

Online Policy Dialogue Forum: ZIMBABWE'S LAND QUESTION: REFLECTIONS ON THE PAST TWO DECADES

greetings to all our viewers
and participants across the globe and in
particular on the continent
in the region and in zimbabwe
tonight this is the eighth in a series
of in the policy dialogue forum of the
surface trust
a series which has attracted hundreds
on its zoom over the last three months
thousands on facebook and youtube
a series that seeks
to tackle the major important issues
facing us particularly in zimbabwe
tonight we are looking at the zimbabwe's
land question
reflecting on the last two decades
and pondering the challenges
ahead for both
zimbabwe and south africa conventionally
and historically the land question
has been conflicted with the colonial
question
in other words the resolution of the
colonial question
has meant in previous
decolonization processes the resolution
of the land question
simply by the
colonial the departing colonial master
paying out the settlers for their land
and the land becoming the
reposition of the people of the country
by the government on behalf of the
people
we saw that this happened in kenya
zambia
malawi as i said most
colonial situations land question was
resolved
in those very simple terms
however in zimbabwe

and in south africa these
situations had a
very similar colonial
colonization processes
but very comparatively different from
other parts of africa
the reason being that from the very
outset the colonial mission
in both south africa and even southern
indonesia
was to make these countries dominions
white
dominions such as australia
new zealand and canada
a reading of the colonial literature
will show
that the universe of africa was meant as
a dominion
when it was established in 1910 and the
self-governing status of 1923
for southern rhodesia was likewise in
anticipation of a white dominion status
the white dominion status therefore in
ambition
wrote a different picture with regard to
the
land question there was mass alienation
of land
on a gravity scale and you have in both
countries zimbabwe and south africa
the land of apportionment after 1930 in
zimbabwe and
in short the resolution of the land
question in zimbabwe
and no doubt in south africa has proved
a difficult one
to resolve the longest house agreement
in 1979 the language house agreement on
zimbabwe or the talks of zimbabwe
began with the land question
and searched the national sword to have
it resolved
along the model of the colon
the decolonization of presidents of

kenya and zambia
some of us were fortunate to
unfortunately to be there
and in the first month of the talks
the talks broke down on the issue of
land the land question
and i was
i accompanied zinger
to new york
to meet andrew young was the
u.s ambassador to the u.n this was part
of the program by the periodic front
zappo to lobby the international
community
to support the national scores at the
longest of our house talks
and andrew young on behalf of his
government
send a telegram to
the british government pledging one
billion
u.s dollars towards what would have been
a compensation fund
i believe the british government pledged
a similar amount
probably a billion pounds
and the intention really was to buy out
the white settlers in zimbabwe
then something happened eventually the
agreement on land
was that the land issue would be
would be deferred for 10 years
after independence to 1990
the expectation then was that the land
question would be resolved
along the lines that have indicated
but by that time there was no talk
anymore
about a land compensation fund such as
had been intended
during the talks and indeed
it is fair to say for most of us in
government
and indeed for the leadership in

particular the land
question was not
top of the agenda until
2000 and as some shia will outline
16th of february 19 2000 was when
the first track land reform program
began
i'll leave that but before that i'd like
just to mention that it
is apparent that the land
question in zimbabwe has
not been resolved yet
and some would argue it has been
replicated
through the first track land reform
in which we have in for example
in the a2 program 15 000
beneficiaries
or people who received funds formerly
owned by whites
and they've occupied those firms free of
charge on the base of an
offer letter from government and so you
have a situation where
a very small minority almost replicating
or duplicating the former white
farmers as a minority
we have land free of charge at the
expense
of the majority 14 million
then of course there's the beeper which
i'm sure
both zam chia and rokuni will speak to
also without much i do i'd like to
introduce
our speakers who will help us unpack
this very complex question the ninth
question
we have pilani zamcha
was the doctorate from oxford
one of our leading public intellectuals
currently at the university of western
cape
joining the ranks of the 75 percent of

skilled and professional survivors
outside the country and then we have
professor mandy rokuni
one of our leading experts
on land and he has been
part of the architecture
in terms of the
work done on the land issue in zimbabwe
over the years
he's an occasional economist he has been
on many of uh one or two land
commissions on zimbabwe
i can't think of anyone who's more
informed
about the in and outs the ins and outs
of this complex
process of the last two decades
i also have in the background
minister of agriculture
land reform and rural development from
south
africa is a
one of the long-standing uh
experts on land in south africa the feta
meter
in your earlier life when she was
minister of agriculture
and land in 1999
2006 and she was
a constant visitor to us
when when samuel was ahead of our
land policy thing at surplus and
subsequently
and i have been freeze
been freeze
those of you who may have heard about
him or
saw him in that film on
violence the violence that accompanied
land reform in 2000
benfleth was one of the victims of that
was lost his life in the process and he
remains
very much an active member

in the debate
and how they say struggle
with respect to the life issues
we're hoping to have uh tim becker
you toby a brilliant lawyer
you still let quotes in tutorial but we
hope
you'll join us soon
last but not least we have over the
night to galway
one of our daughters father was one of
the first
longest civil servants in 1980 he was
late for
edwin was denied now an intercultural
economist
with the fao in rome
but really engaged with the situation at
home
and she says she
is so happy to be on this program and we
look forward to hearing
so much what you do i'll ask now to
learn
something to outline the prophetic for
us
for this evening
uh thank you evil and
good evening viewers i'm really
happy to be part of this conversation
tonight
let me start by acknowledging that
at land the issue of land is very
emotive
not just in zimbabwe but also in south
africa
and at certain times the debate becomes
so polarized that is difficult to give
out
solutions
ib was talking about the liberation
struggle that land was very central to
the
liberation struggle i think i agree

with that but it is important to say
that
land was central but it was not the only
aspiration of the liberation struggle
it was about length but it was also
about human dignity
it was about basic freedoms of
association freedom of
assembly freedom of expression
so i'm saying this because there's
attendance
you know from patriotic history
to take the land issue and divorce it
out
of the wider ideals of the liberation a
struggle
and just to give a bit of history in
terms of what have been the missed
opportunities in my view
in terms of resolving the land question
i think the first is what ebo spoke
about
which was the longest house constitution
conference
that was held in 1979
i think that the former nationalist
there both zappo
and zanu they made strategic compromise
and agreed that in the first 10 years
they were going to protect property
rights through section 16 of the longest
house constitution
and any land transfers that were going
to happen we're going to be based on the
willing seller willing buyer model
and was supposed to be paid in foreign
currency
then you have the first decade of
independence 1980 to 1990
it obviously obviously
had constraints constitutional
constraints
but having said that there's a story
that is not being told

and debated that zimbabwe actually had a land redistributive uh program that was big by any measure in post-colonial africa you would realize that about 91 000 households were actually resettled and this was a very bureaucratic orderly and technocratic process let me say during that period it's also important to highlight that the british also paid um about 44 million pounds uh to support the land reform process then first forward to the second decade of independence 1990 to uh 2000 you then have the expire of the lancaster house constitution i mean section 16. and there was a missed opportunity to deal with land reform why because in my view the ruling elites were then driven by this need to adopt the structural adjustment programs so anything to do with redistribution just fell off the radar ideologically and land was just being put on the on the market you begin to see some kind of elite capture there with about 800 connected political elites and business people we had money being able to buy land and the rural prison was kind of forgotten so 1990 is a missed opportunity in 1998 there was the land reform donor conference which had more than 48 countries that attended and pledged uh to give money for land reform then they agreed on an inception first of about two years and then what happened the violent invasions of the former

