

Book Launch: Re/membering RobertGabriel Mugabe: Politics, Legacy,Philosophy, Life and Death

When you're when you

you.

Mi.

Okay.

Greetings to you all. our members across Zimbabwe, the region, the continent, and in the diaspora. Greetings to you all on a special policy dialogue. to mark the second anniversary of the death of the former president Robert Mugabe. and for the occasion, we have launched a book remembering Robert Gabriel Mugabe Patrick's philosophy, Life and Death.

This is the book and the Edges by Colin Richard. and Lawrence Manda. At this occasion gives us the also the opportunity to look at PF uh during the Mugabe era. Post Mugabe. and including uh an analysis of the current dynamics in the party and indeed, leading to the 223 elections, the elections and beyond and to do do that, we have first and foremost, the authors of this book uh Richard and Collins about to introduce a book for us there after We have commentators. who commented on both the book and also the subject which I've just referred to looking at the dynamics, current dynamics, the prognosis of the future, and in the context, of the Mugabe era, So, it's about hand over to you Oh, thank you. Good dog. Is it affordable? Yes. Very audible.

uh that thing. you very much.
Uh good to talk. Uh allow me
also to recognize uh Doctor
Manda and Abs here Uh fellow uh
Doctor Collins uh staff and
friends of leaders for Africa
Network also affirming the view
that uh this book launch really
represents uh the mutual
institutional commitment of uh
leaders for Africa network and
um is just uh you know,
commitment uh to pan Africanism
but also remembering that pan
Africanism is an idea. It gives
room for us to embrace our
descents and um as uh a common
cause of knowledge, you'd also
record that even with its
establishment stoppers just
played a very critical role as
an intimate we talk of uh uh
the dealings of the with power
uh the life and times of it is
from this perspective that we
are quite delighted to be here
at Sucks celebrating our but
also recognizing that um as a
point of departure of course
that national identities and
memory are contested phenomena
and even as we discuss the
legacy, the philosophy and the
life of Robert Mugabe, the
nationalist, we are reminded of
the stubborn fact that
nationalism is in itself uh not
a monolithic, a linear, and a
rigid concept and therefore,
depending on where and when one
decides to look at as we have
done through the book. uh in
the political person his
memories are predicated on a

pivot of nationalism and its boundaries starting with the of the colonial. This is the anti colonial nationalism, the Marxist, and the capitalist and nationalism and you'd recall that um even all the history, nationalism assumed uh arrests gender ethnic, and class dimensions and you'd also recall that even with scholars that you have led the way before us such as Terrence Ranger, he wrote on on peers and consciousness and that's the He has also been continued by scholars like yourself. Uh doctor Ibbo Mandaza in the in the class in South Africa and then also Mam Mam in 1996. also, uh articulates the issue of subject formation and and the and the in subjection which uh actually represents our colonialism produced natives and how in the process a certain segment of humanity was localized and out of that process, we had uh the generation, the nationalist uh generation. So, against all those dimensions, we see that nationalism remains contested and also if you visited by scholars such as they've articulated uh issues of parochial nationalism and that's also writing uh ethnic dimensions of um of of of nationalism and this to me and uh every other contributor articulates our nationalism represented a contested realm of everything political and to

this end, the life, the politics, and the las of Mugabe must be understood within that perspective and this is what's each and every contributor tried to to to to put across and uh the book in all its chapters. Uh it tries to hypo unpack that was and the census amongst the contributors Is that his legacy is at the center of all conflict in the evolution and in the aftermath of Zimbabwe's independence For instance, the formation of Xosro in 1963 was in itself conflict the wed of the struggle against the colonial regime starting from 1965 coming down to the Lancaster period also represented a sense of conflict that is associated with uh the person and the Las of Robert Mugabe and after independence. We also noticed 1983 to 1987 coming uh in in the face of our nation. That is the and it's associated with his leg and some of the chapters try to uh give uh a multi dimensional analysis to that effect but one a point is that the prominent uh contradiction uh which characterized reality. especially the reality of the 1982 to 87 was that the search for reconciliation with the former white oppressor was negatively counterbalance by a national crisis which was directly affecting the African majority and the colonial powers which were responsible

for engineering this civil unrest. Um where where where where we're quiet about the the chaos that was happening only to utilize that in the post land reform. So, what we actually see is the fact that in as much as Gabe's problematic in many chapters, there, there's this view that says he's inherit his inheritance of a colonial state. uh actually uh so much challenges to his power and some of the chapters tend to require about the negotiations and uh also the ramifications of the Lancaster negotiations and the consensus especially is prominently pronounced in a chapter by where he writes about uh the vineyard of reconciliation and uh the post war reconstruction that's characterized the Independence State and arguing that there was a well-managed uh flight of capital in the process that at the same time the rotations were still consolidating the gains of the looting and economic plunder at the same time. It was also uh It was also at a time where we saw Zimbabwe being drawn to its of uh you know, architecture, predisposition. So, all these things, the austerity politics that's defined the the the first decade we we we see those uh issues You're not defining uh the the leg and uh what we have done in this book is that we have not uh reinvented the

wheel because some of the issues that we raise uh Doctor Mandaza recall in 1986. The politics of transition. Uh you edited that book came in uh critiquing uh the political economy of Zimbabwe at the time. the policy architecture as if that was not enough. Uh Les after our independence in another co edited the book uh the Democrats, the One-party State, and the Zimbabwe debate with such you projected those pitfalls and you'd also notice that 1992, professor Jonathan Moyer also came in with a very seminal publication titled uh Voting for Democracy and then 1993 uh the politics of the National Peace. So, we see that there's a consistent uh uh conversation among academics interrogate the nature of the National state of the National Project. in Zimbabwe and that's when it's own points to the fact that a colonialism is a process. uh was transferred into the so called post colonial era which saw the Las of Mugabe being characterized by the need to confront the weaknesses of the episodic decolonization. So, also the center of the Lakers one comes across the episode. the decolonization. uh which to find and how did that image? It was through the land reform and the land reform as we all know attracted Anglo American demonic attacks in the form of uh the sanctions that were

imposed on Zimbabwe. It resulted in the formation of a colonial beg to opposition uh in the form of Uh uh MDC resulted in the proliferation of uh a regime change driven CSO and reactionary neoliberal forces at the same time. Also, uh characterized by sanctions that we're promoting certain sectors under the auspices of promoting human rights but at the same time, the academic front was not silent in all this as you recall that uh the postal reform period generated a lot of um uh and in my chapter, I borrowed from uh professor who speaks about the concept of the phobia that we we are academia and uh a certain segment of the CSO sector that he what he refers to as the phobia and to substantiate that in 2002. We had the book by uh Martin Meredith uh titled Planned The Power and Iran in Zimbabwe. Uh all set to play of violence. We're also had Stephen also writing a life of power and violence. We at the end, Romans and Gabe and of Zimbabwe, Geo amongst the other contributions but in in 2015, we had the turnaround with um professor Sabe contributing into the debate by uh talking about um the book So you see has been a consistent feature in the making of the Zimbabwean history and it is from this perspective that uh we draw our inspiration from the existing

debate and producing a new level of debate that uh we see is uh a pro land reform remembering of Robert and Gabby a more debate pronounced the remembering of Bambi because mind you if probably this book was written Gabby was still in power. Uh they would have been probably a sense of uh self censorship amongst the contributors and even the editorial framework. So, again, this backdrop we see this book contributing into the broader debate of the contested national question and also depositing vehemently the view that uh the national project uh does not remain a linear process. Uh it an ongoing process and uh in closing, uh as the editor and the publisher of this particular uh book Remembering and Gabe, I see this book as a good start to reframing the true meaning of leadership and governance in Africa. I also see this book as an organic precedent assigning progressive intellectuals to record the political and philosophical part of every African leader from a African and neo colonial unfiltered. a perspective. this exercise of memory reconstruction uh according to me and others must be pivoted on the sincere to interrogate the continuity and the discontinued of the African liberation it. uh African perspective of what embodies in an African

context against the forces of global that characterize the life and the times of uh Robert and I know uh there's uh a dominant argument that he stayed in power for too long. Quite a very obvious uh view that we all agree but in some certain sections of uh radical thoughts that can also be equally seen as a in which he stood against the of the west and I think it is high time that he is also recognized from that perspective and what does that then mean uh to the beginning, the evolution and the future of going forward. I think the XP for today should be able to draw a lot from the virtues of Mugabe that is to learn from the positives and unlearn from the negatives of um and and also drawing on the pitfalls of the first decade of our liberation. I think it is imperative for us to understand that uh institutions such as the IMF uh institutions such as the World Bank continue uh to to to to to pause it ideas and motels that have created Ruthless across Africa. jobless growth across Africa and as we are inventing the future. We need to be cognizant of the founding values of our liberation and while this is pitfalls, I'm sure that we can learn a lot of positives from him but in the process, continue to reinvent the future by speaking truth to power and I see this particular book

meaningfully contributing in that direction. Thank you, doc.

Thank you, Richard. It's it's about to Colin.

It's a few Uh Just a few words.

Okay, please come in.

