

## **Policy Dialogue Forum: SOUTH AFRICA'S MEDIATION IN ZIMBABWE'S CRISIS: WHAT SHOULD BE THE OUTCOME?**

greetings to you all greetings  
to all our viewers across the world  
especially in the region  
and in zimbabwe of course tonight we're  
looking at south africa's  
mediation in zimbabwe it's crisis  
what should be the outcome for  
purposes of recording with the  
sabc we are going to  
have the first half an hour with sabc  
during which i will introduce each of  
the panelists and discussions  
and for each to give a three-minute  
summary  
around the topic for tonight so to begin  
with the context  
whatever the denials about a crisis  
on the part of zanu-pf and and the  
government in harare  
it is now accepted that there is a  
crisis  
and the insistence that there's no  
crisis  
exposes both the vulnerability  
of a government under siege  
and shows that  
the perhaps we have not reached a stage  
where that is become self-evident  
to those in power and notwithstanding  
the apparent  
backtracking on the part of the south  
african government  
and the anc we know that engagement has  
taken place  
between the two governments that both  
the region  
and the aui alive to the issues  
we also know that currently the  
new president of malawi is visiting  
zimbabwe as part of his tour  
of sadiq states as the new chair of

sadiq  
and we are hoping that malawi too  
would join the international quarters  
for mediation in the zimbabwe  
crisis both the character  
and outcome of whatever it is that  
can be described as intervention or  
mediation  
in zimbabwe this will depend  
on the following first and foremost on  
the national question  
i.e to what extent has the state began  
to  
acknowledge as paulo jordan said  
last week during our similar  
conversation  
as we're having tonight that the house  
is indeed on fire  
does the situation have to worsen  
including  
more bloodshed abductions  
atrocities on the part of government  
under siege  
and able to rule only through brute  
force  
before it can be said that the  
conditions  
for round table talks are conducive  
thirdly has a national dialogue process  
really progressed beyond  
intentions and the various  
donor funded initiatives that now  
constitute what we call  
the national dialogue industry in  
zimbabwe  
and on the part of south africa sadek  
and the au  
at what stage will south africa's  
initiative go multilateral to include  
sadek  
and the eu and even brics of which south  
africa is a member  
and what scaffolding can we expect from  
the international community

as a whole including the un security council  
above all what is it that we want to see emerge from such mediation certainly an end first and foremost to the human rights abuses abductions torture and return to concessionism and the rule of law including the return of the military to the barracks economic recovery program and address their diaspora question which as we saw in the previous conversation the millions of zimbabwes out there 75 percent of all professional and skills that was out there so to help us unpack all this i we have a panel of very experienced political analysts political activists attended to the to the region's problems first and foremost toza water an ancient stalwart one who has been in the trenches as part of the struggle against apartheid when we knew him here in zimbabwe in zambia welcome regrettably poor mangwana is not able to join us he has not been cleared by his party to participate in this particular dialogue he has been here before thirdly 10 diabetes we need no introduction least of all to this forum this platform and that is almost an indispensable figure in our politics in zimbabwe elena susulu also a regular on this forum a very eloquent advocate for human rights in the region who has pushed us over and

over again  
to attend to this very issue on the  
zimbabwe question  
the illinois is also my niece  
then more latin becky my old brother  
moleti  
political analyst author entrepreneur  
and was pleased that we have him here  
for what would not be a refreshing  
intervention  
johnny carson is late uh to you might be  
late  
joining us because at another meeting  
but johnny  
carson is former assistant secretary of  
state  
for african affairs and the former  
ambassador  
u.s ambassador to kenya uganda  
and zimbabwe last but not least  
a former student of mine a bright  
structure  
now professor of sociology in botswana  
or nalina salawani who is also a member  
of the board of trustees of the surface  
trust so we begin to closer  
water your three minutes please close up  
okay can you hear me now  
hello yes okay everyone  
oh okay yeah uh saying let me just  
three minutes of your summary of what  
you have to say later on  
yeah let me make a disclaimer that i'm  
not representing any particular  
political  
or structure i represent myself the  
views i  
express my personal views  
first of all on this topic of the day  
it's important to say that the first  
step to solve a problem  
uh is to acknowledge that there is a  
problem  
if you don't acknowledge that there is a

problem there is no need  
to bring in mediators or discuss  
solution of a problem  
both south africa and zimbabwe are faced  
with economic challenges  
declining or declining economies  
high levels of unemployment  
declining state investment in  
manufacturing and infra  
infrastructure sectors declining quality  
of services in the economy  
and health sectors and education  
and the growing corruption at the level  
of the ruling elites  
in both countries  
both countries are faced with the  
challenges at the  
post-colonial of the post-colonial  
legacy  
of land settlements  
i think south africa should have or must  
have lent  
something from zimbabwe what i'm not  
sure is whether they have perfected how  
to deal with that because zimbabwe is  
now reversing  
some of the earlier decisions it took  
in trying to grab land without  
compensation  
one cannot talk of mediation unless  
there is a problem or disagreement  
between two or more parties or between  
the state and its  
citizens secondly  
mediation presupposes that the parties  
in this agreement  
are failing or have failed to resolve  
their problems on their own  
a mediator intervenes because either the  
parties  
into conflict invite the external  
mediator or the external mediator  
is impacted by the disagreements or the  
crisis that is happening between those

parties  
which i think is the case right now  
south africa  
as a country is impacted by the problems  
of zimbabwe because  
many some zimbabweans have crossed the  
borders  
to seek refuge or employment  
in south africa  
the problem is that south africa itself  
is faced with its own crisis  
crisis of unemployment a declining  
economy  
and a flight of its own  
capital another intellectual capital to  
other countries  
so there is a crisis in both countries  
but to different degrees  
the question is does zimbabwe  
acknowledge or accept that it has a  
problem  
in terms of our own observation is that  
the baba does not seem to want to agree  
that there is a problem therefore  
it's not looking for a mediator  
but there's two levels of intervention  
that are required here  
there's the party to party mediation  
uh or relationship between zanu-pf  
and anc but there's also the need for  
the state to state  
relationship  
if if we talk about party to party  
the what is called rejection of anc  
offer in zimbabwe was based on the fact  
that  
these were not fraternal party relations  
because  
anc went there to see that it can meet  
all the all other political parties  
including civil society  
zanu-pf was expecting that these are  
fraternal relations you will meet only  
with

us and go back home  
on the state to state relations issue  
obviously the anc has expected not the  
anc government  
was expected to meet with the state  
because  
it is faced with the problem of  
refugees or we not call that but  
citizens of zimbabwe  
crossing the borders our porous borders  
seeking employment in south africa and  
south africans  
beginning to say zimbabweans are  
taking our jobs and therefore  
we want them back home neither of these  
offers are a solution because even if  
zimbabweans go back home  
it will not resolve the problem of  
unemployment and economic crisis in  
south africa  
the figures of zimbabweans working in  
south africa not living but working  
in south africa is relatively small  
compared to  
the ratio of south africans who are  
unemployed  
because of the collapse of the economy  
for that reason i think that  
we have to deal with the issue of is  
zimbabwe ready  
to accept that it needs intervention  
are the regional  
organizations like sadaq and  
au prepared to intervene  
in the situation acknowledging that  
there is a problem unless these  
countries or rather these organizations  
accept that there is a crisis and stop  
the  
friendship that is based on the politics  
of liberation  
to now accept that we are dealing state  
by state a  
state to state basis and therefore the

citizens of these countries are  
suffering  
okay it tells you to stop there we'll  
come back to you  
ten diabetes your three minutes please  
well thank you and and good evening i  
think that  
the starting point is to answer the  
question  
on the direction of south african  
mediation in zimbabwe  
one must interrogate why dialogue is  
necessary  
in zimbabwe and to answer that question  
one must locate  
where zimbabwe is where is zimbabwe  
right now  
and more importantly uh why are we  
here and and therefore why is a dialogue  
necessary the short answers to  
what three postulations is that  
zimbabwe is in a deep seated structural  
a crisis underpinning this crisis  
is of course the complete securitization  
of the state  
they complete if you like judaization of  
the state takeover of the state  
uh by the military something that was  
accentuated  
something that is now more blatant after  
the coup  
in november of 2017  
uh one would have thought that the  
election  
of july of 2018 would mitigate the  
crisis of  
legitimacy created by the constitutional  
assault brought by the coup in 2017  
but on the contrary the 2018 uh election  
accentuated the crisis of  
a legitimacy in the military takeover  
of our country so that's that's number  
one  
the democratic deficit the democratic