white owned farms
in 2000 which actually started on the
16th of
february and
2009 2018 there was also a missed
opportunity
uh to to deal with this issue
and now you have recently the global
compensation
i did i think most of you know
what it is about but basically the idea
there is to
compensate the former white farmers with
3.5 billion u.s dollars
and this is the issue that has been
topical
in both the national regional and
international media
in terms of what it really means
and i would like to say that um this uh
global compensation indeed has been held
by president munangaga
as marking the final resolution of the
land question
but i don't think it is that simple i
don't think it is that simple i think
what is happening here
is less about constitutional compliance
because the government is saying we are
complying with section 295 of the
constitution
but it's more to do with the politics is
the politics and on the law
this is the kind of appeasement politics
which feeds into the government is
re-engagement agenda
uh the thinking is that you have a very
strong white constituents that will
assist the government
to campaign against sanctions
internationally would this work i think
the answer
is no why first there is no unity among
the former white farmers

i hear that five percent actually said
no
to that but also there's still room to
reject
individual compensation even though
there's an agreement as
some can actually still go to court
using the land acquisition act
and the second aspect there is that uh
that they did not deposit the title
deeds
so the former uh white farm owners still
hold those title deals
what they agreed to deposit behind the
scenes are just
certified copies of those title deeds
and then there are also expectations
behind the scenes for compensation of
the actual
land uh and for your own information
uh this is nothing that did um but
if you research behind the scenes you
realize that there was also valuation
for the total
uh what is the total cost of the land
that was taken
and that value is 3.2 billion
that that is the the value that is there
and there's an understanding that
when the joint committee that is going
to fund fundraise
uh starts his work they also try to
fundraise
for the land not just for improvements
and the results will then determine and
for the government to think that there's
then going to be re-engagement
because they've paid 3.5 billion that is
if ever they're able to raise it i think
it's a little bit uh reductionist
why because re-engagement is also based
on the respect of human rights respect
of the rule of law
and also respect of democracy

so as long as the government is
re-engaging on that front
i do not see i do not see it being
accepted in the family of nations uh
that easily
and has the land question being resolved
no you still have the question of labor
in zimbabwe
remember that one million farm dwellers
were replaced we haven't heard anything
about their compensation
in fact uh the government is arguing
that the
farm workers must get get paid from the
former
you know white farmers i think that's uh
missing the mark why because if we
remember very well
the social relations on the commercial
farms were kind of
uh paternalistic it was kind of domestic
governments unsecured power relations
and you cannot look at a farm worker and
compare with an
urban industrial worker because to a
farm worker
a farm is a home they also build their
houses there
their properties they have certain
claims to land rights but because it's
not
the title did and because it's not
registered then the formal system is
usually forgotten
then the second emerging land question
is
lent inequalities but this time not
based on rest
but based on class based on gender
and also based on political part
affiliation
we know that there are about 400
individuals that got a total of 2
million hectares of land

then the third is a new land question of alienation and concentration we have seen the investments that have been happening in zimbabwe in the eastern part in jesus with the peasantry being displaced we have seen the chinese now moving into chirezi as well and the government announced that it's going to come up with what they call special economic zones and if we take this ambient model it is very clear that we are going to expect more disposition of the of the rural peace and then the fourth is the land tenure question it hasn't been resolved it's still a jewel a dual system reproducing the colonial legacy those on the a1 the small farms got permits those on the a2 are going to they're trying to get 99 year lease votes and very few on the a1 still have those payments anyway and what what is important there is that the political the politicization of that land changer still still persists and i don't think in the current context even if you are going to give people private title this they will feel secure because the former white farmers had those private title deals but they were chased overnight so the political institutions also matter then another emerging land question is the urban land question look at the informal settlements that are sprouting around the major cities so you cannot then argue to say uh the land question has been has been has been resolved

and it is important also to link
the land and the agrarian question they
can't be divorced when you're dealing
with national issues
and both these questions need to be
placed within the wider political
economic and social processes
so you still have the agrarian question
of productivity it is very
low especially on a true farms a little
better on a1 farms
and better in the communal areas never
mind that the a2 farms they are the ones
who are getting the biggest
amount of public resources but those
public resources are being invested in
consumption
in social investments and in political
investments uh we have seen commanders
recover
3 billion u.s dollars and so forth but i
should admit that the a1 farms
are actually doing much better and they
are producing better despite using their
own
resources and you will have the agrarian
question then of the
arrested the the arrested aggregate and
transformation
because what you have is a kind of a
predatory class
um that is trying to steer agrarian
transformation
i i don't think uh that that we are
going to see an agrarian revolution
being driven by the current a2 farmers
for the reasons that are
that i've that i've mentioned and then
as a way forward i think it's very
important lastly to have
to to look at the zimbabwe issue more
holistically
and then try to come up with a
an inclusive national process that will

lead to some kind of
perhaps a transitional democratic
development fund
of which land becomes a subset of it so
instead of just having the length fund
you then have this td dp
the transitional democratic development
fund
and then out of that you then
be able to mobilize both domestic
resources and also from the british and
the international
community otherwise
the global compensation did will just be
another
one stop that will not bring a finality
to the issues that i've raised
i think i should stop there and
allow people to to debate thank you very
much thank you very much
before i turn to professor kuni uh
jesus i'm sure do you
see a relationship between the
transitional democratic
development fund that you have
mentioned and the idea of the
conversation fund
with reference which i made which was
supposed to be set up
uh on the basis of contributions
from various governments including the
u.s in 1989
and secondly uh
can you throw more light on the the the
land
judicial program of of the 80s
which which saw 91 000 people
resettled at the cost of 44 million
pounds in the british on the base of
william buyer
a willing seller would be a buyer just a
few
a few more centers on that uh so that
zimbabweans

also know about it it was there we
remember
most of makoni east for example um
that was resettled in the 80s
and i remember as doing a review of the
makoni east
land resettlement program in the 80s
can you just throw some light on that
yeah thank you for that i think that the
compensation fund that uh
you referred to uh 1979
i think it could have taken more of
being a d colonial fund of some sort uh
perhaps the kenyan way because if we
remember in kenya
upon attaining independence those
farmers who wanted to move out
uh the british you know committed
actually brought them out
and the
fund that i'm talking about now i'm
thinking of a broader fund
to try and deal with the challenges the
crisis that zimbabwe is facing
at the moment more holistically so
perhaps you can think of the 1980s you
can make reference to the
then zimbabwe development fund that was
there it was not just
there for for for for land reform but
land reform was
part and parcel of was part and parcel
of it
then you come to to the to the 1980s
yeah i think that the 1980s there was
a land redistribution program that was
successful i think number one
it was technocratic in this way you
actually had
different kinds of models but then i
think there was model a
model b model c and module d
catering for the different needs of
different

uh farmers and i think by then the most popular was the model a where individuals would get terrible land then some hectares for their own housing but you also had the cooperatives and the ranges so outside mateberryland of course where there was bukura what the studies have shown us is that the livelihoods of the people actually improved that we resettled in the in the 1980s and that land reform was actually a positive a a very positive thing i should also say that it wasn't violent and and and chaotic as we saw from the a2000 but definitely they were uh constraints um here and there i think i should end there unless viewers would like to prove more later no thanks very much we'll come back to you let me move now to professor arukuni mandir kuni i think zamcha has painted a solid picture of the land question that we are far from resolving it the myriad of questions around the land question and even though he has recommended a way forward it's difficult to see how in the near future we can begin even tackling this problem would you agree uh professor cooney that the land reform program allah 2000 began less on the basis of an organized well thought out land reform policy than the promptings political promptings of the time namely the defeated referendum of february 15th to 2000

to professor
oh thanks so much and thanks to pilani
for that opener
the um
you know i always uh wonder after
four or five decades i've invested
my intellect on the land reform issue
globally and in
zimbabwe and africa i always wondered
whether it is appropriate actually to
always try and analyze it in terms of
did it work it didn't work is it was it
good was it bad
uh because increasingly i've
come to the realization that land
reforms especially
radical land reforms are not an issue of
good or bad or right or wrong
they're an issue of circumstances life
happens you know
life doesn't wait for good bad right
wrong
uh things will happen so
i will try and uh argue
that the uh
the combination of circumstances in any
situation
is what determines the kind of
land reform that happens and the way in
which nations handle these land issues
in the past in the present will define
the uh
social and political uh and economic
character of that nation
because land although i would agree with
pilani that land is not the only thing
by any means to determine the character
of
society land is still a major
source of identity of any nation
you know and by the way land will always
be political because land uh
always represents
power social status prestige

