



# ZIMBABWE NATIONAL RECONCILIATION ALLIANCE

## Zimbabwe Inclusive Dialogue Questions for: National Reconciliation and National Renewal

### 1.0. Introduction

Zimbabwe is a country which has been experiencing retrogression over a long time; a people with a broken social order driven largely by self-interest and endemic corruption. Her transition from the colonial era to independence was monopolised, very poor and largely driven by the quest for absolute power. The purpose of this campaign or program is to support and or lead the radical transformation / renewal of this country into a properly founded, structured and progressive nation by first going through national inclusive dialogue to agree on a shared vision and a just and compatible socio-economic and political system coupled with national reconciliation.

### 1.1. Current Situation

The Zimbabwean post-independence situation depicts a country / people with a broken social order as best described by some points below;

- 1.1.1. Society is fragmented, very corrupt and polarised socially, spiritually and politically and people are largely self-centred without any allegiance to the principles or concepts of nationhood and servant leadership
- 1.1.2. Poor leadership and Bad Stewardship of public institutions and national resources; and the hero-worshipping of leaders
- 1.1.3. Economic meltdown (High unemployment, currency issues) resulting in chronic poverty after many years of perpetual retrogression
- 1.1.4. Broken inherited national infrastructure coupled with poor and declining service delivery
- 1.1.5. Politicization and capture of State and Public Institutions

### 1.2. The Case for National Renewal

Today's chronic challenges of a broken social order characterised by endemic corruption, perpetual retrogression and chronic poverty are mostly a result of a lack of a shared vision and inclusivity during the Independence transition. The currently weak or broken public institutions, self-centredness, endemic corruption across society and our lack of a clear national cultural identity are arguably the main root causes of our national crisis

It is therefore strategic for our initial inclusive dialogue engagement to focus primarily on foundational matters; a dialogue on concepts, values, principles and systems towards a firm foundation for a great nation as proposed in this discussion paper.

However, it is not possible for us to properly understand today and agree on a way forward without first; agreeing on a shared history of Zimbabwe and a critical analysis of that history, understanding and obtaining the major landmarks or turning points that define us as a people, and obtaining lessons or learning outcomes of both achievements, mistakes or failures that were done by our forebearers. This is very important as a first step because it will give us a clear historical context of who we are and where we come from.

### **1.3. National Dialogue Guiding Principles**

This campaign or the National dialogue and reconciliation process shall be guided by the following principles;

- 1.3.1. Remain neutral as in; apolitical, non-tribal and non-racial throughout this dialogue and reconciliation process
- 1.3.2. Take collective responsibility for the past, the present and the future and forgive each other for the wrongs committed in the past
- 1.3.3. Abide by our belief in the sovereignty of our country and that unity and peace in Zimbabwe is first by Zimbabweans for Zimbabweans
- 1.3.4. Put Zimbabwe first; and coalesce on this campaign towards national reconciliation; a firm foundation for shared prosperity; racial, tribal and ethnic integration; and sustainable nation building.
- 1.3.5. Honour and respectfully work with the government of the day
- 1.3.6. These principles will be supported by the following core values of;
  - 1.3.6.1. Honesty,
  - 1.3.6.2. Accountability,
  - 1.3.6.3. Teamwork
  - 1.3.6.4. Patriotism
  - 1.3.6.5. Integrity

These principles and values are essential if we are going to have a meaningful dialogue and reconciliation process. It is therefore a requirement for every participant or delegate to pledge a full commitment to them.

## **2.0. Zimbabwe Historical Context; Key objective- Towards a shared History**

### **2.1. Precolonial Bantu Settlement;**

- 2.1.1. There were no formal political boundaries between Communities and the present African countries or nations did not exist.
- 2.1.2. Society was communal and patriarchal under direct empire rulership such as the Munhumutapa and the Rozvi Empires
- 2.1.3. As a way of life, the Bantu had a philosophy of Hunhu / Ubuntu. The social values and cultural beliefs were based on the community rather than the individual

- 2.1.4. Mzilikazi and the Matabele people came in 1838 and conquered the Shona in most of the south and west of Zimbabwe. Mzilikazi then established Bulawayo as his capital
- 2.1.5. Missionaries such as *Fr Gonsalo Da Silveira* of the Roman Catholic Church first brought Christianity to Zimbabwe in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The friendship between Robert Moffat and Mzilikazi and the subsequent friendship between Lobengula and John Moffat would influence events around various concessions including the Rudd Concession. Other missionaries from the London Missionary Society also helped to bring Christianity to Zimbabwe during the 1850s and 1860s
- 2.1.6. Power was generally grabbed by one Empire from another through violence
- 2.1.7. Livelihoods were mostly supported by subsistence farming and livestock
- 2.1.8. Economic activity was limited to barter trade. Zimbabwe traded with Arabs and later the Portuguese because it stretched to the Indian Ocean between Limpopo and Zambezi.
- 2.1.9. Healthcare was supported by herbalists and Sangomas
- 2.1.10. There were no schools or any formal education systems

## **2.2.0. Precolonial Questions for Further Reflections;**

### **2.2.1. What were the precolonial bantu main cultural norms and values?**

- 2.2.1.1. *Hunhu / Ubuntu had social values and cultural beliefs based on the community rather than the individual. As such, traditions, customs, norms and morals revolved around the cooperation and co-existence of communities, whether such communities were of culture, language, ethnicity or race.*
- 2.2.1.2. *In Nyai language they said, Kuwanda huuya asi kugara hunzwana nekuti pasina kunzwana hapana rugare. Munhu ndeweMhuri ari Munhu weVanhu. Apa ndipo panobva the famous Bantu statement inoti 'I am because we are'*
- 2.2.1.3. *The core values included; kuyera nekukosha kwehupenyu hweMunhu (life as sacred), respect for others and respect for the elderly; the prioritisation of peace and community cohesion and harmony; zvakare chokwadi chaikosheswa*
- 2.2.1.4. *Other cultural norms included; settlement in mumatunhu supported by subsistence farming and livestock; governance was through MaSadunhu and MaDzishe / MaDzimambo for wider territories; kuroorana / wanano through lobola; kurova makuva for the deceased usually after one calendar year; and in the Shona religion, Mwari was omnipotent but also remote; ancestors and other spirits served as intermediaries between Mwari and the people*

**2.2.2. Compare and contrast the actions of Mzilikazi and the Matabele in 1840- 1868 with those of Cecil Rhodes and British settlers in 1890-1923 when they came to settle in what is now called Zimbabwe**

2.2.2.1. *Whereas Mzilikazi's Matabele were a warrior people, who established themselves in their new environment by subjugating the original inhabitants until they were firmly entrenched as rulers of some of the territory between the Limpopo and Zambezi rivers.*

2.2.2.2. *Cecil Rhodes and the British settlers also through the subjugation of both the Matabele and Shona firmly established themselves as the new rulers of the same territory.*

**2.2.3. Also, compare these actions with those of Changamire Dombo of the Rozvi Empire in dealing with Mwenemutapa and other empires or dynasties of their time?**

2.2.3.1. *The Rozvi Empire, VaRozvi, the plunderers, was an absolute monarchy. This was also about conquering and subjugating the other Shona states. They conquered the Mwenemutapa and the Portuguese and would be defeated by King Mzilikazi and the Matabele*

