

Policy Dialogue Forum no 7 for 2021

okay

wait what is that

what's up

hello

hello we're on ebay we can hear you
can you hear me greetings to all of you
who have joined us so far

and welcome to old friends like thor
sellstrom where i see you there

uh rewarding shayabasa

david moore talko marcia

and of course our panelists

uh we have tandem killer moyu i should
begin by saying

cancel is unable to join us

uh but we have tender killer moyo

a writer social activist a geographer by
profession

but she has done a masters in the
intergenerational

impact of gokurandi and should be
speaking to that

then we have kids silica a researcher

in the uk with an interesting career

with the was formerly in the zrp

for three years we worked in the

in the protection unit he was telling me

looked after me among others men used to

jonathan moyer appearance before leaving
and going to the uk

with first as a policeman but now his

phd in forensic archaeology

is specializing the identification of

victims of grounding

and last but not least before that i

think luke

tamborino was a journalist will be

speaking more on the

current manifestations of ethnicity in

politics in zimbabwe

and then israel jethro powerful

political philosopher you'll be looking

at
the liberation protest and the
coloniality
it's also name of the gga which is
a partner with self-distress currently
so that's our panel i
will now introduce the the topic
and i'll ask tony and mikhail to assist
in
posting the slides to which i will speak
to
i just want to say as we get them ready
this is a very important question
zimbabwe's national question
it pervades the entire history
i would say the the recent or
contemporary history of zimbabwe
and we are grateful to
the truth and the killer who threw two
pieces in
the daily maverick provoked us into a
discussion
we seek to look at the question broadly
beyond just as important as
a landmark as an as an illustration of
the failure
of the postcolonial state in resolving
the national question
but the problem is big
and and and and characterizes the
current
situation in zimbabwe so that's that's
our title there
uh this mother's national question the
root causes of ethnic strife
including manifestations in the
post-2017 coup
and how to begin addressing the problem
next thing defining the national
question this the national situation
refers broadly to the relative success
of failure to resolve the question in
the course of establishing
a nation-state and nationhood itself

and in the african context we speak more
of the nation state in the making
as an as as an unfinished business
with varying levels of success
cite tanzania for example and zambia
in subsequent remarks
in the region but
clearly the zimbabwean situation is one
in which
the national state in the making is
still in in rough waters
and to illustrate the national question
we cite some historical precedence
in the post-bourgeois nation state era
the post was failing the post with
westphalia state
to which denis zuru dietronpov will
speak
shortly but
good examples of the
visual states uh born out of the demise
of feudalism
in the emergence of capitalism
uh and the bourgeoisie as anchor class
of the nation state
were the european-based states like the
uk germany itself
although it has gone through turbulent
times since
the westphalian state france
and of course
the european-based dominions
moving too fast when you go back to the
european-based
dominions
based on conquest and extermination of
the native people in the americas
in australasia post 1492 which is
celebrated as columbus day
uh with much uh fanfare in in the
americas
but as samia mean often pointed out
that's the beginning of the nightmare
for the rest of the world now known as

the developing or third world
and of course the southern and south
american states was
a reminder that these are not
indigenous states these are states based
on
conquest by the
spanish portuguese
in the in the 15th 16th century then of
course we have the
modern dominions the usa itself
canada australia new zealand the
important point here to make is that
these states especially the usa
uh born out of conflict and even a civil
war
born out of the conquest of native
peoples
and the importation of african slaves
across the atlantic it became a united
federation on the back of
an anchor class the national bourgeoisie
um which which defines
the broad parameters of what you can
call the nation state
likewise in canada australia and new
zealand
and by comparison the field dominions
are the union of south africa
remember the union of south africa was
born in 1910
on the back of the conquest of the
african people
and as as as a peace treaty between
the boers and the brits
after the anglo-borough again
it is these like the usa is a consensus
among the the national bourgeoisie
uh that there's more to gain out of
union
than of separation and the other failed
dominion was the federation of religion
yesterday let's remember
that the the white settlers in southern

rhodesia
refused to become a fifth state of
south africa in 1923
and pursued the idea of another
union in competition or parallel to
south africa south africa this was the
ill-fated federation of legionnaires
which was formed in 1953 and saw its
demise in 1963
with the independence of malawi
and zambia but again
for the determined attempt to form a
dominion which would have included
part of the dlc katanga
just a reminder next one please
there one can also compare the
success in virtual commerce of the usa
and the western national bourgeoisie or
bourgeois state
with the demise of the ussr
in 1991 or yugoslavia
um and one might say well
the idea always has been that
as with bourgeois states the national
bourgeoisie is the
anchor class the center which holds
things together
the ussr experiment or attempt
the soviet union was an attempt to have
the socialist state
as a center or socialism as the
the foundation of the ussr
then we have the post-colonial states
the products of decolonization
a friend of mine richard mashave
in a debate last week said well
we can speak of of decolonization
in africa including zimbabwe
but less of independence and liberation
i think there's a very pertinent point
but the but basically the
product of degradation means that there
are states which are established
the clients by the un by the au

they have a flag an anthem etc
and then lastly this section
pan-africanism
which is the broad maybe it's both an
expression of
of a mission based on
a common history of the african peoples
at home in the diaspora
of having a united africa we were
currently expressed as it is through the
eu
and the the african economic
treaty of the abuja treaty as we call it
uh which by which africa was becoming an
economic
and political unit but in 2026 were very
far from
achieving that but it does in broad
sense explain
or even express also the failure
of the nation state in africa and that
for many
unless the idea is perhaps we should
strive for a bigger
hole such as the pan-african union of
africa and this diaspora then
pursue what appears to be a wasted
effort in creating nation states
which have failed so far especially
under
the comfort of brazil that has taken
over
control of most of these states
um yes so
i don't know if you're aware that the
there's the 57th the au
just approved this 57th state of the au
the the the diaspora state
the african diaspora state just
i just discovered that this week and
again
it seems to be evolving and developing
on the back of
a bourgeoisie in the diaspora

including one called a king david based
in dubai
interesting and fascinating let's move
now to defining zimbabwe itself
the post-colonial idea
of zimbabwe really
is like in most of african countries
it's usually defined on the basis of
previous empires
sometimes romantically there was with
little or real foundation but in the
case of zimbabwe
we have uh historians on the
pre-colonial
zimbabwe have done some fantastic work
and i've
been an average student of pre-career
zimbabwe
and reading the works of people like
gerald
masarire for example
this chapter in that book by the topless
and and and mulambo the becoming
zimbabwe
and therefore the earliest that we have
a record of is the kalanga empire of 400
bc
with mother mumbai where broadway is
today as its capital
and this kalangan empire
more or less uh conflates
with the rosary empire later on in 1690
to 98 and 1830 as i showed that below
but there are two points on to make here
the first is that
the what we call the zimbabwean
population
we are largely descendant of the kalanga
and the the how the kalanga became
karanga
might be largely a reflection of the
political economy
of pre-korean zimbabwe as as societies
moved from

hunting and gathering to agriculture
and therefore moving eastwards
to what became greater zimbabwe um
1290 to 1450 and then the related
empires that
were at the same time the twelve wow the
torah empire is 14 to 69
and then the celebrated empire the
mutapo
tapa empire with chicago's capital
which stretched i would say from 1490
to the 18th century and stretched from
baira in the east
to sorrow in modern botswana it was a
massive
empire and in many respects we also
included parts of zambia
and like the great zimbabwe it was also
unbounded as we know the zimbabwe to be
so for example the kalani empire of 400
bc
uh was on the one on
on the on included parts of botswana
parts of south africa
and of course zimbabwe like the great
zimbabwe was related to
what is called the province today
so we we have to in looking at the
pre-colonial
period we have to put aside the idea of
boundaries
and even rivers in the appeal rivers
were not
boundaries between people they were
facilitators of
integration between peoples as they are
all over the world and then we have the
rosy empire
um or the moyo dynasty
uh which really uh
was 169 1830 but
it is generally believed that
the roger empire reflected
the beginnings of an integrated zimbabwe

1897 did not overtake the rosy empire
if in my view
in my narrative the individual state
arrival individual state
reflects one of the amazing
experiences in african integration
because the the very they could not have
survived
without a level of the integration
in the population in the empire the rosy
empire
in which it became part yes
it uh there was develo hegemony in the
beginning state
was demonic and culturally so to this
day and that's why we find
the very loose reference to underbelly
as meaning anybody and everybody was
they barely speaking and anybody and
everybody was in the western part of
that kind of the country
but i think if so then it reflects
really more the levels of positive
integration
than those of conflict as highlighted by
people who want to highlight
the negative elements in inter african
relations fine we'll move on
now the root causes of ethnic conflict
in zimbabwe
the first the colonial enterprise
the making of tribe and tribalism is a
beautiful those are students of
sociology and the political economy you
do want to read that famous article by
achievement
the ideology of tribalism is very it's
seven pages
makes it very clear the concept of tribe
and tribalism
are a creation of european colonialism
and or anthropology and sociology
because the word tribe refers
sociologically to a pre-colonial social

information
unhindered and
interrupted by modern by modernity
and in reality there is no such social
information left anywhere in africa
certainly not in zimbabwe nor in
southern africa
the making of machine land but the
billion manicuring
these terms and nomenclature
are not only deceptive in describing
the country but are dangerously
emotive in promoting precisely
tribalism and ethnic ethnicity as we
know it
and and the restriction
of the postcolonial state is the extent
to which
there has been no attempt to date
reconfigure zimbabwe has happened in my
in
in tanzania or zambia
where the the
average zambian today does not remember
bharati land
which is now western zambia
that's the extent to which other
post-colonial dispensations
try to deal with this issue of
the archaeology or the architecture of
the architecture of colonial the
colonial enterprise
and uh when that uh making of machinery
material and manipulation and so on
are also the roots of the midlands
factor in its mobile politics
the witness factor maybe it's a subject
for another day but i hope that
my my pandas would do that but it refers
broadly to the extent to which the
maintenance factor
historically reflects the
the level of integration caused
and the hegemony of the individual state

