

NEWS HEADLINES OVER REFORM HEADWAYS. The Bane of Opposition Politics in Zimbabwe

okay mikkel
greetings to you all and welcome to the
surplus trust policy dialogue forum
the last for this year the 14th
so far since we began the zoom series
the tonight we are looking at
and another pertinent subject in our
overview of zimbabwean transition
the nature of opposition politics in
zimbabwe
the title headlines of headways
they're the bane of opposition politics
in zimbabwe and
i don't want to say too much about the
topic but
because we have three very eminent
scholars uh
the main presenter is jonathan moyer who
needs no
introduction this is jonathan moyer on the
screen
uh mikael
mikhail jonathan moy on the screen
jonathan moyer on the screen
jonathan can you come on the screen
hello jonathan
jonathan
hello
hi jonathan oh there he is
that's jonathan moyer professor jonathan
moyer
zimbabwe an academic
politician
all in one at
present outside the country
but thanks to technology we're in touch
with him as we have in most of the
policy dialogues we've had i should add
that
the idea of the policy dialogue or the
discussions go back as brian and

jonathan know to the 80s we're going to
have
monthly the ups
forum and we used to have
together jonathan do a
end-of-year review with me doing the
region
jonathan during the uh
the domestic situation
so this is one such today jonathan moyer
then next is brian reptoples
with brian
right yes brian
writer of topless another zimbabwean
scholar
not not so much a politician although
i'm sure
he wouldn't mind me it's not too late
briana
but brian like jonathan belongs to the
scholars of the 80s onwards
no doubt i would like to say that
both constitute the backbone of zimbabwe
scholarship
and remain so so brian
is based in the diaspora too
but again he's a regular on this forum
last but not least professor chipot
then there chipo
it was the college professor political
science
cheapo
here's cheapo welcome again
chipo has been on this forum before he's
familiar with it
and i'm sure she's familiar with the
subject too
looks like evo's frozen at the moment
folks um
we hope we can get him back michelle
maybe you can see what the problem is
there
is a fault problem at that end
something's gone wrong okay

perhaps we can pick it up can people
hear me jonathan can you hear me
hello yes yes hello tony
hello so i mean something's gone wrong
with the moderator ebo has been
cut off so as ebo said
the procedure is that uh
professor moya will kick us off he'll be
talking for about
40 odd minutes then we will ask
brian raftopoulos to come in as
discussant
and then chipotle and then
we will begin to open the floor for
comments from other sorts of people
so maybe at this particular point
jonathan we could hand over to you and
you could begin
okay thank you
sorry tony i'm back okay i've just uh
evolved
there was so that's fine i heard you
that's all right okay
okay good let's go
hmm
hello tony
hello tony carry on jonathan carry on
ah okay i just wanted to be sure that
you can thank you very much
okay um it's um
a pleasure for me to
be part of this
dialogue today and
as dr mandela was reminding us
time was when we would have uh this
under ups and
he would cover
the review of the year for the region
the sardic region and i would do
zimbabwe
the last apps i remember
when when this happened
we were reviewing uh the one party state
agenda that zanu pf was pursuing after

the 1989
uh joint congress
which was the unity congress and
the one participate idea which had been
one of the
points of agreement between pf zappo and
zanu-pf was very topical
and dr mandela was a senior civil
servant
and he could not resist covering
national issues even though he we
expected him to talk about the region
and he denounced the one party state
and the financial gazette led with a
story from his remarks
which was entitled one participate
out of touch with reality mandaza
the next thing he lost his job and
became a full-time
academic he was fired for that
anyway in my presentation
i critically examined the
state of the opposition
not just today or currently
but in history recent history
and i do this with reference
to the opposition's
relationship with its main agenda
the reform agenda and
i argue that the opposition in zimbabwe
has squandered a number of historic
opportunities
which it could have used
to pursue
real change in zimbabwe and i
argue that it has done so because of its
preoccupation with news headlines over
reform
headways and to do that
i take the approach that some
call you crony the approach
that examines or re-examines and unpacks
history not as it actually happened
but as it could have happened given some

objective conditions
and structural dynamics that way it play
present at the time while my reference
to the political opposition
is broadly used to describe
the totality of the opposition i do use
the term interchangeably with the mdc
as the main political opposition in
zimbabwe
since its formation in 1999.
when the mdc was formed in 1999
its center pivot was a clarion call to
reform
and hence its payoff line was as it
still is today
chinjamaitiro maitirochinja
and pivotal to this mantra was the
realization that zimbabwe's independent
in 1980
had come without democracy in other
words
the country was an independent but
undemocratic state
of or nation state
the situation was akin to what has
or did obtain in south africa when it
was seen as an independent but
undemocratic country
until in 1994 when it attained democracy
and we all know they don't have
independence they there they don't
celebrate their independence
they celebrate their democracy at this
formation
the currents of the reform agenda of the
mdc was boosted
and given momentum by the calls and
vegetation
for economic and constitutional reforms
particularly
but not only from the zimbabwe congress
of trade unions
and the national constitutional assembly
or nca

which were two key foundational
springboards
of the mdc in a nutshell
the mdc challenge to zanu-pf was to
democratize
zimbabwe's independence
and to appreciate this challenge
a brief examination of
the mission of zanu-pf for how
zanu-pf defined his mission
as the
political party that assumed power in
1980
when the npf came into power in 1980
it preoccupied itself with the concept
of consolidation of state power
in order to ostensibly maximize on the
gains of the liberation struggle
to redress colonial imbalances
particularly to reclaim the people's
land rights
and to economically empower the black
indigenous population
and resist what
the npf has over the years
described as neocolonialism and
imperialism and
this was to maximize the gains of the
liberation
struggle especially with respect to the
land redistribution
program and to economic empowerment
against this backdrop zanu-pf has
invariably over the years seen reform or
change as a counter-revolutionary or
a reactionary agenda of opposition
politics
informed and some might say misinformed
by this
view zanu-pf committed itself to the
pursuit of monopoly politics
through the introduction of a legislated
one-party state
right up front uh at independence

and so the concept of consolidation of state power to widen and repaying the the gains of independence has over the years defined zanu-pf politics and it has also informed the party's commissary propaganda at independence in 1980 the white expectation of the population in zimbabwe and those who observe zimbabwean affairs was that the reform of the colonial 100 years of practices customs and institutions would define the political agenda and certainly the policy and the legislative programs of the new nationalist government in zimbabwe from 1980 onwards but the reality is that led by robert mugabe the zanu-pf leadership used the experience of colonial rulers to entrench and widen its consolidation of our power so zanu-pf pursued an agenda to consolidate its power through a triple strategy which defined the party's mission to consolidate independence without democracy critical to that triple strategy was the extension and retention of the 15 year old rhodesian state of emergency which was the main cause or the trigger for the armed liberation struggle and the effect of the extension and retention of the state of emergency was to give zanu-pf arbitral powers with the consequence of suspending the bill of rights thereby rendering zimbabwe's independence in 1980

and in particular the liberation
struggle historically
hollow two was the gugrahunti campaign
which politically targeted the
contentment
and even elimination of joshua cuomo
zappo
and then the velez for purposes of
giving zanu-pf
a political footprint in matebela land
provinces
and parts of the midlands which were
zappos strongholds and the last
was a key amendment
uh to the lancaster constitution
especially the executive presidency
and and the unicameral parliament
both intended to facilitate a legislated
one party state
anderson pf against
this backdrop
and not with a
standing it's a name
the movement for democratic change its
logo
ideology and political program the mdc
was formed as a reform party
it was formed in direct opposition to
zanu-pf's anti-reform agenda
to consolidate independence without
democracy
as i've just outlined but
in doing so
the nbc committed three original sins
and these three original scenes
have defined the mdc's reform challenge
or reforms agenda to zanu-pf
the first original scene committed by
the mdc
is that its reform platform was not
informed by
the structural consequences of zanukev's
retention
and extension of the rhodesian state of