2.2.3.2. *Bantu empires have largely been about power and domination.*

**2.2.4. How was the economy structured in the Precolonial era?**

2.2.4.1. *The economic activities of Bantu states in the region largely reflected the resources of the area and the economic traditions of the inhabitants. For example, the economic power of the Rozvi Empire was based on cattle wealth and farming, with significant gold mining. They established trade with Arab traders, in which materials such as gold, copper, and ivory were exchanged for luxury goods*

**2.3.0. The British South African Company Rule Era 1890- 1923;**

2.3.1. The Rudd Concession, a written concession for exclusive mining rights in Matabeleland, Mashonaland and other adjoining territories was granted by King Lobengula to Charles Rudd who was acting on behalf of Cecil Rhodes on 30 October 1888

2.3.2. This Concession became the foundation for the royal charter granted by the United Kingdom to Rhodes' British South African Company in October 1889 to acquire, govern and develop this area

2.3.3. In 1890, the Pioneer Column commenced work of building Rhodesia, a name which became official in 1895

2.3.4. The Lisbon treaty of 1891 expanded Rhodesia territory by transferring Manicaland from Mozambique and the Portuguese into the Company domain

2.3.5. King Lobengula, the last Bantu Ndebele Emperor was ousted in 1894 and the British South African Company under Cecil Rhodes became the new Emperor over Rhodesia

- 2.3.6. Bantu Society remained communal and patriarchal under Chiefs and Village headmen supported by subsistence farming and livestock and was forcefully moved from fertile land to Tribal Trust Land
- 2.3.7. The first Chimurenga occurred in 1896 largely in two parts; The Matabele rose at the behest of Mlimo, a spiritualist leader, Around the same time, Mashona spiritualist leaders Mukwati, Kaguvi and Nehanda Nyakasikana instigated their Chimurenga in Mashonaland. Both were put down by end of 1897
- 2.3.8. A ten-man Legislative Council first sat in 1899, originally made up of the administrator himself, five other members nominated by the Company, and four elected by registered voters. The number of elected members rose gradually under Company rule until they numbered 13 in 1920, sitting alongside the administrator and six other Company officials in the 20-member Legislative Council
- 2.3.9. Initial development focused on gold mining, construction of railroads and telegraph lines across the territory. After realising that financial sustainability could not be achieved through mining, priority shifted to include the development of commercial agriculture.
- 2.3.10. A referendum to choose between self-government or incorporation into South Africa was held on 27 October 1922 to determine the colony's future at the suggestion of Winston Churchill, then Britain's Colonial Secretary. Most settlers voted for self-government rather than rule from Pretoria

#### **2.4.0. Company Rule Questions For Further Reflections;**

##### **2.4.1. Is it correct to say that Zimbabwe today as a land and country territory is solely the creation of Cecil John Rhodes with support from Queen Victoria, the British Prime Minister Lord Salisbury and the pioneer column?**

- 2.4.1.1. *Zimbabwe today is Rhodesia renamed. The land territory demarcated to form Rhodesia was a direct work and creation of Cecil John Rhodes supported by the British and the pioneer column. They first secured the land they named Mashonaland before they later secured both the lands, they would call Matabeleland and Manicaland through violence and for Manicaland eventually through the 1891 Lisbon treaty. So yes, Zimbabwe was created by Cecil John Rhodes*

##### **2.4.2. Was this country not defended by the Responsible Government Association - RGA led by Sir Charles Coghlan in 1922 from being incorporated into the Union of South Africa?**

- 2.4.2.1. *In 1922 the colony of Southern Rhodesia had a chance to join the Union of South Africa (But ultimately rejected) to join the union through a referendum. The referendum resulted from the fact that the British South Africa Company rule in Southern Rhodesia was no longer practical with many favouring some form of responsible government. Some favoured responsible government within Southern Rhodesia while others (especially in Matabeleland) favoured membership in the Union of South Africa. Politician Sir Charles Coghlan favoured and campaigned for responsible government within Southern Rhodesia. Opinion among the UK government, the South African government and the British South African Company*

*favoured the Union of South Africa option but none of these tried to interfere with the referendum. The Referendum was held and the Responsible Government within Southern Rhodesia won by 59.4%, hence Southern Rhodesia went on to become a separate self-governing British colony as opposed to becoming another province of South Africa.*

2.4.2.2. *Like Canada and Australia, the Union of South Africa (present-day South Africa) was a self-governing dominion of the British Empire*

### **2.4.3. Who was Mbuya Nehanda and Sekuru Kaguvi and what was their role in this history?**

2.4.3.1. *Mbuya Nehanda by definition is a mhondoro (royal ancestral spirit) that uses women as her mediums (masvikiro) The original Nehanda was considered to be Nyanhita, the daughter of the first Monomotapa Mutota who lived north of Guruve during the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Mhondoro spirits were revered spirits among the Shona as it was believed that they could interpret the orders and wishes of Mwari, the senior Deity*

2.4.3.2. *When the British Settlers arrived in 1890, Charwe Nyakasikana was the medium of the Mbuya Nehanda Mhondoro spirit for the Zezuru, Shona people of Mashonaland; alongside sekuru Kaguvi, Chaminuka and Dzivaguru amongst others.*

2.4.3.3. *Nehanda Charwe was a powerful woman of great influence who initially welcomed the settlers and counselled her followers to do likewise. However, after the imposition of the hut tax and other taxes, the Shona in her locality through her influence and leadership revolted in 1896 and she led a rebellion that became known as the First Chimurenga. As far as the people were concerned Nehanda and Kaguvi were the voices of God aka Mwari. This rebellion was put down and Nehanda and Kaguvi were captured and later executed in early 1898.*

### **2.5.0. Self-Governing British Colony – Southern Rhodesia 1923-1979**

2.5.1. In October 1923, after the referendum held the previous year, the British government took full command of the British South Africa Company's holdings including Southern Rhodesia. Southern Rhodesia was given responsible self-government with limitations and still annexed to the crown as a colony.

2.5.2. In 1930, the Land Apportionment Act divided rural land along racial lines, creating four types of land; white-owned land that could not be acquired by Africans; Purchase areas for Africans who could afford to purchase land; Tribal Trust Lands designated as the African Reserves; and Crown Lands owned by the State, reserved for future use and public parks

2.5.3. In 1953, Britain consolidated the two colonies of Rhodesia (Zambia and Zimbabwe) with Nyasaland (Malawi) in the ill-fated Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. This was dissolved in 1963 reverting to three separate colonies

2.5.4. *Winds of Change* in February 1960 was a speech by Harold Macmillan – British Prime Minister, in Cape Town - South Africa on the back of a growing global/international geopolitical disposition against colonial rule that arose after the second world war.