deficiency  
but but associated with the democratic  
deficiency  
is the performancy deficiency the lack  
of output legitimacy  
uh on the part of emmaus and mnangagwa  
and his and his government  
and his cronies the economic a crisis  
is huge and deep zimbabwe for all  
intents and purposes  
is in a recession that is first tracking  
itself  
into an economic depression as i said  
the other day you have got a ruling  
elite  
in the ruling class without ruling  
ideas an elite that is totally  
mismanaged  
the countries say economy the countries  
see monetary policy  
the countries say exchange rate  
unemployment is 95 percent  
79 percent of our people are living in  
extreme  
uh poverty surviving on less than you is  
35 cents  
a day there's the  
that deliver system only today they  
announced  
a strange unconstitutional decree that  
all medical doctors  
would be conscripted into the army  
ostensibly to stop  
strikes by you know you know by doctors  
uh eight million of zimbabweans are food  
foundation so it's a total breakfast a  
dog's breakfast  
but one which not many dogs would touch  
uh by a long  
mile so the combination of the  
combination  
of a democratic deficit  
and the performance deficit creates a  
huge crisis creates huge

uncertainty but zimbabwe is 40 years of  
age  
so you have a problem of a liberation  
movement  
that is iran or more appropriately  
it misran our country for 40 years  
brought it down to  
its knees and he survived and pushed  
zimbabwe  
purely  
that has been its instruments of regime  
uh retention but the citizen is angry  
uh the citizen is is upset  
uh the citizen wants to reclaim it's  
it's it's it's it's space  
in other words the citizen is crying out  
for a transition  
because what we have seen is a case of  
decay transition  
arrested a a transition inside the state  
itself the cockpit is unstable  
the the the president and the vice  
president can hardly talk  
to each other the factions inside the  
polling party  
and the tension inside the ruling party  
is so thick you can cut it with a  
with a with the axle so given this  
instability given this instability  
uh you need to create a soft landing air  
for zimbabwe  
to avoid an implosion an implosion that  
can come in the form of another military  
coup  
and the military coup is not an academic  
a postulation in zimbabwe  
those of us who start africa know that  
a coups are like if you wait for one  
for four hours then to come in a row or  
an implosion in the form of the military  
military shooting people in the in the  
in  
the streets of harare so you need  
dialogue

today let's i'll come back to you hello  
no  
eleanor please  
hello  
yeah hello yes sorry i was i needed to  
be unmuted by the host  
okay i won't say much because as a  
discussion really i have to  
respond to what people are going to say  
i do  
i do want to mention i think the key  
question for south africa  
a i'll repeat what um simon  
said in an article earlier this week  
that ultimately what options are  
available for the republic of south  
africa  
to safeguard its interests that are  
potentially in jeopardy  
as a consequence of the non-resolution  
of the zimbabwe crisis  
so from a south african point of view of  
self-interest  
what should it do and and when you look  
at that self-interests i think there's  
two  
areas there's an area of migrants the  
huge  
influx of migrants into south africa and  
the xenophobic threats  
from within south africa and then the  
second area which nobody has really  
looked at in terms of south african  
zimbabwean  
cooperation is the issue of the pandemic  
and  
the way in which the medical fraternity  
in zimbabwe is treated  
i think that is a very uh  
unthought about area of intervention  
intervention  
so i'll probably try and go into that a  
little further  
thanks thanks eleanor thank you mo let's

see

okay am i i'm muted now yes we can hear  
your policy

welcome thank you

first i think we have to recognize that  
zimbabwe has a bad government  
and it has had a bad government for a  
very long time

i lived in zimbabwe in the 1980s  
and i was there when there was this  
treatment

of the people in my table and in the  
midlands

and since the formation of mdc we have  
seen the abuse uh and mistreated by the  
zimbabwe

but the zanu-pf government of the voters  
and supporters

of mdc and and and other opposition  
so zimbabwe has a bad government that is  
the starting point the second thing  
is that the governments of the region  
many of them secretly support the bad  
government

when as a commercial farmer in zimbabwe  
went to complain

to the psychic tribunal about  
his farm being confiscated

not only what was the farmer killed by  
the zanu-pf government

but the the soviet heads of state  
dissolved

the forum of the of the soviet tribunal  
so that there are no more zimbabweans  
who would have

to go to sardic tribunal and complain  
against their government so myself i  
don't see

mediation either by the south african  
government

or the southern government as being a  
solution to

the challenges that zimbabweans are  
faced with

that the people of zimbabweans are faced  
with i see the people  
of southern africa as being the allies  
of the people of zimbabwe a lot gets  
said about how many zimbabweans are  
living in south africa the reality he  
is that they are living amongst us south  
africans  
and and we are the hosts of of these  
developments  
uh in south africa we are not their  
enemies so  
they have ready-made allies amongst the  
people of south africa  
amongst the people of botswana the  
people of zambia  
mozambique and so on so  
we the ordinary people of southern  
africa are the allies of the people of  
zimbabwe  
to find a solution to getting rid of the  
bad government  
of zanukier now we have experience  
as south african we had hundreds of  
years of a bad government  
not 30 years or 40 years we had  
hundreds of years 350 years to be  
to be exact how did we manage to get  
rid of this bad government by the people  
of the world  
who supported us we made our own  
sacrifices yes  
to fight against this regime but the  
people of  
africa and the people of the world  
supported that  
it wasn't mediation by anyone  
it was the people who supported us the  
people of zimbabwe supported us  
the people of nigeria supported us the  
people of the united states supported us  
the soviet union but we  
the south africans went to them and said  
this is our problem

this is the action we would like you to  
take  
to help us solve our problem now we have  
a huge  
community of zimbabweans in south africa  
my suggestion is  
instead of us spending too much energy  
on mediation by by governments who we  
know will produce no result  
i think the community of zimbabweans  
should start  
talking to south africans as to what is  
the problem in zimbabwe  
and what do they want us the citizens of  
south africa  
to do to contribute to help them  
solve the problem that they are faced  
with in zimbabwe  
thanks again  
am i unmuted again yes  
all right welcome welcome back thank you  
and and hello to you to everybody uh i  
am the missing link in that  
i've been invited here so many times to  
this virtual  
forum and this is the first time i'm  
actually making  
uh showing up thanks to eboo's um  
persistence um but taking off from  
from  
he's raised very very important issues  
here and i want to broaden the discourse  
uh a little bit uh uh taking  
from him that sometimes we look at  
uh the specifics of national problems  
as if they are actually unique  
uh to to the national boundaries of  
of one country but if we  
put the question on his head and and  
basically say  
now who are these mediators supposed to  
be coming from whether it's south africa  
or sadek  
a african union

same difference can we trust  
any of these governments actually to  
play any mediatory role  
when they themselves have issues to  
answer to  
to what extent our governments actually  
are representative  
of the citizens that they are supposed  
to govern  
very few of our african countries would  
actually meet  
meet uh would actually pass the test of  
being in fact uh governments of the  
people  
by the people we have a very very  
serious problem with the problems that  
you have  
are not you have pronounced as a  
characteristic of zimbabwe and south  
africa  
are in fact characteristics of  
the whole of southern africa really and  
possibly the whole of the  
the continent corruption has been on the  
rise  
state capture has been on the rise  
so the these are matters of degree  
rather than that rather than that there  
is any significant  
difference between for instance botswana  
in in zimbabwe  
zimbabwe and south africa or namibia  
these are matters of degrees and it  
basically means that the citizens  
the citizens are largely excluded from  
the discourse  
that is why mediation is such an easy  
option  
you go and talk to your own brother who  
happens to have  
the same values as you that you know  
they must stay in power  
and then when when they are there they  
mustn't be easily

okay elena we'll come back to you you  
seem to have a problem there  
right let's let's get back now that  
uh get back to you to tossy  
tazzy can i get back to you  
josie yes  
can i get back to you let's ask a few  
questions josie  
are you unmuted uh  
yes i am now i can hear you again is  
there mediation taking place  
at all what's your what's your  
understanding of the situation  
between zimbabwe and south africa or  
brothers being south african zimbabwe  
mediation taking place  
uh well there is an attempt but i  
i mean i'm my point is that  
you can't have mediation where there is  
no admission of  
a crisis south africa is  
sending i mean there have been two  
delegations sent to zimbabwe  
one of the state to state  
relation level and the other the party  
attempted party to party meeting  
i think neither of these have succeeded  
and therefore i can't say that there has  
been  
mediation and in fact  
if the zimbabwean government is in  
denial that there  
should be there is a crisis needing to  
be resolved  
uh what are we going to mediate and who  
are going to mediate between and who and  
who  
the mdc has been excluded from any  
discussions with the  
the anc uh or meeting with the  
civil society organizations have been  
prevented from meeting with the  
anc and the zanu-pf has insisted  
you only meet anc meet only with xanopf