emergency
if there's one thing that exposed
zanu-pf's purported radicalism in 1980
as some kind of a fast it was the
party's retention and extension
of that state of emergency zimbabwe's
armed deliberation
struggle was specifically triggered by
that state of emergency
notably the laughter for measures that
were used by zanu-pf
under the state of emergency which it
retained
and it returned in 1980
and extended until 1990
included the detention without trial of
political opponents
especially zappo leaders or members as
well as alleged dissidents and other
subversives from a reform point of view
the extension and retention of the state
of emergency
included arbitrary intervention in
labor disputes price controls and even
the seas of property owned by
alleged enemies of the state
particularly
but not only zappo and zebra
as institutions but also members thereof
and the second original scene of the mdc
is that its reform agenda was not
informed by the structural impact of
bukra undi
on the zimbabwean body politic
zanu-pf securocrats led by mnangagwa
who saw himself as their political
leader and
the future of president of zimbabwe
right from the beginning in 1980
sought to build a grundy state in the
country
in which state security trammed
state politics and between 1980 and 1982
ahead of the deployment of the fifth

brigade
in january 1983 in montevideo in north
elements of the rhodesian army
particularly from the paratroopers and
the salute scouts
spearheaded the preliminary onslaught on
zappos
and developed communities in pursuit of
zanu-pf's
physical program to pave the way for a
legislated one-party state
when the fifth brigade was deployed it's
pioneering ranks and rhodesian soldiers
and some of them became the pillars of
the zimbabwe defense forces
over the years and a notable example is
major gift to munana
a veteran of the rhodesian african
rifles who rose to the
command to be commander of the sas
or the special air services in zdf
and he did that after serving in the
gugurawundi
campaign which as we know
reclaimed some 20 000 zimbabwean lives
the third and last scene which is
important to understand
uh with respect to how the opposition in
zimbabwe has pursued
headlines over headways reform headways
is that
the pro-reform politics
of the mdc
uh have not
dealt with zanu-pf's
key political and constitutional
foundation namely the executive
president
adopted in 1987 and the unicameral
legislature both which were designed
to ensure a de facto one party state in
zimbabwe
and when um zappo
uh signed a unity accord with the xanopf

in december 1987
it gave expression to this agenda
of establishing a one party state
it in fact specifically agreed to a
with zanu-pf to a legislated one-party
state
as a way of consolidating zanu-pf's
national
power base and following that unit
accord
zanu-pf enacted constitutional amendment
number seven
which eleven elevated mugabe
from prime minister to executive
president
and an executive president with imperial
powers
and we know one of the
provisions of that executive presidency
is that as president mugabe took
precedence over all other persons
now with this against this background
it's my submission that the mdc
committed three original scenes because
it did not have a theory of the case for
reforms
instead the party used the language
and propaganda for reforms to make news
headlines as part of the competition for
power
at the expense of making reform
headways a particularly sexy
and infectious news headline was the
mugabe must go
mantra dramatized by morgan chang rai's
famous challenge
in 2000 in which he charged that mugabe
we would like to tell mugabe today
to please go peacefully and if you don't
want to go peacefully
we will remove you violently in making
this a news headline
sangra gave the mdc and indeed the
political opposition at large

a reform mantra that defined the party's heydays
a mantra that ultimately became the mobilizational centerpiece
of the november 2017 military coup while the mugabe must go mantra was sensational
and news grabbing it did not have any reform content as was seen with the november 2017 military coup
mugabe went in november uh 2017 but the undemocratic political institutional and the paralegal attitudes that zanu-pf had built since 1980
was left behind in fact it was left intact
mugabe's departure was a major news headline
with zero reform headway
now there are four specific instances which demonstrate how the political opposition in zimbabwe has squandered opportunities for reform headways in favor of making news headlines in the politics of the day
of course uh while the specific focus is on the mdc it should be remembered that
the first historic major reform headway that was squandered by the opposition in zimbabwe was in fact squandered by zappo
the unity accord gave the opposition an opportunity to dismantle the structural consequences of zanu-pf
stripper strategy that i outlined earlier especially with respect to the retention and extension of the rhodesian state of emergency
and the execution of the gugrahunti campaign

as well as the amendments that introduced the executive presidency and the unicameral legislature to pay for one a one party state the historic reform opportunity when zappo agreed with zanu to seek to establish a one party state in zimbabwe and to establish a socialist society on the guidance of marxist leninist principles was a historic betrayal by the opposition in zimbabwe in this particular case pf zappo there have been various arguments which are unconvincing that joshua menzel had no option but to sign the unity accord it would be interesting to look at some of these arguments in the discussion and said for now to point out that zappo squandered a an historic opportunity in favor of news headlines with no reform content i should also point out that this was unfortunate because in fact it is zanu-pf which was desperate for the unity accord contrary to the common view that it was joshua cuomo and zappo for the mdc the squandering of reform opportunities starts in 2000 with the draft constitution and this was when the mdc rejected the constitutional commission's draft constitution in 2000 under the mugabe must go mantra and at that time this mantra's popularity was spreading like a belt fire a new and it was a news grabbing

propaganda line advanced
by the mdc that the draft constitution
would be acceptable only if
mugabe
went because otherwise it was
entrenching his rule
now the historic provisions that uh
sought to
dismantle the executive presidency were
in fact
the main feature of the draft
constitution
and they sort to do this by splitting
executive authority between the
president
prime minister and the cabinet the mdc
ignored those provisions as it also
ignored
the provisions that gave the senate
confirmation power
for cabinet appointments along with the
progressive provisions in the bill of
rights
including the right to sexual
orientation
which was in the 2000 draft constitution
in the circumstances news headlines were
made
but the mugabe did not go and the real
opportunity for
historic reform was lost
the second opportunity
squandered by the opposition was in in
the 2000
parliamentary election when the
opposition
namely the mdct
and the mdc
the mtc led by tambara
won 110
seats respectively giving the total
combined
number of seats to 110
out of 210 a clear majority

this was historic as it marked the first time since independence in 1980 that zanu-pf had lost the control of parliament meaning that legislative power to make laws especially the power to pass a budget was in the in the total control of the mtc formations instead of assuming this power and using it to push through fundamental legislative reforms such as electoral and political reforms the mbc formations which were not at the time seeing eye to eye squandered the opportunity for major reform headway again in favor of news headlines and elected instead to negotiate the false promise of sharing executive power with zanu-pf in the 2009 gnu in the end the mdc formations did not share any executive power with the zanu-pf morgan fangirl was tricked into believing that as prime minister he would be the deputy chair of cabinet and that he would also chair the council of ministers only to discover that the vice president would share a cabinet in ghavi's absence and that is unpf ministers would effectively boycott the council of ministers and render it superflat but critically the upf go to the mdc to effectively give up their control of parliament the 110 seats that they won by agreeing to set up a joint caucus with zanu-pf and

the most important rule of that caucus
was to say
no party would bring any legislation in
in parliament without first having that
legislation
passed by the joint focus and so
once again news headlines were grabbed
but a major opportunity for reform
headway
by seizing a critical arm of the state
was lost the third
example it was
the 2000
uh in a nine uh jnu
the or against the background of the
2009
uh gnu which was quite a significant
achievement in zimbabwean politics uh
in so far is for the first time it
brought
an opposition party a major opposition
party into government
and we know that there's a general
feeling among zimbabweans in the body
politic
that the 2009-20
period was the best
so they say in a decade or so
now while many news headlines were made
during that time some of them for the
wrong
reasons legal was achieved by way of
making major reform headways during the
gnu
the only notable political process that
focused
the country on reforms at that time was
the constitution
making or the making of a new
constitution
under kopac which produced the new 2013
constitution
which was a truly major and historic
reform