Chief amongst the silent points was fear of soviet communism entering African nationalist movements and the cold war politics. Britain was under a lot of pressure from countries like the USA to decolonise. This was followed by rapid Independence of many countries by 1965

- 2.5.5. Ian Smith made a Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) from the United Kingdom in 1965. The UK deemed this an act of rebellion and together with the International Community put the new self-proclaimed Republic of Rhodesia under full Sanctions. The Second Chimurenga war ensued with ZAPU and ZANU who were mostly getting assistance from the governments of Zambia and Mozambique respectively.
- 2.5.6. The manufacturing sector, already well-developed before UDI, was given a major stimulus by the imposition of United Nations Sanctions. The sanctions obliged the Rhodesian industry to diversify and create many import-substitution undertakings to compensate for the loss of traditional sources of imports. Rhodesian processing of local raw materials also grew rapidly. Major growth industries included steel and steel products, heavy equipment, transportation equipment, ferrochrome, textiles, and food processing.
- 2.5.7. Pressure from the Chimurenga armed conflict on Rhodesia, coupled with pressure from the International community sanctions etc led to the capitulation of the settler regime and the 1979 internal settlement which resulted in Zimbabwe Rhodesia under Bishop Abel Muzorewa
- 2.5.8. This Zimbabwe Rhodesia, Bishop Muzorewa outcome failed to obtain the endorsement or recognition from both the Patriotic Front and the International Community. The August 1979 Lusaka, Zambia Commonwealth Conference resolved to invite both the Patriotic Front and Zimbabwe Rhodesia delegations to the Lancaster House Constitution Conference in London whose outcome in Dec 1979 was a new Independence constitution, transitional mechanisms and the eventual general elections culminating into the recognised Zimbabwe political Independence of 18 April 1980.

## **2.6.0. Self -Governing Colony Questions For Further Reflections;**

### **2.6.1. What caused the settler administration led by Ian Smith to Declare Unilateral Independence in 1965?**

- 2.6.1.1. *This was an act of rebellion against the British from their directive to implement majority rule first before giving Independence to Rhodesia*
- 2.6.1.2. *The 1950s and early 1960s saw a shift in international attitudes against colonial rule. In what is often called the 'Wind of Change' Britain, France and Belgium vastly accelerated their withdrawal from Africa during this period, believing colonial rule to be no longer sustainable geopolitically or ethically*
- 2.6.1.3. *However, despite 43 years of self-governing experience, Rhodesia was denied Independence under the newly ascendant principle of 'no Independence before majority rule (NIBMAR)*

2.6.1.4. *Both Malawi and Zambia which were both protectorates under British direct rule would be given Independence by October 1964 despite having no experience of self-governance much to the annoyance of Rhodesians*

2.6.1.5. *There is no evidence in the period leading to UDI and 1965 that the Africans or nationalist leaders were the ones controlling this process or defining the nature of majority rule*

**2.6.2. Compare and contrast the sanctions that resulted from this declaration and the currently targeted sanctions on Zimbabwe?**

2.6.2.1. *The Sanctions against Rhodesia were sponsored by Britain and were fully-fledged United Nations economic sanctions whose main objective was to bring down a renegade government*

2.6.2.2. *The council declared an international embargo on 90% of Rhodesia's exports*

2.6.2.3. *Forbade the U.N.'s 122 member nations to sell oil, arms, motor vehicles or aeroplanes to the rebel territory or to provide it with any financial or other economic aid*

2.6.2.4. *South Africa and Portugal refused to implement these sanctions*

2.6.2.5. *The current Zimbabwe Democracy and Economic Recovery Act (ZIDERA) Sanctions against Zimbabwe are mainly the United States imposed targeted measures on the Government of Zimbabwe including financial and visa sanctions against selected individuals; a ban on transfers of defence items and services, and a suspension of non-humanitarian government to government assistance.*

2.6.2.6. *It is fair to argue that sanctions against Rhodesia were much more comprehensive*

**2.6.3. What was the structure and performance of the colonial economy?**

2.6.3.1. *From about 1907 the Company's land resettlement programme encouraged more immigrants to take permanent residence. The mining and farming industries advanced considerably during this period.*

2.6.3.2. *Economically, Rhodesia developed an economy that was narrowly based on the production of a few primary products, notably chrome and tobacco. This was vulnerable to the economic cycle*

2.6.3.3. *The larger immigration of about 200,000 whites between 1945 and 1970 helped to establish a relatively balanced economy transforming what was once a primary producer into an industrial giant which spawned a strong manufacturing sector, iron and steel industries, and modern mining ventures; all without any significant foreign aid*

2.6.3.4. *This economy sustained international sanctions for a decade following the unilateral declaration of its independence, a resistance that waned as more southern African states declared independence and majority rule as well as the destruction of the Rhodesian Bush War*



#### **2.6.4. What is the Christian Faith; how and when was it brought to Zimbabwe?**

- 2.6.4.1. *Christianity is the largest religion practised in Zimbabwe, accounting for more than 85% of the population, with approximately 62% regularly attending church services. The arrival of Christianity dates back to the 16<sup>th</sup> century by Portuguese missionaries such as Fr Gonsalo Da Silveira of the Roman Catholic Church*
- 2.6.4.2. *During the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Robert Moffat of the London Missionary Society (LMS), together with his wife Mary, helped launch Protestant missions in Zimbabwe. One of his greatest accomplishments for missions in Zimbabwe was his friendship with Mzilikazi, king of the Ndebele. Moffat's son in law David Livingstone had several expeditions in Zimbabwe around 1859. Another LMS missionary named Charles Daniel Helm founded the Southern Rhodesia Missionary Conference*
- 2.6.4.3. *Christians believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God – fully human and fully divine – and that through believing in him and following and abiding by his teachings and commandments (bible scriptures) they can become citizens of the Kingdom and go on to inherit eternal life. Christians believe that Jesus died for humanity; that God raised him from the dead, ascended to heaven and that Jesus will come again at the end of time. In addition, Christians believe in the trinity or the three parts of God; God the Father, God the Son (Jesus) or redeemer and God the Holy Spirit or Sanctifier. The Holy Spirit is God's presence in the world*

#### **2.6.5. Describe the Rhodesia internal settlement of 1978?**

- 2.6.5.1. *The internal settlement was an agreement which was signed on 3 March 1978 between Prime Minister of Rhodesia Ian Smith and the moderate African nationalist leaders comprising Bishop Abel Muzorewa, Ndabaningi Sithole and Senator Chief Jeremiah Chirau.*
- 2.6.5.2. *The agreement led to the creation of an interim government in which Africans were included in leading positions for the first time. This in turn was to lead to the main goal which was for the country to gain international recognition and Independence.*
- 2.6.5.3. *Following the agreement, the general election of March 1979 was held which brought Muzorewa and his United African National Council (UANC) party to power. A new GNU with Muzorewa as Prime Minister took office on 1 June 1979 and the country was renamed Zimbabwe Rhodesia.*
- 2.6.5.4. *It was expected that all sanctions would be lifted now that the country was under democratically elected majority rule. However, this did not occur because the Patriotic Front, comprising Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) and Zimbabwe African National Union – Patriotic Front (ZANU PF) had not been involved in this political process and were both condemning this process as fraudulent and illegal*
- 2.6.5.5. *The UN went on to reject this entire internal settlement process, condemning it as illegal.*