Greetings everybody. Um perhaps let me first of all um begin by acknowledging uh uh by acknowledging the many academic luminaries that we have Um and it's supposed to see you Uh I think you can now. Okay, that's better. Yes. Uh let me begin by acknowledging the presence of um several academic uh luminaries that are amongst us today. Some of whom have always existed in uh in my world and my life is um some some form of fascination. My desire to be amongst them. believe in me in the last 17 years of um uh lecture, I have been quite comfortable or confident to match to the lecture room uh unprepared, ill prepared and prepared and be able to present whatever lecture was uh required of me but Look at the panel of um uh the the court of panelists that we have here will consist of uh um luminaries who perhaps could rightly claim the of the cops of studies. and scholarship on the subject of our text as well as uh uh perhaps the theme of this particular discussion. one is uh uh made to feel like uh he's on the first day of university education and can be forgiven for scrambling around for not be in the pain to try

and take notes but I'm humbled by uh the presence of uh um preliminary scholars uh perhaps seminars, scholarship, uh on this subject including among them uh Doctor Mandaza, I noticed Doctor Zach there as well as uh and uh Doctor Terrence among many others what I find quite um intriguing about the subject of the text itself and perhaps the the one of the main motivations behind coming up with this particular project was the enigma that Mugabe is. he remains perhaps even in death uh as elusive as an elusive character perhaps not very very easy to capture in one sitting and uh it's a testament to the old African artists that the story of even one man cannot be told in one sitting. This is Uh of uh amongst many and as uh Richard is actually a exemplified the story of Mugabe has received um momentous as well as monumental attention from uh a host of scholarship uh whether it be within the media arts, music, politics, uh ideology, political signs, administration, popular culture, and even in later narratives and uh the chapters that We have in this particular perhaps give testament to the uh multiplicity of uh images that uh Mugabe had or assumed or the characters that Mugabe assumed in both life and death. What perhaps again is quite profound about this particular

home is it's uh uh perhaps
desire to refuse to be um held
down on one particular ideology
as you shall realize uh in Peru
in this particular chapters
that uh despite that they seem
to be discussing uh with each
other. They also, in some ways
seem to be discussing against
each other and uh often times
uh more bound by the
contradictions that they
actually have um amongst them.
um um which then of course uh
makes it very difficult to
perhaps um uh create uh a queer
and and uh theoretical uh um to
this standpoint for narrating.
Uh they are very diverse and
multiplicity of identities that
Mugabe um Mugabe the means or
his on each and every one of
those individuals. It is
perhaps not my goal to submit
the corners of the book but uh
acknowledge um and thank the
contributors of this particular
uh uh volume uh in the and
there are very many in the best
views as well as within the
very diverse disciplines as you
shall notice. For example, um
all purpose of the text was to
try and uh by all means embed
or encapsulate the legacy, the
memory of Mugabe uh within one
single Ibbo as I explained
earlier on, this is something
of a of a of a mammoth task but
we hope that uh as uh and uh
input or as a contribution to
the existing uh uh over of uh
this book might actually be it
uh inspire more critical

thinking of uh Mugabe uh which would uh also in my thinking and refused to be restricted to an ideology and politics. The chapters in this particular uh text are quite um revealing on um the responses by each of the individual authors to be very simple question. Who is Robert Gabriel Mugabe and the multiplicity of this approaches uh in explaining the enigma. That is Mugabe uh through this particular chapters uh from perhaps for example, uh understandings or attempts at understanding Mugabe through an analysis of media scapes of the person as well as the uh ideology that Mugabe is through music. Uh through politics, political administration, through an understanding of um uh the psychology or the psychic of the person that Mugabe was understanding his policies especially with regards to learn the program and it's attending the is attending the ramifications on perhaps international relations between uh Zimbabwe as a nation as well as the global world as well as uh the politics that surrounded these uh uh eventual. Uh from power and how this is captured and um also if it's through the analysis of uh narratives as well as popular culture, what actually makes this particular volume quite a very unique um um interpretation or understanding um of Mugabe as both the men

and the ideology and uh it is only my wish that uh more and more of such studies of uh but most of our leaders, especially in the process of uh uh reclaiming um national consciousness as well as um um the legacy that uh characterizes the choreography of African nations is uh is concerned. It is very important that we uh do is uh I would borrow from a members uh concept of um post colonial. We need to reform our own African moss of self writing, trying to understand ourselves from within as well as how we can then formulate uh or formulate this particular uh understandings into practical future processes that will perhaps uh uh guide and uh develop in the long run. Ultimately the nation state that is Zimbabwe. I thank you very much and everybody and I would like to thank all the contributors, those who are present and those who abstained for making this uh project to success as well as I would like to thank Leaders of African Network, my young brother, Richard to be precise for also making sure that this dream eventually is realized. I thank you very much. Thank you. Thank you. about before I call our three commentators uh to join uh in this discussion. I just wanted to ask the editor uh uh uh in particular whether given it is is role or his work at PF

with this book has the blessing of the party or not.

That's it. That's it. That's it. Does it reflect the party? Thinking on Mugabe? That's a very interesting uh question. Yeah, but I think the the the the starting point really if we are to look at um uh you recall a dog that Richard by dual loyalty uh to probably PF to put it in your terms and also to leaders for Africa network. So, generally, this is a strict leaders for Africa Network project and as you know, from the beginning, when we established Leaders for Africa Network where you actually came through as our first keynote speaker for the first edition of the Pan Africanism Conference, Our loyalty has been to pan Africanism. So, coming back to your question, I think my loyalty is to pan Africanism beyond the is an institutions because pan Africanism is the mother of all these dirty partisan institution uh institutional realities that we have. So, this is a pan African project to a pan African and with or without the blessing of any political organization Okay, that's fine. A major point but there's there's a few, there's a few uh among among the commentators especially on the occasion of the almonds and the anniversary of his death. uh that that we have died. died with him and that he's being

buried now by those who
succeeded him or those who who
took him out so to speak would
would agree that we uh I think
uh in the individuals come and
go but the institutions and
their values are perennial. So,
the coming and exiting of Gabe
from the political scene should
not translate to the beginning
and the end of the Pf and you'd
That's exit was part of uh the
internal contradictions that of
course manifested uh to to the
national or towards the
national. So, the point I'm
making is that individuals come
and go but perennial values are
what stand in any given
institution. Uh I think that
level of analysis is synonymous
to say uh the the the the
departure of Richard is the end
of land or to say the departure
of um uh Ibbo and It's the end
of no uh Ibbo. The person may
come and go but the idea will
be perennial and the answer is
So you're saying so you're
saying in fact, the legacy.
that's legacy lives on in um
that that the import of of of
of of the book that is Gabe's
legacy lives on his philosophy
lives on in there are certainly
I think it does though of
course the uh cases where the
reinvention of his legacy may
May May Erupt but I foresee not
staying forever.
Oh no. Uh uh. Bring in uh the
first of our commentators. Uh
that is uh professor Oxford but
solidly Zimbabwean is uh done

some work recently. The biography of the uh sour and and in addition to that, I'd like to say that uh Miles and uh the other commentator who comes in later uh uh uh I'm sharing my stuff. I'm kind of doing a study of the of the era. The post and possible scenarios. Let's finish with the three and beyond. So, that on this occasion, is commenting on the book. He's coming. I mean, I mean, do you want Um I will try to be done. within 10 minutes. I hope I'll go as fast as possible. Um thank you everybody for coming along. It's it's like to try and describe on professors. So, I will go rapidly. I'll go rapidly. Um the floor is yours. Yeah. Thank you. Um um and thank you everyone who's here and congratulations to um the authors of the book. remembering Robert Mugabe, Paul's legacy philosophy in life and death. I will start by saying some positives and then I will end with a few um um what I think are constructive criticisms about the book on the positive aspects. Look, I'm in an age um in which the agenda to decolonize or decent knowledge production has finally come to a full making research about Africa by Africans available affordable prices in Africa um is essential. um and that to god, I commend the editors of the contributors to this book for

doing precisely that um the NHS and contributors to the book are mainly Zimbabwe thinking and writing about the Pt's legacy life and death. Robert Mugabe um figure who is attracted my school in um my attention beyond um Zimbabwe itself. Um it is worth reminding the kind of that they are more books about Mugabe by non than they are um books about him by themselves. So, the fifteen chapters in this book um go somewhere way towards um advancing Zimbabwe debates or conversations about Mugabe his life politics, um and um like I commend the office for that. Um there's some other things I appreciated about the book. Um reading through it. I think um the multidisciplinary approach, you get international scholars, media studies, scholars, history scholars, political economists trying to think about and his legacy and the perceptive ways um from within their respective disciplines making for a rich and edited volume um that will appeal to readers with diverse interests. I think it's so important to emphasize here on another uh part of the book. Uh it it's uh uh really a push to underline the significance of um uh Mugabe as a figure of um decolonization in Zimbabwe and after more broadly even if Mo's role in this decolonization