headway unfortunately
as the only reformed headway
the mtc or the
opposition in general threw away that
headway which was made
in 2013
when the new constitution was adopted
by not only supporting but
in fact by being a critical part of the
2017 or november 2017 military coup
and it did this once again
under the mugabe must go
a mantra or mugabe must go news headline
in anticipation of being part of
a military-led jnu
the euphoric embrace of the november
2017 military coup
by leading lights of the movement for
democratic change was quite telling
for example david culprit described it
as
the coolest coup in the world while
advocate
nelson chamisa said it was not a coup
but a miracle others
in the opposition as well as in civil
society
characterized the 18 november 2017
match or the day when um
there was uh that mgarvey must go
match is freedom day so with
a new freedom day forget april 18
take 18 november so they suggested
from the point of view of making reform
headways
the support of the november military
coup by the opposition
was disastrous this is partly because
the coup created a major reform
opportunity
which the opposition did not grab
because after i'm gavis austria
the opposition could have used the
opportunity the historic moment by

standing by
and for the 2013 constitution its
constitution
their constitution and by demanding that
the military should remain
in the barracks and by using the streets
to insist that zanu-pf should follow
mugabe
and go with him and
by demanding that in the light of what
has happened
uh and the fact
of that the military uh
led the ouster of
president mugabe a constitutional crisis
created in the country the constitution
which the mdc
had spearheaded in 2013 had
been overthrown thereby necessitating
a national transitional authority in
defense of that constitution
and in order to return the country to
cons to constitute constitutionalism
that's what the mbc should have done
in pursuit of a reform headway but
instead of taking that reform path
the mbc sided with not zanu-pf
political party but a faction in zanu-pf
and worse it supported the military
the army and got
nothing out of it for itself
when the military coup was over
it got zero politically uh from
its participation in this support and
it got nothing for the people it did not
move its agenda program
as a movement for a democracy
and so from a report from a reform point
of view
the support of the coup by the mdc
in the manner that it supported the coup
was a
great betrayal with far-reaching
implications

some of which the country is experiencing
as as we speak and it is very difficult to understand how this was done by the one party whose formation was a the democratization of the state and within that quest for democratization a party which had singled out security sector reform as a critical uh part of of its agenda and in a very significant way the 2013 constitution which the mdc led redefined the role of the military and made clear that it should be civilian uh controlled and the fact that in the end we had mdc legal experts uh going to court to argue in effect that the coup was constitutional i think is the most telling example of how the opposition in zimbabwe has a squandered reform opportunities uh in favor or in pursuit of uh headlines i mean the headlines were very exciting as where the photo opportunities of mdc leaders uh with 1945 military tanks and armored vehicles but the consequences quite uh damaging and i think that the time uh has come for some sober reflection uh because of course these things do happen in politics uh but uh it is an act of leadership

to acknowledge i think that it will be
very important for the mdc leadership
to lead the process of re-examining the
support
that the party gave to the
military coup
and in in the process a squandered
in a a major opportunity
for reform what does this
mean and why has this happened
i think it's because the
mdc does not have a theory
of reform uh it
does not have a definition of the case
the model of what reform and entails
uh as suggested
uh earlier in in
this intervention it is obvious that
reform in zimbabwe has to be
a historical process it has to
deal with the program
that zanu-pf has has been implementing
since 1980. it has to deal with the
historical
leaguers of zanu-pf zanu-pf's
pursuit of its agenda to consolidate
its power especially
through the three processes that i
outlined it's very surprising
that although
the rhodesian state of emergence
was implemented or when it was returned
and extended by zanu-pf
for 10 years
after it had been in place for 15 years
it was implemented for 25 years
we have a country that went through uh
or that was uh governed under
a state of emergency for 25 years
it's surprising that people don't
realize
the kind of institutional
and political impact of that state of
emergency

especially because its essence was to suspend the bill of rights its essence was to legalize a arbitrary rule and the main player the main actor in that arbitrary rule was none other than amazon nangagawa for the entire period of the extension of the state of emergency in zimbabwe ian's method is 15 years of state of emergency in zimbabwe with his ken flowers and mnangagwa had 10 years that is that is why his politics uh know of nothing else other than arbitral power he is the responsible minister he's the one who was exercising that power of course uh the back no doubt about it uh stopped or should have stopped uh then and it still stops now in history with mugabe who was the prime minister but the chief enforcer of that state of emergency was mnangagwa if an opposition party is to pursue a reform agenda in zimbabwe it has to confront the consequences of the state of emergency the application of the state of emergency on the country's security apparatus on the country's institutions and more critically on the country's politics the same goes with the institutional and political impact of google wound it is quite surprising that in the zimbabwean political discourse kukrahundi

is not seen as a national
tragedy is seen as
a zappos tragedy it's seen
as a matabelle and a tragedy
and that is why quite often
you will hear well meaning zimbabweans
describing the first 10 years of
independence as the sunshine years
the best years of zimbabwe
the very same period when genocide was
going on in zimbabwe
is described by others
well meaning i i emphasize
but it dangerously is the best period
now what kind of reform are you going to
have
if the genocidal years are also your
best years they are your sanction yes
if you have a reform case or a theory of
reform
it behooves you to unpack the
institutional and political impact of
kubra undi
along with the structural and political
consequences
of the returned and extended state of
emergency lastly
in this regard it is very difficult
to see how a political party that
is serious about the reform agenda in
zimbabwe
can make headways without
unpacking and critically
examining the impact of the executive
presidency in zimbabwe
there's a lot of political discussion
that takes place in our country
about certain laws
but
that discussion does not include a
critical examination of the
impact of the consequence of the
executive presidency
in zimbabwe the shift in 1987

from having a prime minister led government
to having the executive president has been a disaster for the country it's not a disaster that can be forgotten that can be uh ignored it has to be confronted if the country is going to make headways this is what had been achieved with the 2000 draft by splitting executive authority between the president the prime minister and the cabinet that is a a solution a major reform solution which was rejected under a lot of false propaganda led by the mdc and what is surprising is that when finally zanu-pf agreed to sit with the mdc to come up with a new constitution the formula that came out is worse than far west you can't even compare it with the arrangement that was in the draft constitution in effect it turns out that all the mdc like zanu-pf they were both happy to have to return the executive presidency and the consequences of that detention we can now see with mnangagwa behaving just like the montgomery used to do under the executive president but you can imagine the sort of situation we will be having in zimbabwe had the arrangement that split the executive authority between those three centers of power the president the prime minister uh and and the cabinet along with the other uh provisions including the one i

highlighted which required
the appointments ministerial
appointments of the president
to be approved by
the senate so
as i i conclude i
think it is important for us to look at
not just the squandered opportunities i
have
highlighted four there are more
uh including the 2018 presidential
election uh the fact that
uh after going to court
uh and getting that outrageous
judgment in this in the constitutional
court
the opposition party decided to look the
other way
as if there was nothing that had gone
wrong that a historic
election had not been stolen there was
no mobilization of
of the population to say we have lost in
a court of law
we will now take this to a court of
public opinion
there was not even a a follow
through which uh the south african
lawyers that olympus
had suggested they would do to take the
the matter uh to the
african um uh
commission for people and
human rights is shocking that
it was like ah no that's okay and it's
not surprising
because the whole issue was based on the
illegitimate so for the president of
munangawa when they saw the opposition
not following through to push
use the issue as a reform agenda
they turned to the tables and came up
with an outrageous
supreme court judgment which incredibly

ordered that
the mdc should go back to its uh a
2014 party structures uh which
were which obtained under morgan
sangurai
and the recall of
mtc mps and so forth so from a reform
point of view
against this backdrop i think the time
is like
for political graduates and pundits
to come up with a new game plan
that will push a reform agenda
which is historically grounded and in
order to do that in a meaningful way
and given that uh a critical element of
the opposition
supported the military coup and are
finding it difficult
to cleanse themselves out of that
support
it is important to take another look
at the xanopf ignore the xanopia
functions
but unpack the party silent majority
whom we know although we don't talk
about this
as often if at all but we know they did
not support the november 2017 military
coup
xanopi the majority of zanu-pf
supporters
did not go to the streets
they did not support monongagua
they supported mugabe and they did not
understand
where the coup came from and they have
not to this day forgiven mnangagwa for
that coup
and i don't think they will ever forgive
him
and it is that silent majority
the gave a silent majority in zanu-pf
and certainly a significant part of it