## **2.7.0. Political Independence and Zimbabwe**

- 2.7.1. In the general elections of 1980, Zimbabwe was one large constituency and the electorate voted simply for political parties. ZANU PF and ZAPU contested separately, not as a united Patriotic Front. ZANU PF won 57% of the vote and their leader Robert Mugabe automatically became the Prime Minister. Mugabe and ZANU PF led the Independence transition and exclusively went on to define the nature and character of Zimbabwe.
- 2.7.2. Zimbabwe started by adopting the policy of reconciliation. This policy made possible a government of national unity and the result was political stability in the first couple of years coupled with an economic boom. Zimbabwe also enjoyed a lot of donor support especially with its ambitious program to expand education across the country.
- 2.7.3. Sadly, the second Independence anniversary largely marked the end of this policy on reconciliation and inclusivity. Salisbury was renamed Harare and by 1984, Zimbabwe had already plunged into the violent storms of authoritarian rule, endemic corruption and political violence. Gukurahundi took centre stage in areas of Matabeleland and the Midlands and resulted in the deaths of at least twenty thousand civilians according to a report by the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace in Zimbabwe (CCJPZ).
- 2.7.4. ZANU-PF increased its majority in the 1985 elections, winning 67 of the 100 seats. The majority allowed Mugabe to start making changes to the constitution. Fighting did not cease in Matabeleland until Mugabe and Nkomo reached an agreement in December 1987 whereby ZAPU became part of ZANU-PF and the government changed the constitution combining the Presidency and the Prime Minister into one. This resulted in the creation and installation of the current executive presidential political system.
- 2.7.5. The late 1990s was characterised by hyperinflation amidst significant economic decline. Many Zimbabweans began the mass exodus to various destinations on the globe in search of better economic prospects. Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions led mass workers stay-aways culminated in the formation of the Morgan Tsvangirai led Movement for Democratic Change (MDC).
- 2.7.6. Economic decline, political violence and endemic corruption accelerated at the turn of the millennium and so did the exodus of people to the diaspora. The 2008 election season was probably the worst both in terms of political violence and economic decline. A temporary respite was accorded to the economy / nation through a Mbeki brokered GNU between ZANU PF and the MDC. A new constitution was also crafted and agreed upon during this GNU period.
- 2.7.7. After the 2013 ZANU PF electoral victory, Robert Mugabe was still at the helm amidst an intensifying leadership succession battle between two rival factions within the ruling party. G40 faction led by the first lady Grace Mugabe and the Lacoste Faction led by Vice President ED Mnangagwa. In the end, the Lacoste faction prevailed through a military assisted change of leadership and went on to establish the current new dispensation following the 2018 general elections.

## **2.8. Post-Independence Questions for Further Reflections;**

### **2.8.1. Who gave/brought Independence to Zimbabwe?**

- 2.8.1.1. *Conventional wisdom suggests that Independence was a direct outcome of the armed struggle. However, a deeper analysis indicates that the armed struggle was only one of a number of variables.*
- 2.8.1.2. *The 1950s and 1960s saw the world take a major shift against direct colonial rule. This was popularly known as the wind of change. The British were put under a lot of pressure by the USA and other western countries to end colonial rule and grant independence to these colonies on the majority rule principle. Armed struggles did not influence this policy change.*
- 2.8.1.3. *Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia both obtained Independence in 1964 without an armed struggle or firing a single gunshot.*
- 2.8.1.4. *The armed struggle in Rhodesia was against the settler minority government. This settler administration relentlessly sought and was denied independence by Britain.*
- 2.8.1.5. *This settler administration went on to make a Unilateral Declaration of Independence from Britain in 1965. Full United Nations sanctions sponsored by Britain were put in place to bring down the Rhodesia government.*
- 2.8.1.6. *The British helped the armed struggle with intelligence.*
- 2.8.1.7. *As testified by Josiah Tongogara, the Swedish and other western countries helped with supplies.*
- 2.8.1.8. *It would seem that Independence could only be given by Britain with the support of its geopolitical western partners.*

### **2.8.2. What does Independence mean to Zimbabweans and what exactly do we celebrate every year on 18 April? Can we put together a shared definition? Was the armed struggle to liberate Bantu Rhodesians/ Zimbabweans; was it a struggle for majority rule or a struggle for regime change?**

- 2.8.2.1. *Independence meant majority rule and peaceful, harmonious coexistence and collaboration with the British settlers. Majority rule can also mean a constitutional democracy with an elected government that derives its power and mandate from the people whilst remaining accountable and serving for a defined period at the confidence and or approval of the same.*
- 2.8.2.2. *The armed struggle was meant to expedite the process of obtaining majority rule; however, with the benefit of hindsight, there are some indications that the armed struggle may have been hijacked towards the end to serve a regime change agenda.*
- 2.8.2.3. *It is difficult to ascertain or quantify how much of Majority rule was realised in the end; as the majority of people are yet to fully enjoy the fruits of independence and majority rule amidst the reality of longstanding retrogression, economic decline and chronic poverty and destitution*

**2.8.3. What is democracy? What is Universal Suffrage or Majority Rule? Do we have any democracy in Zimbabwe? If so, how was it brought about or developed in this largely Bantu patriarchal African society?**

- 2.8.3.1. *Democracy is majority rule or a system of government by the whole population or all the eligible members of a state, typically through elected representatives.*
- 2.8.3.2. *Universal suffrage is the right of almost all adults to vote in political elections; regardless of wealth, income, gender, social status, race, ethnicity, political stance, or any other restriction, subject only to relatively minor exceptions.*
- 2.8.3.3. *It is premised on a shared philosophy of life; such as cultural norms, values and ideals by the people of that society (nation).*
- 2.8.3.4. *It is one thing to agree on a textbook definition for democracy; it is another to have democracy as a mainstream cultural value of a given society or people. Society can through their cultural heritage assimilate democratic tenets through their daily and normal upbringing, or a people through a referendum type process can choose to co-opt democracy to become part of their culture and task their leaders with the necessary mandate and resources to implement it across mainstream society.*
- 2.8.3.5. *Co-opting democracy in a tribal Bantu society is not an event, but a very slow and difficult undertaking that demands nothing less than radical cultural transformation inspired by strong and passionate leadership. It took the British more than a century to develop their democratic social order to the Universal suffrage status.*
- 2.8.3.6. *Democracy has not yet been implemented in the mainstream Bantu society of Zimbabwe.*

**2.8.4. What is the structure and performance of the post-Independence economy?**

- 2.8.4.1. *In its 41 years, post-independence Zimbabwe has developed a myriad of economic blueprints meant to promote sustainable economic growth and alleviate poverty. Immediately after independence economic policies meant to redress pre-independence imbalances by integrating previously marginalized people into the mainstream economy through the provision of free education and health, job creation and land resettlement. Thereafter, the thrust was to wean off the citizenry from excessive dependence on government for survival while the economy moved from somewhat a command economy to one of liberalisation.*

**Table 1: Structure and Economic policies timeline (1980-2018)**

<b>Date instituted</b>	<b>Economic Policy</b>	<b>Timeline</b>
01.02.1981	Growth with Equity (GWE)	1981
	Transitional National Development Plan (TNDP)	1982-1985
	First Five-Year National Dev Plan (FFYNDP)	1985-1990
18-01-1991	Economic Structural Development Programme (ESAP)	1991-1995