and that's all  
and at the level of the state  
what are you going to discuss if you're  
going to discuss the crisis of the  
economy  
then you've got to address the sources  
of that crisis  
and if zimbabwe does not admit that it  
has created part of that crisis  
through the land appropriation  
through running the economy through  
corruption and all of that  
what then are you going to mediate and  
who are you going to meet yeah but in  
your view  
don't you think there was a substantial  
or substantive discussions  
you had a whole day between the anc and  
zanubia finally  
and there was a communique issued we  
also have been able to glean  
from uh from uh witnesses to the  
dialogue  
uh that took place uh for god that there  
were substantial issues discussed  
from from the issue of the human rights  
abuses  
to the threat of icc  
over the violence that has taken place  
over the last 20 years  
to an insistence that that there's need  
to  
attend to the the conditions  
which have led to many zimbabweans  
trekking across  
the limpopo so one can one one would  
argue that the the engagement has  
already started  
what the question would be rather where  
would this mediation lead to  
or this intervention or engagement  
do you think that south africa is uh  
illinois  
or certainly uh moles in becky and

onolina so one have been very strong  
that perhaps  
none of the governments in the region at  
least of all south africa  
has the capacity to be to be mediator in  
this in the in  
in this in this bubbling crisis do you  
think that it'd be better to get a  
mediator from outside the region  
josie the question is whether the anc or  
the  
south african government has any moral  
authority  
to mediate given that it has own  
challenges i mean the question of if we  
talk the economy  
the issue of corruption the issue of the  
economy having been run down  
to its knees the challenges that the anc  
government is facing in terms of the  
land restitution  
or appropriation without compensation  
these are all challenges that  
zimbabwe has gone through these and it  
has learned  
the hard way that  
some of these decisions were wrong now  
the anc is going that route also  
now that's point number one  
number two uh the  
state corruption the corruption this  
this  
siphoning of state funds by the ruling  
elite  
uh within south africa now how are you  
going to advise zimbabwe to get  
out of that situation when in fact you  
are getting deeper into it  
so for me i'm saying what are you going  
to mediate  
first of all you have got to accept and  
admit that there are there is a crisis  
and who is responsible for the crisis if  
you are creating

a dialogue between two parties  
there has to be some respect that  
there's a moral  
groundbreaking within which we've got to  
deal with these issues  
as i'm saying for me there is a  
difficult situation because the  
zimbabwean government on the party  
itself  
will ask the anc what  
moral authority do you have to tell us  
what to do what  
many times on this platform the issue of  
human rights abuses abductions  
right the presence of the military  
in every day life of the  
of the of the country the  
there is no other country in the region  
in which there's there's  
virtual military rule as there is in  
zimbabwe  
and i would go out i would argue that  
these these  
two issues human rights  
abusers which have become very  
very blatant in our region in our  
country rather on the  
because of the this is a state on the  
seizures ten diabetes just said it's a  
state which  
which rules by sheer force  
surely says in the issue about which all  
countries in the region  
have a moral authority to call to call  
the public order and secondly  
the the military which regrettably sadek  
generally and south africa in particular  
blessed  
are cool so we have a reality of  
military rulings  
therefore return to constitutionalism is  
one about which  
all the region as a whole has a moral  
authority

to demand and i would argue that these  
are the two key issues  
that would be on the  
table when it came to me any mediation  
whatsoever whether through south africa  
or  
any other wouldn't you agree  
you see i would agree i would agree to  
the extent that  
if you look at the peer review  
initiative that was set up  
over a decade ago it was supposed to  
review  
uh exactly in my view some of these  
security issues and  
how the citizens are treated and so  
forth  
but there hasn't been  
honesty on the part of  
the patent the original countries that  
are supposed to  
review one another uh the reality is  
that  
south africa and zimbabwe  
close neighbors and there has been what  
you call  
silent diplomacy between zimbabwe and  
south africa or south african  
silence diplomacy against zimbabwe  
now what the question you've got to ask  
is why now  
why is south africa decided to intervene  
at this stage  
on these issues because these issues  
have been going on for very long time  
maybe we should ask bt to come in here  
why do you think south africa has found  
it  
a rather agent to come in as they have  
twice now  
10 diabetes  
no thank you yeah so firstly i think  
that um  
i think that it would be it would be we

mustn't  
underestimate the fact that this regime  
is not ready for  
you know for dialogue uh for dialogue to  
take place  
there must be an acknowledgement there  
must be an acknowledgment  
of the fact that the status quo is not  
is not is not working  
number two there must be in the  
existence of a  
a a a you know you know a mutual  
self-hitting a status quo  
it's not there in zimbabwe at the  
present moment at the regime  
emerson's regime doesn't feel  
sufficiently  
incentivized is to demand dialogue  
it doesn't feel that it's back is  
against the war  
to the extent that it sees a salvation  
in dialogue  
president mugabe felt it in 2008 with  
the violence  
the isolation the economic meltdown  
inflation of 500 billion percent  
so he knew there was an alternative and  
he knew encrypt  
for for dialogue he literally pushed us  
into dialogue  
after the stolen election of 30 june 20  
uh 2008 amazon doesn't feel that  
he actually mistakenly thinks there's no  
crisis  
he actually mistakenly thinks that  
the economy is on demand they're rigging  
at the exchange rates  
and and so forth thirdly to have  
dialogue you actually require leadership  
leadership with a vision leadership that  
understands  
the the how deep and structure of the  
crisis  
is in leadership that will put its

citizens at first  
emma stone and zan will not put a  
zimbabwe first  
they are driven by two agendas number  
one  
the power detention agenda regime  
survival agenda number two  
their bottom line is zimbabwe is going  
through  
massive unprecedented you know you know  
you know corruption  
they are stealing billions and billions  
of dollars  
since 2017. so there's no incentive  
there's no desire  
there's no leadership that understands  
the imperative  
of uh uh of dialogue in the bible  
now to answer your question specifically  
south africa  
to to to south africans zimbabwe is  
not  
a foreign policy you know issue the  
south africa lives with the mess of  
zimbabwe's  
misgovernance and and bad governance  
the fingerprints and footprints of  
zimbabwe's terrible rule terrible  
misrule  
are there for everyone to see in south  
africa go to your restaurants  
go to your hospitals go to your police  
stations  
you see the fingerprints of state  
failure  
collapse and vulnerability of zimbabwe  
so we are not if we are not a foreign  
policy  
issue to south africans therefore it's  
in south africa's  
own selfish interest to resolve the  
zombies crisis  
uh to drive the resolution of this  
moment crisis the south african economy

is is limping  
growth rates of less than a one and a  
half percent  
the south african economy right now is  
in its west state  
in 45 years and i would submit in this  
data to show that  
part of the problem is that you are  
carrying a premium you are carrying  
zimbabwe  
you are literally subsidizing a a a  
you know you know you know you are  
literally subsidizing this  
you know crisis so there's a selfish  
motive in in a comrade  
you know addressed this there's a  
selfish motive that why south africa  
should they should eat them  
i'll come back to you generally i'll  
just say more let's see what what's your  
take on that  
what i just said  
yeah i'm trying to unmute myself thank  
you i think i've  
you can hear me now yes well  
well uh what i can say to tendai is that  
personally i'm very suspicious of what  
the intentions of the  
south african government are  
i know that the south african government  
during the last 20 years  
one of its major priority  
priorities in connection with zimbabwe  
was to make sure  
that a trade union inspired  
party like mdc does not  
win the election and become the  
government of the public  
the anc was opposed to mmd  
in zambia and was opposed to mdc  
in zimbabwe and it and as you can see  
they keep talking about this liberation  
movement  
liberation so the anc is opposed

to the new movements that are emerging  
in the southern africa region  
they want the old uh nationalist  
movements to stay in power  
for as long as they can so i will be  
very very weary  
to to to to accepted face value  
the good intentions of the south african  
government  
in his involvement in in zimbabwe  
secondly the south african government  
has never said  
what are south africa's national  
interests that are threatened  
by what is happening in zimbabwe they  
have never said that  
now the fact that they don't go to the  
population  
and say these are our national interests  
that are being threatened  
by what is happening in zimbabwe shows  
that actually they don't want us the  
population of south africa the people of  
south africa  
to be involved on the side of the people  
of zimbabwe  
and they are civil society organizations  
they they want us to not to be informed  
and as i say you will never hear the  
south african government  
explaining to us what interests of south  
africa  
are are threatened or are being  
undermined  
by what the zanu-pf government is doing  
in  
in zimbabwe so i i'm very weary  
of the initiative and i i think you have  
to be very cautious  
uh you have to be very careful  
not to extrapolate what you think  
what you yourself think the south  
african government should be thinking  
with what the south african government