which supported the opposition in 2018
especially if not only the presidential
election
they supported advocate chamisa
and notably in the machina land
provinces
in unprecedented numbers and the
election
was stolen to fight
that support which came from
zanu-pf now it's also a
instructive to note that the zanu-pf
support did not extend to the mdca
uh in the parliamentary elections but
certainly
it was there in the private i mean in
the presidential election
now that silent majority as we speak
right now
is politically bewildered scattered and
homeless
and it's looking for a way forward
if there was a creative opposition in
zimbabwe
which understand the power of
incremental uh reforms
it would exploit that silent majority
majority in zanu-pf and come up with a
new reform
alignment in zimbabwe which drawing from
the lessons of the squandered
major reform headways in the past
taps into the silent majority under the
banner of
pursuing what i
think is best described as the mugabe
chuangirai
reform consensus and this mugabe fungi
from
consensus has three major reform
headways
that were achieved by the two late
leaders
whom i believe had found each other

notwithstanding all the noises we here
had found each other between 2009 and
2013
and the three pillars of that consensus
are one
the new 2013 constitution
which without doubt is a shangri-la
legacy
which also without doubt gary ultimately
embraced
and supported and which was the target
of the military coup
in 2017 dan mugabe
more the 2013 constitution dhan mungar
secondly the mugabe fungi reform
consensus
is the land reform program clearly in
ghana legacy
but ultimately also embraced by
shangri-la
in between 2013 or rather 20 2009 and
2013
and lastly the youth empowerment
a shared mugabe twangirai legacy
supported by zimbabwe's younger
generation
across the political divide and
these three are rooted in the history of
zimbabwe
as it is and
unfolded over the uh last
40 years and would
lead to a an agenda
that is not
based on the search for
um headlines
the devil about mugabe's sanctuaries
consensus of course like most things of
this nature
is in the detail but
if it were to be pursued it has the best
chance of
drawing support from a significant
base in xanopf and a significant base

in the mbc i thank you
thanks thanks jonathan thanks very much
i think you have outlined
and i don't want to spend time anymore
and get to the discussions
let me bring brian straight away brian
now before you come in brian i think
jonathan you you said that uh the
the mdc got the majority in parliament
in 2000 i think even 2008.
oh i meant 2008 yes yes right okay
brian uh thank you very much evil can
you hear me
yes i can hear you okay and thanks to
sapez for allowing me the opportunity to
come and engage in this important
discussion
there's a lot to respond to in
jonathan's
presentation uh perhaps won't have
enough time to do so
but let me just say that let me say what
i where i agree with him first
is in the legacy of colonial rule
in terms of the creation of the zimbabwe
postcolonial state
for the for the liberation movement it
was a decolonization was about
consolidating state power and using the
state as a center of accumulation elite
accumulation
democratization was not a central part
of the agenda
and i agree with him around that
um let me come to the points where i i
strongly disagree with this
assessment firstly the idea that
the the issues that he raises the three
original sins
the only one i would agree with him is
that my material
issue was not dealt with sufficiently by
the opposition
but the other two regarding the state of

emergency
and constitutional amendments these were
central to the development both of the
constitutional movement
and of the early mdc the central to
creating an alternative narrative
of democratization it was never just in
the beginning about mugabe must go
it was about creating an alternative
political culture
and the idea that you didn't have to
rely on a liberation movement
which had a certain idea that it was
always entitled to rule
but to create a center another center of
alternative voices
and alternative perspectives uh the
theory of change therefore wasn't just
about mugabe moscow
it was about a broader constitutional
framework
in which you could have a plurality of
national belonging
a plurality of views that could be
expressed openly
without coercion if the
coming to the lost opportunities
central to these lost opportunities
which is not mentioned by jonathan
is the state's repression and let's go
through them one at a time
uh even the zappo unity accord
zappo effectively emasculated before
they went into that unity accord
through what happened through the
military response
the the bargaining position in my view
was very very weak
uh the same thing is true if we come to
2000
and the constitution the rejection of
the constitution
was based on the fact that the
constitutional process was appropriated

by a state that was not
trusted and could not be trusted
it was the idea was to take that
discussion to the majority of citizens
and to open up that discussion and to
get their views
uh mandated in terms of how the state
responded to that the repression after
of the 2000 election
spoke to the real agendas of the state
and the the assumption that there was an
opportunity the counterfactual
assumption
that there was an opportunity when in
fact the limits of those opportunities
were set
by the very repressive structures which
got the heart
of zanu-pf uh 2008 once again
what set the tone of that the the mdc
won that election
shangri-la won the election what set the
tone of it
was the violent response of the state
a ruling party a liberation movement
which refused
to accept the idea that it could lose an
election
which refused to accept the idea of a
broader political framework
in which it would be allowed to go and
of course it had the regional
uh uh sadaq solidarity
because of the way sadaq is framed and
saraki's
carries out its framework so it was not
just about
the mdc losing opportunities it was an
mdc having an opportunity taken away
from it
it's true that the mdc uh in the
in the gnu period lost momentum lost
momentum because it lost focus
uh increasingly opposition became about

employment about positioning and they lost a certain sense of their values and this this was not just in the gnu period it was growing from the time of the split in 2005 the internal violence the lack of democratization the growing patriarchal politics within the movement these all came to fruition then that in that sense i agree with jonathan we need a critical assessment of both the political parties but as i would say central to that also was a long-standing state repression of voicing an alternative which also pushed the mdc in certain directions it's not an apology it provides the context in which the mdc took place therefore when they went into the gnu those discussions of the gnu were very difficult discussions they were carried out under mediation which was always problematic and of course the central forces of coercion that came out of the g i knew in the gpa remained with zanu-pf and that was also a defining feature of what was possible within the gnu period i agree with jonathan about 2017 there was a huge miscalculation about the support for for the coup and the hope that it would bring um and the mdc i think lost a certain conception of his constitutionalism because of the hope that some kind of new gpa would come out of it but it also stemmed from the idea that there was no other alternative

within zanu-pf given the history of
zanu-pf
whether it was under mugabe or under uh
munangaga whether it was g40 or lacoste
the the tainted nature of zanu's history
gave little faith that you could turn to
one or the other that
maybe this was the lesser alternative
and it was a mistake
a huge mistake and they could have used
the coup as jonathan
says to advance the language of
constitutionalism
and to return to their constitutional
uh uh propositions at the beginning of
of of their formation um
the the current uh
i think what's important now is also to
look at
what's happening at the moment there's a
a systematic uh dismantling of the
opposition that's taking place
through the judiciary the removal of
resources
the removal of of parliamentarians and
councillors uh the threats of the cyber
bill the
patriot bow all of which are meant to
silence not just the opposition
uh but also uh the civic movement as a
whole
and yes this is a this is a
long-standing
agenda not only of this regime but of
zanu-pf it's only been intensified
under munangaga deeply intensified but
its origins date back
to the pre-naga period and to the
central history of zanu-pf
which has always been a sense of
entitlement a sense of
the alternate the opposition is always
an enemy of the state
regime change agents of the west never

that this is a national voice
which has a history in the history of
the anti-colonial movement itself
where alternative voices emerged even
then
it's also important to note the um
the way the opposition has changed the
dynamics and the politics
of the of of zimbabwe politics one
the the new constitution the whole
language of constitutionalism
which was central to the opposition
to the way in which even the crew had to
change its political narrative
in the run-up to the to the 2018
election using very much
the messaging of the mdc uh open for
business
re-engagement uh uh
constitutionalism this narrative of
munangaga was an appropriation
of the language of the opposition which
put that
those agendas in place and which changed
the dynamics
within zimbabwe and those opportu and
those those uh
developments and those achievements are
often forgotten
in this idea that there was lost
opportunities yes they were lost
opportunities yes
the mdc is at at the moment a
dissipating force
as a result of a combination of states
repression
and its own deficits internally around
democratization
and also the manner in which the
succession took place after changing
rights day
yet which has continued to inform what
is going on
within zimbabwe at the moment so maybe