process was far from straightforward far from uncomplicated and far from unblemished. Um the third thing I would also um as a positive that I took away was um you know one cannot write this Story of Mugabe without paying attention to the ways in which the west and the kingdom especially contributed to shifting representations of Marawi. I think the the book um does um lay there um the duplicitous um time self-interested approaches um of Western states um that we're most comfortable dealing with Mugabe um from 1980. um um onward um despite say for example, the busy busy, busy, busy see where you're muted. you. I'm not sure what happened there. Um yeah, it took on a more critical stance to 2000. So, I think um that's um that um Mugabe is uh reflecting god's complex relationship um with the world um um particularly the west and the UK particularly it's not the strength of the book. Uh the final thing I'll say is strength is that in the book is very much emerges as a complex figure who left a legacy um which I think will take decades to fully untangle. Um he's at once a compound literary projection, a nationalist who was partly a creation of the colonial project, a mis ruler, a pragmatist who could be

unregulated for some a villain
and oppressive um figure for
others. I'm reminded of Walt
Whitman poem song of myself in
which he writes um the past and
present wilt. I have filled
them. um emptied them and
proceed fill my next fold of
the future. Do I contradict
myself? Um very well Then I
contradict myself. I am large.
Um I contain multitudes. I
think Mugabe contain
multitudes. Let me turn out uh
some criticisms. Um I'd like to
make um the first one concerns
um the way in which the book
sets itself up is um trying to
um discuss or depict the
character and owner of Gabe and
both personal level and also a
political level um and it's um
to us that um these all of
these, the person, the people
cannot be explained from one
dimension. So, it sets itself
as a uh in that way um but yet
we're after reading the book
what we really get in the end
is um the political and public
character forgave. There's
little that is um Personal in
the book um as um the family
scholars, the he reminds us um
it's the political thing Hannah
who insisted that authentic
voice in public speech together
be seen as the core of any
meaningful um but dismissed as
uh appropriate only for private
discourse. Those matters that
contemporary feminist content
must be debated the public
arena if the profoundly

masculine culture of political
life is ever to be dismantled.
Now approach um result in only
a partial view of politics. Um
of the most important
mechanisms of political
silencing is um dims the public
and the private and that's what
kind of happens in this book.
um because when we do that and
individuals get silenced um who
is silenced in the book, Grace
Mugabe, Sally Mugabe Mugabe is
mistresses and of course Mugabe
children and yet the private
shapes the political. I'm the
individuals who dominated
Mugabe **** private sphere
impacted his politics
significantly but they are
absent in the book. We don't
get a sense of that. Uh the
time we get a sense of the
private interacting with the
political. It is when the book
discusses the form of in which
Grace Mugabe is depicted as
somehow having played a role in
uh Grace Maga's only impacted
the final years of Gabe's
politics but he also impacted
his politics long before the
years of his form and I am also
not at all convinced that
Mugabe was that responsible for
Mope for um recently I reviewed
um Eddie's book about Emerson
Mango called The Life of
Sacrifice Um I observe that the
wives of politicians mattered
Um in that review, I asked
about um who is and how she has
impacted Mango's personal and
political trajectories. Uh I

would ask the same um um of
this book um who is the grace
of god? How was she impacted?
Um um Mugabe is personal and
political political
trajectories precisely and
beyond Grace. Uh Gabe's
mistresses his family and his
first wife. Um I'm Sally. I
think that personal needs to be
emphasized a bit a bit more.
Now, I want to say something
else. I'm here that um I think
that's a bit uh important to to
take on board as a second
criticism concerns. um uh the
chapter written by Albert and
um in the book um orbit word
from Agave for many years. Um
in this book and it discusses
Robert Mugabe um as a victim or
whether he was a victim of
international imperial forces
or Pan African hero during his
political career. Um there's
another chapter in the book by
a chap, a scholar. um avoid my
mom Who who writes about um um
he argues that um should be
seen as a long decline starting
in the late 1990s. Now, while I
appreciated Mascara's a
historic site, Mugabe is for in
the book. um the chapter um
does rehash literature and
debates. Um we already know
there is much about the nature
and reasons for for for power
that remains hidden and um all
and knows a significant amount
from the vantage point of the
cost fraction but he was part
of which is a no um about what
really happened in the twilight

of our mugs. Now, I read in autobiography um on the shoulders of struggle and came away with a distinct impression that he held back in that book um was on the shoulders of struggle concealed more than it revealed about what really happened to Muay politically in those final stages. I had hoped the editor of this book that we're launching today would have assigned the chapters for to orbit and and pushed him to reflect in critical and intellectually honest ways about the manner and precise dynamics surrounding Mugabe is for um and I want to put it to the editors of the book that uh an opportunity was missed here and also to say that um I think Zimbabwe needs honest candid histories about Mugabe is for not every hashing who owned the book debates um or the self-interested action of history incomprehensible, vague, or unintelligible. The third um um criticism I want to raise which I hope will prove constructive concerns that sometimes problematic assumption in the book that Mugabe left behind a philosophical legacy to be fair. to Chapter in book is ambivalent about Gabe's ideological leanings maintaining that Was it once Neither? 100% to the nest and yet not wholly neoliberal as well. That's what Josiah has to say. Still, I want to come back

to this underlying problematic assumption because Montgomery did not leave behind published work which systematically sets up his original and appropriated political economic ideas. Colonial colonialism. the last stage of imperialism. Julius the freedom and unity. Um the to road to African nationalism. Nelson Mandela wrote Long Walk to Freedom America. Cabral wrote Revolution in Guinea Mugabe did not himself systematize and published his political economic ideas. So, I think it is untimely to set out Mo's philosophical legacy. The sections of the book attempted to the media task in my view really ought to be about the systematic recovery of Og's self written private essays notes, diaries, audio recordings, letters, even his comments in the margin of key party and state policy documents amongst other the primary sources. These primary materials would then be critically analyzed and perhaps become the basis of a synthesized, organized body of the ideas that would then inform exacting debates about what Maga's philosophical legacy might actually be. That's another thing that I hope um I hope that the editors will take on board as a constructive criticism. The next thing I wanted to bring basically basically um bring up

is the ideas as well that seems to run through sections of the book that somehow the oppositions, Zimbabwe, and civil society are driven in shape by western actors and forces. I think we must assign agency to local opposition if we do away with agency in this way. Basically, what this book is projecting is racialized self hate. The idea that black Zimbabweans can't envision the absence of democracy or can't envision a sense of opposition to an authoritarian nationalism for themselves and have to wait for some external actor or donor in the US or the UK to motivate and fund them. I think that's um uh the the self hate um undermine that I think we must give agency to local opposition local civil society, even if the behaviors of western states have sometimes compromised the standard of civil society and domestic opposition parties within Zimbabwe um itself Um so, the last thing I'll say, I could say some other things is to kind of be, I'll throw this out. It would be a question to to to The editors will present. I'm here um in particular. Um I mean's name comes up a lot in Western media whenever contemporary African dictators are discussed in the west. The idiom exemplifies both a personal notion of evil and a political notion of evil seen as unconscionable operators. We're two different operators I

should say if they are regarded strikingly similar ways that sense sense this of evil whether it's by the political notion or the personal um and I wonder if um the editors could care to reflect on that um as well um because there's a sense in the book when when Mugabe is um the depiction is this evil character, political notions and at that personal level, this somehow somehow seems unique yet other um African leaders have been depicted in the same way and and and I mean is one and I mean has very little in common with um will happen. and um I'd like to push editors to think about that as well. Um the way that I'm actually those kind of um depictions of Mugabe are not that unique and in in taking that on board trying to relate um the ways in which has been depicted in relation to legal such as uh media and I can say more but I think I should stop there in the interest of time. Thank you very much for listening and um congratulations again on the book. I think somebody else lives. a review there. Uh uh. is about you want to act now. You'll react later. Uh I'm going to request uh miles to put what he has just said on paper Um that's a review that we will publish uh Um but thanks Miles uh for a very powerful review of the book. I'm going to bring in phase two

and phase two my guest at home. So, we're sharing the screen here. Uh I'm going to give her the screen now. Uh agreed to join us. Uh she's no stranger to the Zimbabwean politics and the Zimbabwean Academy I also have a book, one of the first on the on the struggle become a very important book. A very important statement but more more recently, rejoined. So, we'd like to find out from her whether there's that's consistent with the writings that we see here in the form of this book and and given the commentaries that we said that we're going to be made in the course of this discussion about the the the era in the era and in the future. Uh you can also reflect on that as she presents her observations on the book Faith Thank you very much Ibbo. when I read this uh book with it's many chapters, uh I thought the chapters were uneven. Some of them were excellent and definitely I highly recommend that everybody reads this book because it has such a lot of valuable information about uh Mugabe and about the situation he was in but on the whole, I felt two very important things were missing. One is the situation that he was in. uh before independence. during the first year of Independence and then, as he aged, I think they are definite changes in his character. Uh I think knowing

him in his late 40s and in his 50s with the prime of his life, he was a very consultative, highly intelligent person who did not impose his will on everybody like a dictator. He was not dictator. He was a very cons. in finding the opinions of everybody and considering them very seriously. but then I also know him when he's in his 70s and 80s and eventually in the 80s 90s and I think he's character did change that. he became more rigid in terms of sticking to his views although they were the views he had when he was swift. He kept to his views but he was much less flexible. Uh as he grew older which is what happens to all of us when we get to seventy, we'll become less flexible. I'm I'm actually eighty so I know what I'm talking about. Um The other thing that I felt uh we did not know about from the book is the constituents, the the kind of institutions that were around him and which he had to cope with. Let's say cabinet. let's say, let's say ministry of education. Um ministry of economics and Finance Uh the media that uh independent media, the state media, uh the fact that we are in a psychotic tradition because I think Zimbabwean tradition maybe it deflects something in Africa is always to praise whoever is in power Now, that can become a