actually is thinking  
south african government does not see  
the migration to south africa it values  
zanu-pf staying in power and it would  
rather pay  
the cost of the migration to south  
africa  
as long as zanu pf stays in power and a  
civil society based political party like  
npc is kept out of power  
and i i will come back to you today  
and there's been a lot of talk about the  
kind of aborted  
uh aborted uh mediation aborted  
intervention  
on the part of uh the anc and  
the south african government  
if have been any contacts between the  
anc all the governors of africa and the  
mdc alliance  
directly or indirectly in the last few  
months  
i say so because basically i i've always  
wondered  
what is it that the anc or the  
southampton government want to know  
about zimbabwe which is not they don't  
know already  
through the statements that the amdc  
alliance people like yourself in  
particular almost weekly  
have made place the public domain about  
the condition of the economy  
about the the human rights situation  
have there been any context my question  
any context between the anc  
and this government and the mdc alliance  
and civic society  
in general in your knowledge at a formal  
level no  
at a formal level no but you must know  
that  
you must know that we've worked with  
comrades in the anc for a long time

comrades like lindy weizulu  
the former sector general gwedemandasi  
now the chairperson comrades like  
during the previous magma raj during the  
previous efforts so  
we have links uh we have links and we  
are in in in  
in in dialogue uh it is a informal  
uh platforms all the time so that's not  
a that's not the issue but at the formal  
level and no  
but i just want to i want to make two  
points a year  
a comrade malaysia  
on his uh cynical views if i might for  
leg of a better word  
on a south africa's motif i don't i  
don't dispute that but i also want to  
say that um  
i also want to say that during his  
brother's tenure during president becky  
said  
there was a genuine desire to see a  
resolution  
of the zimbabwean crisis the only  
difference  
in his right to say that they are afraid  
the ncaa's been afraid of the  
labor-based movement  
the solution proposed was one that shows  
stability over democracy but but there  
was a genuine attempt  
to resolve the zimbabwean you know  
crisis  
and one that is born out of the  
objective  
self-interest the objective realization  
that  
the zimbabwean crisis is not a foreign  
policy issue for  
south africa and one of the things that  
i want to  
raise which is a threat to the region  
is that the coup in november 2017 was a

game changer  
it was a similar school and every  
general in the region  
he has been studying that coup the south  
africans generals  
including that so so in this bubbling  
coup is not the coup in this so it's not  
the cool in madagascar  
so all these countries in the region  
would want to  
co-proof themselves against the  
importation or  
of a of another coup in the region  
through a zimbabwe  
that means that resolution of the  
zimbabwean crisis whether by a solution  
that favors stability  
over democracy or as some of us argue a  
genuine solution that recognizes that  
only the true interests and desires of  
the people of zimbabwe matter  
is what is a critical so so south  
african intervention  
is is is long overdue is it is necessary  
the only thing that i want to say is  
that the south africans should not  
believe president ramaphosa should not  
be naive  
this regime is a rogue regime it's a  
democratic regime  
so south africa needs to hide behind  
international law  
south africa needs to hide behind the  
resolution of sadiq  
is president becky did in 2007. first of  
these mugging crisis  
president berkey forced the calling of  
an extraordinary summit on sadiq  
which was held in darussalam on the 29th  
of march in 2007. so president beckham  
is to  
hide behind the originalism the southern  
african development  
community or the african union which he

currently  
shares if he tries to force a bilateral  
you know attempt you'll be faced with  
the answers that  
these two delegations have made the  
party delegation and the  
and the government you know you know  
delegation  
it's president ramaphosa needs to be  
streetwise and understand that you are  
dealing with the wrong elements we have  
been in this game for a long time  
they don't require a kid's clothes they  
require  
a toughness and i'm not sure at this  
present  
stage is aware of the humongousness  
of of the crisis in the humongousness  
a of the regime the deception of amazon  
the deception of  
of zanu-pf and and how their past  
masters  
of playing the game of deception a delay  
in the deceit  
thanks thanks tender hello no  
do you see the possibility of  
mediation through south africa or  
through whoever  
in the current global situation or you  
share the views  
that tendai and and modezi  
have offered us here  
well okay i'm cynical about mediation  
because it didn't work in the past and i  
think i would i would take issue with  
tendai's  
sort of romantic view of taboom becky's  
genuine  
tabon beki wanted to keep zanu pf in  
power with an accommodation  
of mukabe and bring the mdc into the  
fold  
and i would argue that that mediation  
that resulted in the government of

national unity was a disaster for  
zimbabwe  
and rather than resolving the crisis it  
deepened it  
when the democratic forces were at the  
point of  
actually almost achieving victory  
zanu-pf  
and the mugabe regime were given a  
lifeline  
that enabled them that in 2020 we're  
still  
talking about this so i really don't  
have a romantic view at all  
in fact my my view of them becky  
mediation was that it was really a  
disaster for zimbabwe  
and further mediation could be so if  
political  
for example the mdc puts its eggs in  
that mediation basket  
there will be a problem the and i think  
we need to go back to history  
there was a meeting i think it was in  
2007  
when regional civil society from across  
the continent  
assembled in nairobi and made a set of  
demands on zimbabwe and i think that was  
the only time  
when african regional society got  
together and there was  
complete consensus about what should be  
demanded  
uh regarding zimbabwe with human rights  
at  
its at the top and a number of demands  
and i think we should dig up what was  
said  
there so that regional civil society and  
i agree with  
more let's see i think south african  
government  
is uh more receptive

not completely but certainly more  
receptive to what its own civil society  
says and does and it can be pressured it  
is open to pressure by its own civil  
society i'll give a very specific  
example  
when justina mukako was kidnapped  
was abducted uh what's the word abducted  
yes  
it was pressure from women's  
organizations  
and anc women took it up and that was  
part of the the pressure  
which helped ensure that chestina was  
not  
killed and that she was released alive  
and i think we  
we mustn't underestimate regional civil  
society  
getting together and making demands and  
those demands based on our self-interest  
anyway  
i agree with oda elena when she says  
it's these countries it's a difference  
of degree rather than kind  
i mean the sadiq region is not  
a good democratic neighborhood and i  
think for regional citizens the  
awareness and the consciousness that  
police brutality  
in zimbabwe opens out themselves up to  
police brutality in their own countries  
you know i must  
commend tonight bt for his ability to  
coin  
uh new english phrases it's the first  
time i've ever heard of cool proofing  
themselves  
i can't help so it's another bitism  
which we can enjoy  
i think for us to prove ourselves  
against brutality  
police brutality in our own countries we  
need regionally to mobilize against

police brutality in zimbabwe  
and those same demands around the way  
police should conduct themselves  
should be especially at this moment when  
police brutality  
is um is a focus  
international focus as a result of  
what's going on in the u.s  
i think this is a moment for the region  
a regional civil society  
in south africa regional civil society  
should be pressuring the south african  
government  
to demand around human rights  
to involve migrants in south africa in  
the conversation  
because they are directly affected and  
to  
actually look at this issue pandemic  
this is one intervention which south  
africa can make  
the treatment of the medical  
establishment in zimbabwe at this moment  
during this pandemic that should  
certainly  
be something that civil society here  
and the doctors here the the south  
african medical association  
has intervened around issues uh and put  
pressure on the government  
south african government to do certain  
things and make demands and i think  
civil society really we need to get our  
act together  
we need to agree on a set of demands and  
we need to put it into the gov  
on the governments in the region in the  
similar way as you had the harare  
declaration  
which i think it was 1987 around south  
africa  
which really helped move a consensus  
of around demands that were made on the  
south african government