just to round up
i think that uh what what what jonathan
is pushing for here
at the end is an alternative political
voice within zanu-pf
and i would probably say this is the g40
voice but
he would say it's a broader thing but
it's about trying to move
the narrative of change back to within
zanu-pf and i think that's a very
problematic move given the history of
zanu-pf
and that we should be rather talking
about how we strengthen
the legacies of the opposition the civic
movement
and where they go from here and the the
those in zanu-pf who are serious about
reform
need to think seriously about these
legacies of the opposition
which have changed their own narrative
and their own dynamics
within their ruling party there is a
deep distrust
of i think the ozano pf there's also a
loss of
momentum within the opposition we are
facing a certain interregnum
where uh we we're not sure what's coming
where the alternatives look bleak on on
all sides
and where we do need to think critically
but in thinking critically
we need to be much more honest about
what's happened
in the party of liberation in the state
the state which is now so entrenched
with corruption where the state is the
zero-sum game
this is the zanu p of any faction of
zanu-pf
is unlikely to want to give up power

because outside of the state
they are in trouble they have a problem
it's the postcolonial state per se
and therefore we need to give serious
thought to that
what decolonization has meant for
zimbabwe in my view
is a is a a kind of continuity
of the political uh um uh the political
impact of colonial rule and the
political legacies of colonial rule
have continued and in some ways deepened
within the postcolonial state
and that has happened under zanu-pf both
factions
of zanu-pf and that's something that we
need to keep in mind
thank you very much
michael thanks brian thanks uh
just a note before chipotle comes in
it appears to me that we the rise of the
opposition 1999
also caused the rise of the secretary
state
the 2008 was also a coup
uh which leading as it did
to the gpa
meant that the opposition again was
duped
as duped as it was in 2017 with a coup
we'll reflect on these matters
subsequently
but let's go to chipotle quickly cheapo
welcome chibo
put yourself cheaper and meet yourself i
knew
cheaper thank you sorry it was telling
me the host had to unmute me
um thank you professor evo mendez for
inviting me and
sup is for hosting these important
discussions uh
thank you professor jonathan moyer for
your comments and

obviously i thank you prof uh droplets
for your comments
uh professor raftropoulos spoke a bit
more about
the institutions of the political
parties uh but given
our time commitments let me just jump in
and say
the challenge with um what professor
moya is saying
is that he ignores i think the state of
the nation so he starts off walking us
through the troubles of the opposition
beginning in
you know 1987 with the union accord that
was signed
takes us through to the mdc and then he
speaks of these three original scenes
and as somebody pointed out that there's
something very
biblical about the language that's being
used here but i think what's missing
is a discussion on the environment
that would force uh joshua and como that
would force
uh morgan chan grey to come to an
agreement with zanu pf
and which is that the state was not
just repressive but deeply violent
so the politics was occurring within a
state
of violence if they had not negotiated
in 1987 we
are not sure that more people wouldn't
have died and so you've got political
leaders that are coming
when their supporters are deeply
weakened and so i think it's
really important for us to think about
that because the
the world in which professor moy is
talking about is a world in which
democracy
was functioning wholesomely and the

opposition only had the responsibility of being politicians but this is not the reality
right the the fact that we haven't deemed zimbabwe as being in a civil war between 2000 and now
is actually you know quite shocking for most people because there was extended violence there was extended violence during land reform which i'll talk a bit about later
there was extended violence during operation brahmachina
and if you're mdc and people's houses are being demolished you go into the elections in 2008
you win the election but there is extensive violence come june
what do you do so morgan trangren pulls out of the the runoff election and people say well why did you pull out you know you should have kept going but he says if i didn't more people would die
so the challenge with the zimbabwean state is that we've seen a continued deterioration
not just of the political institutions but other institutions that are important for maintaining a democracy uh
so
education uh freedom of speech and and so this i think is really critical
because
professor moya has spoken a lot about the headlines
well the headlines are a function of the media that you have in a country when a country doesn't have a free media then the headlines that are put out there
are reflective of what the state wants and i think professor muay knows more than any of us

what happened with the state of the media beginning in the early 2000s that there is virtually no room for journalism
there is propaganda right and so the propaganda is what is shaping what citizens are engaging with and what the opposition is also engaging with so the opposition has to constantly fight for space to get their their message out and and so this is really important how do you get the message out to the masses when it is 120 propaganda and it also does something else right it's not just about messaging for the opposition but it's about a democracy thrives on a healthy citizenry and and the zimbabwean citizenry has been unhealthy in in a number of ways right so the physical health we've got the hiv pandemic happening we've got operation ramachana that piles onto that so that these people that are already seeking no longer access medication but are more interested in the see the the the when the citizenry is not healthy in their access to democratic engagement so in order for democracy to work people have to be able to engage with politics and politicians but in the early 2000s it was actually problematic for people you you know growing up in the homes children were told you cannot say mdc you must whisper mdc because to say mdc would be to invite

danger to your family so this is we this
is the environment in which the
opposition is participating
this is the environment in which the
citizenry is
existing and and i think that the
citizens and the mdc actually
deserve credit for consistently going
out to vote
for consistently going out to protest we
feel this
repressive regime right that would have
rewarded
any form of citizen engagement
with death so we
you know we we come to to 2017 which the
professor is very interested in
for for a number of personal reasons
perhaps but so citizens go out and they
mobilize and they mobilize because they
think that their voices are going to
matter and
you know i i think hindsight is 20 20.
so for a lot of people looking back it's
easy to see that
the mtc was short-sighted that the
people were short-sighted
but if you're also thinking about it
from an international relations
perspective
it's that zanu-pf had everything to win
so one would have naturally expected
that
perhaps amazon naga would go the route
of rollins right that instead
of going the route of a dictator he had
nothing to lose
that they would embrace the shift in
2017
and prepare the elections for the 2018
elections
and it's not that there is no precedence
for this there is a lot of precedence
let's look at ghana they've just had

elections last week
no one is talking about ghanaian
elections because they happened
peacefully
these elections happened peacefully and
the transition
came out of a military takeover
so one would not be uh blamed
for assuming that amazon naga
would have gone that route and what was
the other option
right the other option was that citizens
stay out of
it and that the military would continue
to do what it wanted to do
and what we've seen is that the
the zanu-pf government is not afraid of
killing people
so you come back and you say well people
should ought to have gone out to the
streets in 2018.
guess what they did they did they did
august 30th we've got people out on the
streets and
six people are killed in broad daylight
so now you tell me what mother is going
to tell their
children to keep protesting if
protesting
you know if protesting ends up in dead
bodies on the street
and then there isn't a commission of
inquiry but the commission of inquiry
doesn't tell us anything that we don't
already know which is that zanu-pf is
interested in retaining
power under any cost and this brings me
to something else that you mentioned
that there is a silent majority in
zanu-pf
well this silent majority does nothing
for the ordinary person
if the silent majority has been okay
with the state of affairs since 1980

since 2000 since 2008
if if that silent majority was okay with
what was happening
under those time periods then the silent
majority hasn't been silent at
all in fact what we might say is that
the silent majority is only
upset because perhaps their people are
no longer
in power and and so and you know i know
we
we're running out of time i just want to
add that there is
this ri edge you know robert mugabe and
morgan chang alliance is not a thing and
we should not make it a thing
the years of the gnu were perhaps the
most stable
but we know that the opposition was
completely roadblocked
they were given the ministries that
demanded the most
work with the least reward so they you
know
this this isn't a thing there is no
coalition between robert mugabe and
morgan trangre
this isn't a thing i i don't think it's
even worth us
engaging with it or discussing it
further because
we create an alliance that just did not
exist and i think it's too it's fair to
say that look
the headline was attractive because it
was
true robert mugabe had to go
robert mugabe had to go and and so i
think i'm a little bit more
sensitive to the struggles that the
opposition has faced
because of the environment in which they
were operating
if the media is not free if the media is