as long as it lasts from 1830 to
1897 and these people tend to be
almost politically schizophrenic
in their conduct but also they tend to
be
at least from the zanu experience they
tend to be
rapidly anti-individual
rapidly and i think they
almost want to show that they have no
relationship at all
within develop factor of which they are
part
and in the in the highly
tribal atmosphere of guerrilla politics
or in in zanu
the west among the worst expressions
of the ethnic ethnic
expressions of tribalism has come from
the mutants factor
and today as look uh hopefully does join
us
we'll be discussing these current
manifestations
in particular the emergence of what we
call the
merengue factor in small bodies
then there was a formation of tribal
associations after the conquest of
the the uprisings of 1896-897
tribal associations were formed and
defined around
these assumed tribal identities
constructed and the role of a christian
missionaries
in the ethnicization of zimbabwe cannot
be forgotten
um and if you look at the history those
have done the history of christianity in
zimbabwe
you will see the country has passed out
the dutch reform church
the around machine guru morgenster
mission

the the jesuits
around the shawasha mission um
the shawasha people or what they call
the zazuru people
and you also had the the
lutheran missionaries in parts of the
midlands uh
passing out but what's significant here
is the making of shauna
the word shona emerges for the first
time in 1930
at a conference held in shawasha mission
which brought together missionaries to
form
a a language for teaching purposes
for written written writing purposes in
schools
because it was called shona is still a a
subject of
speculation as to what shawna meant
apart from the
well-known pejorative
meanings attached to it but certainly
that's where shauna came in 1930
through professor dog the so the shawna
dictionary
was really uh or the word shown itself
was a compromise between the
the dialects mainly of the karanga
dialect
around morganster mission and there's a
zero dialect
around shawasha mission and all the
other
dialects such as manika
kalanga vender were subsumed under this
term
then do not forget in the in the
colonial enterprise in the making of
of tribe and tribalism don't forget the
chief native commissioner
uh who took over the chief director
commissioner took over from the mambos
if you remember after the 1897

in particular my my great-grandfather
manguende
was in fact deposed as mambo
in 1812 of september 1897 and his
position was taken over by
chief native commissioner will uh
william edwards in 1897
and the chief judge commissioner took
over in areas where
the uprisings were most intense the
so-called michonne east which was really
the mongolian dynasty
the mashay mumbai in the czech
area marconi area
was executed and the chief native
commissioners therefore became
the expression of the new colonial
administration
next please
then the other root cause of the ethnic
conflict
ironically the african nationalist
enterprise itself
the nationalist peterborough class
coalition which was a coalition of those
tribal associations
that to the reference which i have made
under the colonial era
and the idea was that the petty pujas in
the middle class
would come together and and
subsume ethnic identification
or presumed identities
under one nationalism you get a good
dose of that
in dominic historia's book african
nationalism
but we are but gerard mazarin and myself
are looking
i know what you're going to work on
working on
the history of is above and we we are
following this very carefully um
and the term zimbabwe itself

is said to have been first coined by
george nandoro others say mike mike
but basically as as in zambia or malawi
african nationalists always looked at
the past
romantic past and it couldn't be a
better
symbol for that than great zimbabwe
itself
so one would say it's as good as any
could have been the rosy it could be
anything but that explains the origins
of zimbabwe
and the nationalist coalition
didn't last long if you took 1955
the the anc youth league
george up to ndp in 1959
in zappo 1960 in 1963
zappos split a breakaway zanu
and thereafter
were the there's a lot of work been done
on that
the zappos under split and certainly
one of the factors was the cold war
that zapu
leaned more and more towards the soviet
union as
as the struggle evolved
and also as part of the authentic six
along with
mpla uh philimo
swappo anc
and these were more or less in the
people saying the satellite of the
soviet union
where zanu was subsequently seen to be
more
in the china but
documents show close the close
the role of the us especially the u.s
embassy in jerusalem
and the and even the israeli factor
in tanzania the time in the formation of
zanu

and even the initial funding of zanu in
the
in the in the 60s in dallas
and then of course we have the struggles
in the struggle and
the reference to my muscular
work on this which is really an account
in many respects i would like to say
that ethnic politics
was manufactured in exile
i grew up in the era of the struggle a
national struggle at home
uh we
even at my age at 23 24
i was shocked to find the level of
ethnic consciousness
in exile which was not present at home
it became highly toxic
in the struggle era in rusacca
in maputo in darussalam
and you saw the international ethnic
conflict in zap itself
though not so violent as it was in
zanu but it is it was a process
uh within which zappo which was a
national
a truly national uh party
with the the
one might say high fields in the urban
areas being the
more or less the center of zappos
even in my home area water uh
chihuahua these were very strong supply
areas
gradually became in exile increasingly
identified or conflated with with ethnic
backgrounds such as debele or kalanga
and eventually you have the breakaway of
people who maintained
the national identity of zappos even in
exile
shikarima and nando breaking away and
forming feliz which became a zero
explanation

vis-a-vis zappos had become
largely speaking
and zanu which after 1975
and the decimation of the manuka factory
in 1975 from the death of chittypur the
killing of became identified
with karanga factor
not to mention the removal of the
story in 1975-76 as
then we we have also the conflict which
is uh said
we talked about the party
earthly conflict in the guerrilla armies
massacre of 1976
where the the zen
factor more or less overcome overcame
the uh
the zebra factor and conversely the more
agoraphil
massacre in which the
the zebra were more dominant over the
sun effect okay next
page please
so yeah i'm looking at the efforts
at uh uniting this
uh zanu and zappo and the
armies zebra and zandalar the various
efforts which
did not succeed i mentioned the cold war
the cold war really is more in the
context
of zebra but more in the context of the
the the uh sustenance of
the division and which made the
patriotic front
more expedient than a real unity
that you ought to be in which collapsed
soon
ironically soon after the longest house
agreement which which uh heralded the
uh independence a few months later
yeah the last page now
the post independence are the nation
state in the making question mark

as i just made reference to the
breakdown
of the poetic front which is rather
dramatic for some of us
even those of us who were at lancaster
we were surprised when we got back here
during the ceasefire to find that we are
now
back to zanu and zappo
weeks before elections
all i can say at this stage it was
really a
reflection of the enduring
conflict and division between
zapu and zanu more expressed more
in terms of the leaderships of these
movements uh personality
conflicts perhaps more but which were
translated into very tragic
um and and and
in here episodes in our history which
cannot be forgotten
you can begin with into bunny 1981
into bunny one in 202 so
our soldiers merging one another
i was unfortunate to be in in bulawayo
for both in dubai and two on government
business
and i remember 191 helping to
count the bodies that were
had to be put in wagons very sad indeed
then of course the biggest factor
which really tore apart
the country even as as as
as things appear to be normal i remember
in my case
we had minister manpower planning which
was made about both
southwestern in terms of personnel
suddenly we found that my enumerators
for the national manpower survey
in in the areas of the western part of
the country in midlands suddenly
disappeared

or was said to be detained or even
killed until the
grandi became very public and
subsequently the so-called unity accord
of 18
1987 which for us historians
was less a unity accord than the
conquest
of zappos and i remember speaking to the
old man
joshua and he explained that he
is simply considered to the unity of god
to stop
the killing the killings
in the western part of the country
he said those words himself and you just
find that
in his book uh his autobiography
but then is the point i want to make
to attend the killer but it's
it's less a tribe against a tribe
if you if one wants to talk about the
ground
or similar violence
that the state has visited out against
its people
these the role of the state
state-sponsored violence
against its people i would i was arguing
that
the the the postcolonial state in
zimbabwe
is a vicious factor when it comes to the
to to having to to impose conformity
when it comes to punishing those who
want to conform
um as shown during election violence
and election violence in in 2008 for
example
was terrible in in even in his in
zanu strongholds like michonne central
uh people who were shot killed
maimed for not voting for zanu-pf
in the runoff of 2008

was largely the the zimbabwean state the
military
against the strongholds zanusstrongers
in the in the so-called machine
provinces
you should remember that and that book
by
by um lloyd sachikoni when the stage
turns on its people
it's a very poignant one and i remember
when the city of the mirror i wrote an
editorial
under the title when the stage turns on
its people which
caused me a lot of problems with robert
mugabe
when we were criticizing rampant when
the urban population was ravaged
in 2005 for not supporting
zanu-pf for going with mgc
so last
in this section the coup and its
aftermath
and i hope that luke has joined us to
explain
the extent to which the last three years
i saw an expression of
ethnic
politics that one could not
imagine almost unimaginable
in the in the 21st century but you will
see
the exchange which the zimbabwean state
become ethnicized in the various
institutions
around ethnicity not just
the karanga factor but even the merengue
karanga factor as luke explains but i'll
leave that to him and before i now
conclude
next last page please
the text message
the way forward i'm proposing that we
look to the restoration of

constitutionalism
including the full implementation of the
20th century constitution
a truth and reconciliation commission
including an account of killings and
atrocities during the colonial and
struggle errors
the the killings in zambia 1975
the killings in tennessee conflicts
among ourselves should be looked at
because these
unless these are addressed and
confronted
will never have a peaceful zimbabwe
but most of all we are recommending a
deconstruction
of the colonial heritage by
reconfiguring zimbabwe
using the compass as happened in
tanzania
and zambia during and calendar areas
respectively
and there we withdraw a map
there's one missing there uh central
north west east south and central
and whether this coincides in some form
what's existing
doesn't matter what i think we should re
cast
and is institute an educational program
in our schools and potential
institutions
towards becoming zimbabwe
to the national touring nation
nationhood
in which everyone feels they belong
to the country i'll stop there and
invite tell the killer to take off
from me or to contradict me as you wish
tend to get it
thank you and yes i am going to
contradict you
on some of the aspects of your
presentation but