and mobilize the international community  
so a similar kind of  
declaration where there is consensus  
around a set of issues i think is the  
way going forward  
but would it wouldn't acknowledge the  
fact that  
it was precisely the kind of things  
you're talking about  
the role of the media including sabc and  
the anca  
daily maverick and all these media  
houses  
the kind of the kind of  
reporting reportage on zimbabwe in the  
period leading the 31st of july isn't  
that what has led south africa to be  
seen to be doing what it's doing  
wouldn't you agree yes i agree with that  
yeah  
yes yes i certainly agree and i think  
that that is what must be stepped  
up and and if we were made at a  
consensus  
on what we are demanding you see that  
that reporting was made but i think  
there needs to be a coherent set of  
demands  
that we say we want you to demand this  
of the south african government  
really a declaration i think that would  
and that is repeated  
and increased highlighting of the human  
rights abuses  
i think is what is very necessary  
yes do you  
believe that uh notwithstanding your  
your very cynical remarks about  
the capacity of governments we have no  
moral authority  
do you you don't see a way that  
the sadek as a region it could be  
could be pushed  
under the guidance of south africa of

course but also with the  
new kid on the block malawi which is now  
the new chair of sadik  
not only to to be able to  
put zimbabwe on on the agenda again  
do you think there's a possibility  
um as long as you know  
it's the governments that are involved  
i i really don't put great faith in what  
governments can actually achieve on  
their own  
because you know they have certain  
protocols  
uh that nobody wants to be accused of  
wanting to overthrow the government next  
door  
they would rather keep the guy that  
they're used to  
in power rather than actually facilitate  
a democratic change of governance  
of government that that's that's that's  
number one  
i buy into eleanor's argument about  
the role of civil society  
we are not taking any initiative and  
uh unfortunately  
in south africa and zimbabwe during  
the the prolonged struggle against  
settler colonialism they built up links  
that they consistently utilize as a  
shared experience and other shared  
experiences  
are undermined and are not utilized to  
the full  
how many zimbabweans for instance uh  
of great repute representing the  
organizations that  
that that speak for labor that speak for  
for for for for women actually ever  
tried to engage with organizations in  
botswana  
and yet zimbabweans were here in very  
very large numbers  
did we not forge links that could be

built upon  
as long as there is that disjunction  
between what governments are doing  
and what the liberation struggles forged  
uh in terms of uh in terms of political  
organizations  
that were fighting for for to to end  
a a as long as the dialogue is at that  
level  
it excludes the majority of citizens  
who ought to be concerned and and let  
us also face it some of those citizens  
are happy to see the crisis continuing  
in zimbabwe  
because they benefit in botswana  
we benefit greatly to be very very  
honest  
from zimbabweans actually being able to  
come here  
and and and and and add value  
that our educational system has failed  
to add  
among its citizens but you know dialogue  
dialogue across  
various interest groups so that people  
actually see  
that as long as there is a problem  
a problem of human rights abuses that we  
close our eyes to  
and occasionally mentioned as a dinner  
at dinner talk tables  
in the presence of military as if this  
is an entertainment you know we're  
watching  
we're watching a soap operas as long as  
people see  
that as something distant that affects  
the zimbabweans across the border  
and has nothing to do with their own  
security  
here in botswana long term then we have  
a problem  
we have a problem that we do not  
dialogue enough across various

interest groups to highlight the danger  
of this segmentation  
where national politics we are the most  
segmented continent  
in the world and yet you know we  
love our borders so much that that that  
we become immune to the problems  
that are undermining us without us  
paying attention  
because these are problems for people  
across the border  
for me mediation on its own  
without actually under underlying  
and  
under getting dialogues citizen to  
citizen  
is a non-starter people will agree  
tomorrow it says somebody else is not in  
nangagwa  
you know the change of office doesn't  
change the fundamentals of  
issues that ought to be discussed and  
very very openly  
dialogue with citizens as well as  
dialogues  
among our governments i i don't hold  
great great hope of government solving  
these problems  
because sometimes they get involved so  
that they they don't have to deal with  
it  
similar problems brewing within their  
own national borders  
i would like to see a little bit of  
dialogue  
among citizens thank you thank you  
i'm going to ask for questions and  
comments  
from our viewers and participants on  
this forum but just want to remind  
ourselves that this the mediation we're  
talking about  
is mediation in the face of  
a very unusual set of circumstances in

zimbabwe uh  
namely the increasing violence  
abductions  
in the country the die economic  
situation  
uh which is probably the worst in the  
region and  
and above all the the what  
ten diabetes called the democracy  
deficit  
the absence of constitutionalism  
the the the visible and and and active  
role of  
of of of the military in a manner  
that's unknown in other parts of the of  
the region  
these and and and therefore the call for  
a national  
a comprehensive national settlement some  
kind of settlement  
within which zimbabwe can return to  
constitutional  
rule return and begin  
building a recovery in the economy  
and building reconstructing a broken  
country  
that is really the purpose about which  
we have in this dialogue so any ants  
there's jessica jessica  
jessica can come in jessica  
uh yes hi can you guys hear me  
yes i can hear you all right so i have a  
question who's jessica jessica  
hi jessica mature i'm just um  
participating yes  
um so i have a question um  
when uh when anc came to zimbabwe  
right they came in the capacity of a  
party  
but who did not have been better  
if they had sent if sadaq  
had sent in and voice so that at least  
it's more on a regional level  
than more on a party level

at least i feel in that sense there  
would have been some form of  
i don't know sense of urgency because  
this this now feels like you know it was  
just  
party to party business so that's the  
first question then my second question  
is when anc says they tried  
okay they came to zimbabwe and they  
tried  
their level best how did they try  
because my understanding is yes of  
course  
um you know the president  
and whomever they met might actually be  
saying that there  
is no crisis but then if they were  
genuinely here to inquire  
who did not have been better to press  
the fact that they should have met  
churches and all  
yeah that is those are my two questions  
thanks jessica  
thank you jessica thanks jessica anybody  
else another question  
do anyone else anyone on the panel who  
would like to deal with that question  
that two questions why not aboriginal  
approach rather than  
than a country or party approach  
on the issue of zimbabwe  
to tell us you want to try that  
does it  
in the meantime let me get to shepherd  
shepherd can you come in and shape it  
okay okay tozzy yeah yeah  
no i was saying the  
jessica is raising the point about uh  
that i raised much earlier  
that you see this was a party to party  
uh relationship uh  
or dialogue which is really a body body  
kind of  
relationship because the point i think

i think eleanor and lucy made this point earlier that these are parties that were really friends during the liberation struggle so the anti-colonial struggle now they remain loyal to each other protective of each other it was the desire of the anc that zanu-pf remains in power forever for as long as it leaves in the same way that some leaders in south africa would say that we will rule until jesus comes so regardless regardless of what how that government is ruling and how negative its impact is on its citizens there's the loyalty of the past reigns supreme in terms of these parties of liberation so i i but when it comes to sadaq my worry is that i'm not so sure whether it's sadaq or au whether it has any uh effect its intervention will have any effect because again question is does the peer review or has the peer review had any impact in changing the way african governments behave my view is that they don't so let's come back to what uh eleanor's talk about civil society now civil society that's life i support civil society very much but civil society act on issue base they are not just going to come to zimbabwe and say we want uh zanu-pf to move out or monagha to be removed they're going to pick up on issues the

issue of  
civil rights the  
arrest of people the suppression of  
human rights and  
the victimization of the press and  
political opposition it's an issue that  
civil society can pick up on  
but we also need to identify what are  
the  
areas of vulnerability of the government  
of zimbabwe what  
issues can civil society pick up on  
so that they mobilize one another around  
those issues whether it's original  
or south africa and suburbans in south  
africa  
at the moment i don't find that these  
issues are identified and pick up and  
highlighted strongly  
i mean this violation of human rights  
issue is a very  
serious issue which i think can be put  
picked up  
by both south africans and zimbabweans  
in south africa and other national  
groups  
so yes i think that's for me how we  
should look at this thing  
that we will find solution of a state to  
state  
i don't see any possibility of  
getting any positive results out of that  
we'll deal with the second question  
jessica later on  
how did they try well the anc was here  
for the whole day  
met with zanu pf and they said to have  
put a number of issues on their agenda  
and that the dialogue continues from  
what  
our understanding but let me call  
shepard uh shepherd  
your hand is up shepherd please come in  
uh good evening everyone thank you april

um i'm just gonna raise a few issues  
um and i'll pose a question  
first of all the issue of dialogue yes  
it's been happening  
it's it's it's a very good move but  
is it an intervention that the  
zimbabwean government really cares about  
i think it's very important for people  
to appreciate the nature of the beast  
that they're dealing with  
um to the uk a pressure such as  
diplomatic  
pressure actually matters to  
a government that cares about its  
reputation outstanding  
the zimbabwean government with all its  
shenanigans  
doesn't seem to care so  
what sort of pressure what are the  
alternatives  
what sort of pressure will the  
government of zimbabwe actually perceive  
as pressure  
because with the current dialogues that  
are going on  
they've had these dialogues they know  
how to dance around them  
they know how to to to parry the bloods  
that come with those dialogues  
so what are the other original  
alternatives that can be put in the  
zimbabwean government  
thank you and i want to deal with  
shepherd's question 10 diabetes  
and then i'll pull on to tony rila after  
that  
didn't i what else  
what are the alternatives if any  
and mute yourself and meet yourself  
today  
yeah you can hear me now yes  
yeah so he makes a shepherd makes very  
valid points that you're dealing with  
with a rogue kandangaras characters that