i mean that's that's actually the ingredients of politics so to wish for land reforms which are not political in my opinion is is is just not realistic um i know of recent because of this compensation deal signed with the white farmers there has been talk of reversal of the land reform program well there's no even even if government or anybody wished to reverse the land reform program it's not possible to reverse it there's no reverse gear by the way so it's it's it's it's once again an issue of context and just trying to clarify some issues which may not uh be fully understood in this particular case uh it's just miscommunication on the part of this government because it's quite clear the amounts of land that are being talked about uh amounts of land going back to indigenous or black zimbabweans whose land was quote unquote uh uh inadvertently compensated and then the beepers because of uh reasons already cited by igbo and pilani so in summary there is no end to end reforms land reform in zimbabwe and south africa will continue for decades to come irrespective of the quality that we may want to place on it now the question for zimbabwe and south africa really is can land reform be a vehicle for social and economic transformation and if we look at

parts of the world where land reforms
have actually triggered
mass structural transformation
land reforms can actually be a a massive
trigger for positive transformation it's
just
happens that uh recent history which
if we go back to the first world war
second world war
uh period which is our recent global
history
the most successful land reforms they
have been in asia
and and guess what those reforms were
some of them anyway were were triggered
by war
i mean japan was forced into massive
land reform from a kind of uh
very uh uh uh what'd you call it
it let's let's just say the
the opportunity of a nation
to to to to to move to a
massive risk distribution of land in a
positive way is something that both
zimbabwe and south africa
wish for it happened in japan it
happened in
china it has happened in many places
where
that process alone
transforms the economy and of course in
africa
and especially uh south africa zimbabwe
and so on we know the history and evo
touched on it in terms of
the western nations
will support land reform any day in asia
but who
oppose it every single day in this part
of africa
and and in south america it's it's it's
history it's part of
it's it's it's uh it's what it is blood
is thicker than water

so this global
agreement with the farmers is is
something that
needed to happen but could have happened
differently could have
could have ended up with uh with a
different result
but i can tell you that i have i've
come to the realization that there's no
real value
there's no intrinsic value
to land anyway i mean
the the value there is what we place on
it on a society
so at the end of the day to really say
there is a true
singular value you can place to
why land that was acquired from white
farmers
is also a fallacy
that agreement could have turned up with
half a million
half a billion dollars it could have
been 15 billion dollars
is the circumstances in this particular
case
uh i think they uh the the the
the the attempts to uh come
up with something that represents
some initial agreement with between
white farmers
who were dispossessed in the government
is plausible
but whether in actual fact the problem
is solved we are still very far away
from solving it
it's it's it's it's going to take a long
time and zimbabwe is not
the first country i mean these types of
compensation uh packages
uh historically can go to decades and
decades
uh uh you know and it's not only on land
it's it's

it's on many other aspects uh of
of of history and societal uh
transformation
so it's unfortunate africa is the only
continent in the world without a high
income country
zero asia has got the americas they've
got
europe has got plenty africa doesn't
have
and is not likely to have one because
our best economies
such as south africa are still in
massive middle income traps massive
middle income traps
because of highly dualized economies
because of narrow domestic markets which
cannot sustain
a massively diversified manufacturing
sector
so even a country as highly
developed industrially as south africa
we still have
a highly truncated economy and as long
as
the economic growth rates are in two
three four percent
uh zero you cannot get out of a middle
income trap
as long as the equilibrium rates of
unemployment continue to rise for
decades
you won't get out of a middle income
trap as long as
the inequality in society continues to
worsen you don't get out of the middle
income trap
what actually happens when inequality
worsens
is that the policy discourse questions
the policy positions
get more protracted and there's greater
divide
in terms of potential solutions that's

why it is possible
in such a highly developed economy in
south africa
that you would have public policy
gravitating towards
land expropriation without compensation
whilst at the same time
you have a highly financialized land and
agricultural sector
which is just as good as you have in
australia
or in canada such contradictions are
typical of middle-income traps and land
reform
programs are supposed to resolve that so
let me just
sum that point up in one simple economic
fact the issue
of social and economic transformation
that is driven
through agrarian change is not an issue
of whether farms are large or small
global research and analysis
across many many countries come up with
sim one simple final conclusion
in those economies that are labor
suppliers
small farms will always be economically
more efficient
not financially but economically more
efficient than large farms
in economies where labor is in
short short supply large farms will be
more efficient than small farms
so in the case of zimbabwe and south
africa there's no debate
the fact that massive numbers of people
are unemployed
both rural and urban just means that
there is room to go back a few steps and
reindustrialize by ensuring that you
create a new
rural middle class so
that club global competition indeed is

the tip of the eyes back when it comes
to the valuation and compensation issue
in zimbabwe
because it's not only white farmers
who need compensation yesterday today
and tomorrow
there's going to be massive
massive increase in issues and
circumstances
which require ordinary black zimbabweans
in communal areas
in in recently settled resettlement
areas
for to be compensated for various
reasons there is
need therefore for a a proper
public policy
that deals with issues of valuation and
compensation
today this issue is only topical because
we are talking of white farmers
you know and that is a political hot
potato but it's actually
if you remove the white farmers out of
the equation valuation and compensation
is a big issue that requires very
careful thinking
uh uh moving into the future if we are
going to uh
to um to to develop
into a high income diversified economy
so agrarian transformation is the
question
uh uh so so
and i've said this before that the one
commonality between zimbabwe and south
africa
is is not whether south africa should
copycat what
how zimbabwe went through it because i
don't even know anybody could have
predicted what happened in zimbabwe
the issue is in zimbabwe the uh
the government had an opportunity to

to to continue uh with a deliberate well thought through uh land reform program in the 80s and 90s but we stopped and the british also stopped supporting by by the 2000s when we were entering the fast-track land reform program the government was broke our economy was down on its knees and and and all of a sudden the only solutions left politically uh uh uh where to uh to composer really acquire this land from the white farmers i think south africa is slowly gravitating towards a situation where the government will be broke one day the economy will completely slow down and then it will be a little bit too late uh zimbabwe did not have this kind of land reform program because zimbabweans are dumb because they didn't plan it's just because the issue was left too late and by the time with any middle income trapped country such as zimbabwe and south africa and namibia and so on it will happen it's just a matter of time it's not a question of when lentena and pilani picked on it once again is an issue which is heavily contested in both zimbabwe and south africa once again there's no solution to it both intellectually scholarly and otherwise because we are talking about world views the the western world view of land tenure is completely different to the african one uh the forms of ownership and and how

land is valued
at what stage of economic development
differs that's why i would argue
strongly that
zimbabwe and south africa for that
matter continue to
maintain the multi-tenure system an
attempt to have a
a kind of universal antidote
and and universally make their own land
state land or make it all communal or
make it all commercial
zimbabwe and south africa are still far
from a situation where
that can happen because that that only
happens when you have complete
structural transformation and 95 percent
of the population is is ebonized
then you can start homogenizing at a
land tenure
but right now as we speak it doesn't
matter how advanced the
the one part of the economy is
as long as the other part is not
developed land
won't be a property that can be traded
it continues to be family land it
continues to be a form of identity
so rebuilding a rural financial services
sector becomes
important in being able to link the
previously neglected communal small
family farm
sector into into into a
a modern economy so finally i would say
there are no right or wrong answers uh
i'm sorry to say
they they they they their answers are
appropriate to the situation
the pace of land reform is more
important to me than anything else
if you wait for the right moment when
all the uh ducks are lined up correctly
you end up where zimbabwe ended up and