20-02-1998	Zimbabwe Programme for Economic and Social Transformation (ZIMPREST)	1996-2000
29-03-2000	Vision 2020 & Long-Term Development Strategy	1997-2020
1-08-2001	Millennium Economic Recovery Programme (MERP)	2001-2002
1-02-2003	National Economic Revival Programme (NERP)	2003-2004
1-11-2004	Macro-Economic Policy Framework (MEPF)	2005-2006
1-04-2006	National Economic Development Priority Programme (NEDPP)	2006-2008
30-09-2007	Zimbabwe Economic Development Strategy (ZEDS)	2007-2011
19-03-2009	Short Term Emergency Recovery programme (STERP I)	2009
23-12-2009	Short Term Emergency Recovery programme (STERP II)	2010-2012
1-07-2011	Medium Term Plan (MTP)	Medium Term Plan (MTP)
1-10-2013	Zimbabwe Agenda for Sustainable Socio-Economic Transformation (ZIMASSET)	2013-2018

## 2.8.5. Review of the economic performance of the post-Independence era based on economic policies

- 2.8.5.1. *Growth with Equity policies were socially successful but economically they were not sustainable.*
- 2.8.5.2. *The Transitional National Development Plan (TNDP) failed to address issues like; equitable land redistribution, indigenisation and empowerment, product beneficiation, fiscal restraint among other measures. The TNDP was largely a failure but to its credit, it created over 150 000 jobs and enhanced agricultural production of small-scale communal land farmers.*
- 2.8.5.3. *First Five-Year National Dev Plan (FFYNDP)-during the period 1986 to 1990, the country's budget deficit remained high against a backdrop of substantial foreign financing. The economy was faced by internal and external imbalances reflected in relatively high inflation, high unemployment levels (around 30%) and high budget deficits.*
- 2.8.5.4. *The Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) (1991-1995)- the programmes had some success but was largely hampered by lack of compliance to government policy by both ministries and SEs management. This was to be expected since senior civil servants in Zimbabwe are not usually appointed on merit but through political patronage. The performance of the economy under*



*ESAP was largely unimpressive such that a significant decline in real incomes was noted. Real GDP fell from about 4% in 1990 to about 1.4, during the reform period well below the expected 5% growth rate.*

- 2.8.5.5. *Zimbabwe Programme for Economic and Social Transformation (ZIMPREST)- ZIMPREST was supposed to build on the moderate achievements of ESAP but this plan fared poorly and the economy got worse. Policies under this period lacked local ownership. They were viewed as IMF and World Bank imposed measures as access to the balance of payment was on condition of compliance with these measures. They also carried high political and social costs for society and political leadership. There was also the absence of enabling legal and institutional frameworks hence policy implementation under protest. Largely, ZIMPREST suffered from a lack of international financial support to fund programme implementation. It was also too ambitious, encompassing a host of goals to be achieved: poverty reduction, land reform, employment creation, institutional reforms, decentralization, and others, without clearly spelling out the budgetary implications of each one of these policy objectives.*
- 2.8.5.6. *Vision 2020 and Long-Term Development Strategy- government sought in vain economic revival which was to be spearheaded by good governance and political stability, sustainable macro-economic growth, regional and provincial management of human and natural resources.*
- 2.8.5.7. *Zimbabwe Millennium Economic Recovery Programme (MERP) (2000-2001)- MERP failed to revive the economy mainly as a result of non-implementation of recommended policies and loss of macroeconomic balance due to the size of the budget.*
- 2.8.5.8. *The National Economic Revival Programme (NERP)- since the prior broad-based macroeconomic policies were not successful it was difficult for these sectoral policies to be successful and there was no agricultural output reaped from the land redistribution.*
- 2.8.5.9. *Macro-Economic Policy Framework (MEPF) (2005-2006)-this document aimed at reducing inflation and increase capacity utilisation with concessional funding becoming even more available as the RBZ just printed currency for it among others. This policy succeeded in enhancing the provision of financial support to agriculture and other key sectors though most of the objectives were not met.*
- 2.8.5.10. *National Economic Development Priority Programme (NEDPP) (2006-2008)- This came as a result of Public-Private Sector Partnership under the auspices of the National Economic Consultative Forum. However, NEDPP died a natural death as it was rolled out in place at a time when the Government was working on a new five-year development strategy. Thus, before NEDPP could be implemented, the government came up with yet another programme, the Zimbabwe Economic Development Strategy (ZEDS).*
- 2.8.5.11. *Zimbabwe Economic Development Strategy (ZEDS) (2007-2011)- The Zimbabwe Economic Development Strategy (ZEDS) contained nothing new but a repackaging of policies contained in the previous policy announcements. Its primary objective was to achieve sustainable, balanced and robust economic growth and development that was oriented towards poverty reduction. There was an acute shortage of basic commodities which included maize meal, drugs, fuel, electricity*



- and foreign currency. Unfortunately, at the end of September 2007, the government indefinitely postponed the launch of ZEDS.
- 2.8.5.12. *Short Term Emergency Recovery Programme (STERP) (2009)- This was a nine months programme from March to December 2009 focusing on political and governance issues, social protection programmes, supply-side reforms and macro-economic reforms. The short-term nature of STERP meant that some programmes and projects would not be fully implemented within the time frame of nine months and little support on donor funds to implement the programmes, hence the launch of STERP II to consolidate gains from the initial recovery efforts under STERP.*
- 2.8.5.13. *Short Term Emergency Recovery Programme (STERP II)- More broadly, STERP II sought to put a price tag on the 'critical financial investment needed to restore the economy to 1997 levels, emerging with a total of US\$45 billions of which \$20 to \$30 billion of this amount was needed over the three years to 2012. The impact of political will in fostering economic growth is well demonstrated in STERP because its first 3 years were very successful as politicians worked together coherently to operationalise it. After embracing STERP II, inflation dramatically fell to single-digit levels and stabilized at below 5% by the end of the year 2010. Unfortunately, this was short-lived as politics started to interfere with economics again as parties in the government tried to outshine each other for political gain in the process somewhat sabotaging each other.*
- 2.8.5.14. *Medium Term Plan (MTP) (2010-2015)- Its theme was restoration and transformation of capacities for sustainable economic growth and development. MTP required approximately \$9.3 billion for full implementation which was a very big resource constraint to the country. It lacked consistency and donor support on which the blueprint was underpinned hence it failed to meet its target between 2011 and 2012. This was hastily abandoned when ZANU PF won the 2013 elections.*
- 2.8.5.15. *Zimbabwe Agenda for Sustainable Socio-Economic Transformation (ZIM ASSET)- The policy was developed to guide national development for the next five years up to 2018. The vision of ZIM ASSET is 'Towards an Empowered Society and a Growing Economy' a well thought and crafted statement whose dream is assumed to be easily shared by any patriotic Zimbabwean. ZIMASSET was a socialist policy where everyone in the country was considered to benefit from the policy hence it was broad-based. ZIMASSET did not in any way provide reference to Vision 2020 nor link its development aspirations to the country's vision. A shared national vision can be a powerful force and rallying point for uniting citizens. ZIMASSET landed itself in a country with serious challenges on transparency, accountability and corruption hence it was doomed to fail.*
- 2.8.5.16. *The post-independence economic policies have largely not been very successful due to excessive political expediency and poor implementation by the national leadership. The prevailing economic challenges cannot be resolved by more economic blueprints. It may not be logical to believe that all the economic blueprints in the table above merely missed their targets economically without interrogating the nature of the implementation process and the political actors at that time and now. Instead, they require a holistic and inclusive approach to policymaking as well as a paradigm shift towards economic management prudence. This includes a pragmatic eradication of social ills like bad governance, corruption, and excessive politicking at the expense of economic development. The solution lies in an honest re-engagement with the international community, upholding the rule of law to inspire investor confidence at the same time cultivating genuine economic empowerment programmes that are devoid of political innuendoes.*