they don't they don't care at all  
i mean i mean every single day and this  
is not a metaphor  
every single day there is a there's a  
predatory headline  
today it was doctors being conscripted  
yesterday they adapt abducted joanna  
mambe and put it in a mental institution  
i mean every single day on monday we had  
a report from the ngos  
fantastic reports that confirms what  
we've always been saying  
that there's been systematic use of rape  
as a as a political weapon the  
weaponization  
of of rape you know something  
unprecedented even apartheid in its  
waste form  
uh did not do that so you are dealing  
with with the wrongs  
you are dealing with uh with with with  
the pure uh undiluted  
uh thugs so the point that  
moleyetzi makes the point that eleno  
makes is fundamental  
number one we need the agency of  
zimbabweans  
to put pressure on the regime the  
constitution allows us to do that the  
constitution allows us to  
engage in civil disobedience uh let's  
break up their businesses  
let's go on the streets the kind of  
thing that in south africa the udf  
did in the fight against the against the  
you know apartheid uh the kind of thing  
we tried to do on the 31st of july  
uh 2020 so zimbabweans must provide the  
agency  
uh we must confront the beast  
in the parameters allowed by our  
constitution  
but we need a global advocacy we need to  
build a

a universal movement against this regime  
uh you know you know you know you know  
we did it with apartheid  
you know you know you know a global a  
advocacy  
program was built around the apartheid  
and the zimbabwe lives  
hashtag movement after the 31st of july  
showed that it can be you know you know  
done  
the people that  
under ordinary circumstances would not  
know where the bible was on the on the  
map  
uh coming to the to the four talking  
about zimbabwe tweeting about  
a zimbabwe but as luna says it has to be  
coherent  
there has to be a current it  
demands 30 years later 40 years later  
we need our only declaration maybe call  
it  
the soweto declaration on demands  
for change and reform in zimbabwe  
demands for  
change in protection of civilization  
liberties in zimbabwe  
you know a soweto chatter on protection  
on human and civil  
rights in in zimbabwe the truth of the  
matter is that we're dealing with a  
a security state the most complicated  
the most sophisticated dictatorship on  
the african  
you know you know continent a robot  
gabby wins  
but it doesn't change the anything a  
muslim manga will go  
it will not change anything you are  
dealing with a sophisticated  
regime oiled by the massive resources of  
zimbabwe operating in eight or so  
commanding heights of  
a corruption uh oiled by institutional

relationship  
with the republic of china belarus  
russia  
and so forth they've been edited at a  
long time  
and they will not go they will not  
reform themselves  
out of power we have to be disruptive we  
have to find  
new innovative ways of confronting them  
otherwise  
there will be another 40 years of  
suffering  
will come and we'll go and the crisis  
will remain the same  
and that simply is not good enough so we  
have to be disruptive  
and we have to we have to find  
convergence we have to provide the  
agency  
but the international community can and  
should help us as well thanks dendai  
tonya please  
tony  
okay hello  
yeah i've been listening in fascination  
i thought the text today was to start  
thinking about some outcomes  
um one of the things that struck me and  
some of us working here in zimbabwe  
is that zimbabwe actually is a regional  
problem  
by all standards objective criteria  
zimbabwe is about the 10th most fragile  
state in the world  
puts them in the puts us in the category  
of places like  
yemen sudan etc etc  
and the point about fragile states is  
that they  
can be redeemed but they can also fail  
they go from fragility to failure  
and i think some of us here would argue  
that zimbabwe is perilously close to

failure  
it's isolated economically with no  
redemption  
it's not the sanctions out of the  
problem it's the fact that the  
factors that tendai talks about the mass  
corruption  
and the money laundering and everything  
else that goes on precludes us  
from getting any foreign direct  
investment so in this region  
you're faced with a problem of a state  
that might actually collapse  
and when it collapses it's going to have  
effects within the region  
within a region in which there's a  
massively serious  
insurgency problem developing in  
mozambique  
so the region is in a sense  
in not dissimilar position  
to what was happening in the late 1970s  
and in those situations multilateralism  
is what happens people get forced to the  
table  
now i hear the pessimism about the south  
african government  
and the anc etc etc  
but nonetheless when countries get to  
this particular point  
and they can affect very seriously the  
the countries around them this is the  
case for multilateralism  
so the way we frame this often is is  
that south africa has to do something  
about it  
i it has to directly engage well south  
africa  
needs to engage but also needs to engage  
bilaterally with the region with the  
international community  
that's what brings people to the table  
in the end now this is not precluding  
civil society pressure internal

responses  
but what i'm trying to suggest here is  
this  
is not one of these problems that we  
think well  
like some other countries will drag on  
for another 20 years  
i think the can the empirical evidence  
suggests that zimbabwe does not have a  
lot of time  
and if we don't do something about it  
well it's going to affect absolutely  
everyone else  
and that's to to place zimbabwe in  
in an emergency case  
it's not just a bad country which it is  
it's a bad country  
heading for worse kinds of situations  
and i think that's the key thing that  
i'm not hearing here  
is a sense of urgency about what needs  
to be done and i mean  
internally regionally and  
internationally  
thank you thanks tony hello  
elena please come in i think  
max would like to say something oh  
welcome max  
uh thank you very much thank you  
chairperson  
uh a couple of things i'd like to point  
out  
one is that the struggle in zimbabwe  
has to be highlighted we need everybody  
to know that zimbabwe is not just a  
normal  
state the conditions in zimbabwe are  
worse than  
in many other parts of africa i'm not  
saying  
all parts are bad but what i'm saying  
that zimbabwe has the potential  
to mobilize his own people to mobilize  
international support

also because of the role that  
zimbabweans have played in the struggle  
for freedom  
and again when they need this support  
i think the world and all of us will be  
more than happy to contribute what we  
can  
in emphasizing the importance of  
democracy in zimbabwe  
we tend uh more often than not  
simply to take things for granted  
for example the discussions that  
we've been having today are important i  
don't know  
how many other people outside this  
meeting would know about what is  
happening  
we need to popularize the struggle in  
zimbabwe  
we need to popularize the anger of the  
people  
about the conditions that they live  
under we need to make it  
a people's struggle as well not just the  
struggle of the few who live in zimbabwe  
because we are all affected one way or  
the other by what happens in any  
african country and zimbabwe is a good  
example  
because they have been involved in many  
of the struggles in africa themselves  
and therefore  
everybody would understand when they say  
now we need your support  
in our struggle for democracy for  
freedom  
it should not be things that are kept  
secret  
nothing secret about this nothing secret  
about fighting for freedom  
it's quite right everybody should do  
that so what i'm proposing  
is maybe a new strategy of how to deal  
with the issue

of zimbabwe what needs to be done who  
needs to do what  
let it be an open thing that we are  
calling on people of the world  
to join in the struggle for freedom in  
this part of the world  
or in zimbabwe or wherever so that it is  
not  
left to die on his own thanks  
oh thanks max that's very nice  
refreshing that's a match to suru nice  
most refreshing to hear that honolina  
okay yeah no i i still want to insist  
that  
you know the solutions going forward  
must be that  
the whole region of southern africa  
civil society  
is actually engaged as well because  
there's a tendency  
not to see zimbabwe as a problem  
uh other than that you know they they  
are neighbors who who might be just  
wanting to  
come and get jobs uh from people  
uh we need to to start dialoguing  
and i would be much more comfortable  
when that dialogue  
goes beyond uh the the the the usual  
suspects  
of the liberation movement uh that that  
have built  
links over time to start engaging with  
others  
the issue of violence uh the  
issue of you know we talk about zimbabwe  
as  
very highly militarized remember that  
bozana was not  
terribly terribly far from that uh  
in in the last 12 12 12 12 years and i  
don't know that we have actually come  
really out  
of the problem without actually