yeah thank you for that history i think
it's really important when we're talking
about these things
to speak about them in context and to
understand
um what brought us here so
um without wasting too much time i'm
going to get
into uh my part of the discussion and
uh i want to say that if we're to be
honest
many of us here have witnessed uh
tensions between belles and shaunas
in various aspects of our lives and i'm
saying this in cognizance of the fact
that
when we say shaunas
there is no such group as shona's it's a
group of different ethnicities just as
much as
you explained ippo right now that the
ndebele state
was not just a group of ndebeles but it
was different ethnicities
that group together so please bear with
i'm going to be using the terms in
developers a lot and the terms shown as
a lot because my study
is in the context of kukura honji and
thanks to kugrahandi
all the people from matipela land who
were non-shona
became at the time ndebeles and
the target was so
that said i'm going to go back to what i
was saying about
all of us having at best just witnessed
tensions between these two groupings and
at west having perpetrated some of these
tensions or spread stereotypes
about ndebeles are these or shaunas are
that you know so
that is the nature of our country we are
divided and were divided along

ethnic lines in so many ways and
um the thing is a lot of
people just hear these stereotypes
and they just go with them without
realizing just how deep this
issue of ethnic tension goes and where
it stems from
you know so like i i'm an example
because i i really knew nothing about
these tensions growing up
you know growing up i was so blind to
our different
ethnicities i had shauna friends
stronger friends
kalanga friends you know and i really
did not
know anything about any history
that could uh differentiate
us and differentiate us to the point of
hatred between different ethnicities but
with age i started opening my eyes
to a lot of things that seem trivial
but as you look at them in the bigger
context you ask yourself wait a minute
like for example i would get into every
government office
in gwanda where i was born and bred and
for me to get
service in the majority of those offices
i would have to be able to speak
it started to feel like oppression
because i did not
have a choice i didn't have a choice it
wasn't
i am a very fluent general speaker i'm a
very fluent developed speaker i can
speak a bit of kalanga but
when you get to a situation where you
are forced in a country that has 16
official languages
to only have one official languages
as the language of business as the
language of
the the the social language then you

start
feeling some kind of oppression and this
is something that
is difficult to understand if you have
never felt it if you have never
experienced it so it's these small
things
that you experience bit by bit until
you start to feel also some type of
resentment
towards it you know so this was my
um first experience of
the tensions between our different
ethnicities but my first
real experience of hostility towards me
because i am from matibeland was in
university i
got a place at the midland states
university
by force basically because
my application was rejected but
there were so many other people who had
lower points than me that that got in
and you know
i remember my i was quite an independent
18 year old i think because i went to
msu by myself after i'd been rejected my
father wrote
a letter to professor joppo and
asked for an explanation as to why i
didn't get a place and professor zabo
was really
coordinated about it he just wrote me a
letter to go and give to the chairperson
i don't remember what was in the letter
and i got a place but from that
day the chairperson of the department
hated me the first question they asked
me was are there no universities in
mattebella
it seemed like an innocent question to
me as an innocent 18 year old
you know and i i'm sure i just answered
i don't remember what i could have said

but my four years
at university were hell because that man
never forgot first of all that he had
denied me a place
and then been forced to give me a place
every turn you would remind me that i'm
from matibeli land you would make me
feel that i did not belong
and it raised a lot of questions in my
head why why would someone
be so hostile towards a student
because of where they come from and i
remember there's a time i failed to hand
in an assignment in time because
uh my son was in hospital when i told
him
he he failed me and said he heard
that i'm always following bosso around
the country
and you know it was so ridiculous to me
because first of all i'm not a soccer
fan but
the association that you are from matiba
land you you support
highlanders is something that seems
innocent but there's a lot of
stereotype that is deeply entrenched in
in those feelings and those sentiments
that i expressed
and they i hate you know so i'm going to
move
to this point of hate and to say
it is an undisputable fact that zanu-pf
hates
people from matibela land and that
zanu-pf perpetrated
hate crimes against the people of
matibelle and
if we do hate crimes i define i'm going
to read this out because i don't want to
make a mistake
so hate crimes are defined as criminal
offense
against a person or property motivated

in whole or in part i want you guys to hold on to this in part because it's very important so these are crimes against a person or property motivated in war or in part by an offender's bias against a race religion ethnicity and so many other things so graham was a hate crime it was murder and destruction of property and an effort to eliminate an ethnicity the reason why this prejudice or this hate happened whether it was politically motivated or it was motivated by whatever is besides the point when it comes to defining it as a hate crime zanu pf perpetrated hate crimes against the people of matebellaland and they perpetrated these hate crimes on ethnic lines and this could have been as explained by evil because zanu-pf hates anybody that voids against them and so you need to understand that hate crimes do not mean that if somebody hates people of mata bella land and perpetrates crimes against them based on ethnicity it doesn't mean they cannot hate daouz because of ethnicity it doesn't mean that they cannot hate muslims because of religion hate it it's the hate is not mutually exclusive a person full of hate can hate different groups of people but we need to accept that what happened in mata berlin

was hate crimes and this is from a
victim's perspective i know there are
many different perspectives
there are perspectives from political
analysts their perspectives from
academics in different fields but
we cannot argue about the fact that
gugurahndi
was a hate crime and because of the
scale it was a genocide
it was motivated by hate
against the people of matibelli land
because they voted against zanu and maas
in 1980 and it was a genocide because
the only people
that were targeted by the state and the
soldiers sent by the state
and by the zanu-pf militia and byzano pf
citizen civilians based in matibel
island
were non-shona speaking citizens in
matibel island
so this is important for us
to say uncomfortable as it may be
because there is no way we can solve
this without
accepting that there is a problem and
this problem is
ethnical and it has resulted in ethnic
tensions
that are now spiraling out of control
because
when you ignore a problem for too long
extremism comes into play you know
so what happened was an extremist
crime against a people and that has gone
ignored for so many years and because it
has been
ignored we are in danger of revenge
crimes
coming into place you know i am a fan of
art
as a way of explaining
things and because of that i read a lot

of books and watch a lot of movies i
i think there's a movie called a time to
kill
it's an american movie and it's about a
black man
whose nine-year-old daughter very young
i may be wrong on the age but
but this man's daughter was raped by two
white men
and and when the when she was now
explaining to her father
she was saying i called you daddy i
called you
and and you didn't help me and the
helplessness
that this man felt upon hearing that her
nine-year-old
his nine-year-old daughter had been so
violated
because of hate that a hate crime had
been perpetrated
against his daughter it was too much for
him
to the point that he just picked up a
gun and gunned down those two people
that perpetrated the crime so
unfortunately
because this man was trying to
meet justice towards the people the two
men that raped his child
but by doing so he committed a crime and
justice had to be meted against him as
well
so my point is that hate crimes beget
hate and it becomes a cycle
you know it becomes a cycle of hate that
is difficult to quell the longer the
crimes
go uh unfixed or
the longer we go without talking about
these crimes telling the truth about
them
and that is what is happening in
matebellin now we've got

many groups of people who are now saying
look
sorry
the host muted me for a moment i'm not
sure what's going on
okay okay so um
uh i don't remember now where i was
but uh i think i was now okay i was
talking about cycles of violence how
if we do not go out of our way
to fix these injustices that happened in
the past we're in danger
of having repeat cycles of violence and
we see that
now because there are many voices in
matebellum that are now
saying okay so zanu-pf killed our
parents
ozanopf killed our children and nothing
was done
to fix that what is the point of
us remaining part of this country
that does not acknowledge the crimes
that were perpetrated against us
what is the point of staying as part of
zimbabwe
of what benefit is it to
a zimbabwean from matib
to stay part of zimbabwe that
perpetrated was government perpetrated a
genocide
against matebellian's people
and got away with it not only did they
do that
marginalization against the people of
matabelle and continues
and the institutionalized tribalism is
something that we face
every single day so someone from
machiavellian will ask themselves
what is the point really of staying part
of this country
why not succeed and you know i hear
people

talking about cessation being extremist
and it shocks me
that people will see extremism
in feelings of wanting independence
but seeing no extremism in the
perpetration of a genocide against
an entire not even one province but
against
several provinces in our country you
ignore that extremism but you see
extremism in parties like mrp
who are now saying there is no hope for
people of matebella
in this country so why don't we just cut
ties why don't we just break up
what is extremist about a breakup what
is extremist about a breakup from an
abuser
because what we need to understand is
that
zimbabwe is under zanu-pf
government and if we talk about
cessation we are talking about seceding
from zanu-pf rule so i really
struggle to understand why people
feel that this this topic of cessation
is a no-go area it's treasonous how is
it treasonous
if we are in agreement that zanu-pf
is a hateful government that has
perpetrated crimes against all of us why
then
when some of the victims of of the
violence
say they no longer want to be part of
this country you think it's extremism
what is so extremist about saying i'm
done with this abuse
i don't want to be part of it anymore
and remember as it were explained
some of these borders are results of
colonial rule you know
it is because of colonization that
zimbabwe is zimbabwe as it is now

so if we really want to go
back that far in history we will find
more arguments
for cessation than against cessation and
i want to make it clear that
uh i personally do not believe
that cessation is the way to go but i'm
against the criminalization
of cessation as an option
for people who feel that it is an option
for them
victims of abuse are have got
every right to decide for themselves
how they want justice
they have every right to decide for
themselves what justice means to them
and if they are victims who believe that
justice for them
is succeeding from zimbabwe nobody
should criminalize that
instead people should come to the table
have a conversation
and we decide what is the best way
forward without criminalizing any of
these
these sentiments that victims hold
right now we've got the mrp9 let's sum
up
sum up sum up uh okay sorry so
right now we've got the mrp that's being
persecuted and they're not getting any
support
because they preach cessation and i find
it really
hypocritical because we cannot
persecute each other because our
our our way forward is different
anyway uh the bottom line is that
we need to talk about what happened in
mata berlin
we don't have to bury our heads in the
sand and say
it was not an ethnic uh
it was not it what happened was not