i would urge the south africans uh to
to stop wishing for a some utopia
type of land reform program it's not
gonna come because
the society is already heavily uh uh
uh fractured the the the the the the
discord
and and and and and uh structural faults
are too huge to expect
a nice heavenly solution okay
it's not going to happen so get on with
it
uh and just make sure that uh you learn
by doing
uh i i've put a simple formula
uh sometime when i was talking
colleagues in south africa that
it's not a mathematical formula it's a
philosophical formula
that the pace of land reform must be
equal or
exceed in any political justification
for farm invasions
and finland reform is so slow that the
bulk of society
believes ultimately a chaotic one is
better than nothing then it will happen
but uh keep keep moving they they they
they
the the the situation in south africa uh
is probably
where zimbabwe was uh in 1996.78
by 2000 i can tell you by 2000
the major change for me individually was
that
up until 2000 i was considered an expert
i was listening to here and there by
2000 i'd become irrelevant
it was not time to listen to experts
anymore
experts and technicians become
irrelevant
and and politicians take over and run
with it i remember bumping into

the late president mugabe at some
graduation ceremony
and he looked at me and said i know what
you're thinking
you know uh prof you you
but but there's no room for the kind of
thing that you
talked about in your land commission
reports we are at war
so we will fight the war first and then
we'll implement your
your your reports uh recommendations
later
so i'll just close that by saying
there's absolutely no way i see a
liberation movement such as anc
or zanu-pf or frelimo
allowing whether through law
or through who can crook allowing
any kind of transition
where they're going to be booted out of
power
and they have not somehow dealt with the
land
uh question uh so the issue is
where are they going to be when that
ball drops
and in the case of zimbabwe we know what
happened in the case of south africa we
don't know
what's going to happen but the fact that
the anc
two years ago already mooted
land expropriation without compensation
means that they're running out of
economic
solutions now political solutions
loom large this
this is time to move on thank you very
much
before i before you i'll let you go
mandy
as usual very fascinating uh
no reverse gear uh what what is it

that's not reversely about what
what is it that we've done so far they
cannot be reversed but more more
specifically
can you throw some more light on this
beeper
and the and the global compensation
indeed please for our viewers
and for zimbabwe to understand you did
say it is a
it's largely an outcome uh i mean the
discussion the debate so far
is an outcome of miscommunication on the
part of government
i agree but maybe you could just add
some more light to it
well the the positive is the positive
side and the negative side
the positive side is some level of
realization
on the part of both the wide farmers
and the government of zimbabwe that
we are on our own there's no there's no
there's no world there's no global
solution that's going to come on the
table here
i mean in the past when i was involved
in these discussions
it was very clear that although western
countries they've always
supported the pride of of white farmers
who lost their
land they also don't see any
justification
in spite of uh the longest house
possibility then that
the longest possibility then that uh
ebert
spoke about was our best chance that was
the time when
maybe the uk and the americans would
have pushed two billion dollars into the
kitty
today there is no western country

whose foreign office or donor port of money
can can fish out that kind of money uh
for white farmers
uh in a country where there's millions
of people
hungry cannot even feed themselves
there's no money for that
so the the the 3.5 billion
uh would have to come out of some
structured financial arrangement
and maybe it can be supported by some
donor financing but the donor financing
is not going to be
the lead there so the positive side is
yes
the white farmers realize no one is
going to give this government the money
either for the improvements or for the
land so let's sign this agreement with
this government
and and and create some good will and
hope hope that
some financial engineering will happen
so well let's let's give them a chance
how long it will take to get the 3.5
billion
over how many years and no one
can can say at this point in time the
negative side
is is some of the stuff that pilani was
talking about
in a sense that an over expectation
that this will somehow be magical
and and and and the problem will
go away it won't go away actually um
and in addition on the negative side is
that uh
white farmers are not the only people
who lost out
in this massive drop in the economy
every zimbabwean suffered one way or
another i mean people lost their pension
funds

they name it it was mayhem on the whole
economy compensating white farmers is a
political
a pressure point not that that is truly
the most justifiable thing to do for
zimbabweans everybody's mobbings needed
some level of compensation
and then some would even argue that uh
the you know you know the compensation
issue can be direct all the way back 150
years
i won't go into that because it's an
open-ended thing all i'm saying is that
these kinds of agreements happen because
of political and economic realities
of the time like the time we have now we
we're in a weak position as a country
and as a government
so our negotiation strength was not as
as
strong as it could be if we had already
developed our economy through the land
reform program and we were already a 50
60
100 billion dollar economy it would be a
completely different agreement
that would have been signed
thanks uh andy thanks very much indeed
we'll come back to you of course
i'm sure there are many questions coming
up already for you
um let me turn to ben fritz
then ben and meet yourself
ben can you throw some light on this
beeper debate
in the first instance what's it all
about
um thank you very much ebo for allowing
me on are you hearing me all right
um i hope so
um i i just quickly want to
fill in a couple of gaps if i may ibor
um just going back
to where i was intimately involved

in what actually took place on
the land in the last 20 years with
the land invasions because i think it's
um very relevant to to where we are
today and
and something that hasn't actually been
talked about
is the fact that um in 1999
the opposition was formed the the
movement for democratic change
and a number of uh of
speakers have mentioned the 16th of
february 2000
as the date of land invasions beginning
and just to remind everyone at that time
there was a referendum and one of the
things in
the referendum was that
land should be able to be acquired
and given out for free so no
compensation
for the land and
you'll remember that what happened is
that
the people of zimbabwe rejected
that new constitution
and there was an election coming up
in june of that year 2000
and as soon as the president
realized that the people had rejected
his new
constitution he realized that they would
reject
him as the president of zimbabwe and so
what then happened on the 16th of
february was
that the land invasions began
and as professor raccooney rightly said
president mugabe was not one to
to listen to good sense he was not one
to listen to
the fact that it was being done in a in
a wrong manner
and he said to professor kirikouni we

are
at war and as a
farmer through that time living on a
farm
we experience what it was like to be at
the receiving end
of president robert mugabe's war
and we saw people being murdered and we
saw
a lot of violence being meted out i was
beaten up
on on quite a few occasions my
father-in-law
um was actually killed
and what then happened in 2005 that
also hasn't been mentioned was that amen
amendment number 17
to the constitution was brought in which
was
the clause that had been rejected by the
people in the referendum
and with that land was be
was able to be acquired for free without
paying
farmers and we as a family took
the opportunity at that time
to go to the supreme court
to try and get a case heard regarding
rule of law issues basic rule of law
issues
in relation to the way that the
acquisition was taking place
and we didn't know
at that time what was going to happen my
father-in-law
was arrested at that time
for allegedly being on his farm
illegally being in his home illegally
farming
illegally under amendment 17 to the
constitution
and so we ended up being able to go to
the sedec tribunal which had been formed
as a human rights court

uh within the southern african
development community and
um it was a it was a quite a battle
and during that battle two weeks before
our main
hearing we were abducted and very
severely tortured and they tried to get
us to withdraw
from the tribunal and
anyway we managed to get our hearing in
in july
2008 and
we got our judgment in november 2008
28th
november 2008 and and this was a
a very key part of
the whole issue of land reform program
um that hasn't yet been talked about in
this meeting
in that athletic tribunal made a
judgment to say that what was happening
on the land
uh on the farms in zimbabwe was
against the sedec treaty it was against
international law it was against human
rights it was against
the rule of law and these are very
fundamental things
um that i believe
are absolutely critical to our
understanding of where
zimbabwe currently is
um one of the
one of the fundamental things i believe
to do with
zimbabwe's former success as an
agricultural nation
was the issue of property rights where
farmers were able to use their title
deeds
to lever finance from the banks
and as a result of that 10 000
dams in zimbabwe were built there was
massive development that was able to