problematic uh kind of situation. where every day of your life, you are praised and I think this happens to everybody who's in power in a country like Zimbabwe and I think it means uh it may affect you because the change from a highly flexible, highly creative mind to a very rich in mind. Uh I think that reflect what happens when people keep repeating what they think you want to hear. Uh that's very common in Zimbabwe. People listen to you very carefully and they try and work out what you really think and what you really want to hear and they come out with it and this is uh I think very worrying for anybody in power that those who are your subordinates are going to repeat your ideas. Uh sly so to speak and I think it's happened a lot to Mugabe. especially in cabinet because he was able to appoint cabinet ministers on his own. without asking for advice from anybody and he didn't ask for advice from anybody in terms of personalities. He judged them by himself and when you are a cabinet minister and you know your position is wholly dependent on Mugabe. I think it that you don't contradict him all the time. Uh I don't think he likes being contradicted uh but in the early days, he really listens to everybody. This is what I'm trying to say and I think this doesn't come

out that I'm different. in the
we knew

I think the situation that was
happening in Zimbabwe, uh the
fact that we got independence
when uh whites were 3.6 to 4%
of the population but owned
three quarters of the economy
and controlled half of the
lands and that's the better
half with the best waiting for
uh and Africans owned very
little

a constitution which said
willing seller willing buyer
The fact is, no African would
have been able to buy one farm
not to say thousands of farms.
So, the whole fundamental basis
of the original constitution is
was problematic and uh I think
in negotiating it, they could
have got something a little bit
better than what we got which
was willing seller willing
buyer human rights that we
emphasized. We're all about
property. Property rights were
uh defended. Um other rights,
like let's say uh millions of
Zimbabweans have no jobs. The
right to a job and that is not
even mentioned uh the right to
education and health. very
slightly. so I think we'll
start off with the constitution
which from the was very
problematic and there was a lot
of pressure on Mugabe from the
frontline states. Zambia and
Mozambique to accept
constitution. as holy as it
was. So, uh you have to look at
the situation that uh Mugabe

was in where he knew that uh by accepting willing seller willing buyer he would be betraying the land resettlement challenge of Zimbabwe. uh and he did accept it. Uh nevertheless in the first decade and a half of independent We had an excellent land resettlement program. partially funded by Britain's uh government and partially by the Zimbabwe government where something like 75 thousand settlers were uh actually resettled in a very orderly manner but now you do see some problem. Why is it that that then reset which was so excellent in every way only last for about 10 years. could that resettlement not have lasted for 40 years? That Mugabe was more or less in power and certainly, it means that after 10 years, we must have changed his mind and this is apparent in his uh banning any increased of the first land resettlement program and I think the change was he became convinced that it doesn't going to to get anywhere and that what Zimbabwe needed was the high Hi, finance farmers. The white farmers. So, we find by the mid and late 1990s, the land is praising the white farmers. It was the white farmers decade. next after the peasant farmers decade in the first place. Now, I think that is a big change in policy that you have both the uh

resettlement of 7575 thousand in Zimbabwe and then you start seeing uh the high income farmers Uh probably the the future Ibbo and Miles. We're talking about the future of Zimbabwe and and this is an important question. Surely, most of the countries in the world, whether it's uh United Kingdom uh France, Germany, Italy, China, have both small scale farmers and medium and large scale farmers. They are complementary and I think Zimbabwe should have realized that we need a small scale farmers, we should not have concentrated on them only for a decade. We should have concentrated on them all the time. At the same time, the giving of thousands of hectares to political uh politicians and military leaders. I think it was done without financial plan, without a technical and professional plan. uh without community consultation and I think this is something that happened in the first decade and a half. There was a lot of community participation. we could not have done well as well as we did in the 1980s and the first half of the 1990s without a lot full scale community support but this disappeared Um so, what was it in the institution of Zimbabwe politics that's uh the importance of the community participation in development could disappear so quickly. Did

he have his own? picture of an ideology? Because we are really coming to understand that ideology is very important. for the first decade, we were supposed to be Marxist Lennon, socialist and I often ask, what do we mean by Marxist? What do we mean by lens? Uh and what do we mean by socialism? I think with socialism, we had a fairly clear understanding and that we did. universal Primary education, free primary education. Everybody thought that was socialists and accepted it. We started uh health facilities, clinics, and hospitals in the rural areas which were never there except for mission stations and we started having clean water supply for drinking in the cities and in the rural areas Now, we all realize that those three things were socialists. whether they were Marxist Lennon is another question but uh how come after about sixteen or 20 years those three things were weakened We had 100% Primary education for all. Now, we have 96%. Now, we must say 96% is better than before Independence. When it was 35% but The 4% not in school. Come to a quarter of a million children. That's quite a lot. Um how come 70 thousand children cannot write grade seven exams? uh before They didn't have to pay for writing in grade seven. Now, they have to pay Y Uh we decided we don't

want exams to be marked by computer only. they have to be marked by hand once we get teachers to mark, they charge you about two US per script and the uh candidate has to pay for it and some people are so poor that they can't write the exams. So, these things happened in Zimbabwe. It means the original three socialist ideas were undermined.

I think Gabe's ideology. He didn't write it down. uh and I think it's a great pity. He didn't because I think he had some clear ideas. Uh the clear ideas I always got was he linked uh socialism to his childhood as a student in a Catholic mission school and training college Where they got everything free. Free food. free housing, free education. I think he had that clearly as an idea of socialism and I can, I remember and an item in the cabinet where uh both myself and minister said, we want to have free education up to the ninth grade of education from two and Mugabe uh said no, we have to have it for all levels A levels and university I said we've done limits and we can't afford a levels. All levels and university but we can afford up to two. you know, the cabinet except for three of us rejected it because they saw Mugabe was critical of us not giving free education to everybody for all of education. Now, that's the school that he came from.

I think I messed up there just to repeat my main items are what were the institutional background What were the situations that uh Mugabe had to face? Uh whether internally or externally and how did they affect him and how did it affect him? Thank you.

drinks. us Changing changing chairs. We're in the same location and happily. So, We'll come back to on the on on who was uh we want to reflect on that and I hope you'll be able to come back. uh shortly on that subject but uh now I tend to to chip off.

one of our academics in the diaspora in the US. Uh she's been on this on this uh policy dialogue number of times before. So, I thank you. Can you hear me? Yes. Okay. good.

So, first of all, a big congratulations to the author of this, to the authors of this book I've been thinking a lot that um writing, I mean, Critiquing is easy when you read this book. There's a lot that jumped out to me and I started writing down all the things that I didn't like but I took a step back and I realized that we don't enough that's been written by Zimbabweans about Zimbabwe. So, regardless of where we stand and how we evaluate this from an academic or social perspective, I think I think this good. This this idea of delving into a single subject and figuring out what

we can learn about that person. So, I want you to start there and say congratulations. It's a lot to put things together to work on a chapter with multiple people. Um so, thank you for this work. I devoted most of my time. Um the first chapter that my interest had to do with Robert Mugabe and his language skills. Uh the chapter devoted to his English II. Believe it starts off telling us that he has been regarded as Africa's most well spoken individual and the chapter took us through the educational policy which has shaped um Zimbabwe since the 1980s What struck me is that we have not had or Robert Mugabe himself I think spoken this that he was he didn't, you know do a good job writing his own thoughts. I also think that there was no articulation of what educational policies were meant to do uh for the Zimbabwean child. So, I went through and I read the various uh education acts that's that we've had since the 1980s and so in this chapter, the argument is that he kept English as the primary language for ease of learning which is contradictory rights to his persona of being anti um everything to do with colonialism and yet he he himself felt very strongly to hold on to English. Now, I'm not saying that there was anything wrong with English but IIII get a sense of an

individual who was very conflicted in how he presented himself and also how he governed um one would have thought that might have introduced Swahili or other African languages to Zimbabwe but that doesn't seem to be the path that he was taking. What's also in this chapter and and I was thinking about this whether or not he um What would have saved to the fact that keeping English as a primary language was a big contributor to brain drain how he would have evaluated that that this policy on education and language facilitated the outward migration of millions of Zimbabweans. Um whether he would have struggled with his role in that but I suppose that is the good. That is the good thing right there. Um at a time when Zimbabweans needed an outlet when they needed to be able to leave the country, they had this education. They had the language that um facilitated the ability to do so. I also spent a lot of time engaging with the chapter on land reform again, going back to the language. It said there that the Lancaster agreement was um made possible in part because of Robert's fluency in English. thinking about this. I also thought, well, this book puts a lot of praise on Robert's um proximity to whiteness uh to English. He's proximity to the British