ethnic because it was
according to the victims who as in my
article i explained
were either killed or saved because they
were non-shona speakers
so we need to talk about these things
we need to come together if we are
indeed one country
with a vision for peace and
reconciliation there can never be
peace if there is no justice and there
can never be reconciliation
if there is no peace among us but how do
we achieve that peace
we achieve it by acknowledging the
crimes that were committed against
some groups in our country by
acknowledging the gravity
with in as much as yes
bad things have happened to everyone in
our country but we need to acknowledge
that a genocide is at another level
altogether anyway i think the other
things i'll say as we discuss
but thank you thanks thanks thank you
very much
thanks uh i'm sure there will be
questions
some are coming up already is it uh
justice or cessation
other than saying what is the basis of
cessation uh
who are these people uh talking about
cessation
others are saying are you conflating the
zanu-pf with
with with everybody um
and is the state
the same as the generality of the
population
these are questions which are coming up
but i think uh we move
straight to keith kids illegal
good afternoon good evening everybody uh

thank you for
dr mandela for inviting me to this
interesting discussion
thank you tandy killer for your for your
discussion previously and
there are things that i agree with you
and the things that i'll
disagree with you i'm going to start off
with
my personal journey in terms of uh goku
arundi
and and i'm also going to discuss the
shona
the shona question and semantics over
identity and i'm gonna finish up with
the
possible options that can reduce ethnic
strife between them
different groups that broadly described
as short and event
my own personal journey in terms of
studying gukrahundi and searching and
even knowing about goku
and started the modest airport when i
was housed
with another underbelly
so we were housed together because my
surname is silica
and his surname was lunga so the
instructors thought we are both from
mata villain
i was not from my dublin and they'll be
called the the
one of the senior instructors will
constantly give us
very difficult tasks and i i never
understood because i was quite young
then i was only 20.
and i said longer why is this instructor
doing that to me and he said to me
because my email is not that good
he said fifth brigade was like you
william
is one of the fifth brigade guys oh i

don't know anything about i did not know
anything about
jp i did not know anything about
appended in my table and it was only
when i
moved to england then i started
researching and
getting my eyes my eyes open with in in
terms of google only
so that's that i wanted to make the
introduction to
to make to to make people aware about
the complexities of
using shona and debele in general and
also mercedes silica has got an l and
there's no l in shown
and when i have when i've been
researching sometimes people will be
saying like
oh you're gonna start conflict you're
one of them
and when i'm with shona people i get a
different kind of response
so there is kind of uh attrition as than
the claim and
that declara mentioned i'm also going to
agree with nikki on several issues that
she
she has raised in terms of the
marginalization of people from my table
and
in in political context in in terms of
the
economic context uh you know
we all know that my turbulent is very
under well developed
and uh we all know that there is a
in terms of goku only there's been lack
of acknowledgement
by by the state there's been
memorable memorialization of
of of gokurandi has been
it has been banned you know there's no
birth certificate and that's a forgetful

for surviving victims so there's this
general intergenerational continuation
of what happened in in google only
because people are still
suffering loss as a result of that you
know one of the
ridiculous things we come across system
is the recruitment of
non-shorter speakers to teach in the
belly speaking schools
that is a cause cause of strife as well
because i i disagree that
how can people from other parts go and
teach
in places in which they don't have the
law the capacities
particularly in teaching and those uh um
particular uh languages so those
those those areas are broadly agree with
with tranquility what she said
it's quite that that's quite apparent um
however there are
all the actual issues that i disagree
with is characterization
of an individual being shown
and also we need when it comes to google
only we need to define
our our perpetrators which was zanu-pf
we know that there was zanu-pf it was a
zanu-pf idea
which started in right after
independence we know
the army that caused that we know that
the central intelligence organization
was involved in those issues and we know
some
members of different army groups were
involved in
and also the makeup of those
organizations was
mixed they were there were white people
they were developed people
they were called shauna people all of
these people were

were responsible for so that
all those issues kind of modeled
the the general characterization
of of of of the of the perpetrator
so i prefer using as he mentioned
previously
uh defining the the the perpetrator as a
zone pf and not
zany people did not start this uh google
only strategy
it did not end the google strategy after
after 1987
they continued to decimate opposition
because of uh mugabe's desire for you
for
for a one-part state and it's very
important in that context if i can quote
um one of africa's most famous writers
shimanda
goes when she said show people as one
thing
over and over again and become they
become themselves you know so so there's
dangers in
in in labeling the perpetrators
uh constantly constantly is as shown and
shown
and also i can quote there's a famous
good book which i'll post on the chat
called
the more than the rockers uh folk devils
and monopoly panics
it it describes uh how people construct
uh identities and culture and make it a
thing
and those and those individuals become
that thing
based not only on what is happening or
based on what people feel that is
so so it's quite important and i know
you mentioned
the book when you when you mentioned the
idolatrous
of tribalism i've not read that but i've

got a guess that it probably describes
some of the the the similar elements
uh in regards um the construct of of
of tribes within zimbabwe at etc etc
um and also i'd like to touch on briefly
on um
on ancient greek democracy
uh idea that in terms of um
as approaching the attrition and strife
between
various ethnic groups the the greek
democrated
three individuals within society they
say they were they were idiots
they are idiots within society they are
tribalist society
and they are citizens within society
idiots are the self-centered people
probably i could say i could say plainly
some of them the ones that found is
in in example we've all been responsible
for all these atrocities that we
that we see presently and then there's
the the tribalist
there's nothing wrong in an individual
belonging to a certain tribe
and being proud of that tribe what might
be problematic is an individual having
tribalistic probably monotone monolith
views
those individuals it's very difficult
for them to be
um a positive contributing society
the last um the last kind of citizens
that
the greek wanted and they called the
citizens people were open-minded
and people are willing to do work be an
and acknowledge
um ethnic different differences cultural
differences in
in in various individuals in order to to
move
the problem the problem forward and i'm

gonna

i think my time might be running i'm not sure so i'm gonna end in terms of what can we do about

ethnic strife uh when we're in zimbabwe within the contracts of

of gokurandi um we all know that the the national patient reconciliation commission that's been um

going on for the past couple years is nothing but a front

um delaying tactics for for us

individuals we want uh truth-telling and other transitional

uh justice processes come through so the national oppression reconciliation commission

is not going to move uh the issue of good ground

forward because they've demonstrated that you know we wanted open

a transitional justice process where victims where it's victim-centered

and it's open in terms of victims i want to touch that

briefly that zimbabwe has over 10

goku only victim groups all wanting the same thing

and they're all perpetrating the same issues in terms of ethnicity and tribe etc

that is slowing us down i was fortunate enough to

to have a meeting with the international commission of the missing persons director

uh in the age when i was presenting them my thesis they were asking like what are the victims like let's say

we got loads we've got tons of victim groups so that's quite problematic when an organization such as the icmp

would want to work with uh with with his mobile groups in order to

advance and resolve um issues
surrounding google only so in terms of
the nrpsc
we need uh we need a new thinking
you know google only i knows but with so
many organizations already
in terms of transitional justice but i
think google only needs to be housed
on its own with with commissions and
directors
and the structure which contains various
people from history
archives um forensics and
media etc edc so that's the direction
that
that might work forward because i was
fortunate enough to work in ireland
you know for for similar commission and
only on
the forensic context again victim groups
despite in ireland victim groups being
slightly divided it's almost involved
they came together
you know they were victim focused they
came together to search
and um and identify their they are
missing successfully
despite uh their own differences between
the nationalists
and the and the republicans they did
much to come together
and also they saw the other low-hanging
fruits that
um us citizens of zimbabwe can can
can contribute towards
in terms of political advocacy advocacy
in terms of legislation
and and people like me in my background
in terms of forensics
for example we don't have we have mdc
role of owner
victim groups we don't have that for for
for as far as am i for victims of goku
only and we have free software

from the icmp which is readily available
for us
to utilize because we need a list of all
those
individuals that were killed in mata
berlin so that we can have
accountability
so these are the things that we can do
on all also we can also
draft our own bills and legislation but
that will also depend on on the
political climate
that will prove what parliament we have
i don't know
how many people we have in there so that
we can pass certain bills
because all the things that all the
issues around goku and political
violence
and all the strife that's happening is
mobile has happened somewhere else
and what's his weight in such a place in
in there
as a here in england and also in south
america they were a dictatorship
that exploited um divisions within their
population
but when those victims and individuals
came together those detectors should
fail
and some of them as some of you are
aware even then people are still looking
for the nazi
nazis you know 80s 18 and 70 80
years down the line so we can also do
the same
you know we need to you know come
together and
probably be careful with our language in
terms of
labeling uh individuals in a certain way
you know i've got like really really
good
professors from various different

backgrounds who wanted to study the
google only
study google only sometimes and they're
very very
um they're not comfortable in terms of
those labeling and some of them have
been labeled
google only people when they have been
trying to write books about it
that kind of thing so that is my small
contribution
towards uh what what's the problem in
terms of
the attrition within within the country
and also
what how can we resolve it so uh thank
you very much
thanks keith thanks very much indeed
just want to do
just to try and moderate the discussion
two things one we want to
speak about victims of
of violence victims of state atrocities
without a hierarchy of suggesting that
some victims are more important than
others that's one
the second more important is that
more important that we need to make such
atrocities
for genocide as as good grounding not
an ethnic issue but a national issue
it must be dealt with in the national
context
it is an it is it is a and as long as we
particularize it
and and put it in in in in a in a
separate category
without the danger as much as as the
status so to do that
in the manner in which it perpetuated
that violence in the in the
ground years we should not fall victim
with the citizens to take your term kid
with a citizen should not fall victim to

that
we need to address
problems such as this in a national
context
i'll ask
to help us in putting everything
together
before we turn this to discussion
before thank you very much
um professor igbo for this platform
and the many colleagues that are
participating here and
others that are connected in this
virtual space where we are trying to
navigate and negotiate ourselves in
understanding these uh
troubling issues before us
my principal argument
which is also my capital observation
and also conclusion is that um
what we have in zimbabwe in terms of
a government in the present
um an administration of the
what is supposed to be the nation state
is actually a native
colonialist regime that took over
from the secret colonialist regime
of ian smith in 1980
and my presentation will seek to
flesh out that observation agreement
and conclusion with
ethnic strife in perspective
i seek to argue that in the same manner
in which
secular colonialists weaponized
racial justification racial
discrimination of
the people in order to perpetuate
colonial dominance
dominance of the politics and the
economies
there's a new pf regime
uh in zimbabwe has weaponized ethnicity
in the same manner there's a way in