take place the banks were able to
financial institutions were able to come
in in a very major way
and we did see a fast developing country
as a as a result of those
property rights but what president
mugabe's
statement we are at war
uh said was that we need to control
the land we need to control the people
on the land
uh the invasions that took place on the
land were to make sure
that those people in the referendum who
had voted
against the new constitution were
subdued and
and what we saw after the 16th of
february
2000 was not a single opposition
rally from the movement for democratic
change able to take place
on a single commercial farm up until
today
up until 2020 and part of the election
strategy the the major election strategy
is to bring
all those people into fear and all those
people
into a level of sorry
sorry ben well that's very interesting
can you can you
just focus on people for a while let us
know what bipar is all about
okay so the the bilateral investment
treaties
um that have been signed with germany
with
uh holland uh with switzerland with with
various other countries um are there
so that investors from overseas
are able to go to arbitration
international arbitration
um and then be able to

get an award if
it's deemed that the zimbabwe government
has destroyed their investment so
what we've seen as the dutch farmers go
to a court arbitration uh in in paris
we've also seen heinrich von petzel a
german national
go to an arbitration this is under the
world bank
um and it was the the court that was
chosen was in
in washington dc um
and in in those cases um
the zimbabwe government lost and and in
heinrich von petzel's case they they
lost very badly it was 200 million
u.s dollars or thereabouts that was owed
by the zimbabwe government
to this this one german national for all
his investments and they were very major
investments all
since 1980 um all
under the zionist government
and those investments had been destroyed
or taken away
from this this investor and so what the
zimbabwe government recognizes is that
certain people have more rights than
other people
simply because their countries of origin
have got a bilateral investment treaty
with with zimbabwe and this is why
um those nationals have got special
treatment
whereas zimbabwean citizens
are treated as though they do not have
such rights
um which is a which is a difficult thing
and
and what we're seeing at the moment just
over last weekend we saw martin crobala
being kicked
off um his property where he was growing
tobacco farming

cattle employing lots of people
um and 25 policemen pitched up on his
farm and
by the end of the weekend he was turfed
out of his house
he's now living with relatives um
and that whole property now
he is unable to produce on
and this is going on all the time some
of you may have seen it but how many i
mean
how many funds how many ones how many
farms would you say
i uh are involved in the paper agreement
what's the number of funds it's 96
yeah it's not an awful lot um
because un unfortunately
the main countries uh of foreign
nationals so britain for example
um the zimbabwe government didn't sign
an agreement with
with the uk didn't sign an agreement
with the usa didn't sign an agreement
with south africa until uh much more
recently
so nationals from those countries are
unable
to go to international arbitration
okay okay in what you want to say
something else
before we uh move on to what's uni uh
yeah just
just on the on the issue of property
rights sibo
you know this is fundamental i believe
for our communal people it's fundamental
for
the newly resettled people it's
fundamental to
anyone who wants to be a farmer property
rights
are fundamental and at the moment we do
not have property rights of any
uh real nature in zimbabwe where

um the ownership of the property
can be transferred somewhere someone
else or or sold
um that the value of the property that
people are on
is not able to be realized and as a
result what we've got is dead capital
in zimbabwe and because we've got dead
capital we are not
seeing dams being built we're not seeing
the investment that we need we're not
seeing
um big exports of agricultural produce
we're not seeing food production in a
major way in fact we've got
by christmas i believe this year nearly
10 million people that will
need food aid yet again from the
international community and
you know as a as a business community
forget about the emotive issue of land
as a business community the
uh dead capital needs to be made
into life capital
so that business can thrive and when
business thrives
everything else can thrive and the
social ministries education
health all the infrastructure in the
country can then
start to develop as the country
industrializes
because this dead asset becomes alive
and and that's what we need in africa
that's what we need in zimbabwe
that's what we need to be to to have our
high income countries start to appear on
our continents
it's not because we're useless people
not
because we haven't got the resources
it's not because of all the excuses
we like to make it's because our
governments don't like to give

individual people whether they be white
or black or
pink or purple prop
to its full potential and allow the
human being the individual human being
to realize it's his or her god-given
potential
thanks man thanks ben i'm sure there'll
be questions to you
later what's an eye
what the hell are you there
an idea was an eye okay
i was trying to unmute myself and the
host wasn't letting me
hello everyone um welcome welcome
tonight um i think for me the the
there's
and there's three issues that i want to
bring up
the first on land is the fact that the
the changing
nature of land designation so if we look
at
um companies give being given mining
rights for example
to land that is still to be
um given tenure rights etc
that is one of the issues that we need
to bring up in land so there's this
um what do we call it this um
gray area about land in zimbabwe
currently where
you can you know when you change it from
uh the designation of being
uh farming land to mining etc
um how does that work how does it work
in the in the context
of still people holding
these pieces of paper that are not
saying that you have
99 years to to to farm the land etc and
this is why
people aren't investing in land because
they have no security of tenure

um i think the second thing i wanted to
talk about is these are these
which um uh mr freeze
touched on are these um we've normalized
waves of deple of displacement so
um and it's no longer a racial thing
anymore it's it can be class it can be
political
um and with each wave of um
displacement with each new person coming
onto this land
we get a further further
disenfranchisement of
um of farm workers who are also
zimbabweans
who also um have invested in land and if
we go back to the first speaker
uh and and and um
these are also people who have
considered it their land as well
and this is an issue that's both here
and in south africa
because in south africa um even though
there's an act which says that you
cannot
evict um a farmworker who's been on
on a piece of land over 60 um you can
actually go to court
and in and evict them
so um so in south africa where they have
the legal recourse
for private land or for or for or for uh
yeah for private land
um evictions take place which are
displacements for people
for for farm workers um and and also
uh they can use the legal system
to change the nature of the land so they
can change from
saying that it's a farm to a game farm
and they can then say that they have to
evict the current
workers because they don't fit the labor
requirements of their new farm so

we have to really look at um
the designation of land and also
we need to look at um looking after the
people who are displaced
uh within the land um issue um
we were talking about how zimbabwe was
progressive
progressing economically um when the
white farmers were there
but look at the the the farm workers i
mean
um i i can't remember what he called it
a paternalistic
system the farm workers even if they
were compensated
um have no idea about how to utilize uh
funds etc because they've always been
looked after by a parent who was quote
unquote
the farmer who was looking after them so
they never touched cash
as cash they were always looked after in
a form of
paternalistic fashion and then we have
to think about
the third thing that i wanted to bring
into this discussion was the fact that
with this year with 2020 and covert
um and uh let's just put aside covet
with um climate change happening when we
look at the fourth question which was um
agrarian uh transformation economic
recovery
and political stabilization if we're
going to look at um
political i mean economic recovery we
really have to put into context
what we're doing to the environment when
we allow
large-scale tracts of land to have large
machinery on them
um and we're destroying the the
environment i saw a video the other day
um on the subway liv river where you

know they've allowed
some chinese investors to look at to
to to change the nature of the land
using large-scale machinery
so we really have to look at the broader
context
if we're going to look at the agrarian
um transformation
and if we're going to look at our
countries as they are in south africa i
think the biggest issue for me
um and i worked with the ministry of
agriculture
between 2013 and 2016
was the issue of land in communal areas
because um there really is no
legislation i think there's a
there's a temporary act uh that exists
um the interim protection of land rights
act
number 31 of 1996 and
this was supposed to transition uh
a could transition from the communal
uh areas acting to into a a
a you know a policy um or legislation
so there really is very little
um law governing or guiding the access
to
to communal land in south africa um and
you know uh and when we talk about
communal land we then come to all the
issues
around um access and we come to the
issues around women accessing land
and women having a right to land i think
it's only in this decade
actually where where the customary act
in south africa
allows a woman to inherit land through
her husband
or from her husband which is i think the
customary marriages
act i i'm not a lawyer let me make that
very very clear

so i i really think that um
in south africa and i'm not sure about
the communal land in zimbabwe i don't
know enough about it but i did work with
with the communal land in south africa
the communal land is held in trust by
the minister
um and you know but there are no title
deeds
they it's really um subject to
um a chief
a chief or a politician or even a greedy
white uh you know white or black farmer
who can um change the nature of communal
land
and this has resulted in the
displacement
of people from communal land so i think
one of the things that's
very important um about addressing the
land issue
is really looking at the designation of
land
in these two countries who actually has
what what have investors done because
zimbabwe has been
has had a wave of different investors um
even since the land reform uh what we
call the fast-track land reform
situation i'm not talking about
the redistribution in in 19 in the 1980s
um and and we have to look at what these
waves of displacement and the and the
changes
in the designations have done and does
this land
and can this land actually do what it
needs to do
especially given the increasing
decertification of land
um the fact that tobacco has
completely taken all the nutrients out
of the soil um and so
we have to start looking at really even