not
independent then the opposition cannot
do their job the citizenry cannot do
their job of participating
in a democracy if they are muzzled
and the zimbabwean citizenry has been
muzzled
right and more importantly where elites
gained from land reform where elites
gained from the mining sectors
the public didn't gain look at the state
of the hospitals
not just since 2017 but since 1980
the the state of the hospitals have
deteriorated
we don't talk enough in zimbabwean
politics about the impact of poor health
on democracy we don't talk enough about
how the hiv pandemic
decimated the opposition not just the
leadership
but the what written ordinary people
right
when we look at the parliament in 2005
and 2008
one of the things that that show up
consistently is that the mdc
is losing their mps one after another
to the pandemic or to just the poor
health crisis
and so that influences some of that
discussion that happens between
zanu-pf and mtc and we actually know
when we look at the numbers that each
time an
mdc mp died a xanopf official was able
to win that seat
it was in a number of cases actually i'm
not going to say this was every case
so so there is a lot that we have to say
you know about the health care
about education what happens when the
education becomes
propaganda how do you build a democratic

citizenry
when the education is not independent
so i think we have a we we we have a lot
to unpack and i think
the the professor here has been focused
mostly on the weaknesses of the mdc
which is a legitimate thing i think
you're right to bring those up and
and it is important that the mtc listens
and that they go back home and
and do an introspection but i think that
the wholesome environment in which the
politics has existed
is is critical to think about even as we
as we're seated here speaking their
demolitions happening
how can you have a sustainable democracy
when people are not certain that their
their homes
are safe from their own government
we've got a pandemic that's raging how
can you have an
active democracy when people have no
confidence that if they go to the
hospital their lives will be saved
so these are the real challenges for
democracy in zimbabwe
and the real challenges for opposition
politics as well
i'll stop there
thanks thanks chibo thanks very much
i think uh before i'm i've got people
waiting
to speak alex magista miles tandu
perhaps some cheer as well but before
that i just want to
i had like three points made jonathan
give us three minutes uh response
we are underestimated or downplayed
the level of state repression since 2000
um secondly as chipotle says
if we underplay the the
the deterioration of the population
the condition of the people in terms of

social services health
education
and therefore the capacity to stand up
to depression and thirdly
have we not overlooked an important
factor namely that
we have 75 percent i keep mentioning
this figure 75
of all skilled and zimbabwean
professionals outside the country
and the impact of this on the country as
a whole but in particular
on the level of leadership quality of
leadership
in the opposition jonathan if you can
comment on brian and chipos briefly
and then i'll bring in the others and
then bring you back again
to respond towards it jonathan
yes um thank you
i think that
we should indeed take as a
given the three issues we just
outlined which were the centerpiece of
the
contributions by both
brian and and
and i am a little bit
uh surprised because i think there can
be no debate
at all about the level of
the state repression
there can be no debate about
the conditions of squalor in which the
people have found themselves
and they are
in capacity to deal with state
repression the fact of
backgrounding the discussion with
reference to this state of emergency its
extension and
its retention in the first place is to
highlight
the brutality of the state

the depression that
has been highlighted and of course the
the genocide in metropolitan
but what i think is missing in the
responses
from my colleagues is that they are now
all over the place we are once again
talking about everything
uh instead of focusing on certain
objective conditions that
were thrown up in the state uh
is a reality for everyone to to
to deal with um
i i don't want to
focus too much on the unity accord
um although that will be a very
interesting discussion because
the the accord is signed on the 22nd of
december 1987
and hardly 24 months after that the
berlin wall
is crumbling and there's a completely
new situation
and one party states regimes all over
the place in zambia
next door and elsewhere within
zimbabwe's neighborhood are collapsing
which objective conditions would have
created
a different opportunity a
a promising one for zappo
uh and and and the science
of a changing geopolitical
environment were already there in
december
uh 20 to december 1987.
however i you know i'm struck by the
fact that for example chippewa said
absolutely nothing about
the the draft constitution because all
i'm
saying is you can in the history of
societies
you can isolate certain

states conditions developments
which give the opposition a historic
opportunity that is
otherwise not there in the body politic
and to pinpoint and isolate
that development is not to ignore the
environment
and and i'm saying objectively speaking
pick up a copy of the draft constitution
of 2000
and ask an objective question as to why
there was a no vote to the product
and i hear brian about the the process
uh but in the end
if you are going to make a dent
and create some room in a repressive
political situation
you also have to grab
historical opportunities that come your
way
you have to to be focused
uh and there is no i i have not had i
mean chipotle didn't even discuss
it i i i'm not sure i understand
why ryan thinks that
the draft constitution uh
deserved rejection and i don't underst
i'm not sure whether
he appreciates that what i'm inviting
him to do
is to look back and see what could have
happened
it didn't happen but what could have
happened
had the opposition taken
a broader perspective on the draft
constitution
if you look at the 2013 constitution
it has lots of stuff that are in the
draft in the 2000
draft who could have achieved the the
milestone that we
achieved as a country uh by way of
adopting the 2013 constitution

much later i mean much earlier and
mugabe could have been history
much earlier uh we could have had
a different constitution which would
have been
impacted i suggest positively
on some of the capacity of the state to
be repressive
i would say this about the draft
constitution
i know that mugabe and the military
and in other words the security forces did
not support the the draft constitution
uh in fact
their support for the constitutional
commission itself
was problematic they did not support
that work
and they saw it as threatening their
power
and they did not allow zanu-pf
structures to even campaign for the
draft constitution
they took a ridiculous position that the
constitutional commission
should after coming up with the draft
constitute itself into some kind of a
political body
and go out there and campaign the yes
campaign
was a constitutional commission a
campaign
but what i'm raising and i really would
urge my colleagues to understand this
is i'm looking at certain milestones
that happened and which
if they'd been exploited by the
opposition
would have created a different
environment i haven't had
also a discussion of uh
the 2008
a situation which by
all accounts was very historic

unprecedented in zimbabwe
that for the first time yes i know about
the presidential election
no doubt about that but there is the the
and the problems associated with it but
the fact of the matter is
in 2008 for the first time in zimbabwe's
independence
history the opposition
won the control
of parliament
and i'm saying it was a strategic
mistake for the opposition having
won that to put it back into the
negotiation
as text and allow the npf to say
okay let's negotiate let's have this gpa
and when it comes to the legislature
let us come up with a a single caucus
to reflect our gpa and we use that uh
for purposes of um a
setting
and i'll stop you there so that you can
come back again towards the end to make
your point
let's let's get uh people coming in
please uh
people are coming in now if you can
assist
us on the way forward we've heard
the pathology the pathologies the
conditions
that may cause those pathologies in the
opposition
how do we get out of this alex
are you ready alex my geiser
thank you very much thank you very much
to
um the three speakers um
very very interesting discussion um
uh dr matas are you asking for
um you know looking forward and i had
not enjoyed my mind
to the way forward my question was

basically on um
my contribution was basically on the
discussion or the presentation that had
been made by
uh professor moya and um
the two colleagues brian and um
but i i thought that in his
presentation uh professor morgan spoke
about the opportunities
that were squandered by the mdc by the
opposition including zappo
but i think what i didn't hear from his
analysis
was the conditions that
thwarted those opportunities they seemed
to
lean more towards what the opposition
failed to do as opposed to
what was done by example in order to to
what uh those opportunities so i'd love
to hear a little bit more about that and
i think
brian and chibo have made reference to
some of that
and in this regard i just wanted to hear
professor moyo
his reaction to i mean he's made a very
important point about the 2013 because
institution it was a great reform
opportunity um
one of the best from the gnu period
however
it seems to me that that reform
opportunity was lost
not just because of the amdc's
inaptitude if anyone would
call it that but also because there was
a very
concerted effort by zanu-pf and key
players
in zlatf who were very keen to make sure
that the next election after the 2013
election would not be based on any
conditions