### **2.8.6. Describe the nature of the post-Independence Christian faith in Zimbabwe**

- 2.8.6.1. *Christianity is the dominant religion in Zimbabwe. According to the 2017 intercensal demography survey by the Zimbabwe National Statistics Agency 69.2 per cent of Zimbabweans belong to Protestant Christianity, 8.0 per cent are Roman Catholic and in total 84.1 per cent follow one of the denominations of Christianity.*
- 2.8.6.2. *Christian Faith post-Independence can be viewed with the lens of 1. Deviating from the holy laws as given in the bible; 2. Lack of Revivalist Movements such as Martin Luther and others; 3. Zimbabwe post-Independence has seen foreign missionaries convening evangelistic outreaches just to mention a few such as Reinhard Bonke; 4. Gospel music industry has had an impact coming as an alternative to secular music galas; 5. Today we are witnessing a generation calling itself Prophets/Prophetesses, Apostles etc including the Mega Church syndrome.*
- 2.8.6.3. *Estimates vary about how much of the population is syncretic (mixing Christian beliefs with indigenous beliefs) Many Apostolic Churches and some Protestant Churches such as Zion have some form of a mixed blend of traditional and Christian beliefs and practices.*
- 2.8.6.4. *One would have thought that the Church and or Christians would be exempt from the current pandemic of corruption sweeping across the nation. Unfortunately, the Church is equally corrupt and sometimes worse. The major source of this corruption is the severe lack of proper corporate governance and accountability.*
- 2.8.6.5. *The reality of fivefold ministry gifts and the priesthood of believers is largely ignored by the present church and the reality of Acts 2-5 (Having everything in common and sharing with those in need) is almost entirely ignored by the present Church which only looks after the CEO Man of God and operates like Business entities owned by the Man of God plus focuses on the prosperity gospel.*

### **3.0 Key Historical Highlights for Reflections**

- 3.1.1. Precolonial Bantu life was predominantly under Empires and Kingdoms and supported mainly by subsistence farming and livestock
- 3.1.2. Cecil Rhodes and the British destroyed the last Matabele Kingdom and established a new country called Southern Rhodesia which was under British South Africa Company rule by 1894.
- 3.1.3. A referendum was held on 22 October 1922 to determine the governance future of southern Rhodesia between joining the Union of South Africa and Self-Responsible Government. Self-Responsible Government campaign by the RGA party led by Sir Charles Coghlan won by about 60%.
- 3.1.4. Southern Rhodesia had two distinct settlements which coexisted side by side; a) the settler western democratic settlement which took prime agricultural land, mineral rights and built the formal economy, industry and modern civilisation, and b) the patriarchal

Bantu settlement which was forcefully moved to Tribal Trust Lands or African Reserves and supported by subsistence farming and livestock.

- 3.1.5. 1953 – 1963 Rhodesia and Nyasaland Federation.
- 3.1.6. Unilateral Declaration of Independence in 1965 by Ian Smith after rejecting the British directive for majority rule and the second Chimurenga armed struggle led by ZAPU and ZANU PF accelerated coupled with the British led International sanctions on Rhodesia.
- 3.1.7. Zimbabwe Rhodesia Internal Settlement of 1978, which was rejected by both the British and United Nations.
- 3.1.8. The Lancaster House Agreement of December 1979 and the Independence transition
- 3.1.9. Zimbabwe Independence in 1980 and the Mugabe- ZANU PF rule for forty years

## **3.2. Key Learning Outcomes for Reflections**

- 3.2.1. During pre-colonial dynasties, power was taken from one Empire to another through violence. Cecil Rhodes just like Changamire Dombo or Mzilikazi had done at different times in the past, used the same manner of violence to become the new Emperor of Rhodesia / Zimbabwe
- 3.2.2. Rhodesia / Zimbabwe political boundaries, governance, political and service delivery system was created by Cecil John Rhodes and the British and this system albeit broken and in some cases dysfunctional is still the one in current use 41 years after ‘Independence’
- 3.2.3. If the result of the 1922 referendum had gone the other way, Zimbabwe today would be a province of South Africa with a very different history. We are here as Zimbabwe because people like Charles Coghlan stood up for self-governance.
- 3.2.4. It seems the Armed struggle was more a regime change struggle to grab power from the settlers. Independence could only be given by the British to their preferred new arrangement, which was both not the Ian Smith led Rhodesian government or the Bishop Abel Muzorewa led Zimbabwe Rhodesia government.
- 3.2.5. The monopolised and or very poor Independence transition by default amounted more in the establishment of a new Dynasty or Emperor.
- 3.2.6. Post-Independence Zimbabwean society has been plagued with self-serving leaders, endemic corruption and adulterous hero-worshipping of leaders resulting in today’s chronic poverty and perpetual retrogression.
- 3.2.7. The Church has also been equally corrupted and dominated by materialism and the Mega Church, Business Empire and the CEO Spiritual father syndrome

#### 4.0. Key National Dialogue Questions

If Zimbabweans approach our present challenges from different understandings, persuasions or perspectives, it would result in a monumental challenge to obtain a meaningful and substantive amicable way forward. Can we create a prosperous tomorrow without first mastering the truth and lessons of yesterday? In other words, people who do not know their history are in danger of always repeating the same mistakes.

**4.1. Is it possible for Zimbabweans to put together a truthful and substantive shared historical narrative of our past as far back as pre-colonial time? Do we not need a step-by-step progression of our evolution and development with a special focus on the key landmarks or turning points on this journey? Would this not help us construct a shared foundation to our present challenges and a bigger picture context and understanding so that we can be on the same page and better equipped to foster effective and sustainable solutions going forward?**

*NB: Sections 1 to 3 above have all been developed as an answer to this question.*

**4.2. What is a Nation and or nationhood? Do we want as Zimbabweans to be formally constituted as a Nation? If so, what role or place will our different tribes or ethnicity play in the overall nationhood objective and what core values and principles would characterise and support our envisaged nation?**

4.2.1. *A nation is a community of people formed based on a common language, history, ethnicity, or common culture and or shared territory. A nation has also been defined as a cultural-political community that has become conscious of its autonomy, unity and particular interests*

4.2.2. *We do acknowledge that whilst we mostly have a similar Bantu Ubuthu cultural heritage, we also have a variety of ethnic differences which should be celebrated as diversity and augmented and supported by appropriate devolution. It also seems strategic for the nation to adopt the colonial Roman-Dutch Legal system for criminal matters, business and other formal contracts and return the traditional adjudication system for civil and other cultural matters.*

4.2.3. *The three key elements of nationhood are sovereignty, self-determination and self-sufficiency. For Zimbabweans to exercise control over their land and lives, we must achieve self-determination by organising a mechanism for effective self-governance. Zimbabweans must create a government that provides for substantive democratic representation coupled with justice, economic and national development before we can effectively interrelate with the region or the international community. The ultimate goal of nationhood is to become self-sufficient and self-supporting.*