culture and there is no problem with that and yet when it comes to proximity of opposition candidates to the same Westerners uh we get into a place where they become puppets but the same is not true. When we're thinking about Robert Mugabe, even now. um just to bring it to the present with the current president is very excited about his trip to England and we've had so much about it uh from his spokesperson and others uh that the proximity to whiteness and the proximity to England in particular, the colonial master is okay as long as it is done by within the ranks of Zen and yet, when it comes to anybody outside of those rags as presented in this book, then it becomes neo colonial Um I actually don't think that Robert Mugabe was about the decolonization agenda. I think the book could have benefited from an entire chapter about his wardrobe. Um I don't know if this is true but I grew up being told that Robert Mugabe had a body double in London Uh purposes of making sure that his suits were wealthy. Well, you know, we're well suited to him. so II, don't think he was as as committed to the project of decolonization as the book uh seems to portray. I think and and so for me, this was the challenge with the book as much and again, I want to emphasize that I really appreciate having

the book but I thought that the authors were projecting onto and how they would have liked him to be seen but we don't get a few weeks, we buy another we don't get a deep analysis of him as an individual because if we did that, then, everything from his um obsession with, you know, British fashion to the language, to the education policies would have shown that we had somebody who was quite comfortable with of you know, the British remnants in Zimbabwean culture until we get to land reform and even then at least drawing from the book. It seems that that was not a policy that was central in the Lancaster House Agreement for that when they entered the Lancaster House Agreement. I don't think he had um a land reform at the top of his mind that what we later on see in the 2000s is more of a um knee jerk reaction to the politics of the day but it was not his philosophy or his ideology. Uh it wasn't driven by his philosophy or his ideology I just went through and not see him. and people don't forget to comment on the on the on the nature of then.

I said because I went through every chapter of the book, I wanted to spend some time talking on what I think is could have been is I I think one of the most fascinating chapters which is on music Uh

the role of music again here. I thought, oh my god, why don't we dig in? I wanted to see rallies I wanted to see a breakdown of which musicians he supported. I thought it was particularly fascinating that Robert Mugabe wanted a British um a British artist at Independence and not Bob Bali. That was mind blowing to me but again, it goes back to what I was saying, right? That Robert Mugabe was not merely as anti colonial agenda as people think like he is a guy who wanted us to have a white British guy singing at independence and not but the importance of music uh when we contrast it with the post of the era, what I found with Robert Mugabe and his use of music is that I think there was actually a bit of thinking behind it, right? So, we talk a lot at least on the social media spheres on Janet and Mo's role in shaping music and the arts and I do think there was some intelligent thinking there. It but I think there was some intelligent thinking there. Whereas in the post from the era when I'm sensing is that this is very even the music. It does not make as much sense, right? This new revolutionary music um and I think actually in the chapter we see see that uh isn't as interested in music as it was under I don't think that's quite true. I think they just

haven't landed on how to use music. well and that's something that and managed to do well, right? Which is the support of local artists and at the same time, we don't know if Robert Mugabe supported the same himself which is why I think males alluded to that. We don't have the personnel here. um II am surprised that nobody interviewed his children or Grace Mugabe because I think we could have benefited from that. Did he like the music? Did he like the jingles? Did he enjoy the way that people would dance and sing for him and and and there's no on the clothing, right? Uh the clothing with his face on it which we've seen the the news and PF is doing that but but was that engineered by Robert Mugabe himself? Was that was that him wanting to see his face on people's bodies? um or you know, was that just reactionary to something else So I think we could have benefited from from the person uh but again you know it's good academics. What you've done is you've given us something to jump off and III want and I hope that um uh they can speak a little bit to the educational policies at the time. Um to push a little bit on the use of not just the use of English but the design of our curriculum Um I would like to hear more about that and then in terms of what happens now, I think the book gives this impression that um

Zenni. has uh dwindled to some extent in the course of the year but I don't think so. I think what we're seeing is an evolution which is just as important, right? This is why it's so important for us to have a change in politics all the time. Uh so now, we're seeing how gardens, I think Emma unlike Chinga is very interested in documentation. So, we've seen the the Eddie book. I think it's the third Emma book that we've had since Emerson came into power. It's and I haven't read any of them yet. I just haven't had the time. I've had a little child. Um But this is the third book on Emerson Naga. So, he's very interested in documenting and that might actually be good for Zimbabwean democracy because as he sees himself returning paper on paper, maybe that will influence some of the policy choices that he makes. I don't know but I do think it makes a difference if people are interested in documenting their experiences that it's as leaders but also their policies. um but I'll because you know, I think we still have three other people. Not really. Okay, we'll leave you. We'll come back to you. if you haven't answered the question we asked earlier on. the future of Zap. Oh, wait. wait. professor II. Guess I missed the question on the future of Zap. Well, I think Zoe renewing

itself, right? I think it's frightening but um I spend a lot of time just studying social media and social movement patterns and I think One of the things that fascinate me about SPF is the ability to convince young voters more than older voters and I think this is going to be the big thing for the next election, right? That young house and PF has managed to convince younger voters to support them. So, a lot of times, we talk about PFS having most of its support in the rural in the elderly but I think the strategy going forward is to attract the young and the twenty 22 to 35 year old. I think that's where they are putting their money. I think that's where the future of Zen PF is headed and you can think about why they would do that, right? This is a generation that has grown up with the opposition as it is. This is the generation where it is easier to convince them that the future and PF could be better because they are younger. It's much more difficult to do that with people that are now in their 40s but it's quite easy for Zoe to convince 25 year olds that supporting the ruling party is better for their future. We can see the flamboyant of How do you reconcile that statement? Uh with the Zambian president Where in fact, it was

the use of of the older voters would turn things around rather rather rather the tendency in African party, not only African but a party everywhere for younger younger voters, especially first-time voters, You know, we we make it. Yeah. so we ask all these questions about it. How does Zimbabwe compared to Zambia but we have to look at the the historical narrative, right? So um Zambia has really going through the transition. The challenge right now for for Zimbabwe politics and with the younger voters and their engagement is that the the MTC, it's been on the scene for a long time and not because of any fault of their own but the fact that the MTC hasn't successfully won a transitional election by which I mean, we haven't had an MDC president yet so that that plays a major role in how young people evaluate and participate in Zimbabwe politics whereas Zambia 1991 already went through that transition, right? And they've done the back and forth. So, this, I know that for a lot of people coming into politics today, the Zambian election seems revolutionary but the revolution started in 1990. That's when they kicked out or they've voted out the equivalent of annoys. So, where we are now, they've had uh what almost 30 years of changing political parties and changing actors and Zimbabwe is still

yet to go through that and that's where the the challenge for Zimbabwe politics lies that we haven't had that initial transition. So, we haven't had the initial transition. We also find ourselves with with an opposition that's slightly weakened right due to internal issues but also because of funding issues and Zeno for whatever reason, they have a lot of money right now that they are throwing to young people and they have managed to use the influences um to their advantage. So, when when social media and the internet, this came to play, we all say that oh, this is going to be good for democracy. This is going to be good for opposition parties but what a lot of us didn't realize is that grilling parties, we're also learning, right? And so has been constantly learning and they go and find the people where they are now. I'm not saying that, you know, because the thing is that you have to be very careful what you see in Zimbabwe spaces because it it gets taken on Twitter and and people misunderstand what you're saying. What I'm saying is that has been strategic in finding the voters where they are and the young people right now, they're on Facebook, They're on Twitter. They are following Java. They're following all these celebrities whether or not you like them

but the fact that these young people that are in our is 24/7. I'll also collaborating with is going to make a difference. Come 2023 but again, it's really, really important to understand that the revolution for Zambia this election was important. Yes. but the seeds for the revolution began in 1990 and unlike Zambia, Zimbabwe has not yet made that first transition in our opposition. It's got so many different struggles that they are facing. Um so the the young people vote is not guaranteed for the opposition. as it were in 2000. So in 2000, that was a very different political landscape in which a lot of young voters, many of those now in their 40s and 50s were likely to support the opposition without a doubt but today the landscape is a is a bit different and I think is really using their resources to capture those really young voters and I would say the 22 to thirty age group Okay, This year's your turn. looking specifically at the projects current projects in Pf for school and going forward
Yeah. Uh thank you very much. Uh Ibbo. I have a PowerPoint presentation here and let me just say uh uh I appreciate all the viewers, all the participants, and uh it's always a pleasure to be on this very important uh platform So

I'm not going to repeat reviews about the book and so forth but I'm going to talk about P's current political dynamics, the balance of forces, possible scenarios. uh going into the future. Uh oh. I'll I'll try to Yeah. Uh yeah. So, so what I'm going to do tonight is to look at the scope and cohesion of the post.

