform are to be realised. Across nine sections and 44 chapters, the book discusses a range of themes – from livelihood change in land reform areas, to the particular challenges of medium-scale farms, youth, farm workers and land administration to food security, market development, small towns and the potentials for local economic development. 238 pages, CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform, January 2018, ISBN 9781983498497, Paperback

Review of continued from previous page

racism of the past, so today, we must stand with courage against the terror of the present. Come what may I will next March be going to the polling station to claim my right as a very senior citizen to cast my ballot, for good against evil.'

At the March election in 2002, he queued in line and made a symbolic gesture, touching the ballot box as a priest might touch the head of a child.

An important book

Susan Woodhouse has written an important book, one that will throw fresh light on a long neglected period of Zimbabwean history. It's a book that deserves a place on the shelves of schools, colleges and universities and the homes

of ordinary people who have an interest in the story of Africa.

Susan Woodhouse has brought to life the works and words of a great liberal and Christian leader in Africa. It is a well-told story that must resonate with Zimbabweans of all ages and backgrounds as they walk towards the next stage of their history – a much more hopeful future.

1 *The Dadaya Years: The challenge of understanding Garfield Todd* by Susan Paul (Woodhouse) and Trevor Grundy – *The Round Table*, December 2011).

Trevor Grundy is a British journalist who lived and worked in Central, Eastern, Southern and Western Africa from 1966-1996.

608 pp, Weaver Press, Zimbabwe, 2018, ISBN 9781779223234

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



BRITAIN ZIMBABWE SOCIETY RESEARCH DAY 2018

***Youth and Experience - From Generation to Generation in
Zimbabwe and the Diaspora***

Saturday 16 June 2018, 9.00am - 5.30pm (doors open from 8.30am)

In partnership with the Oxford African Studies Centre

<https://www.eventbrite.com/e/youth-and-experience-tickets-42894963992>

DRAFT PROGRAMME

As at 8 May 2018

Please note that the programme may change

- 8.30 - 9.00 Registration in the Nissan Theatre Foyer
- 9.00 - 9.15 Welcome and Introduction
Dr Pauline Dodgson-Katiyo, Chair, Britain Zimbabwe Society
Professor Wale Adebawo, Director, African Studies Centre, Oxford University
- 9.15 - 10.30 Panel 1: Youth, political change and economic development
Speakers: Kuziwakwashe Zigomo, Royal Holloway College, University of London - *Beyond the Hashtag - Opportunities and Challenges for Youth Political Participation in Zimbabwe*
Kristina Pikovskaia, University of Oxford - *'You Never Get a Livelihood from Going to School': Youth and Economic Informalisation in Zimbabwe*
Caroline Madongo - *Hope and Dreams in Zimbabwe, an Economically Failed State: Young People's Prospects*
Chair: tba
- 10.30 - 11.00 Tea/Coffee break - Buttery, Besse Building
- 11.00 - 12.00 Keynote speaker: Vimbai Zinyama, Head of Parliamentary Affairs, Advocacy and External Relations, Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU).
Vimbai Zinyama's attendance at the Research Day has been made possible with the support of TUC Aid.
Chair Dr Knox Chitiyo, President, Britain Zimbabwe Society
- 12.00 - 13.00 Panel 2: Youth, social movements and political participation
Speakers: Dr Chipso Dendere, Amherst College - *Tweeting to Democracy: a new anti-authoritarian liberation struggle in Africa*
Dr Everette Ndlovu, Salford University
Chair: Dr Bruce Mutsvairo, University of Technology, Sydney
- 13.00 - 13.15 Presentation of the BZS Young Researcher's Award
Offered in partnership with the Oxford African Studies Centre
- 13.15-14.15 Lunch: St Antony's cafeteria, Besse Building (or your own choice)
- 14.15-15.30 Panel 3: Life Histories and Intergenerational Change
Speakers: Dr Dan Hodgkinson, University of Oxford
Prof Jocelyn Alexander, University of Oxford
Dr Miles Tendi, Centre of African Studies, University of Oxford
Chair: tba
- 15.30-16.00 Tea/Coffee break - Buttery, Besse Building

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16.00-17.15 Panel 4: Art, Culture and Identity

Speakers: Dr Ranka Primorac, University of Southampton
Christine Makuve, University of Edinburgh - *Young people of Zimbabwean heritage in the UK: A Narrative Study Exploring Identity Construction*
Alakhiwe Ndhlovu, University of Buckingham - *Young Zimbabweans in Brexit Britain: An Epistemological Approach - Race, Identity and Economy*
Chair: tba

17.15-17.30 Summing up

Speaker: Professor Diana Jeater, University of Liverpool

The Africa Book Centre will have a book exhibition during the breaks, also in the Besse Building, where a wide range of titles relating to Zimbabwe will be on sale.

RESEARCH DAY: ONLINE BOOKINGS BY CREDIT/DEBIT CARD TO

<https://www.eventbrite.com/e/youth-and-experience-tickets-42894963992>

IF YOU PREFER TO PAY BY CHEQUE, PLEASE PRINT OUT AND USE THIS FORM

Complete and return with your cheque to: Margaret Ling, Treasurer, BZS, 25 Endymion Road, London N4 1EE Enquiries: margaret.ling@geo2.poptel.org.uk

Please register me/us for the BZS 2018 Research Day:

Standard £30 _____ BZS member £20 _____ Unwaged £15 _____ Organisation £50 _____

NAME: _____ TELEPHONE: _____

EMAIL: _____

POSTAL ADDRESS: _____

I enclose a cheque for £_____ made out to 'Britain Zimbabwe Society'

Please note: includes refreshments but not lunch

Britain Zimbabwe Society Membership Form

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

Margaret Ling 25 Endymion Road, London N4 1EE

Please enrol me/us in the BZS

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

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

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

Rate B applies to those who pay by cheque (made out to 'Britain Zimbabwe Society'), or online on our website:

www.britainzimbabwe.org.uk/membership

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