if we do get land
even if we finally resolve this question
will that land still be arable
uh will we be able to feed
the host of people that we need to feed
and given
the current covert situation there's no
country right now west east whatever
whatever looking wherever they don't
have the money
to invest in countries like uh zimbabwe
south africa or namibia because they
have to concentrate on their own people
and so um the question of putting out a
global fund and trying to get a get it
resourced
is not going to happen and and i really
think we need to look at
um these this investment window that's
been
that's been calling investors to come
from all over the land
um from all over the world to invest in
large-scale farming etc the brazil model
um of of of um
you know getting as much food out to as
many people as possible
and and and how many people actually and
what does the title look like for those
companies that are coming in who's ta
who have no
who have tax windows for five years or
ten years
so the money doesn't even actually stay
in zimbabwe and
and are these um large-scale investors
um are they are they are they
required to to make any
any improvements to the community the
community around them and things like
that
so i think if we're going to look at um
forward-looking and economic
transformation and things like that

we have to look at these issues around
um whatever the form of title
it whatever the form that title is going
to look like because right now
um this little piece of paper um a
farmer on an a1 or a2 farm can't take
that
paper to the bank um and and get a loan
against it because they have no security
of tenure
so what do we do in in the event that
how do we get past
that how do we get banks investing in
agriculture
um how do we get uh south africans
interested in in agriculture because
there's one thing to talk about
land and land reform as a political
issue
it's another it's a quite a different
thing zimbabwe has been an agrarian
society so i can go back
to my father and my father's father etc
my father's father was an extensionist
uh my dad was
was an agriculturalist all those things
but in south africa this does not exist
the south africans were not um an
agrarian society so when we talk about
land
what are we talking about in a south
african context because you then have to
put in
the social capital for people to be able
to
learn how to farm um and and all those
issues around that
so those were the were the areas that i
think i wanted to
touch on and to broaden the the
discussion
beyond the political discussion to
really look at the economics
of land looking at communal land which

is a huge
a hugely emotional issue in south africa
um and really looking at um
political will to really address
the these land issues in a in a in a
pragmatic manner um
as opposed to uh in the emotional manner
in which we've been looking at thank you
very much
okay thanks thank you michael thank you
before i take questions from the floor
i'd like to
i'd like to put the two issues to
pilani zamcha and professor kuni
uh wazinai has raised the issue of women
land rights climate change
and urban land and
ben frith has raised the question of
property rights could there have some
responses initially
some cheer
uh yeah thank you
thank you evo i i want to say
i was talking about new learning
inequalities that are based on gender so
i agree with wazzanai that
women were marginalized
especially during the fast track land
reform program
because of the violent nature but
if you look at the institutions that
were involved
they are also quite patriarchal those
that were involved
in terms of allocating land and um
look at the child suit report
of 2003 uh only 12 percent
of those who got lands where were women
like
we had the land registered in their own
names that's 12 percent
uh even if you look at one of the
scholars who is very optimistic about
fast track ian schoons

from his study is it's also quite low some more delayed it was 19 which i know to be the highest so there has been a marginalization there and i know that there are attempts now to ensure that their spouses they both are you know registered but it's it's it's one thing to have it in policy it's also difficult to implement it in a very patriarchal society so you have seen this continuation of gender exploitative reproduction and production relations on the palms and yeah i i got uh the point about uh uh proper rights in in two ways i think proper rights zimbabwe has the bill of rights and i think a proper rights are enshrined in there that's why i was also talking about the rule of law and and so forth but where i disagree is this notion that if you give people the private title then it's going to be automatic that they are going to get bank loans i i don't think it's uh it's going to work like that i don't think the financial world operates like that uh you'll see that even with those private title days it will still be very difficult especially for those um uh poorer farmers to be able to gain access to to to loans i think what you need more is secure tenure i agree with mandy there that uh multiple forms of kenya can still work uh in zimbabwe the private title is not the magic like the bullet um it's going to be it's actually going to

be
to be messy if you apply it on communal
areas
as well as a1 but what i was questioning
is this dual nature between the a1 and
and the
ender a2 um
i'm not sure if there's another question
i think i would defer the question on
climate change
to to monty whamba
mandy can you come with me it was an
issue of property rights and
this through the unanswered question
we'll pay for compensation
and maybe i can put the question to to
all of you for the four of you
so far there is this
burning question about the fact that
only 15 000 people are beneficiaries of
a the a2 scheme
implying that by that they receive this
land free
and yet the former owners of those lands
those farms are to be competed or
being compensated
uh and and and and and still hold the
title deeds
that the a2 farmer is unlikely to ever
own that fund
is there a possibility as was
recommended
by the surface trust through someone
in 90 in 2000 the idea of having
the people actually buy
those funds from government a2 farms
and and they buy a good title
mandy ah yeah thanks let me start with
the last point
because people um my take on the a2
farms is very simple
if you go back to the uh if you go back
to 1890
uh when we had the uh

the pioneer column coming and land was distributed also free of charge to hundreds of white people who were prepared to settle under the british south africa company between 1890 and about 1905 a lot of that land is actually equivalent to today's a2 this these were cronies who got land they were not serious farmers were not interested in farming actually it was just a starting point for them they were into all sorts of other things you know prospecting for gold and and and trading uh remember they would buy a truck and then they buy produce from uh black farmers on their farms the the the kefir truck story so this is what happens in this type of situation when land reform or land acquisition is driven by a section in society which has a clear by 1908 the british south africa company realized that mining was not the big deal in zimbabwe and they were charting now an agriculture agenda and land ownership started shifting i mean they established a land bank around 1911 after that so land which was originally held for speculation started shifting to uh syria's investors and farmers the same needs to happen to a2 land most of that land was free land just like the white pioneer column did free land to to to to people who are supporting the the movement and and that land today if you're going to use market mechanisms

to get it back into production
you just need i mean i was jokingly
saying to
somebody in government the other day
give me
just give me 50 million dollars
i'll buy back most of that land i can
tell you that uh i can uh
some of that land i'll buy i can buy
some of those offer letters for five
thousand years dollars people i can tell
you that
maybe some for twenty thousand dollars
and then if you had a land bank
arrangement
uh which would be the proper answer to
this then the land bank would actually
ensure that
the land is eventually sold out
to syria's investors with capacity to
invest and produce
so there's nothing unusual about a
political situation where land is
rapidly acquired
from an existing lower class
into by a new ruling class who will
hang on to it for as long as they can
for speculative purposes
in this particular case i think the way
out is for the government to simply
decide
the the we establish a land bank
and all that land then become goes on
the balance sheet of the land bank
and and ensure that they pay for it
including a ground rent annually and
ensure that
financing of that land is is related to
production and productivity
so if i move on to the uh the gender
issue
it's it's pervasive the the gender bias
is across the board and don't be fooled
that it's only africans who

who are uh patriarchal and and and have
uh uh monopolized land even the white
colonials were just as bad
uh when i looked at statistics in
zimbabwe south africa zambia even with
even with title deed land it's mostly
men
all tenure systems across the board and
all russia across all racial lines
we are all male chauvinists so it's it's
it's it's
made worse in zimbabwe and south africa
because of a dual legal system the this
pure legal system is the biggest
challenge
in addressing the problem because the
contradictions that exist
between african world views of property
and inheritance
which is not captured in uh in
in statutory law and in in english
common
law that we use and roman dash law which
is the uh statutory law
so if i can just summarize that for
you based on the work
i did way back on the lantern commission
just on inheritance which is the biggest
challenge under african customary law
in zimbabwe the eldest son does not
inherit
property there is no such thing in
customary law elder sons inherit the
name they are the new father of the
family
property is not inherited you inherit
responsibility
and one's responsibilities are allocated
the youngest brother will look after the
mother
the elder sister will look after the
dependent children who are still going
to
school then assets are inherited and