that would be influenced by that
constitution and therefore
there was a rush to an election and i
think professor moye and others would
say well
we were doing what was required by the
constitution i would say
it was a rigid constitutionality
at the expense of the political reform
that could have been achieved and
therefore would have saved zimbabwe
from the 2013 election disaster
and of course then connected to what
then happened four years later
um with a coup so um in my opinion i
think i would like to hear
his comment on what he thinks about the
efforts that were made by zanu-pf actors
including
key actors in zanu-pf including the
tradition
and the supreme court judgment and how
that case was brought into the court
to rush zimbabwe into an election
against
the possibility of having proper
political reforms
under the 2013 constitution
thank you thanks alex thanks thanks very
much
tony you have a question from tandy
yeah tony
hi hello yes hi
i'm a bit dark there are a couple of
points that have been made that i think
are worth uh putting to
the panel the first one
is that zimbabwe has not been
and this comes from miles tendi zimbabwe
has not been
immune from external influence so one of
the questions
is clearly you know in the squandered
opportunities and we

might think very strongly here about
what jonathan moyer said about the coup
what is the role of external actors at
that particular point
and then uh i think other questions have
been raised
here uh let me just scroll down because
i think
the question is what role
should opposition and this comes from
janna what role should opposition
politics take now to move the country
forward
and uh really
and i think it was addressed
particularly to brian rafatopoulos i
mean what
should oppositions politics look like to
take the country forward
in order to make this happen uh
and we might also raise
a general question and i think we've
been very involved
in history and there is a very important
question right now in the
crisis hammond this could be put to
certainly the two discussants and maybe
to some of the other people
is what do opposition politics do now
and i don't mean necessarily the
opposition
political parties but to civic groups
churches and everyone else what do we do
now
right now to deal with the situation
thank you
thanks tony uh the whole place of your
hand hope
i know which hope it is hope
can hope come in
hope
hope you'll end up
hope's gone okay so you put this to
brian

and cheaper let's have a
cheaper first
then brian then jonathan
um so face quickly to respond to the
professor asking
why we don't yes uh can you hear me
oh who's speaking who's that
hello
yeah i was calling for you where were
you sleeping come on come on waiting for
you
oh yes can you hear me
i can hear you yes
that hope work hopewell
hello
hope
and meet yourself and meet cheapo please
okay um so just quickly first respond to
professor moyes question of
why i did not focus on uh the 2000 draft
i think part of it is you know this was
an
opposition strategy how do you build uh
momentum but then in hindsight i think
i've written about this myself
that it looks as though xanopf used
the 2000 draft as a litmus test to see
how much support the opposition had so i
think if the opposition had thought
about it in that way or if they
um if it was possible to have predicted
that this would be used as a litmus
test to figure out where the opposition
support was strongest and then attack
those places violently
perhaps the opposition would have
responded differently
but i also think that they there wasn't
the commitment on the patch of zanu-pf
i've always
assumed that even robert mcavoy himself
probably voted
no on the constitution because he
probably just wasn't ready to leave

authors um so that's something
for the opposition to i mean that's
something that we can agree on that
uh a different strategy right hindsight
is 2020 that a different strategy might
have worked
but i i'm concerned by this need for us
to only look at specific
events so saying we must only look at
what the parliament
in 2008 could have achieved but ignore
everything else that's happening in the
country at that time
i don't think it's possible to do that
whether we're thinking about the
uh outside influence as milestone here
has adequately noted
or we're thinking about um citizen
response to politics
i think we can't we can't just pick and
choose
specific events in history and say can
we isolate this you know can we do a
laboratory
laboratory experiment and isolate this
event
to evaluate what would have been the
outcome
um i i just don't think that serves us
well
now or in the future to do that but
perhaps just
as a as a learning exercise out of
curiosity
what i'm more interested in is this
question of what can the opposition do
now we've already seen that uh you know
the mdc alliance
has been decimated um the mtc alliance
you know the chemistry faction is you
know
the courts they have taken away their
money the courts have taken away
their their building so what do they do

now i think the
the mtc has an opportunity to really
go back to the drawing boards and think
about
what motivates them going forward
is it possible to build different kinds
of
alliances because they do have you know
a lot of support on the ground
can they build different alliances that
are not
um dependent on old structures of power
can they do that
can they tap into the hunger that we've
seen
amongst the youth and a lot of the youth
claim to be apolitical
right so can the mdc tap into the angst
uh that we've seen within the youth uh
can they mobilize to have better
candidates for various offices
right and i think this was one of the
challenges with 2018 is that we saw
a lot of new independent candidates who
weren't
willing to be aligned with the mdc
because of force within the parties
so is that something that the mtc can
work through
i think it's also not too late for
zanu-pf to redeem
itself if it so chooses to do so
can they meet the opposition in the
middle
in a very meaningful way not in this in
you know in the way of poland which
just looks like another you know 1987
accord
this oversized coalition that centers
and appears
can they are they willing to do the work
to center the citizens and work with the
opposition in a meaningful way
but you know that's a conversation no

thanks thanks
i think we're going to try and get of
hope again
but let's remember that their position
is bigger
and broader than mgc
uh someone said their position is as
much as 90 percent of the population
so let's look at the question that tony
raised earlier
namely uh is there a role for
the totality of the opposition which
includes civic bodies
but hope are you are you able to speak
now
yes can
okay wonderful yes i've listened to the
to the presentations um and so on
and my my sort of concern
about all this is that um
our way of negotiating things in
zimbabwe
is like a salesman you know when you are
doing a sales presentation
there is what you call a closing
opportunity
it's more like in everything we do in
zimbabwe it must be directed
by a closing opportunity you miss that
close
closing opportunity it's gone and the
biggest question perhaps is
when are we going to have a situation
whereby in a democracy if people tell
you leave
office you leave office without us
going further because also if you look
at the way of
of doing this whole closing opportunity
it must be done by someone by
intellectuals who knows what they are
doing what about people who cast a vote
and say
i'm casting a vote in favor of candidate

a
and not b if b loses b
does not need to look for that
opportunity they must live all together
and go
otherwise we are going to have a problem
because we are being forced to become
a salesman if you don't pitch yourself
very well you lose the opportunity you
so when is this going to come to an end
it happens
every day thank you thanks hope
uh peter peter fabricius
oh hi peter hi there
can you hear you thanks about yeah i i
did put a question on the chat can you
hear me
oh should i turn in my video okay
hear you who can hear you post your
question
yeah i'm just saying a question which
might be completely
immaterial forgive me if it is i'm maybe
not as tuned in as i should be but
is there does do do professor moyer
professor raftopoulos
chipper and any others believe that
there really is
some kind of opportunity uh for an
alliance between
the mdc and g40 as a way forward in
zimbabwe politics or is that just uh
perhaps professor moya's pipe dream
thanks
thanks thanks peter
i think now we are going to the final
stage uh
can i there's a question from matlosa
matlosa
my closing album
much loss are coming
much closer
sorry i'm i'll have to ask the panelists
to

to say their final words chip i'm back
to you my dear
your closing remarks and then i'll move
on to brian and then jonathan last
um again thank you so much for this
opportunity uh
just to respond to the previous question
i don't think that there
is a meaningful opportunity for the g40
um and the opposition
primarily because i think that those in
the g40
are not interested in a reformed
political space but that they are
interested
in finding their space in a news and
appeal
of some sort that the interest is
is self-driven so i think that's a
challenge i think that's uh
that's something that would be very
difficult to sell to the public
who do not feel very warmly towards the
g40
for obvious reasons but that said
perhaps there is an opportunity for
different
kinds of engagement and i think
the diaspora in particular has an
opportunity
to play a different role moving forward
a mobilizing role uh working with other
citizens
in the country that are interested in
in in progress in progress in in
national progress so i think
bringing in the diaspora as an equal
partner this is something that the
opposition can do
this is something that you know believe
it or not that zanu-pf is already doing
where
zanu-pf has been actively reaching out
to