Pf. to understand whether it is still a mass based organization with thriving cells in the metropolis and in the rural villages that will lead to survival. Where's is now an ad. organizational She about to explode and disregard Post Robert Mugabe. I post it that uh PF at this faces serious in divisions from the Presidio to the cell but a cohesive statement, machinery keeps it breathing So, First, let's look at the Presidio. There is a power struggle between and since the two conspired to overthrow Mugabe in the November 27. the military coup has been working to sidelines uh from the critical livers of state and power is now revealed in his new authorized biography that mouse was referring to. For example, Uh reassigned the some of the military elites. who are involved in the coup and we're closer to from the army to to civilian posts to proof major general who has commander of the presidential brigade during the coup was replaced by Brigadier General

Fidelis a vice who was the active commander of the Air Force during the coup was reassigned Major General and uh were reassigned to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in August. 2019, the commander of the Artillery Brigade uh Brigadier General Stanley was actually humiliated as he was moved to command agriculture and is a close ally. and just give me examples. If you look in the presidential gods, uh the unity second in commands or uh David was replaced by was a former aid

Nena Lieutenant took over from Samsung who has accused plotting to kill by the first auxiliary. and and and and within the and what is remark? Is that officially admits that their internal forces trying to remove and replace him with So, if you look at Love's report to the bureau on Twenty-ninth, July 2020, he implicated members who are working with opposition forces to top Na and actually this was so serious. That former to be remembers and the late were expelled from the party on August 2020 for a quote, serious treasury close court in another youth league was also expelled in early August. 2020 for printing the flyers for the demonstrations and some of the posters uh that that you were caught with where our generals liberate us from. So, you see uh this discourages uh within the precision and

within that matrix, it is very clear that even the youth chair for and north province was also suspended. uh on the same charge but I want to

that

both men and and and and despite the public appearances, they are now very paranoid and they no longer eat at functions. Never mind, even even drinking water. or enjoying ice cream as they used to do in almond uh during Mugabe style. So, this fierce power struggle was continued but both sides have access to the security sector and I think out is going to plunge Zimbabwe into a crisis with Syria ramifications from the let us look at the bureau and the silent pain

Christopher and Paul Mango They are in silent pain. They think that they were very central to the military coup that happened in November. 2017 and we're supposed to be rewarded with a high ranking cabinet posts but actually they've been sidelined and are just now at the UPF headquarters Of course, they they do earn as much as the cabinet ministers in today but they don't have room for patronage which comes controlling. uh ministerial courses. talk to them and to understand what I'm saying. Then the commissary of it's very important. but today, it is a source of instability is where the three Nationals in 3

years since 2017
was appointed the acting after
the coup and he served for only
6. Days after replacing a
savior before general took over
Huh? took over but you was
replaced with again. What was
he accused of presiding over
twenty eighteen's post? where
members like Omg lost, You
know, this was so heated that
uh you heard actually telling
that he was the worst political
that the party has ever had for
the record. That was mandate
Twenty-three. April 2018. So,
still looking at the uh and the
instability is there even
followed with an official
letter to the party's national
Electoral Commission. where he
accused of being a political
novice who sought advice from a
rehabilitated Xmas in the form
of web to turn police into
retaining officers. So, this
didn't last long. was
eventually replaced by was also
fired but not before he was
poisoned. at a party function
in east for one presiding over
chaotic DC elections in
December. 2020 that we the
party. fan fictional in the
party. working with Mamma.
Mackenzie. Uh in order to
decimate July and all
politically in this case, this
guy is called themselves Super
La Costa and in PF in circles,
they were known as boys and
also hope not being with
Joyce's supporters and
elements. uh during his uh

hydration ceremony and I want to say if you look at the comments, huh? you will then have Patrick Chino who was appointed in June 2021 to bring stability. Can he? He has no liberation work credentials. He has shared history and memory with he lets a solid support person in the party. Actually, he lost the 2018 elections in his own area. constituents to David Te and as as we speak, youth youth are actually demanding his firm in headlines which is called Suk to be It's about 3000 hectares. Now, let's move to the provincial levels. Let's look at our provinces. Uh I think I've only looked at five provinces so far as doctor Ibbo has said that this is a study in progress. So, let's look at uh Zam PFA has been operating without provincial executives uh since nineteen when they were dissolved I mean, since nineteen when they were dissolved for performing in the 2018 general elections. what you have uh provincial championships citizens who is selected in August, 2020, I say selected because the bureau recommended the thirty member DC's to elect members from among them selves. So, you have a party that is provincial. you know, chairperson in two metropolitan provinces of Zimbabwe. Uh let's look at Maw Maw is still deeply divided. You have this? Is This is Dina. and I want to quote here the

members

we have become the West
province with PF members.
taking the funds to social
media. I was shocked when I was
elevated to the political
bureau. I thought it was going
to be an occasion of
celebrating but it became an
occasion for fighting for the
chairman. Insults were
exchanged on social media and
up to this day, members are
still attacking one another.
close court and also in a
letter to to to of chairperson.
May 2021.

a plea.

I read from his letter
where he was saying that uh
is now behaving like a warlord
in Macon in particular, Chino
constituents where has divided
the party by sponsoring a gang
of hooligans whose actions and
behavior are working against to
the party and our leader. He
actually didn't say uh that uh
if not action is taken against
Mike now as your DCC chairman,
I'll be forced to abandon, you
and concentrator mango and
constituencies only to have to
administer Chino from head
office because it is no longer
go because it is no longer go.
I repeat this lawlessness
within the party must be
stopped. now, you go to Mars
Central. It's because this is
James Mamba. This is Lazarus.
This is

I sum up with a quote from an
insider. The situation in in

Central is now very we move
from my to the provincial
chairperson, Mike Maduro, who
came into power in November.
2017 is actually facing an
internal revolt after failing
to unite the party, talk to the
war veteran, and the provincial
park He doubles up He had this
to say, I could com Maduro is
failing to unite the party in
the province and there's
confusion in some branches and
these are things we are looking
at. I'm saying it's time for
comrade Maduro to rest and so
far, we are weighing two
carriages
and in singers. It is all out
war in the and districts is
admitted. I caught recently, we
were younger and we met leaders
there over a factual and the
meeting ended at 1 AM as we try
to get things right. we were
Inari to deal with the
divisions we're supposed to be
keeping it this weekend but
there were other pressing
issues. Let's go to the
district uh court in
committees. fact have played
out since they return on 26
March. 2021 is a circular from
the headquarters actually
reprimanded the DCC chairperson
from taking unconstitutional
and procedural and divisive
actions and decisions but these
diseases have largely been
defiant prompting another three
Os the secular six of 2021
which pro all made from April
to December. 2021. I don't know

why it was ahead of time but
I'm in position of the of this
uh declaring them now and Void
Gumbo admitted in PF is
actually called for the disband
of the DC's which fuels growing
functional in trouble but let
me say and emphasize that the
DC and we are not even trusted.
Hence of their training at
School of Ideology with chiefs
and civil servants Uh for the
sake of time, I will not read
this letter but it's from the
School of Theology emphasizing
that the DC's must be trained
together with the civil
servants and and chiefs so that
they can be able to attain some
Ps 5 million uh water
population in the eight three.
Youth League. is unstable too.
There was a heated and divided
Meeting. That was number 336
Meeting. where some of you
might know that the Youth
League secretary
who
had sided with in Zapier
fights pre predisposition of
Mugabe was deposed from the
bureau. he had to pack and
leave He was embarrassed. at
that meeting. Luis Maui's
deputy was suspended for 1
year. Go to the political was
also suspended for 1 year but
later expelled because they had
named and shared our uh corrupt
individuals because there's no
energy in the league. according
to to senior officials. That's
why you people like
have been to try and revitalize

the best I heard of 2023 and one story that we forget is that uh even now heading the youth is there in the acting capacity in the acting capacity uh maybe 24 months before the next election and then finally, let's look at the cells of he made a very bold claim in the on 22, August that the party is currently standing above 3 million members Uh he said he was using the register Uh you know, if you look even in the African National Congress in South Africa, which is one of the old destination of liberation movements in the world. Yes, it is 1.4000000 unregistered numbers up from 900. I'm coming. Give me one moment in December It begs the person. why so high for obviously, there's use of coercion in some instances to get people registered. I caught here from the teacher's movement over the weekend. Members of have terrorized some teachers at in district forcing them to register as part of the 5 million voters In some cases, all the details of the teachers. they just visited to confirm close court. surveillance is perceive at the same level People believe they are being seen. The party register as an instrument of institutionalized patronage that is linked to local food and farming inputs distribution it is there for difficult to

know Who is and who is not even if we are to believe the board claimed by Mua that they have uh 3 million for the sake of time. I'll just summarize other sources of discord. There's a fear of the resurgence in a real real fear of the resilience of the G and Gamma talks poised to fight for the soul. Fin. number one. Number two, the centric approach to politics. Uh where the the car uh are being given preference. Number three, unresolved blowing incident. If you look at the recent biography of Naaa, they're saying the bomb was of Chinese origin and there was military procedure and they never mentioned that uh uh was also you know, he also escaped that danger and his wife was harmed. Number three, difference is the worst or just the east in diplomatic engagement. Remind me where she is. so proactively talking about the west He's always talking about the east You can pick instances where he's talking about the west number five war veterans discontent. They've been arrested recently but they've the letter of this continent. Number six is about the purging of the security element within the path either by natural means SBI etc. Those who are dying by the natural and emphasize by natural means. they're from the element but also by design this

packaging by design as in a bio
in order to cool proof. avoid
uh the next and the conclusion
even though I've focused on the
path