which secular colonialism
managed to graduate some of its
mods and tools of rule
right into the movement that was
supposed to be fighting it
and what came in 1980
was a native colonialist regime
that is so far through kokurawindi and
other
festivals of cruelty and violence
demonstrated
all things colonial in terms of rule
they call it uga
and the country itself has been
collapsed and compressed to an
object called
our theme are we in the way too and all
that so
all that language actually brings into
life
um what has happened historically where
what was supposed to be a nation-state
in a country has been collapsed
into a native colony
of a kind right um
in its genealogy and death
uh the nation state itself has got um
many understandings that have been
circulated about it but i want to
privilege
um the events of 1492
in southern spain with the conquest of
granada
parts of al andalus and analysis
which were the remaining city-states
in the west that were not under
christians and europeans
that were under the moors the muslims
and some jews so in 1492 actually in
general
when uh granata was conquered
uh the nation
that had conquered the christian nation
had to have a state

and the states that took over canada
from king mohammed and to have a nation
that is people were to be one under one
flag
one religion um uniform aspirations
one national anthem if you wish
and that nationwolf
was not persuaded it was not
legally built it was not built out of
consciousness
but out of conquest jews were forced to
convert
from judaism to christianity muslims
were forced to convert from islam
to christianity
those that resisted were crucified
and destroyed
so there was forced conversion of some
by the conquerors and some people
especially women
that had knowledge that in power and
that were doing such an important jobs
were bent at the stakes as witches
so the women that participated in
politics and medicine and healing and
everything were pronounced as witches
and described those people that were
beyond
salvation that could not be civilized
and they were bent at the stakes
as witches and socialists that the
nation state could not live with
i'm going on on and on on this
conquest of um granada because
that is the event where
the template of colonial conquests
and imperial invasions that took uh
place in the entire global site south
asia latin america and africa
we're based on so the way africa asia
and um
the americas were conquered the template
of that particular kind of conquest
the conventions invasions of territories

uh massacres ethnic cleansing
and everything were generated
demonstrated in traumatized first in
granada
so that template of colonial conquest
was carried over
to the entire global south that
included us in our corner and that
dark armpit of the world that we found
ourselves in
called um zimbabwe
um after that
um we realized that within
um europe itself
there were wars conflicts most of which
were actually religious
national ethnic economic
political and otherwise like
that thirty years war
that ended with the peace of west falia
in 1648
what was the achievement of west falia
1648 it was the modernization
democratization and civilization of the
nation states
in europe uh west valley was an
agreement that let's recognize each
other's differences as europeans and
whites
let's respect each other's nationalities
borders sovereignties and human who
can live together in tolerance in peace
and in civilized competition for
resources and for power
tragically and much unfortunately
that was definitely an epiphany that was
the valiant
discovery and the importance of the
common family mood of human beings
was not extended to the global sun
it was retained as a gift and as a
result
of white people of europeans and those
that called themselves

civilized the masters of the universe
and the conquerors of the earth so
in the global south the forms of
conquest and colonization
and so-called civilization that took
place
remain the based on ethnic cleansing
forced conventions uh massacres
and biblical violence
where people were killed in large
numbers
and killed using inhumane
mods of mass mata and other forms
of colonial influence that we continue
to witness
so the happenings of 1884 1885 in delhi
were happenings that were an extension
of that politics of conquest where
the continent was sliced up like bread
resources
carved for the consumption control
and domination by selected
european powers that took charge of
different provinces of the
continent nationalities and ethnicities
of the
continent were severed cut across
divided
moved scattered squeezed out and um
dispossessed and displaced the speed way
and all that
was part of um colonization
in its amplification
and multiplication in imperialism
and then one would expect that when
liberation movements came
in the 50s in terms of rhetoric and
talks in the 60s
in the intensified in the 50s when
countries like
ghana became independent right up to our
own time
that time those that were appointed who
appointed themselves liberation fighters

will find it important to decolonize
the nation states and these colonial
modes of rule
and these colonial modes of governance
and these colonial modes of conquest
and domination of one by the other based
on identity politics
but what happened in spite of many calls
by people like kwame kuruma
george pagmore and others that we should
have one united states of africa
that would be ruled using the ideology
of pan-africanism
and all that toxic
african nationalism prevailed
that there should be nation states
that govern themselves that enjoy
certain sovereignties
and that pay tribute to pan africans and
only through
or multilateral organizations like the
organization of african union then
what we have now as the eu what we have
now is attic and all that
but toxic african nationalism
managed to triumph over the spirit
of pan-africanism and unity amongst the
people of africa
and genocides massacres
and other festivals of violence and
cruelty
became possible in rwanda 1994
in zimbabwe 1982 to
to date because yes um
chandega was talking about it is an
ongoing
genocide and epistemology not a thing of
the past
the question is how is it proceeding how
is it happening
we can talk about that right um
tragically if one looks at such a
liberal
so-called liberation structure like the

war
against the colonialism in zimbabwe
uh if we consult statistics now
many black rotations then
died of strategies within this track
than those that were killed
by secular colonialists
there was more killings of black people
by black people
than there were killings
of rhodesians against black
people and goku is
itself dropped
more bodies more graves
than were dropped by the secular
colonialist
regime of ian smith so the structures
within the structure
that merciful has totally fleshed out
and
other historians and scholars have
phased out were much deeper
and much troubling than we normally
take them to help me so my
argument there um or professor mantas is
that the liberation strike itself
got colonized to an extent where it
collapsed
from a structure of liberation to a
structure of
conquest and dominance of the post
colony by a native elite
well for us that are interested in
research you can consult professor
peter aka of nigeria on
colonialism as a social system
where he describes how
the elite in the so-called liberation
structures
and the elite in the so-called secular
jews
became forces and entities that needed
each other
and they were all repeated against the

masses
of the people of africa so what we had
in 1980 was a native elite
taking over from a colonial elite
and what was delivered was native
colonialism
as large-scale media as a genocide
with economic political social and
cultural
ramifications and spiritual effects
was a telling symptom of
um native colonialism where some natives
had taken over from syria they became
colonialists
and were prepared to cleanse
the zimbabwean soil of those that were
now called politicians
impurities the chaff the name of
translating only to english means chaff
that must be
flushed out of the land that must be
cleaned and washed away
that's what was happening it was a
manifestation of native
colonialism its people can extend
professor muhammad how
the truth genocide of 1994 itself was
also
a development of native colonialism
where hutus using the who to power
ideology identified themselves
as the natives of rwanda
and he had a duty to god and they
treated to the motherland and the
fatherland
to cleanse the land
of truthy impurities and pollutants
people can ignore this or negate this in
their research
observation and expression
but there are so many books
published by zimbabweans
right from morris uh lawrence bambes and
ill-fated people

and other tips that clearly portrayed
uh under many people as secrets that ran
away from chaga
and came to to what they described as
zimbabwe and
these people are foreigners should go
back where they came from or
behave as foreigners and be content
with the crumbs of the national creek
that fall onto their
on the ground for them to kick and not
demand more because they are not
authentic natives those discourses are
there and they worked
in the politics during the bush war
against secular colonialism and that and
there were some
indianapolis that felt that they were
the prophets of the land
defenders of the motherland and the
fatherland that had to deal with the
developer question in zimbabwe after
dealing with the auditions and all that
those are facts unfortunately they are
of history that
cannot be ignored as drivers that draw
um and i did say that i right inside the
deliberations tracking native
colonialism
a nativism as an ideology was born
and this nativism was to explode into a
genocide
um after uh rhodesian secular
colonialism
did a legal and political retreat even
if it didn't do
an economic withdrawal right
and franz fernan has given to us
on the table a description
of how african nationalism
degenerated from nationalism as it is
supposed to be a unifying ideology
to nationalism as a divisive ideology
where we moved to trojans in ultra

racism
foreign and other
toxic ideologies that divided the people
and we ended up with the same
colonialism that we were fighting
only that now that colonialism was now
being driven
and brought to life by some natives
so try magazine became political capital
that was usable for mukher to reduce
income from father zimbabwe
to father of the dissidents to a tribal
chieftain
and to someone on entity today by the
corner
the ideology of tripolism that
manufacturing
talks about had to be prepared it had to
be injected
into the people of zimbabwe and made
their passion
the people of nationality men were
educated into tribalism which they
didn't know
were fueled and impassioned with
tribalism
a very great book written recently by
professor miles stanley
reveals tellingly and using some of the
most
the finest social science that actually
the first political party to have
dissidence was zander
more than three thousand zandalar
cutters were commandeered
by a rex nogo and the highlight of the
leadership day
not to report to the assembly points to
prepare to campaign for some pf
and to monitor the villagers in machine
league
go away supporting japan who were
preparing not to vote
zan so there was zanda dissident

activity in zimbabwe
in 1988 afterwards and that history is
not properly fleshed out
what is magnified and amplified is how
zebra and zappos had dissident pandas
and all that and
that history might be a subject in the
topic for another day
right um france for none
one could think he was talking about
zimbabwe
when he described how natives
can actually degenerate into colonials
if one listens to the language
that was being used by gomer that was
being used by um
uh mugabe innocence
and the cutters in um
zanu-pf talking about the people of my
tablet
about example about joshua that was
colonial language
people were called things people were
named
indirect time and the hateful
attempts that chandelier was um
describing before us right now
um professor mandela i want to argue
that
zimbabwe he has not even attempted to be
a nation state
um there has not been even an experiment
or a pretense at it but what
possibly it attempted to become was a
state nation
where a certain political party
colonized state institutions
state systems and structures and the
state became the party and the party
became
there was that conflation and that
state nation made no attempt to build a
nation
the attempt that was made was to build