allocated
on the basis of the responsibilities
that have been inherited
but english common law says the eldest
son is air apparent
so today you have african customary law
which was the most
egalitarian piece of inheritance law
subverted because myself as an elder son
can now go to the master of the high
court
and be declared apparent and then
dislodge all the people who are
dependent who under customary law are
supposed to look after
okay this problem is not going to go
away through all these gender
mainstreaming programs
this problem will go away when africans
continue go back to to understanding we
are africans we're not europeans we're
not chinese we'll never be chinese or
americans that being what they are
we need to go back to our customary law
analyze it back
and interpret it in modern terms how do
people inherit responsibilities so that
if it's family
land that land will continue to look
after dependent members of the family
but as it is we take advantage of
the is the best it's the west of both
worlds
we we go and and demand property
because now we are individualizing what
is supposed to be family land
so deal with your legal system
and uh in terms of land tenure i think
pilani put it
beautifully it's it's not it's it's
it's it's not the type of tenure that
matters
it is those eight rights which have to
be self-guided and

and defined uh uh clearly defined
recognized on the ground and then
protected then it doesn't matter what
what tenure system it is it can be
commercially viable
it doesn't the the land itself does not
have to be
commercial property especially in a poor
country if you're a low income country
where the majority of your people are in
low income land will never be property
it's only when you move to some levels
of
middle class that a large proportion of
the
of the population will have land as
property
because even as a middle class people
like like us
speaking here today how often do you
sell your property how often do you sell
your land how often do you sell your
house
maybe never in their lifetime so land
the land and and property is not itself
the commercial value
it represents value which you can
convert into loans
so if you are in the low-income groups
like in a1
criminal areas land is not property
please don't confuse that
land is a form of identity it's it's
it's where you belong
it only becomes property when it's no
longer
necessary to look after
families on that piece of land so i
think we have a long way to go when it
comes to
to to this really crazy a dualistic
polaristic legal system which is not
leading us anyway
thanks mandy thank you very much there's

some questions there tony rila
tony
thank you this has been extremely
interesting um
one of the things that that concerns me
and some of my colleagues
is that when we start talking about land
we have to talk about
some real situations one of the real
situations that zimbabwe will face
undoubtedly in the very near future is
going to be the
severe effects of climate change the
severe effects of climate change
are going to dramatically change where
people can live and how they can live
comfortably i'll give you a personal
example i just
came back about a week and a half ago
from the savvy conservancy
which is very nice place for wild
animals
and it's extremely difficult place to
farm without
very high level inputs you can survive
there if you've got irrigation you can
grow
oranges and stuff like that but if you
don't
and i saw all these people who've been
resettled in the savvy conservancy
in an extremely inhospitable place
where it is extremely difficult to grow
crops uh
never mind the wild animals even if you
didn't have the wild animal it's going
to be very difficult
so it is undoubtedly clear that the
science tells us in the very near future
zimbabwe is going to face climatic
stress
and that's going to change where people
can live and have decent futures and
that is going to affect the nature of

land
so when we talk about a2 and a1
these are all very nice around property
rights and let's be a middle-income
country and all that kind of stuff
but fundamentally where are people going
to live and how
and mandy's raised the point that you
know one of the things you can do
when you have surplus labor is to host
people on very small farms
well it seems to me that would be
inimical to the idea of
people like owning large farms farms in
areas that are likely to have high
rainfall
so in the midst of all of this is
another crunchy question is that we're
going to have to address
the whole nature of where people live
whatever property rights you talk about
what commercial value
we're going to have to start thinking
about a policy that will
incorporate that and that seems to me is
missing from
this debate and it links also to what
word tonight
says and it's very clear that all the
evidence says
that the people are going to get hit
hardest in
climate change are going to be the rural
people
obviously and rural women and their
families they're going to be hit
really hard and this is not really
in the debate about land reform it's
it's it's in some
other place we did a little bit of
research recently
uh on the basis of questions that were
asked in the afrobarometer
and asked zimbabweans what they thought

about climate change they had four
simple questions
the striking thing was the difference in
understanding about climate change
between urban and rural people
access to media and information meant
that urban people had a fairly good idea
about
climate change but the rural people
thought about weather but they had no
concept
of climate change and i'm interested
what the
people here have to say about how we
deal with this land question
in the face of the climate change
onslaught
thank you
we're running out of time now so i'm
going to ask
the four panelists uh sorry the minister
couldn't make it it's just last minute
was called by the president minister
togo digiza she couldn't make it and our
our lawyer friend in victoria is still
held up
someone asked about the name to start
answer the question or comment on tony
rielle's
submission and also summarize
your submission in terms of
the main question before us whether
where do we stand with the land question
in zimbabwe
in particular what's the night then ben
spritzi
mandy and last but not least
zamchi um i can't tell you
yes hi i think tony tony put it in a
nutshell
if we don't if we don't look at the
issues of climate change
um and the changing nature of the type
of the of land use

um which we we will be forced to whether
we want to or not
um the rural poor and the rural
population
is going to be um very affected and
that's why i brought up the
issue of climate change um the issue of
of covert
and financing because there's much less
money in the world
uh for for for for development
there's much less money in the world i
mean um the british government has
has changed uh what did what did it used
to be called
uh the development agency um and made
and
incorporated it into foreign affairs and
and really changed the issue of the
percentage of money
that goes into into development funds so
so i think uh for me um as it to be to
look
at the at the forward looking and to
summarize my contribution
i think that we need to look at um
the land designation issues what is
actually going on on the ground
with land because we're assuming that
that we've
we've stayed in a static environment but
we haven't um there's been large-scale
you know investment in other issues
there's been changing of the land
designations
so we need to look at that we also need
to to really look at
the question of um the
disenfranchisement
of people who have been displaced on
land
and my biggest issue is the farm workers
but
there are a lot of other people who are

being displaced from land
and we have to look at those issues so i
think going forth
uh we need to broaden the scope uh we
need to
um firstly get even a snapshot
of what what the land use pattern is
right now
um and get and and you know superimpose
that
on on a map that is showing the changes
in the climatic conditions
and then from there we can begin to talk
about uh
solutions uh pragmatic solutions even
before we go to the policies
and the politics et cetera and
legislation
we need to look at pragmatic issues
about we may need
people to move and people will move um
because of climate change they they will
be i mean cyclonia
is a perfect example of what we have to
look forward to
um in terms of people being displaced
land you know large
land changes etc so thank you very much
thank you thank you very much indeed ben
hi evo i think as far as climate change
is concerned um
what what tends to happen amongst
farmers who are dynamic and
able to adapt is that they find
ways of of making a plan and when you
have got property rights
you end up with a situation where
farmers actually find the right crops to
grow
the right ways to grow it the right
irrigation schemes to
use and whether you're in uh
in israel which was desert in 1948
and and we saw the desert blossom or

whether you're in zimbabwe
and and rainfall maybe maybe changing
human beings have got this innate
ability
to adapt and develop
systems that make the best use
of the land given the soils and the
rainfall that they
uh that they have got and and that's
what we saw
that's what we have seen in the past um
there wasn't a single
body of water in the whole of of
zimbabwe
just over 100 years ago 10 000 dams were
built
on the back of property rights on the
back of people being able to go to a
financial institution
because they had title deeds and were
able
to use those title deeds to lever
finance from those financial
institutions
to build dams to put in irrigation
schemes to look at long-term investment
on the land that they were on and
i think that's what you see all over the
world as farmers have got this innate
ability to adapt
but they need long-term security they
need property rights
and those that fail will sell off their
land to someone that is willing to take
a chance
and and try and succeed and and we we
see that all over the world we we saw
that in
in zimbabwe pre-2000 as well there was a
a big
fallout of farmers that
couldn't adapt and then others who were
adapting
able to take up the slack and make farms