He's actually evolved to such
an extent that it must be
considered part of the state
resource allocation process.
Hence, there's a party state.
So, if Zimbabwe transit to a
normal democratic party with
competitive opposition forces,
then the state of Zen Pf, I
have described poems to a
possible implosion or a loss in
the 2023 General elections but
if Zimbabwe maintains the
authoritarian status quo and an
opposition forces, then a party
state election machinery would
deliver victory to zap in 2023
but a big but this kind of 2023
election victory is unlike to
resolve the tensions within
just the same way. Mugabe is
overwhelming victory. in 2018.
did not make the party stable
internally after all. Also, not
that uh the better to succeed
will intensify. post 2023 with
of wills or loses and is and as
we know from many parts of the
world, succession, politics,
exacerbates elite discoloration
and threatens durability. Uh
thank you chairperson doctors
Thank you. Thank you. Thank you
very much. the way of getting
the discussion going. We still
have some minutes. I would want
to get uh in the first
instance, our panels to respond
I'll begin with uh with uh what

your response to Tom's outline. and would you, would you agree? Yeah. II. Think Um yeah. Thank you. Thank you professors and that was an excellent analysis. I think one of the conversations missing right now is the role of the military in strengthening and Pf. so that the military support uh the chaos that is the current party would be more evident, more public but because they have military support, they have state resources. I think it masks a lot of what protesters has so eloquently unpacked for us. Uh the factual issues, I didn't even realize some of those issues uh especially in the league um in the provincial levels So yeah so I think II don't know that there's much to it because he's done such good job of unpacking the challenges that is facing internally but I did want to emphasize that the strength that Zap on the outside is because of the military support that they have and the access to state resources that the opposition does not have and just just to hold your view that uh the mobilization of the youth and the part of who would turn the tide in favor of it could you know III think the opposition has work to do I think there is not not all of the youth. Right. So, I think we have to be very mindful about which which age group we're talking

about. I think is doing a lot of work to register new voters and we know from studies in other places that the party that registers people tend to get people to vote for them. So, if someone help someone register today, that person is likely to vote for the person associated with that party. So, if it is true that Zoe has deployed um a lot of their youth to engage. I think the goal is you know, 10 thousand voters by December for each district. Um that's a lot of new voters and if they get their hands on all of those new voters that support will more likely go to Zapier just you know, going by the numbers and and going by what's traditionally happens if the if the opposition parties are able to register new voters to register young voters and this is what actually happened in Zambia where uh it's party was able to register people and to get them to the polls. So, those are the two critical things that made a difference for the youth in Zambia. You register them and you get them to the polls can the opposition the resources needed to do that. I think that should be the the project that they're working on night and day until 2023 because right now, it does seem like Es eagerly registering people to vote On the other hand, Well, I'm just going to say on the other hand,

MDC could do it with Zapier
uses all their resources to
register people to vote and
then they write in and
encouragement coalition
including disappointed that she
has made that he is mainly
through coercion that people
have been registered Yeah. And
made a distinction between uh
commitment uh genuine
commitment, and commitment
which is which could be turned
around to be actually uh
opposition as we've seen in
previous elections. Yeah,
absolutely. I mean, let me ask
has been on the ground uh all
your observations on uh some
chairs of the wonderful
Well, that was a very valuable
outline Uh having been in
before it was so it's almost 50
years since I joined when I was
a young lecturer at University
of Zambia. uh when I joined
because you asked me, why did I
rejoin uh the reasons I joined
in 1983. Uh very similar to the
reasons I'm rejoining that is
in 1973. Most of the freedom
fighters who are people with
three or 4, years of primary
education, the university
people were not heavily
involved and I felt as an
individual we as university
personnel should be heavily
involved and I feel this all
this more now that we have a an
intellectual vacuum within I
think uh on almost any topic
whether it's education or uh
economics or community

development. I think some of the ideas we have are the ideas we had more than 40 years ago and I think uh they are out of date. Uh we engineered an education system in 1980s and it's lasted for 40 years. It is thoroughly but nobody has come up with a viable alternative.

So, I think there's need for an intellectual

revamping of if it is to survive. I think the other thing I should say is that the role of the military is going to be pivotal. Uh exactly. how the military will react in the next election and in the future of is I think very very important to analyze because you have to remember that the people who have come out as leaders now uh the over 60s, the over 70s but the people who are the freedom fighters in the 1970s

guys who are eighteen or Twenty-one. Uh they are still around. They are not even 60 years old. Uh we have to watch out for those who are more intelligent than the ones who have had so far. Yeah, thanks for you.

ten miles. your reactions to the presentation by matters. no I have no confidence to to to to make with regards to his president. He's done his research. Uh I have not done my research um in this area. I think I will reserve my my my my judgment um for now. um except to say that um it would

be good to see a similar um
analysis of internal politics
that focuses on the NDC Then
place that side by side with
the dynamics. and we can better
get a sense of like which party
is in better shape to actually
win this election. So, in the
absence of any knowledge of
what's also really going on in
the industry, it's hard to to
make a judgement according to
the some things do not look
well in that but we're not also
certain about just how well
things are in the NBC. So, for
that reason, I think I'll
reserve judgment Okay. I think
I could add something that MDC
at its beginning in the 1990s
had a strong university
presence and
didn't seem to have anymore.
Okay, then let's have our our
authors and editors
your comments. Uh uh thank you
doctor. on some cheers and also
the baby if you wish to some
brief comments on on the
reviews that were done by the
the uh the two or three
including Ay was touched on the
books on the book. Uh okay now
uh thank you. Thank you. I
could be a it was a
observation. Yeah. Yeah.
Thank you so much Doc for that.
Um interesting reflections from
doctors here but uh we've been
in writing when we read the
writings, we go back to the uh
social uh pressure points of
the writer and in this case, um
the the the views are admitted

by uh uh my good brother must also be subjected to interrogating um the the the motives of his submission which are obviously a political. It is common cause that um he's got uh a strong uh affinity to the opposition and uh yes, yes yes. Um total and outright dismissal of SPF is based on that perspective. Uh the starting point uh really relates to his views about the IPF as an empty shell organization and to deploy a comparative lens uh within this political landscape. we've had to look at that level of analysis. XPF and M DC Uh in my view, I think uh the MDC Alliance in particular is more of an empty shell organization in the sense that uh it's uh functionally dismembered and as it stands uh they do not even have an office where they function from. So, it's it's actually a heavily demented organization not the perennial. fractional issues that you have characterized. the MDC which would of course be ignorant in the outcome of the 2023 election. He speaks of internal divisions in a look all political parties are governed by the principle of competition for power So, it is normal that in any political party, they are internal. Uh They are strips actually. those contradictions rejuvenate the political space. Uh you would recall that this is not new in

zap. It dates back to 1963 but the OP of the end survived its way to the nineteen. um uh eight election between 2004 to 2008. There was uh intense um fractional at the time but the OP have survived that in the 2000 2008 election in the 2013 election. and even the 2018 election was a product of uh a serious tension in in which culminated in the fall of uh and so it is not new that uh they this internal contradictions if ever uh they are there and then he also spoke about the reassignment of of uh of uh generals and arguing that it is a mango strategy uh to to to to push away uh the military from um the the the succession metrics. But look, if you go to the speech in 1976, uh he says that uh the gun will go with our votes and uh in articulating that he was merely referring to the intravenous relationship of uh began and politics and IPF is a liberation uh institution that was born out of the barrel of the gun uh is going to be sustained by that intravenous relationship of uh that they done in the and the politics but also, you'd recall that the same who says that they can and our votes will go together. At some point, you are saying politics must lead to the gun and not to the gun leading politics but it is the gun that uh found uh of him out of the political space in 2017 So, um

that's another philosophical contradiction uh which I think uh uh needs to be intensely uh you know just did. and then uh you also spoke about um detention between the vice president and the president and also throwing at them a traumatic effect uh to to the view that they don't even drink a water uh in the same room. They don't even get to eat meals. state functions. Look, I've personally had the privilege to be in the same room with the president and with the vice president. I've seen them drinking uh water seen them eating. So, I think that is just nothing but um you know, um perspective which is not based on the practical reality of the internal dynamics in uh Zeno Pf and then also he spokes of the restructuring of the and arguing that it will and arguing that it's uh it's substantiate the instability within the OP look even private organizations restructuring of departments, and uh human capital is something that happens across the board and that in most instances only takes cost to the multiplicity of of inauguration within any institution and if Zeno PF does that, it can be treated as something that is unique which will only culminate in the demise of SPF and again, he made references to polio content and as far as I know uh

this is largely classified information and classified as it way. I'm assuming probably you might be uh using sources from within uh to use uh some of these uh issues that affect but look, these sources whose content in most instances may not be verified and sometimes may only be so that give information that tends to fit into the anticipated. uh you know, of whatsoever is being fed with that information and sometimes they may be lack of truth in that respect. So, let's have more authentic documents substantiate the crisis in other than Esa other than you know, using proxies, we might even be lying of um uh they are a constant activity to to to processes such as uh uh the the the political and then nonetheless um in in in conclusion the UK. Yeah. And uh in conclusion, maybe let me think. Um uh doctor professor Tandy for bringing interesting nuggets which uh of course inspired the need to produce a second volume and also thanks to um uh professor and so thanks for that and thanks to you for the opportunity as well. Thank you. Are there any Is there anyone in the audience who wants to say something? Maybe 10 minutes. I see many uh uh public intellectuals uh in the room uh uh uh uh Silica Anybody wants to come in. Nobody. No. No. my brother. Um Can you hear me? Yes. you.