to build the regime
you told me that the host the host that
muted me
i think it's the npf using witchcraft to
silence me now
thank you malimu i'm back um
where was i that
a part has colonized the state
conflicted it with itself and what we
have
is a state nation at best and that
wastes a patination
massive astor and john mcombe talked
about um
the one party psychology that possessed
robert mcavee in his new pf in the 70s
and
in 1980 going forward that was a
colonial psychology in my observation
and pew
and that is in place what we have in
zimbabwe is a state that is a party
and a party that is a state and some
authentic
originals and pf members will tell you
that what we have now is not spf
but a faction of zanu-pf that is calling
themselves and pf
and his sort of in their own view
migrated from the original plan or the
original plans so
you might as well be talking about a
factional state
run around a family
and a father in the same way in which
mugabe head becomes an
pf and zanu-pf mukadi to the extent that
chris mccabe could say
anyone that opposed to mcgave opposed to
the nation and oppose the state
is the same thing that is happening now
one only needs to read
professor jonathan moyos excel gate
a book that every serious um should read

by the way
and one only needs also to read that
report
by the citizen maverick to show how the
nangakwa family
and its friends
not just the faction that is in power
now have literally colonized
the economy and the politics
and that actually going to elections in
zimbabwe right now as an opposition
political party
is a waste of time because the army the
police the intelligence the judiciary
and other structures of state power as a
new peers
and forbid any prospects of political
change
with the economy every sector mining
farming manufacturing right
up to umalai chai that carry goods from
hill pro to cholo
now that the president his family and
friends want to have trucks that carry
goods for people they want to
paranormalize
ban cross-border taxes that's how deep
the colonization of the economy and the
polity has been
by the present native colonialist regime
right um that monopolization of life
economic and political and social by
a small but powerful minority
that is backed by the army the
intelligence the police
describes native um
colonialism so right
from there uh you can see a clear
picture of what is happening to us
and what is happening to zimbabwe right
uh briefly about kukri only i think
tandem did
justice uh to that specific uh
subsection of what we're talking about

today
just like what happened in granada in al
andalus and
andalusia kukuraundi was a
a war of conquest like what muali
muhammad as i said
just now where a certain people are to
be politically neutralized
they are to be converted from one
political ideology to another
and they have to be forced to renounce a
certain history
and accept another history
just listen to the language of uh mugabe
amazon
and you know during it was the
quasi-religious language
of people being converted people
repenting
and people becoming something else that
they were not and
in that war tribal passions were offend
tribal fires were ignited
and the hatred was propelled and that
divided the nation almost beyond repair
to the extent that when tanda really
accused that
doesn't succession make sense you then
see the rationale
you then see the the understanding and
then you see the reasons
um why there are some authentic people
that believe that they are nationless
they are stateless in reality
to the extent that one can say that why
do you blame mrp
for talking cessation when the zanu-pf
government
has long forced nuns and pf people
and some non-jonah people to succeed to
politically spiritually and culturally
from
the mainstream economy and mainstream
quality of the country

the people that can be accused of
cessation of tribal divisions
are clearly the people that are
governing the part of state
or this death nation that we call
zimbabwe today using the ideology
of nativism that brings to life
the native colonialism that i'm talking
about so
what are we going through in zimbabwe in
closing
we are going through an elongated
interregnum that antonio
crumstead saw hospitably described
that when the old is not dying
and the new is not getting born fast
enough
you have an indirect name where morbid
symptoms appear
was a morbid symptom of um colonialism
native colonialism rambasina was a
morbid symptom
of native colonialism the recent
shootings
of an armed protesting voters in 2018
itself and the monopolization of the
economy and the politics
the butchering of women just like it
happened in canada treating them as
witches and walls
just look at how grace mugabe herself
was treated when she showed political
aspirations
the words which were as social
are brought into the form just like it
happened uh
in in granada a professor
horace campbell has written a powerful
book
on the patriarchal uh liberation mode
in zimbabwe in that book taking three
claimings that's why we are in an
elongated
uh interroganum where colonial symptoms

colonial modes of rule
and native colonialists are in charge
where
leaders rule as conquerors not as
liberators
and they do threaten this every time do
this and then you will see
which never never church uh
and all those discourses that are
actually symptomatic and expressive
of native colonialism uh professor walim
and
can i pack it here so that i enable the
conversation to
you're driving it so we couldn't stop
you you're driving it i think
to perform the base of discussion now we
invite discussions i think uh
uh jesus brought in a new
concept which i've read up uh from him
before
nature colonialism nativism
ideology state nation participation
fractional state all important it has
helped us to
de-emphasize the
the ethnic basis of
state violence and highlights the nature
of these predatory
violent states that we have
but i don't want to go too far and and
pretty much discussion
i invite comments put up your hands
and
then the killer and uh keith come in as
you wish
you want to see something
yes thank you everybody for
an extremely rich and
difficult and problematic discussion
uh my reading so far in the discussion
is that
i think we're in no doubt that
ethnicity is a problem and ethnicity is

used as a tool for the maintenance of
power
what does concern me though is history
german once commented that a nation that
doesn't understand its history will
never be a nation
and i think the discussion today
amplified that
but i want to make some very specific
points
and in particular in the relationship to
who has the right to challenge
for the ills that they were done
and and i've seen comments on on the
table that
uh what happened in marabella land
between 72
between 82 and 87 require special
treatment
now i want to challenge this right now
uh the violations that happened in
zimbabwe
i think could be characterized uh
from pre-independence to now as a series
of crimes against humanity
there's no doubt in my mind that we're
the
right legal apparatus to be there
that what happened during the liberation
and conducted
mostly and i disagree with uh
with jethro uh that the rhodesian
government committed crimes against
humanity there's no doubt in the
definition
that's followed quite clearly in my mind
whether you call it crimes against
humanity or genocide
between 82 and 87 is again within the
category of that
we could fit what happened in the
elections in
2002 in 2008 quite
clearly within uh the definition of

crimes against humanity
uh operation murambuccini
rambuchena that has been described by a
u.n special rapporteur and endorsed by
others
as a crime against humanity uh
2008 un indisputably
a crime against humanity and the human
rights ngo forum
has pointed out that the violations that
have taken place subsequent to the queue
the coup could also be described as
crimes against humanity so the question
i'm asking is
are some victims
situations more important than others
and is that not a product of ethnicity
because the way forward
is that the victims of the organized
violence and torture that has taken
place for nearly 50 years
do any of them have a greater right than
anyone else
if you were smacked and tortured in a
keep in 1973 in dirtito
is that worse than what happened at
bulagri
is that worse than what happened to
people in michonneland central
in 2002 is that worse than it happened
to someone else
i dispute that so if you start from the
perspective of the victims then all the
victims
have common cause so if you're going
forward
and you want to challenge the youth of
ethnicity
it seems to me the victim's perspective
is really critical
we're all in the same boat it doesn't
matter
what happened to us as being distinctly
different from one another

what matters to us that it happened to
us and somebody is responsible for that
and that is the state and one of the
important points that ebola made right
at the beginning
is that's how the state has functioned
for
i don't know 140 years in zimbabwe
is to use this tool of divide and rule
and back it up by organized violence and
torture
and leave us divided
so when we have these conversations now
about some victims are more important
than other
i think that's a continuation and buying
into the same story
thank you very much
very powerful tony very powerful
that's that's the whole point of raising
discussion to a a higher level
than particularization and
uh and and and really
as much as the individually important
i think we need to keep it as
general as as
clear as possible and and
and revere towards even even jethro's
proposition was really on the role and
conduct of the states
state-sponsored violence uh
let's have melissa in common uh thank
you very much
dr mandaza for bringing uh a broad
spectrum of perspectives some
um bit populist some some radical and
and
and and some very critical um so take my
contribution is either
a question or a general comment
uh the first one um pertains to to do
to the idea of for
the dialectics between uh
collective narratives and what happens

in actuality
so they sent them i aim of the idea i
might
concur much more with uh with silica
yeah
that ethnic violence tends to
to take its ethnicity
exposed fractal after the first after
the fact after the narratives
you've already come up that's when
people are then labeled that it's the
individuals who did this or it is shown
us
who who do who do that so if we agree as
you have said dr mandaza and and and
what uh
tenisulu uh pointed out that
tribalism was constructed as a as a
technology of governance
during colonialism how then does it
become a primo
mo mo modi effect in the post-colonial
state so we are contradicting ourselves
in that
so if it was constructed ethnicity
a tribalism during the colonial times
and if we agree that our post-colonial
state inherited a lot from the colonial
government
so it is the same to the same
technologies of governments that are
perpetrating themselves
which means that in zimbabwe at the
moment the idea of ethnicity
and tribalism is also being constructed
by the present state
so we shouldn't contradict ourselves in
that sense so okay it was constructed
during colonialism
then all of a sudden in post-independent
zimbabwe it becomes a
a primordial effect that there are
static categories of the shona's
static categories of of the bellas

that's my comment number one then a short
a short one to add to that there's
there's also the idea of oh wait
also a dialectic between the the what we
call the state
and those they dominate which
explains why they is always renewal
within the zimbabwean state or within
zanu-pf
itself and mind you my point is not
vindicating the brutality that happens
in zimbabwe
i'm just suggesting that the state in
zimbabwe
feeds also on the people that it
dominates
which explains why the in as much as we
don't want to acknowledge
it now there is a renewal in the
leadership
within zanu-pf from the ranks of the
people who
formerly uh dominated
just as an example a lot of artisanal
mining
miners with so-called mcccorkosa are
finding themselves moving up the edge
lands of power in zimbabwe
take for example the minister of state
security
and a lot of others coming from the
midlands province
so there's always this dialect let's not
take the state
as something that is more monolithic
static and
not moving there is a dialect and even
complicit of the dominated zimbabwean
people
which explain the longest long effort of
zanu-pf
and the continued brutality
that is perpetrated on our own on its