exaggerating  
the seriousness of the zimbabwe  
situation but we have things in common  
here that we ought to be dialoguing  
about  
on a daily basis so that it comes to the  
the conscience of every citizen in  
southern africa  
to put pressure on their governments to  
start looking at things  
in a much more holistic manner then then  
it being a zimbabwe  
is a zimbabwe problem we really have to  
go beyond  
beyond the usual the usual channels  
of communication where it's anc people  
whether they are anc as a as a as in  
ngos dominated by by by by the ruling  
parties  
of the former liberation movement we  
really ought to ought to broaden the  
discourse  
because as i said earlier many of these  
things  
are problems that affect all of us  
to different degrees and so if we have  
to solve them let's solve them  
holistically by engaging everybody  
in the region but the zimbabweans have  
to be  
the agents because we don't want to see  
a situation  
where uh international organizations  
particularly western ones dominate  
because they  
are they are seen by people to have big  
passes  
and therefore coming in and boss us  
around let it be  
a southern african southern african  
issue  
first and foremost because we are  
neighbors  
because we've been here before uh

during the colonial the anti-colonial  
struggles during  
the the the settler colonial uh  
struggles we've been together  
before and so let's begin those  
dialogues  
let's begin to conscientise people to to  
have  
many other voices speaking for zimbabwes  
speaking with their governments to say  
what are you doing  
about the level of violence and rape  
that goes on against women in zimbabwe  
what are you doing about the lack of  
democratic democratic governance in  
zimbabwe  
because at the end of it all at the end  
of the day we are all affected  
and therefore we ought to be able to put  
pressure on our own governments  
to say what are you doing uh to listen  
to the voice of zimbabweans  
so so that that would be you know until  
until i see that  
i would always feel that our states are  
captured  
anyway and so if dialogues are kept  
between states and and do not involve  
all citizens the possibility of finding  
long-term  
sustainable resolution of problems  
uh will bondage over the problems but  
never solve  
the deep-rooted structural issues that  
that give  
us the nature of the problems that we  
have in the region  
thanks doof i remember your your  
nickname do  
thanks very much i have a question  
um i have a written question from  
someone  
tendai you briefly spoke about how  
international actors such as the

people's battle of china  
are provided providing soccer to the  
zanu-pf regime  
i would like to find out from you and  
the other panelists and discussions  
whether engaging the chinese government  
the communist party of china  
directly could be one of the strategies  
used in finding new pathways to resolve  
this mobile situation  
we believe today then maybe today and do  
in answering that question  
you could also bring some up as we are  
coming to the end of the program  
and then i'll have all panelists and  
discussions  
do likewise didn't i  
yes so zimbabwe has had a very unequal  
and uneven relationship with the  
republic  
of china and unfortunately  
this relationship has been based on  
extraction  
uh this relationship has been based  
uh on what  
what under ordinary circumstances would  
call a a  
you know you know imperialism uh new  
colonization  
uh that's what we call it the  
relationship has been very  
unequal if you look at our resources  
our commodities let's start with  
diamonds  
zimbabwe between 2010 uh  
and 2016 lost 15 billion u.s dollars  
worth of  
diamonds i used to be minister of  
finance  
i ended up sounding like a broken record  
complaining  
about the lack of accountability or for  
zimbabwe's mining companies uh vis-a-vis  
diamonds

but the dominant player in that sector  
has actually been  
the chinese there's a command called  
anjin which mines in the eastern islands  
or for zimbabwe  
which used to mine two million carats of  
diamonds per  
you know per month in partnership with  
zimbabwe  
a military they were the biggest mine  
actually running seven mines  
seven seven seven shafts in maranga but  
they were not a  
they were not a accountable i could go  
to other contracts see construction of  
roads  
uh the south you know you know  
sort of the caribbean south power  
extension uh  
what happened on khariba is that both  
zambia  
and zimbabwe put two generators each two  
generators each  
on the north or for the caribou dam in  
the south of the caribbean  
zimbabwe paid like three times what  
zambia paid  
for essentially the installation of the  
same  
the same uh you know you know you know  
you know generators  
so so i could write a book about an even  
in an equal  
relationship of china i don't i don't  
romanticize  
the same but i also am aware  
of the fact that uh the chinese  
government  
are not immune to the instability in  
zimbabwe  
in chinese capital state capital is the  
way that  
a a a a stable environment uh  
economically socially is the best

environment for the reproduction of its own capital in its own business and commercial interest in zimbabwe that are huge anyway so i think part of the disruption uh would be dialogue with the with with chinese uh i know from my time in government that each time that i went to china and i went on two occasions i would have dialogue and discussions with the chinese communist party and they were very clear that they wanted stability one of the things that were viciously uh against was a zanussi miscue at the indigenization policy which they later script they saw that explanation that it had nothing to do with the empowerment of the people and they used to say this openly even in the presence of a president robert mugabe so i think that they should be approached because they share the same concerns the difference is that they will not carry a megaphone they think the difference is that they will not openly criticize any government but i would support a move that they be engaged so too the russians the indians traditional countries that they have not had anything to do with our diplomacy buds but i need to emphasize that it's a domestic issue it's a suburban challenge it's an african a challenge so the back stops with us is zimbabweans and is the africans before you at your closing remarks would you say something as to how this south african

intervention south african  
mediation south african engagement with  
the counterparts in our  
how do you think it can move to a  
multilateral  
involving sadek au and indeed as you  
have just hinted  
even brics and the commonwealth  
as part of the discussion has happened  
before in the history of zimbabwe with  
lancaster ourselves lancaster was very  
much  
mediated and and and and and organized  
by both regional uh and international  
factors  
is it is is there are there  
possibilities of moving towards a  
multilateral  
uh mediation process  
including the selection of a mediation  
team  
that goes beyond the region and is more  
or less multilateral in nature  
yeah look as i said there before  
number one zanu-pf and emerson  
are not interested in dialogue  
and for emerson and his colleagues  
to borrow from a book that michelle wong  
wrote  
on kenya it's their time to eat is their  
time to eat  
in the mind of emerson robert mugabe was  
there for 40 years  
let me be there for 40 years so so  
there's denialism  
there's no crisis in zimbabwe according  
to emerson  
so they'll delay they'll deny they'll  
deflect  
so it's going to require a great deal  
of pressure to force zanu-pf to  
understand the inevitability of dialogue  
that prediction must come from within  
zimbabwe that pressure must come from

outside zimbabwe this south african  
states  
the political parties civic society  
is illinois made at the point  
brilliantly so that pressure must come  
when we go to dialogue this dialogue  
needs to be protected  
uh we need to learn from the mistakes of  
2007 2008  
and that the dialogue that gave rise to  
the gnu  
the gnu was a missed opportunity  
the gmu sustained the crisis in that it  
elongated the crisis the crisis which  
could have been  
ended in 2008 when we reached a  
crescendo  
at the time i don't think we are far off  
from another apex from another  
crescendo so let us learn from the  
mistakes  
of 2008. there were things that were  
done  
wrong 2008 essentially became a  
a you know you know a piece a ceasefire  
a you know agreement  
uh to stop the violence and the matters  
that were taking place in 2008  
but this time we want a sustainable  
solution that used logistically to  
the true essence of the crisis in  
zimbabwe  
that means that there must be  
international underwriting  
there must be in the national a  
referring subject must be there the  
african union must be there  
if we can find a mechanism of putting in  
a civic society putting in ordinary  
citizens it's part of white dogs  
we are creative enough you know you know  
they're smart smart people in south  
africa in sadik  
in zimbabwe and we can do that that is a

possible  
secondly we must know that the focus  
must not be  
on some little power sharing a position  
as was the case in 2008  
let us focus on reform reform reform  
and i agree with tony villa the crisis  
is agent  
i think something is going to react with  
their dead bodies all the streets  
in their thousands but the crisis is  
urgent  
trust me so so once we agree on those  
folk we need the implementation  
mechanism  
last time we met we had by allowing  
those that way that needed reform  
to be the to become the implementers uh  
i think that was that was a problem  
let's create an implementation mechanism  
that will ensure that those that are  
implementing  
is no stake in the fight that will  
follow tomorrow  
which is the fight for a free and fair  
uh democratic  
election so in a carefully structured  
national transitional authority that  
focuses on delivering  
a performance with the targets and gun  
charts in my respectful opinion  
i will be very very key and then lastly  
let's go to an election ultimately  
the people of zimbabwe must be allowed  
uh to choose  
uh the leadership that they want but  
unafflicted states  
on an equal state in which the grip of  
the securocratic force and the nostalgia  
in the grip of the liberation movement  
exhausted liberation  
movement has been loosened and without  
that  
we are going in no way uh i think that