4.2.4. *The ten Ideals OR Values that would make Zimbabwe a great nation are as proposed below;*

4.2.4.1. **Justice** – *a society where justice in all its forms is administered fairly and consistently across all sectors and across all citizens; to ensure, 1) fair distribution of resources and access to opportunities, 2) fair and consistent punishment to all citizens for wrongs and or crimes committed and 3) fair or equal exertion of effort towards the reparation and or restoration of broken relationships;*

- 4.2.4.2. **Statesmanship and Patriotism** – A society where people are raised to have a healthy balance between individual / family responsibility; and nation building. A people who consider the interests of others or the common good in high regard; and an acute awareness, devotion and commitment first to country progress before personal progress;
- 4.2.4.3. **Democratic Governance** – a society with a constitutional democratic system of government with four key elements: 1) a system for choosing and replacing the government through free and fair elections, 2) active peaceful participation of people, as citizens, in politics and civic life; 3) protection of the human rights of all citizens; and 4) a rule of law in which the laws and procedures apply equally to all citizens
- 4.2.4.4. **Sovereignty** - A sovereign state – autonomous, and or independent from other states and self – governing; a nation and or a people with self-determination. Our sovereignty, however, needs to be balanced against a recognition of our interdependence in the global family of nations and our commitment to honouring the international law and the treaties which we have subscribed to.
- 4.2.4.5. **Morality and Compassion** – a clear sense of morality and truthfulness that resides in the hearts of people, guiding them like an inner compass as to what is right or wrong even when no one can see or know; a society that looks after the weak and vulnerable or poor and needy without judging their status or why they are in the situation;
- 4.2.4.6. **Sacred Human Life** – A high value is placed on all human life and no effort is spared to ensure that lives are healthy, spared, protected and or extended;
- 4.2.4.7. **Unity – in – Diversity and Tolerance** – A society which expresses harmony, respect for others, unity and tolerance amongst dissimilar individuals and groups. It is about unity without uniformity and diversity without fragmentation; with the understanding that these physical and cultural differences enrich human interactions and experiences
- 4.2.4.8. **Service and Accountability** – The call to serve one another is a core tenet of both Ubuthu and the Christian faith. It is the business of impartially supplying commodities and or services to any or all members of our communities / nation and a commitment to continuous improvement of these services towards better living standards and in so doing, with total transparency and an equal commitment to public scrutiny.
- 4.2.4.9. **Stewardship and Leadership** – A society where people have an individual and corporate responsibility and commitment to manage and utilize our land, resources and the environment sustainably with great care. Those entrusted with the leadership of state and or public resources, must excel and do a great job for the benefit and the enjoyment of the nation and future generations;
- 4.2.4.10. **Meritocracy** – A society where excellence is sought after; to achieve and or produce the very best. A society where talents, gifts, abilities and creativity are honoured, nurtured and celebrated, and the very best are given priority to relevant scholarships and or jobs without fear or favour.
- 4.3. **How best can we honestly describe our Nation today? Are we a failed and broken nation? Are we a nation experiencing perpetual retrogression? If so, what could be the main drivers of this brokenness and or retrogression?**
- 4.3.1. Zimbabwe is a very polarised nation both spiritually and politically. Greed and corruption have taken root at the centre of society amidst chronic poverty and perpetual retrogression. People are mostly self-centred and the leadership are mostly self-serving and society is mostly guided by the 'each man for himself and God for us all' dogma



- 4.3.2. *Zimbabwe lacks a genuine substantive and authentic foundation because of a very poor and monopolised Independence transition*
- 4.3.3. *The state is very fragile and failing under the weight of very weak, politicised or broken public institutions*
- 4.3.4. *Power centralised in the office of the Presidency is also potentially the major source of endemic corruption and politicisation of public institutions*
- 4.4. Does the Zimbabwean situation require incremental change or radical transformation and renewal? What kind of political and governance system would best suit and provide a good platform for the required national transformation and sustainable development of our nation?**
- 4.4.1. *A fair or good situation at any given point is the one logically synonymous with incremental change. However, a bad situation or state of retrogression such as our Zimbabwean reality requires nothing less than radical transformation and renewal.*
- 4.4.2. *A good political and governance system for Zimbabwe must incorporate the strengths and weaknesses of our Bantu cultural reality. We cannot have a system predicated solely on the British / western culture such as the current, and expect to make any progress*
- 4.4.3. *We are mindful and acknowledge that our bantu historical and post-independence configuration was mostly structured around a strong man (Emperor) for power, privilege and subjugation of the masses to serve those at the top of the pyramid. This has cascaded down and since been replicated across society fuelling our brokenness and retrogression*
- 4.4.4. *We hereby envision a nation configured and structured around team leadership with mutual accountability for public service, nation building and wealth creation; all anchored on the principles of racial, tribal and ethnic integration, and cultural development through education and training towards community cohesion, harmony and civilisation*
- 4.4.5. *There is a need to negotiate the replacement of the current boss, father, Man of God type leadership system from across our public institutions and replace it with team leadership and shared servant leadership of first amongst equals governance system using a just and meritocratic appointment or selection system.*
- 4.4.6. *Power must be transferred from individuals to Institutions and the people eligible for office must demonstrate a long track record of a high degree of patriotism, honesty, integrity, stewardship, humble servant leadership and must not have any criminal history*
- 4.4.7. *Until such a time we have very strong public institutions, there is no justification for the executive presidency and presidential elections. We could replace these with provincial elections for the Governors and members of parliament, and these governors once elected could nominate one of them to become the ceremonial president and head of state on a periodic and rotational basis.*
- 4.4.8. *According to the principle of compact government, we could return to the original five provinces as at Independence.*



4.4.9. *Given our poor public fiscus, it is prudent to have a very compact government of not more than 100 elected members of parliament; 20 from each province. The Senate could be abolished and replaced by the Executive Council comprising the five Provincial Governors, the Prime Minister and the Ministers of Defence and Finance.*

4.4.10. *Parliament could nominate three candidates from amongst themselves and submit to the governors for the appointment of a Prime Minister.*

4.4.11. *Cabinet ministers, at least 50% from parliament could be selected and shortlisted by a cabinet committee comprising the chief of staff/ secretaries to the President and Prime minister. All these appointments must be strictly merit driven and must be ratified by both parliament and the Executive Council*

4.4.12. *The appointment of judges must be based on merit and done by the judicial service commission with consultation and or ratification by parliament.*

#### **4.5. What sort of mechanisms/process would best facilitate an amicable way forward for Zimbabwe?**

4.5.1. *The first thing or step that we must make as Zimbabweans is public acknowledgement, confession and proclamation of the true nature and weight of today's brokenness. The deepening level of corruption across society, economic decline, poor service delivery and infrastructure disrepair is staggering and the nation continues to experience perpetual retrogression amidst widespread chronic poverty and destitution. This is the compelling premise or reason for this campaign.*

4.5.2. *We acknowledge our brokenness and do this campaign with a clear understanding and commitment to the fact that in principle we bear collective responsibility for yesterday and today's reality as we also bear a collective responsibility to create a better tomorrow together. This is no season to play the self-righteous card and apportion blame to some and others; neither is it a season for cheap political slogans on the back of the ongoing suffering of the majority of Zimbabweans.*