citizens
a lot of times without accountability
thanks so much
thank you very much thank you melusi
i'll take the one damn chaser
and then the brilliant muslin
thank you very much welcome
thank you very much i i also appreciate
all the inputs from the
various commentators i think they're
immensely helpful
for a very important conversation so
briefly i wanted just to come in on a
couple of points i think firstly
uh it distresses me actually that um
uh turnip giving it to putting that
energy
in trying to make the point that this
was a general
be such a given that
uh generally that's a point that
actually should
should not be emphasized i think it is
clear in terms of international law
uh that what happened uh in uh mata
berlin and midlands provinces
uh the 1982-1987 period
is a genocide and that is not
unimportant because these
labels under law
or toxicity and consequences so the same
way that we have had
cases for instance uh like uh bosnia and
essegovina
vs serbia in montenegro it's the
international court of justice as an
example
uh it is possible in the same way that
you can have a state that can take the
bible zimbabwe is a party
to the genocide convention from 1991
from 18
may 1991 zimbabwe is a party to the
genocide convention if a state that is a

party to the genocide convention
attacks zimbabwe to
the international court of justice under
article 9
of the the icj
of the genocide convention and actually
say
zimbabwe uh has not uh performed his
obligations
to his people in terms of the the crime
of genocide
so it's not an important and i'm glad
that you're emphasizing you're
emphasizing that it's a pity like i said
that
it has to be emphasized but secondly and
separately
i think uh the fact that
what happened in multiple in the
midlands
is indisputably a genocide i think
should not
make us uh get confused about the
perpetrators
so in my view i think sipo has made the
point and i think it's a very legitimate
point
in the commentary that uh and i think
uh china also emphasizes the same point
that
the narrative of victims is critical
so when victims say uh this was what was
done to us on this account
we should listen however in the same
breath let's also not forget the role of
leadership
and the role of leadership is in the
same way that we see those videos
where tango garage is saying during the
liberation struggle
we are not fighting wise we are fighting
a white system
the role of leaders those of us who
participate in these meetings those of

us who have the privilege
to go through the learning that we go
through
to go through the reflection that we go
through to go through the discussions
that we go through
the role of leadership is also to
explain to victims
that no it wasn't shona people
it was zanu-pf perpetrating violence
uh perpetuating a particular ideology
which was cast and based within the
context
of uh how it sought shown a g money
but it wasn't shauna people and that
distinction is not
unimportant so i think i think that's
what part of what i had kate
also emphasizing uh when when he was
saying
it's important i think for us to build
that unity
of victims as it were so that it becomes
a national question
it's not an ethnic or tribal or
provincial
question to be relegated to those that
are uh concerned about
what is happening um in a particular
province
uh it it is a collective issue for for
the nation
for for all of us indeed perhaps for
humanity that's why i was saying
we can even lift it to the level that it
must be uh which is that it is
a crime under international law uh which
humanity as it were is concerned about
and then the third and last point i
wanted to make is i think i having said
that it's also
critical and i agree with the point that
tony uh was emphasizing that i think you
also said that yourself

at the beginning about that let's also
look at
the uh vast panel play
of our tortured history as a people
and the various incidents and episodes
that we have had
of crimes against humanity of genocide
and so on
that should not mean that we conflate
everything we should
uh attend to everything in its
seriousness
in its specificity but let's not compete
for victor
you finished wondering
don't worry don't wonder
yeah go under
yeah unfortunately i think he is uh
disconnected
uh fuji yes yes he's talking
important stuff um brilliant
uh thank you thank you ebo um
i i want to begin by saluting all the
uh presenters i enjoyed your
presentations
uh keith it's been a while we should we
should catch up
um there are a few things that i wanted
to
comment about which i have always at
some point discussed
with with keith and some colleagues
denis
in particular let me begin by first
saying one of our colleagues here just
talked about uh
the construction of ethnicity and then
tony villa also talked about uh
ethnicity being a problem let me let me
let me make it very clear here
my argument has always been as an
academic that ethnicity is not a problem
ethnicity like uh all the
uh because this is i'm saying this

because i refuse to accept that
the view that ethnicity is merely just
constructed and it's primordial i argue
that ethnicity
is in net it's it's part of us we are
born into it
and uh that said i also want to
uh foreground my argument by saying
one of the things that we see if you
look at europe is that europe
is what it is because the states that we
call
european states are actually ethnic best
and that is ethnicity has never been a
problem there
getting back to even the west failure or
even before the westphalia
if you look at the two cities and other
in other periods
ethnicity has never been a problem but
when we look at
africa ethnicity has been presented in
the post-colonial state in africa as
as a problem why is that so it's because
during the liberation struggles
for well i prefer to refer to them as
the so-called liberation struggles
the the mantra at the time that was
bought brought by people like amilca
cabral
and many other nationalist intellectuals
was that for the nation to live the
tribe must die
and the problem has always been our
failure to
to actually separate these two what is
the tribe
and what is ethnicity and our failure to
actually understand this
has caused us problems for example when
we
or when the liberators said for the
nation to leave the tribe must die
people failed to ask actually a very

important question whose tribe must
actually be killed
and when we talk about the actual
was the actualization of this mantra for
the nation
to leave the tribe must die and
unfortunately
if you read for example the works by
people like
adimas rui particularly in his book the
blood of experience
the failed state in political collapse
in africa or even his
work where most of the zimbabweans or
the one that
most nationalists in zimbabwe hated him
for
alimony dual zimbabwe was averting
political
schizophrenia you realize that he
actually highlights some of these things
he talks about some of these things
and the other person that i would have
expected we were going to talk about
gaeb particularly your former colleague
is professor masimpulla stone his work
on
the science of ethnicities bible he
actually made some very important points
actually emphasizing how ethnicity has
become a very big issue because
ethnicity is to us as people
is actually not primordial necessarily
it is by right supposed to be seen as
it's a natural resource like we all have
all the other natural resources
south africa has been able to actually
embrace this
why has south africa been able to
embrace it is because they understood
the african national project the way it
had been configured and turned it on its
head
and we in zimbabwe actually failed to

embrace this
the reason is because we have always
seen ethnicity
and this so-called tribe thing as a
problem when it's not a problem
having said that i also want to uh
i also want to argue alongside what
denis
mcplana actually said particularly when
he was talking about
the uh when he brought in the
france finance arguments france fanon
actually
in his book concerning violence
concerning violence actually says
the natives muscles are always tensed
you can't you can't say that he is
terrorized
or even apprehensive he is in fact ready
at the moment's notice to exchange
the role of quarry to that of honda the
native
is the native is an oppressed person
whose permanent dream is to become the
persecutor
this is what actually we see in zimbabwe
when you look at
and the person who actually makes this
point very who drives it home he's
actually dabaling his story
when he talks about how when they formed
in 1963
zanu a zimbabwe african national union
and then which was a nationalist
movement in his in his view
later on it it transformed itself to
what he refers to as zatu zimbabwe
african tribal union
this is where we are this is what we see
this is where zimbabwe has always been
that is why we seek only the way we see
it
i uh dr evo i want to also emphasize
or state this point that uh

when i was a young academic best in zimbabwe some
some years ago i had the opportunity of interviewing quite a number of uh zanu-pf cutters key among them were people like wilfred mandel and then also kenan banana in hamas rip one of the things that they made very clear to me was that the silence of ethnicity could not be denied and that kukuranji actually was clearly an ethnic issue they had only kept at the stage and as you would know zimbabwe is a successor stage when when the natives captured the state the tribal natives captured the state they used the respect the respectable gaps of nationalism and then in theirs in their use of perspective of the respectable gaps of nationalism they deployed the state assets that is the army owned civilians those that actually they labeled as uh as belonging to the other ethnic being developed and this is why we find ourselves today uh talking about and i must also emphasize having said that that i am reminded here dr ibo uh by chinese statement when he says you you argued earlier on dr eba before i bring chinese agreement you argued that is supposed to be seen as a national problem and i have always argued in my writings and i still argue even this is the argument i'm going to present here that kukurawan is actually not a national problem it is actually not a zimbabwean problem if it was its mobile problem this has

taken us more than
25 years to talk about to openly talk
about it like this
it is because those that perpetuated
those that caused it and that those
that are still perpetuating it to this
day when they are in power
two they have also a what we call banal
nationalism they have uh those that
are still supporting it and who are at
the moment's notice ready to say no but
it is not all the shona who actually
perpetuated who actually committed let
me make this clear
when we i am a direct victim of the
genocide
when kukurawanji was actually meted on
the developed people
on the one hand those that actually were
food soldiers
the fifa baguette made it very clear
that they are doing
so they are mentoring our people they
are brutalizing us because
we underwear is an ethnic issue and on
the other end
those that i interviewed wilfred manda
taker and all others
how much they repeat that i think dr ibo
you know they made it very clear to me
that actually was an ethnic issue
it was only managed by zanu because
they had captured the states and they
were using state resources but it was
actually an ethnic issue
it was clearly indev being it was
clearly the individuals being
murdered being brutalized being
massacred
by actually the shona and they argued
that they are doing so
and they gave some historical narratives
the point that we should do as
as zimmerman's if we really want to be

zimbabweans
is to acknowledge one fact that
this crowded thing was done by those
that claimed they were doing it on there
for other people
those that want to deny it or those that
want to openly challenge it
must actually first openly come out and
say those that claim to be killing
people on our behalf
we're not doing so on our behalf we do
not support it
this is where we should begin this is
where we should be if we do not do so
dr ebermann we will have a problem
because we will continue to claim
kukuraundi
as a national problem good ground is not
a zimbabwean problem
it is actually existence and thank you
let me end it here for now
no thank you i think what we meant that
basically we need to make a distinction
between
the state
uh zanu-pf stated from the college using
state institution
the army in particular security cio
to ravage a part of our population
and the general to the population but
i'm also saying that
we have not that have been done we need
to take responsibility as a nation
to deal with that issue you know
and i agree with you entirely that part
of the
resolution of the problem is to that
those who are
who are responsible and many of them are
still alive
have to face the music we need that
and the reason why the as kids has
made reference to the nprc that it is it
is