we are not far off to pushing zanu-pf to  
accept that  
there is to be genuine uh you know you  
know dialogue i know that  
certain key sectors of the state  
certainly  
sections of the military they are for  
this  
genuine genuine dialogue because we have  
four generations that have paid a  
premium  
of the zimbabwean crisis we four  
generations of children  
that don't know the inside of a of a  
workplace  
and that thing that it's normal to sell  
vegetables at ranging  
bus station in bulawayo it's normal to  
sell  
a foreign currency in fourth street so  
we need to  
resolve this as a minister of agents  
number category  
it's it is agent it is critical thanks  
thanks gender  
i want elina same question the  
possibilities for multilateral  
and the kind of issues that tender  
raised on need for global advocacy  
and your last words odalina now called  
molecity eleno and  
josie in that order online  
your last words  
and mute yourself  
all right yeah okay he's made a very  
very important point that we miss  
in in in our focus on multi  
dialogue and and and multiple  
engagements  
the issue of it's time to eat  
our governments are the the tables on  
which food  
is set that people want to to own that  
table so that they eat

so so how do we can we  
is it possible to have people eating  
other than through uh  
state power is it possible that we when  
we dialogue with countries like china  
and others  
that the state ceases to be the place  
that people want to take over so that  
they can eat  
because it seems to me that we can  
dialogue and still come to  
the fact that it's a change it's it  
people just change chairs  
but essentially it is the state that  
people want to take over  
so that they can enrich themselves we  
can dialogue  
we can have china putting pressure  
but where is the food that people want  
to eat  
can we have multiple tables in the  
process of that dialogue  
so that it's not the one state  
that has to be captured yes i would go  
for  
any dialogue that will involve as many  
people as possible  
but i would also like to see us offering  
multiple sources  
of tables where people can go and eat  
instead of the state as the sole area  
that everybody wants to capture  
thanks thanks elena thanks very much it  
was good to see you again  
molesty your last words  
for today i mean  
i want to endorse the the call  
that there should be a civil society  
forum  
or conference or  
engagement obviously with zimbabweans  
playing a leadership  
leadership role there uh to  
to to to map out the the demands

that will go to bricks that will go to  
the au  
that will go to the united nations and  
all those  
and all those places the second thing  
is we also have to have a pressure  
it's not enough just to talk um  
i remember a meeting with the late  
morgan swangarai  
and some of us including kosatu when we  
asked morgan  
do you want us to shut down white bridge  
in order to show pressure to to  
that we are serious to show both the  
south african government  
and the zimbabwean government that we  
mean  
business because a delegation of kasatu  
had been sent to zimbabwe  
and it was deported from the world so we  
asked do you want us to close down uh  
by britain and he said no so there has  
to  
be a program of action that the  
zimbabweans can live with  
but but there has to be a program of  
action if all we are going to be doing  
is passing resolutions well  
we will never get anywhere the zanu-pf  
uh this has been emphasized today over  
and again  
zanu-pf is not listening he's not  
interested in listening  
they think they need another four years  
for mnangagwa to be eating  
and and that is that that  
that is their agenda but we have to put  
pressure on them  
the last point i wish to to point out  
is that zimbabwe is becoming more and  
more economically marginalized  
and that's not good for the people of  
zimbabwe it's not good for the economy  
of zimbabwe

at the end of this year the bridge on  
kazangula that bypasses zimbabwe  
and lends botswana to zambia is going to  
be open  
which means that zimbabwe will cease  
being the transit route  
for the sadek community  
economic relations this is  
something that needs to be managed  
properly i'm not saying the bridge  
shouldn't have been built  
but the bridges can quickly  
destroy the zimbabwean economy or  
marginalize the suburban economy and  
that's not  
we want more integration of zimbabwe  
because  
that gives us a civil society  
and the people of zimbabwe gives them  
leverage  
over the zanu-pf regime and over  
the the sudden government so these are  
why i think the suggestion that civil  
society must get together  
and come up with the common not just  
program  
of of of what we're demanding but a  
program of  
action as well thanks moleti  
it's good to see you again thanks very  
much hope to see you again  
hello your last words  
yes i agree i mean i'm quite cynical  
about dialogue between  
politicians but i recognize that it must  
happen  
and that the thing that helps make it  
happen is pressure  
so i think that civil society focus and  
pressure on very specific things  
and there are things which do succeed  
for example hopeful chinono  
wouldn't be released today if there  
wasn't pressure

uh the fact that sidsangaremwa won  
oh it actually was shortlisted for the  
booker prize  
two days before she was arrested did  
help  
in the fact that she was released sooner  
rather than later  
so i think the immediate the support for  
zimbabweans who are struggling  
uh confronting this regime  
while all the dialogue and mediation and  
whatnot is going on  
some of us have to focus on supporting  
people and putting pressure  
and they have things been things which  
have worked in the past and i think we  
need to upscale  
those things for example the abductions  
i would suggest to you evo that this  
becomes a subject of a specific dialogue  
where people across the region are  
invited  
and where we actually  
have a stretch strategy specifically on  
these abductions because  
we must stop them happening we say  
people's power and people must struggle  
in order to help them in that  
in the process of struggle we have to  
put pressure on this regime  
to ensure that the cost of human rights  
violations  
are driven up as high as possible  
thanks eleno your point is taken that's  
the next dialogue  
you'll see we'll be back here in two  
weeks time thanks very much  
tozzy are you still there  
last but not least  
uh well i agree with everybody who has  
said that we need  
one some form of dialogue  
that dialogue in my view should be  
guided by the people of zimbabwe

they must give us the agenda of what we  
are supposed to do they must lead us  
and whether those people of zimbabwe are  
inside and outside or outside of  
zimbabwe  
then mobilize the region around the  
issues that we want to campaign  
like the example that illinois is making  
we've got to identify specific issues  
around which  
we should mobilize the civil society of  
innovation  
unfortunately outsiders can't tell  
zimbabweans  
what to do uh i'm  
like others i am also cynical about  
leaving this to uh on a state-to-state  
basis  
you can't avoid the state participating  
at some point  
the states are going to have to  
participate but there has to be pressure  
on those states to  
muscle them towards the objectives  
that we have identified or the people of  
zimbabwe have identified  
so give us an agenda let us all work  
together sit down and  
work out that agenda that we can all buy  
into  
as the region as the countries of the  
region and south africa  
has a critical role to play because a  
lot of zimbabweans  
are there and we must work with them to  
create this way  
this viable civil society organization  
because if zimbabweans who are in south  
africa  
are pushed back to south africa into  
zimbabwe without jobs  
uh they're in a state of crisis we will  
too in a crisis  
we don't want a zimbabwe economy

collapsing  
if we can but of course we want that to  
happen within a democratic  
state that respects human rights for its  
citizens thank you  
thanks thanks josie thanks and again  
very good nice to see you again  
thanks to all all of the to tossy  
tendai eleno molesi  
and honolima thank you very much there's  
no need to summarize i think  
all of you before if you have summarized  
this very well  
except to highlight again the points  
made by bt  
10 diabetes namely they need one the  
agency  
of zimbabweans the national situation to  
what extent  
uh as the state began to acknowledge  
that the house is on fire it appears it  
is it has not yet acknowledged that  
and it's a pity that it will that you  
tend to require  
much more action on the part of the  
modern population  
in terms of protest peaceful in terms of  
constitutional  
uh staying within the constitutional  
ambit  
of the law in terms of putting pressure  
on the state the second of course that  
the global agency  
global advocacy must continue  
and i think we through such foreign as  
we have  
we have been able to sustain a level of  
engagement with the international  
community the region  
but certainly tonight i think  
we have had very strong  
voices from persons who have been vote  
involved with  
with with civic society especially those

eleanor molesi honolulu itself but  
also 10 diabetes  
who has been on the cutting edge of the  
struggle in zimbabwe  
so on that note i would like to say that  
well we  
we have looked at the issue of  
mediation it appears there isn't much of  
mediation taking place  
there appears to be engagement we are  
still far from  
and from from putting on in place  
precisely what it is  
that that that should that should take  
place  
between now and what we are calling a  
national  
a comprehensive national settlement in  
zimbabwe  
uh what kind of mediation should it take  
the need for multilateralism  
they need to involve sadek so so that  
could involve sadiq  
a you and indeed even brics and  
the international community uh in  
in in ensuring that we get to a  
systematic  
and programmed discussion on the crisis  
in zimbabwe  
so thank you we meet you again in two  
weeks time  
when as recorded by eleanor we look at  
the issue of of violence  
abductions rape that has become  
a menace a scourge in zimbabwe thank you  
and good night