different diasporic communities and i think the opposition should do the same and that they there is more um willingness to engage with the opposition and and so this is an opportunity for them uh beyond that i think you know these conversations are helpful for us to think about the past but i think as zimbabweans and it's important scholars we spend a lot of time stuck in what could have been when what we should be thinking about is what could be so what do we do now now that we know everything that's happened before now we now that we know more household functions how a military state works what do we do moving forward and i don't have an answer to this but i i just pose it as a suggestion of what we should spend our time doing uh really thinking about the future of the country um as a whole not just in politics but also in the other spheres in education in health in housing what what is the way forward how can we brainstorm strategies to stabilize our nation thank you thanks brian ryan in cape town your final was brian thank you um i think uh just to to answer to respond to jonathan's comment that we didn't take seriously enough his position that you should look at particular opportunities and particular

spaces at particularly historical moments
i think in doing that you need to understand at any one time how both state and opposition political forces are organized and represented and how the terrain of struggle is constituted and that's what i think both people and i were trying to do was to look at the broader terrain in which these potential opportunities emerged and why they didn't come to fruition and i'll just leave it at that to come to miles's point yes the international players have been influential at different times in 1979 they played a role in the lancaster house during the guru grande period the silence was pushed by the cold war politics of the period the sanctions debate of the post-2000s has polarized the discussion within nationally and regionally internationally and created real problems not just for the state but for the opposition in how the opposition is located within that sanctions debate and then uh of course the 27 the 27 period uh the coup in which we know certain countries western countries speaking the uk uh gave their support to uh the munangaga regime so at different times they have played an important role and one is to go look at it at different historical periods my last comments on the way forward for the opposition one of the things that the opposition

has not done is a critical reflection of
its own history
it has failed to do that and i think
that's a big
big omission on its part because in
order to move
anywhere forward it needs a very serious
reflection
on what have been the various dynamics
which have brought it to this point
not just the state repression and
intervention
but their own internal problems and the
messaging at different times
which has not necessarily articulated
the real the needs of a citizenry and
what was being felt at particular
moments
and i think that reflection now is
absolutely key
thank you thanks brian thanks thanks
very much
jonathan your last comments
three minutes
we are we're almost too close yeah we
got yes yes
yes seven minutes okay thank you uh
dr mandela let me put the video on
um thank you i think that um
just very quickly uh regarding uh the
question on
external actors uh in 2000
the draft constitution was rejected
in significant part because of the
involvement of external actors
who were concerned less about the
content
of that draft constitution regarding the
opening up of democratic space or
the reining in of
the exercise of stat power but the
land closed the same actors
who influenced the draft constitution
negatively

were busy in 2017
supporting the the military coup
except that they were now joined by
their
chinese friends so there has been quite
some significant
and i would argue negative involvement
of external
factors then this issue raised by peter
and cheapo i think a lot of people
and their comments uh an example
have a total misconception of g40
when they talk about g40 they think of
jonathan moyo
this is a serious misunderstanding of
what is going on
right now xanopf recently has
been going through its
district coordinating committee
elections
and g40 has been a big big issue
don't make a mistake that when they
complain and talk about g40
they are talking about jonathan moyo
they are actually talking about
internal dynamics that are happening
there
if you were to ask me as a political
observer i would say that they are
talking about chiwenga
they are talking about even machine
island provinces
uh there's quite some regional
and tribal politics that i play in the
new pf
and people need to unpack and understand
them for what they are
without these simplistic definitions
of g40 as certain individuals
also if you ask what can happen between
g40 and the opposition you have to
explain which
opposition um because right now
as many people have commented including

the discussions
the opposition has been disseminated
it's
estimated rather and and um
perhaps something new uh is is is
developing
and we have to see what that is and we
should link it
we in terms of the way forward not only
first by understanding some significant
historical opportunities that have
been missed in order to inform
the current situation and also
the way forward whatever
is happening it would be a in my view
a respectful view a complete
misunderstanding of
politics in our part of the world if
you people don't factor in this
significant
role that zanu-pf
supporters not factions not leaders
there they are
quite some significant
social base of for people who
in history have been associated with
zanu-pf
and i suggested in my presentation are
actually looking for a new home
but if you have an opposition that
excludes the zanu-pf dimension
then it will be the first opposition in
africa
in our part of the world to dislodge
the state without having
a significant participation
from the ruling party it has never
happened
that's not how unique was dislodged
that's not how the malawi congress
parted the original outfit it
was dislodged that's not how khan was
dislodged
and this is a very important

conversation that i think the members should have
lastly i hear dr magaisa's question about what uh certain uh even individuals leaders within xanopf or what is npf itself did towards the end of the jnu uh which he presents as undermining the new constitution the 2013 constitution by seeking to have a rushed election and i suppose also a specific reference to the challenge uh the jealous mobility challenge and the reaction of the constitutional court in its early days to to that challenge i i think this is a discussion for another day i hear you except to say that it was quite surprising that the jnu waited until the 11th hour to deal with something that was in front of them that everybody knew was coming with a view to extending the life of the gnu beyond the life of parliament i think because everybody knew that the 29th of june would be the last day for the life of parliament means that the work for the next election should have come much earlier now if people were sitting pretty enjoying the pecks and trinkets of power only to start screaming and running around on the last day and want to expand their stay in office as some kind of substantive argument having to do with either electoral reforms or the new constitution i think that is a debatable matter but

of course we don't have
time for it now i will conclude to dr
mandaza by saying that um
there is a case in zimbabwe for a
meeting
of mines across the political divide
uh it's inescapable
uh the ones have to be encouraged to
find each other
and it will either happen
because of steps taken by the opposition
which steps we have not seen so far or
some elements in zanu-pf will do what we
have seen
other politicians do elsewhere in africa
in kenya in zambia in malawi
of creating that kind of broad-based
alliance for people to work together
in order to create new opportunities
thank you
sana thanks jonathan
i don't have much to say in the
conclusion to five just
four points the first there are
been complaints that we as academics
intellectuals would develop too much in
history
but i think history is part of
introspection
and i think there's been a useful
exercise that jonathan has presented
before us
really it has helped i think it's the
first time that we have had
an attempt at introspection in terms of
the opposit
the the history of the opposition in
zimbabwe
and i think people like brian we've
written about it
we'll take some notes on this the second
is of course
we've learned through this discussion of
the particularities of this bubble

situation
so peculiar that it's only in zimbabwe
that you have the military running
around
military rule
non-constitutionalism and
proposing a tall order
in terms of 2023
and i and i think that on that note we
we cannot expect to do parties as usual
i'm a bit concerned that already people
are
gearing up for the election in 2023
to repeat the same
the same fallacies as were were
displayed in
2018. surely it is time to
for the opposition as a whole to rethink
the strategy
to go beyond elections
and i think in chipotle touched on it
it is not really the chipot
the zanu-pf is a divided party if it's
if it's a party at all
it is it is it is broken
yeah i think that jonathan who called it
an appendage of
now it's as bad as that it's difficult
to see how zanu
which can't even run his gcc's can go
into an election
in in 2023
so we i think it's the meeting of mine
that jonathan moyer is talking about is
important but i think it requires
an enlightened leadership a vision of
leadership
we have left out in our politics
the last decade the important role of
the diaspora
they are out there the chipos
the alex mcgeezers and the jonathan
moyers
the totality of zimbabweans out there

we need a leadership that takes into
account
the need and the urgency of uniting
democratic forces and
restore constitutionalism in zimbabwe
and get the army back to the barracks
this is the priority that is what you're
looking at
on that note is to say
to all of you goodbye for
2020. we meet again
on 21st of january 2021
and all the best to all of you
and to thank you again jonathan brian
and chip
for leading this very important
discussion
bye
do
and oh
come on