it is getting no way it's because
many of those who are responsible
directly responsible
yes members of the state security army
are still around and and
and and that is consistent major problem
which we must confront
i'll take one more uh wilbert and then
we
i'll ask my panels to wind up
beginning with denis zulu and ending
with
tender killer wilbert
thank you very much um good evening
everybody
i think it's it's wonderful to have
forums like this where zimbabweans we
can discuss
issues of importance to our to our
nation as a people
i think one the first thing i would like
to say here is that i think we should
not forget
that zyano pf is a corrupt
incompetent and tyrannical regime
is an unknown pf not
generalize it into uh a particular tribe
zanopf yes it may be predominantly
people from a certain region
but nonetheless people in that party are
themselves
corrupt incompetent and tyrannical
and zanopf is collapsing
i think it would be really tragic if
xanopia collapses and
we failed to move the country forward
the challenge for us is to move the
country forward when santa fe has
collapsed
and we should be very careful that we do
not get ourselves
really uh hooked up
with what zanu-pf did the agenda
that robert mugabe nangagawa and the

rest of the
of the tyrants set for the nation and we
forget to move the country forward
that would be tragic
one of the sad things about
is we keep hearing of stories like
individuals or groups of people
who are failing to get things like death
certificates
death certificates passports because
of events that happen that happened
during
the this is another sign of a regime
that is
incredibly corrupt and incompetent what
is
taking all these years to correct
something like that surely you could
send
a team of uh lawyers or
whatever it is into those areas that are
affected
get affidavits so that people can say
okay
we do not have proof that somebody was
killed
but nonetheless the evidence we have
gathered
is sufficient to um give
us confidence to say x was killed
and therefore then we are issuing this
death certificate of that basis
and therefore then their family can get
on with their lives
what is so difficult about that i agree
with one of the presenter earlier on
that some of these things have been
festering
to the point where they are really
becoming a problem
and i think if we get rid of some pf
one of the first things we should do is
go back to some of these problems
not only gokurawan i agree some of the

other problems that happened
also during 2008 uh
get some of those problems sorted out
and some of them you find
they they will cost the nation nothing
the other problem we have here is
like i say there are no pieces
sorry i'll just finish a corrupt and
incompetent
is that zanu-pf is destroying the economy
completely destroying the economy
and i think the first top priority
should be to rebuild zimbabwe
the country is in a serious mess there
is much poverty
that is the reality and if we are going
to focus on
uh other things and forget the reality
of people who are who are
dying and who are not going to school
the health service has completely
collapsed we will be missing the point
thank you thanks thanks thanks thank you
very much
i know go to our panelists beginning
with uh
uh before it but please let's try and
address the
the the the question how do we begin to
address
the problem
right um i'll try and do it quickly uh
prof yeah just two or three minutes
because we are
out of time already um
to begin with i want to talk about the
politics of namibia
we should uh in this case
name things that are happening to us and
that have happened to us
as they are by their names
and then and only then are we going to
be able to deal
with these problems in their actuality

not in how they have been reuterized
or circulated especially in the state
media in poland
um we can say we are fighting for
human rights in zimbabwe who are
fighting for democrats in zimbabwe
we are fighting for development economic
growth
and other monikers but if we do not get
close to the thing
which is native colonialism where some
of us black people have colonized
the country the polity and the economy
and are using colonial violence
to sustain and keep their dominance
we will not get close to the solution
because as i said before
going to elections as things are right
now in 2023
is always is a waste of everybody's time
because the judiciary were supposed to
appeal when elections are stolen
the army that is supposed to protect
everyone if we were a normal nation
the intelligence that was supposed to
foster security the police
that are supposed to protect everyone
under that environment
are all uh
accessories and facilitators of this
native
colonialist regime so why are we wasting
time money and resources what we have in
front of us is a liberation strike
that is a higher structure than just
human rights
democracy peace and other good sounding
i think so i think one beginning point
professor mandela is
let's name our condition for what it is
not uh circulate
nicknames fictions and some impressions
of the thing
itself without truth telling

without reparations without
institutional changes
without memorializations and without
accountability of
our perpetrators to victims the starting
point
for transitional justice has not even
begun
so let's name our problem after naming
our problem
it would be easy to name the solution
and i submit that
before us is a liberation structure not
um any other smaller structure than that
thank you so much colleagues for
this opportunity and the platform for it
yes yes can you hear me yes oh yeah good
evening i'll i'll be very very brief uh
for me in terms of ending attrition
particularly around the
ground as i mentioned before we have got
a few
low-hanging fruits that that us people
are interested in subject matter
and the wider national uh citizens
zimbabwe can do in terms of
uh moving the issue forward for example
we don't even have a website for example
for google and
we don't have a trust for for quicker
only we don't have victim names for good
ground
so for me those low hanging fruit is
something that we can do regardless of
the state
because we need to data captured all
this information because at some point
of time that's when when we're starting
all our process of transitional justice
we've got all this information to which
we can work on at the moment
we are we have we have nothing in terms
of
even terms of books we only probably had

two or three google on the books
you know we need more books more
education to circulate
so we can keep people informed we only
have probably know before five
google documentaries work needs to be
done on that on that regard as well
we also need to frame white paper
legislation that can feed
into a new state when it's giving birth
whereby we can use such legislation
to to to move forward our transitional
justice process
thank you very much first thanks keith
and nikki my dear first of all thank you
eva for this platform
we um i believe a very important
subject has been discussed we may not
agree
about so many things but i'm encouraged
by the fact that
this conversation is on the table so
uh just quickly i'd like to respond to a
few comments
and i think one of the
the comments that has been repeated is
that
uh the perpetrator of graham d can you
hear me
hello yes we are yes oh okay
okay thanks so um the
thing is we all know that was a
state-sponsored
genocide it was zanu-pf that did that we
know all the perpetrators we know from
gabe shiri from uh
i mean all of them we know them by name
secretary by virtue of the post that
they held at the time
and because of the propaganda that they
spread and the comments that they made
but we need to accept that state
violence does not occur in a vacuum
state violence occurs in front of

all our eyes and state violence at times
is targeted
at different groups so
how did the state violence okay it
occurred
when the state decided to eliminate
one of the groups in our country and if
we do not
uh acknowledge that it means we are not
empathizing with victims
with victims to whom shauna supremacy's
propaganda was built during the time
if we are to solve this if if you are
just any hate crime
it should come from a position of
understanding victims it should come
from a position of empathy
so unless we are ready to really
empathize with different victims of the
different atrocities
perpetrated by the state over the years
we
are always going to be fighting amongst
ourselves and having these conversations
about
which victim is worse which victim is
better if we look at history and other
genocides that were perpetrated if we
look at the holocaust
we talk about the holocaust every day
but
the nazis did not just kill 6 million
jews they had
5 million other victims from blacks
homosexuals gypsies
different groups but we talked
you can hear you know you have mutes
oh okay uh i i don't know what
wind up quickly yeah so i'm saying it
it's not about which victim is worse but
it's about the gravity of the crimes we
talk about the holocaust
despite the nazis having killed five
million

other people gypsies blacks and everyone
not because
those victims were unimportant but
because of the gravity of the crimes and
because
there are some situations that we must
never ever allow again in our future
so anyway i'm just glad that we had this
conversation
and i think it's a learning curve for
all of us but
like william said there can never be
justice
without acknowledging that there was a
crime the major forms of justice are
restorative justice
where you acknowledge that a crime was
committed in the past that created an
injustice so we'll fix it by
developing the area where it was done by
giving compensation to people
but only if we acknowledge the crime
distributive justice which says that
marginalized communities
will also benefit now that we have
acknowledged the crime
needs acknowledgement all forms of
justice even justice that changes
policies
can only happen once we acknowledge that
okay standing a problem with your
network
okay yeah thanks sir
thank you i'm sorry there's something
wrong with your network there yeah
okay anyway i think we have come to the
end of the evening
uh and for me before i thank but the
the panel is just to highlight the
firstly
the topic which is the examining
the zimbabwe's national question in the
context of
examining the root causes of our

of the malays ethnic ethnicity
ethnic politics and in particular
the atrocities in the main of which is
but many others as tony riley has
apparently
pointed out that we need to look at the
whole victims the victims of
of contemporaries in melbourne history
including those that fell
as a result of our own as africans on
africans
secondly we need to look at the national
question which is the main focus
national question as a means as a basis
for building a
nationwide we are saddled with it the
reality
zimbabwe is there is a recognized state
internationally it is a national state
in the making
with a very dubious credentials up to
now
but we have to attend to it especially
for future generations
uh the tentacles speaks of restoration
of justice i think you are speaking to
the wrong people
you cannot have it both ways you cannot
speak to people who are
at one in the same time both the
perpetrators
of of genocide and expect the same
people to
to affect the social justice i think we
have a problem
and that's why we're saying that we need
a reform of the state
with a new leadership which is beyond
the present we need to restore
constitutionalism
we need the truth and justice commission
we need to re-configure
zimbabwe i think that is what the
subject was all about today we

we barely touched the future i think we
got bogged down
even to the danger of of conflating
the national question of only i don't
think that was deliberate but i think
we almost fell into that trap we need to
go beyond that
and and accept that the resolution of
the ground
uh question is important as part of
resolve the national question so i think
on that note i
want to thank tender killer
keith basilica
looking forward to janine zulu jethro of
your contributions this has been
recorded
it's on facebook it's on youtube it's
transcribed into a into a document
both for the record but also for future
discussions
as i said at the beginning this is not
exhaustive it was never meant to be
exhaustive
we've had over the last two years
several meetings on this issue of graham
the google only is important
very important also because
it is a reminder of the poignant failure
of the post-colonial state in zimbabwe
the failure to resolve the national
question this
is a blood
on our history it hangs over
all of us all of us
as long as as it is there glaring at us
it's a pointed reminder that we have not
yet
established true nationwide i thank you
and just to remind you the next
policy dialogue on the 6th of
on the 13th of may
we are looking at the failure of the
regional response

to the gabo capo delgado
crisis in mozambique with the
sadek to be a collaborative event
with other csos not only isabella but
across the region
and will keep you informed thank you
thank you
and thank you again goodbye
you
bye