Who's that? Alex. That's Alex.
Yes. Yes. You're welcome. Want
to hear you. No, I thought this
was a fantastic event. Uh
really beautiful. to to hear
II. Really enjoyed uh my
presentation I also enjoyed the
presentation and of course, uh
our elders chairwoman uh Faye's
my
young brother I think he
also gave a good presentation.
I just wanted
Sorry. Which was made by uh
miles After that, it would have
been good. to get a good
analysis of the MDC. I think
that's uh that's a strong point
because I think we had a very
eloquent and powerful
presentation uh from Personal
Dynamics. I think it would be
good also uh to have uh an
incisive and nuanced
presentation of the This is
internal dynamics but I don't
think that it was the occasion
for that. The occasion, what
the launch of the book uh and
and perhaps, you know, that was
not um the the time to to
engage in that but I really
enjoyed it II wasn't going to
say anything but just to
congratulate authors of the
book We don't write our own
stories. enough and I think
that uh I want to congratulate
people. those who are here,
we've got eloquent. we have
written about him and our
politics and I think that's
that's what we should do. It's
it's wonderful. It's beautiful

to do that. We can disagree on uh the issues that people raise but that's natural. You know, that's what we see in the UK in the US in Australia, in other countries, you know, rewrite our own stories and we challenge them.

But uh you know, I thought that everybody did fantastically well. it's not for me here. I don't have the time or the occasion to go into much detail but to congratulate everybody who made such eloquent presentations. I mean, like I said, I enjoyed my critique which was very constructive. I enjoyed the presentation which was also a very constructive and very nuanced. Uh I Joy's presentation on it would have been nice to have had a presentation which also would have done a critique of the MDC. That would have been beautiful but I also enjoyed the presentation and taking us back to the Liberation War days in the 80s and and then of course, the changes that took place in the 80s and 90s but thank you so much. I hope that we'll have uh uh another occasion to do this I want to also to Zoom is a great platform. but we have uh a new platform that is you know, engaging people who normally would not come to Zoom and there's Twitter spaces. I wish that uh 1 Day you'll uh you know, present yourself uh and and use that platform to engage

people who normally would not be able to come to Zoom but would be you know, very grateful to listen to the beautiful presentation that we went from the academics today. Thank you. Uh we we hold on to that to teach us how to organize Twitter. Some of us are still in the twentieth century but we also want to pick up the challenge from miles to look at the the opposition as well. We had a session on the opposition some uh months ago but I think as we go towards the elections to be timely to begin looking at the the the full spectrum of Zimbabwe politics. So, we look at that again. Uh uh I feel that uh maybe uh professor should have the last word is someone else is coming It's coming. it Thank you so much. Uh yeah, I think it is very true. uh uh and thankfully I want to greet all of you in all your esteemed positions. Um of course we've heard a lot about that and I was I It is true that we write from a certain position and uh quite frankly, when we encounter a scholarship that is uh those are the kind of things that we face and that we hear and I think uh beyond any critic that we could get the idea that uh we are having this platform in its totality to discuss is something that is uniquely new and I think this consideration of ideas is what drives scholarship ahead. So to

that instance I think uh I would have loved to hear perspective of how Zimbabwe is setting a precedence to the rest of the African nations. Not only are we the only case which has had uh quite a few uh dissss when it comes to uh developments in but also uh in the change of the political orders and also how we are structured in a political order. I think Zimbabwe is a set pace in his own sense and this is something that we can easily divorce from our inclinations for example to analyze within the routines of political parties to extend within those confinement but also I think uh what the speakers have been speaking about uh more directly or much more intensively. So, brings about the very important question of uh when are we to expect the second edition and if so, how can we get at least copies of it beforehand so that we also have TV to to read it and more substantially contribute to the uh discussions with forehand because uh to an extent as an audience I felt uh you know, every other presented the privilege to actually go into detail with the book and we are not so sure of the modalities of how we could get it so far and secondly and that's more importantly, I think there is an important thing that we're learning also as junior

scholars that we need to pass on the button and stick to younger scholars in that sense and in this sense, I want to thank everyone who is quite a senior and uh live there for the discussion between uh you know people who are who are in the of academia. So next time when we uh platforms. I would expect also to see upcoming scholars also putting on their perspectives so that they have to have doctorates but because of systemic and strategic difficulties, they might not necessarily be there yet but their perspectives matter anyway. So, uh thank you. Yes, thank you. Send us your Cv. We'd like you on the next next platform. and thanks for joining us really. Uh guys, I'm sure your last word from you want anything to say? Yes. Yes. No. Thank you. Thank you very much. Uh I'm really enjoying the the contributions and I've really loved the fact that uh Richard has come out of his shell because he was a asked uh is this by the or not but he's come out of his shell to say he has a tea and water with the and at some point but I wasn't talking to I was talking from the perspective of uh uh the public uh uh you know, functions of which uh we also have videos that are that are quite public. Uh I'm not uh also very much uh by it's uh input because what it does is simply to confirm what I've

said. all he's saying is that
no this is not you. I never
said this is new. I said my
prioritization to cook. He said
they started since the
liberation struggle in 1963,
I've read struggles with your
struggles. egocentric, you
know, approaches to politics.
So, he's simply saying, let's
look at it from the historical
perspective. Uh though though
though it's happening then
about the political thing that
this thing must be classified.
I mean, there wouldn't be a
reason for us to be researchers
uh if we're not be able to
bring out. Uh he didn't
challenge any of the circulars
that I put. I've given specific
tests. I've given specific
numbers to those circulars and
I've quoted from the circulars
and uh then then then to say
that uh uh it's not it's based
on. yes, I think it's just
being unfair. I think it's just
a panicked uh uh a little bit.
It should be uh uh uh the
primary documentation that's
why I put it there. Uh the
primary documentation. So, when
we are doing research, we
definitely are not doing uh any
kind of uh uh a legitimate or
one of the other MPs. Uh he
hasn't read enough of my words.
I think if he reads uh my 2018
article which now and again who
is trained about M DC's and
seeing I published in the
Journal of Southern Africa
Studies you'll see that I don't

belong to a particular party when I do my analysis. It's quite hard on the MDC. That article you can go and read but I don't remember. I don't think he has capacity even to write to journals of that level. I didn't want to come in on that book with an over exaggerated uh flyer which will which would pass serious uh uh review uh uh but but thanks very much but what I'm simply saying is that uh it's not easy to write. It's good that there's something on the table and it's good to review It's also good to review the MDC. I've done that in 2018 and uh I think my point is to stand to to to a certain extent but we can't deny that everything is boiling within the Mds. the and as I was quoting, I did any MDC person or outsider. I quoted people within and and and and and that's the challenges as far as I see it. There's this dogma to conclude of PF infallible which you can equate to the drug of infallible but if you look at PF within the true concept that I've put forward scope and coercion it's not it's best at the moment. What's making it to breathe is because part of state, you know, reallocation of resources. So, you have a party that take away the state from PF today and uh tell me whether will survive. It will not survive mas agreed that Zimbabwe needs a serious a

serious discussion about how to get out of this quagmire to treat the the the the the oral cure, the military cure It's sounding like just before the thought that uh uh they were very they were an advantageous position but after that, they're also now realizing that the crew needs to be treated. We can't even talk of 2023 before curing the military coup. It's a waste of time but within UPF and from without it's about Zimbabwe and it's citizen distinguish. Thanks. Thanks. Thanks for that. last I've to thank first and foremost, the editors of the book uh Remembering Mugabe. uh for the profound work done the amount of time spent on it and bring it to fruition. It's here. Uh it's on sale Uh it's a \$25. Uh please buy the book. The the publishers are are not uh big publishers. They depend on sales to meet their their costs as and and secondly, uh to thank came in on board. Very short notice and thanks very much. It was difficult way even to regiment your home here. So, thanks very much um and of course, and Thank you very much. Uh as I give us the occasion, to begin flagging some of the ideas that we have. are doing a substantial work on uh both historical Uh some of them are not too too young. We we we

have uh a fair uh knowledge of the history. uh origins of it's a period in exile. Uh we have a lot of sources. People like Faye here next to me. um and of course people like my have done tremendous work on the role of the military, The military is a UPF and some chairs work is not not it's not it's not it's it's a profound work Uh even if Richard did well as a party to defend. I think you can't fault the the profound research-based knowledge based uh uh uh paper that he has presented. You'll see our our final product to the next few weeks. It will be It'll be worth reading. So, thank you all. We look forward to the next uh policy dialogue in 2 weeks time. Send us your suggestions whether they have one from uh from miles and maybe to look at the opposition Uh although we did look at it a few weeks a few months ago, it was a solid state to state the least uh but that's only one is the MDC Alliance. We have to look at the totality of the opposition in this country. Uh and it is clear in the history of politics in Africa in particular but elsewhere, encompass encompasses is a is a burden and it's seldom that incumbent uh uh ruling party It does win an election in Africa. or being fair and equal uh in the Zambian president is is not novel at all. It one would argue it has happened already

in Zimbabwe several times. with
not for the military that we
could have a different outcome
would together. So, thank you.
give us our music as we go.
you.
I'm saying.
I mean,