4.5.3. *This campaign is guided by the principles of putting Zimbabwe first and collective responsibility. The issue of accountability for past wrongs has already been answered and resolved by the principle of collective responsibility for the past, present and future. Putting Zimbabwe First in this instance helps us to focus on the nation, the bigger picture or the collective towards national reconciliation and national renewal so that we can end this nightmare of retrogression and negotiate into place a substantive foundation and system for shared prosperity and meaningful progress*

4.5.4. *Elections even with their vast frequency have failed to resolve the issues of endemic corruption and perpetual retrogression. Another round of elections will not make any difference. The fact that we continue to have elections in a society without any democracy is testimony to our foolishness and broken social order.*

4.5.5. *The only practical way out of this crisis is inclusive dialogue for national reconciliation and national renewal towards a negotiated settlement. This requires Zimbabweans to take a position of faith, truth and justice. If because of fear we chose to remain silent, then we are guilty and directly responsible for this brokenness and thus render our*

*Sovereignty or Christian faith or religion worthless before our children and the God of heaven.*

- 4.5.6. *For the last 41 years, we have created a society predicated on lies, deception and propaganda. We have prioritised power and positions for self-gain at the expense of shared prosperity and nation-building. What Independence do we talk about when our children are ignorant of their true history and do not have a clear cultural identity? We cannot continue with this self-inflicted brokenness when the children of other nations are being empowered by their forebearers. We appeal to all leaders across society that now is the time to empower our children with the truth and make the necessary concessions for national renewal*
- 4.5.7. *This campaign does respect our sovereignty as a nation and shall continue to be a national reconciliation campaign first by Zimbabweans for Zimbabweans. Our collective responsibility, forgiveness and putting Zimbabwe first principles override any international conventions in this instance because this is what we the people of Zimbabwe have chosen. We wish to assure all leaders; politicians and non-politicians to have no fear of any past wrongs. We make that huge concession to forgive and overlook the past to make national renewal possible. This is the truth and our pledge so help us, God.*
- 4.5.8. *Our responsibility and obligation as ordinary Zimbabweans and as Christians is to convene an inclusive assembly as a people to dialogue and agree on a shared vision. Matthew 18:18-19 Assuredly, I say to you whatever you bind on earth will be bound in heaven, and whatever you loose on earth will be loosed in heaven. (we hold the key to our future, God is waiting for us to agree) Again I say to you that if two or three agree on earth concerning anything that they ask, it will be done for them by my father in heaven.*
- 4.5.9. *We must take a position to believe God at his word and make him the main convener of our dialogue process and implementer of our shared vision, which once completed the churches must present before God every Sunday in prayer and petition him for divine intervention for implementation as the church repents from wrongs and undergoes reformation, renewal and revival. Gatiregedzei kutyira Mwari; he specializes in things thought impossible and he is in the business of doing the heavy lifting. But our duty as a people is to take a position for national reconciliation and national renewal and work for it.*
- 4.5.10. *The dialogue assembly will in the end nominate a negotiation team to negotiate with the government of the day the adoption and implementation of the dialogue resolutions*

## **5.0. National Dialogue Possible Outcomes- What Outcomes Do We Expect From This Dialogue Process**

- 5.1.1. Agreeing on a truthful and shared history for Zimbabwe
- 5.1.2. Agreeing on key historical landmarks or turning points that may have impacted on the country's trajectory or performance.
- 5.1.3. Developing strategic, relevant and meaningful answers to serve as a launchpad for national reconciliation and national renewal based on the shared history.

- 5.1.4. Agreeing on a shared national identity, cultural norms and vision for the future and the main supporting foundational principles, values and systems
- 5.1.5. Agreeing on the necessary reforms and a strategy to negotiate their implementation towards the necessary improvements or transformation

## **6.0. Major Possible Reforms Towards National Renewal**

Assuming that amongst the findings and outcomes of this dialogue process there is consensus that endemic corruption; political violence; poor governance and bad stewardship are at the centre of our national retrogression; below are the associated possible reforms for consideration;

- 6.1. Public Sector Reformation and Institutional Development; Anything public sector or public institutions beginning with, local government and municipalities and councils, public and community schools, all Churches and religious institutions; must undergo major reformation and renewal such as follows;
  - 6.1.1. Depoliticization,
  - 6.1.2. Propose on restoration or implementation of proper corporate governance
  - 6.1.3. Establishment of benchmarks and appropriate standards for performance measurement
  - 6.1.4. Development and or installation / implementation of code of ethics that must regulate and direct the operations and conduct of public officials who work for these institutions
  - 6.1.5. Work on the revival of the Church
- 6.2. These institutions exist for the sole purpose of community and national development and as such cannot be used or corrupted to become an income-generating project for an individual or a select few.
- 6.3. Propose a new political and governance system that is compatible with our national identity and development stage as Africans- the initial suggestion for due consideration is to Replace the current western executive presidential political system with a Majority Rule Bantu type collaborative political and governance system as proposed in 4.4.7
- 6.4. Another consideration is to reduce the size of the public sector fiscal burden across the board to align with the principle of compact and responsible governance or make public sector salaries a certain percentage (such as 40%) of national fiscal revenue
- 6.5. Define the base criteria for an autonomous province and figure out why provinces were doubled from 5 to 10 after Independence. Should a province not be a viable economic hub? Can we revert back to the original five Provinces and if possible, can we discontinue the use of provincial names with tribal connotations and rename these provinces; Matabeleland – Mosi-oa-Tunya; Manicaland - Eastern Highlands; Mashonaland – Munhumutapa

- 6.6. Propose an economic structure and or system that is best suited for productivity and sustainable economic development
- 6.7. Propose a reconciliation and organic renewal, reparation and healing process more anchored on the principles of truth, repentance, forgiveness and an organic reparation model rather than a donor sponsored financial reparation model.
- 6.8. Assist the government of the day with advocacy towards the normalization of Zimbabwe international relations and sanctions removal

## **7.0. Proposed Way-Forward Options**

The dialogue assembly must consider all the dialogue questions and agree on outcomes and resolutions for all. In case of sticking points that never get consensual outcomes, such issues will be shelved or parked and revisited at the appropriate time. Only agreed issues will be pursued. Once this process is complete a decision must be taken on the strategic way forward between two options a) Incremental change and or b) Radical Transformation

- 7.1. Incremental change recommendations could be submitted and negotiated with the government of the day for implementation through parliament
- 7.2. In the case of radical transformation, strategic way forward options will be tabled before the dialogue assembly both for review and approval.
- 7.3. The dialogue assembly will be tasked with the responsibility of nominating a team of up to five people who will be responsible for negotiating and or coordinating the implementation of the resolutions and outcomes of the Dialogue Assembly.
- 7.4. This team will serve at the pleasure of the dialogue assembly; should report back on progress weekly / monthly and in the unlikely event of loss of confidence can be dissolved by the Assembly through at least a two-thirds majority vote.

*‘This is Zimbabwe’s Season for National Reconciliation and National Renewal; Shifting our mindsets to think differently and act together positively for sustainable nation building’*

*Zimbabwe National Reconciliation Alliance – ZINRA*

Visit our Website: <http://www.zinra.org> for more information