that were
failing into into successful farms
employing people producing crops
and and being an asset to the country
rather than a liability
ben thank you very much i see you've
mastered the technology
after all mandy
hey thanks so much sibo i mean when i
listened to tony
talk about climate change and then uh
what he
chipped in with covet 19.
i was uh taken aback
because they are now talking about real
fundamental issues of
life and uh transformation
so just today so i'm gonna have to
end on a philosophical note because
that's where they have taken me those
two
summary statements one of my favorite
old guys older than me that is one of my
favorite ones just say to me today
one of the most interesting
uh jokes he said if you want god
to really laugh
if you want god to have a big love what
you do is
show her your your plan okay
because life is
is is i mean the universe is not
constructed
to respect all our beautiful plants it
is
intended to create new challenges and
and and challenge us to create new
solutions
so at the end of it all all the problems
we have
including our land problems are not
because of the evil
this evil that it's just an absence of
higher thought

and on our part we get caught up in
emotional issues we
use partial solutions we so
the long and the short is land in the
long run
does not belong to anybody it's there to
share
land is there to share with the trees
with the animals
is there to share with with with
everybody else
and because of climate change covered
and similar
challenges in future who knows where
your great great grandchildren are going
to end up
uh some of the land won't be habitable
some of the cities won't be habitable
and and and what's important is
understanding
that the construction of society has
become
too too constipated this industrial
predictable understanding of life this
newtonian idea that
we can predict everything and plan
everything well god is having a good
laugh
so what we need are people who are
open-minded we need
societies who promote open-mindedness
and understanding that solutions are not
intended
or rather you can't change history
we are here in fact we're not here to
change history we're here to create new
history
so the challenge that zimbabwe and and
and south africa has
is to rise above this very very limited
understanding of how to create a new
society based on our colonial history
in fact we are just products we we are
still

in colonial uh uh uh
what you might call trauma uh we don't
even know how to think for ourselves we
don't even know how to resolve these
issues in an african way
and that's my appeal is to say let's not
think solution is in the past this will
never be in the past that's why i keep
saying
forget about reversing land reform talk
about creating a new society how do we
do it
and and this is where i really think
yeah if you're going to continue with
this conversation evo
we need to go to otherwise it's
interesting politically to kick around
and blame this one and blame that one
but i don't think we're exercising our
highest capacity
to deal with these issues thank you
thanks thanks mandy as usual
inspiring thanks very much
some cheer you get the first word you'll
have the last word
okay uh thank you people i
i i was thinking that uh perhaps uh
minister desa was going to to come
so i just want to first say uh to make
a little bit of a reflection also on
south africa
uh to say that south africa is also
facing similar problems in my view
and they have adopted like a
three-legged
uh land reform uh process
uh the first one is land redistribution
the anc had a target of transferring
like 30 percent of what owned farms
by 1999 but up to now
they have only kind of
transferred 10 percent um
of that land so the process there has
also been slow they also have land

restitution

and if they continue on the current past

uh some calculations show that it's

going to take 709 years

to complete these processes then in

terms of the third one the land tenure

reform

uh south africa still doesn't have a

substantive uh you know

communal land rights act the act that

was there was rude unconstitutional

the farm workers were dispossessed

more in the first decade of independence

than the last

decade of apartheid and that debates

about

expropriation without compensation of

course the anc doesn't have two-thirds

majority in parliament

so they will need the eff the economic

freedom fighters to partner with them

for them to push it through

but their difference is the eff wants

nationalization

and the anc is on the other end

so i thought maybe for our viewers who

wanted to hear a little bit more about

south africa that could be helpful

but i don't think expropriation without

compensation

is going to be the answer to the

problems that south africa

is facing vis-a-vis it's a land question

so you still have a very raw land

redistributive

question there in south africa and just

to conclude on zimbabwe

as i said the global compensation did to

uh was was more it's a political

strategy

and i don't agree that it's all about

the need to comply with the constitution

the government has not been complying

with the constitution

even in situations where it does not need money so it's part of the re-engagement strategy to try and re-engage the west to try and bring in the much needed capital to zimbabwe and i don't think it is going to work on its own as i said that is not just about land it's also about other liberation kind of you know aspirations it's about human rights as i said so it's there's need for a more holistic approach to deal with the with the zimbabwean crisis i also just want to say uh there are still multiple land questions in the country that needs to be addressed the issue of the lending i spoke about based on this uh the class divide the a2 firms that we're talking about yeah they are between maybe 15 if you want to be generous only 20 000 people zimbabweans most of them long linked to the ruling party but also others are part of the the military elite uh the commissioned commanders we have these vast trunks of land uh the where they capture the public resources but use those for consumption and not reinvesting in in production so that's a sector that needs to be looked at and having said that i don't think that that means that land reform cannot be a vehicle for transformation land reforms can be vehicles for socio-economic transformation

and actually must be supported
but what is important is to note that
for land reform programs to be
successful
you also need to have the right
economics in place
you need to have the right politics in
place
i know we have been debating about these
tenure systems and so forth
and i say that as long as you have the
kind of politics that you have in
zimbabwe
uh the politics of patronage and you
have this uh
partisan uh institutions that administer
lent
there's no guarantee that even if you
get a title date today then the
the problem is over and uh
there's also no guarantee that the
economy
can be fixed or whatever brilliant plans
you come with
on agrarian revolution are going to to
to work
so let us have a more holistic approach
to dealing with the
zimbabwean problem the land question yes
but also issues to do with human rights
rule of law
democracy are also central
for the nation are going forward and
this is not just about zimbabwe is also
about south africa because
both countries have former liberation
movements
running the countries and don't take
this slightly that
this land issue is is done
that is it's it's it's that there's even
unanimity within the ruling parties and
pf zone
pf is actually divided to the core

because of the current politics the
global compensation indeed
is within the context of president
was zimbabwe's open for business uh
philosophy you know and
there's there are deep divisions within
an already fractured zanu-pf
and this is actually a serious issue for
zimbabwe that can actually
if not handled well can fast track
zimbabwe into another
possibly a disastrous event like the
military coup we saw 17
november 2017 so
i was to emphasize the connectivity of
the politics of the economics
and the land question and the agrarian
question of transformation
thank you evo for tonight
no thank you very much indeed before i
thank you
our two panelists and our two
discussions i just want to
say that well like most of the topics
were flagged
in this uh series with the never
conclusive
we we shed a bit of light on them and i
think the
the two panels in particular and some
chair
as modest as they want to claim uh they
are
experts in this field uh
zamcha shows that we have the the land
question is far much more complex it's
become much more complex
it's more than duplicated the with the
amazing figure 400 people who own 2
million hectares of land
the new land balance we can call them
that
were made up mainly of the party
military uh bureaucratic

elite on that
that's a land question looming at us
tomorrow
we have also learned a lot
uh by comparison of south africa
even though professor cuny has so to
comfort us
that there's no good or bad land reform
land reform is driven by politics most
cases
it's a class issue
and yet there's no adverse gear either
we can seek as intellectuals as policy
analysts as policy makers
to refine and mediate
political processes so that they to
ensure that they are
they they bear good for the for the for
the public
uh for the people at large and that's
part of the
process and function of public policy
and so the way forward
will continue perhaps looking at what
zamchika referred to as a transitional
democratic development fund
for both zimbabwe and south africa it's
it seeks to look at the land question
the land issue
in the holistic manner uh in in the
context of holistic
of of attending to the developmental
issues
of a country so on that note i thank you
again once a night thank you very much
my idea
ben professor mandy
moyo and jesus
thank you very much thank you all we
meet you again in the fortnite time
please send your suggestions as what you
think we should discuss next
i'd like to to to focus more on the
economy

economic issues
beginning with the land issue but i
think maybe we should move for
the issue of trade and development
and such questions that are pertinent in
our region
thank you very much