

The implications of protectionism and political crises on human rights and regional stability?

fuzzy

You all And welcome to the first for of our policy dialogue series. Twenty twenty-two. Happy new year to you all. And hope this year will be better than last year. Eh today we are looking at the topic why Zimbabweans just don't matter to South Africa Implications or protectionism and political crises on human rights and regional stability. The backdrop of the context is the recent subject of the Zimbabwean exemption permits. And the threat of another spate of xenophobia in South Africa. the backdrop being the worsening crisis. economic and political in Zimbabwe and we want to look at eh at the extent to which this continues to impact. Not only on South Africa but at the region. We are also looking at the the region in which there's been no implementation of the SADEC protocol on freedom of movement. A protocol that we worked on in mid eighties. and in contrast to what is happening in other regions of Africa. Where ECOAS, for example, has a protocol. on on a common approach on migration And and the Ecoas And the East African community. Have a protocol on the freedom of movement. Of persons, labour and services.

significantly The the president of Kenya a few weeks ago boasted about this aspect. Making very clear that the citizens of Kenya the nearest Rwanda. And Uganda. All the citizens need to have is an ID. And they can move into any of those countries. For work or for residents. So to help us with the subject. We have experts and public intellectuals alike our main presenter was Lauren Landam a professor of migration and development. and the founder of the African Center for Migration and Society. Welcome. Lauren.

Jean. A Zimbabwean described as a confident, hardworking. And committed human rights defender, And an international relations expert. She's a director of Zimkod. Last but not least Molly Simbeki. Political analyst, public intellectual, author, entrepreneur These are the three that will help us in this discussion. I now call on Lauren. And we do not long in it. 25 minutes, 30 minutes, it's up to you. Thank you very much and thank you for the invitation to be here. I I don't imagine actually speaking for more than than 10 minutes and I think that the the group that I'm looking at the names on my screen and I think that there are people here who have insights probably far greater than mine on the on the

particular matters at hand. by way of framing, I would just say that of course, Zimbabwean migration and migration to South Africa is is nothing new. It has always been wrapped up in the politics of the region, whether that was the politics of apartheid and the need for labor for the mines, whether it's the politics of liberation and South Africans also moving to Zimbabwe at some point and elsewhere in the region. Well, whether it's the new politics of post apartheid South Africa and and I think what we're going through is perhaps South Africa second transition which is manifesting itself or occurring at the same time amidst a a sort of growing economic crisis growing in economic inequality and and rising populism. When we look at this, we can say all of the common sense, if we look at it from an economic perspective, if we look at it, human perspective. Common sense would say, open the border, allow, create, regional labor market integrate economically. These are things that post 94, the static free movement protocol, the movement of goods of people who are supposed to achieve. These are obviously the same kind of of impulses that are behind African Unions effort to create a a sort of borderless Africa or an African passport. But even of course as Lamini Zuma, former chair of of the

African Union was proposing an Africa wide passport. South Africa was imposing new controls, her home country, new controls, new restrictions, and efforts to tighten border controls. In the last few weeks, at the very end of last year, South Africa finally ended what had started as something called the Zimbabweans Special Dispensation permit, an effort to regularize hundreds of thousands of Zimbabweans who've been living in the country since the, the mid to late two thousands. That is just one part of a broader effort, that we're seeing from across the political spectrum to control to regulate, to protect South African jobs, to protect South African people, to protect the South African nation from immigration, from immigrants. Particularly low or semi-skilled immigrants from across the region. The response to this has been manifold. I think what we see from the advocate which I'm I'm a part of migrant rights advocate is an outrage. Is out is a a sense of of betrayal. A sense that the solidarity that we might expect has been betrayed. A sense that South Africa seems now to be working not just against Zimbabwe's interest but against its own interest in shutting itself off from the region. However, what we're seeing from the other side of

the spectrum is popularity. Is a sense that this is something that should have happened a long time ago. That why were these people even here? That they should've on home, gone back, gone back and fixed Zimbabwe. It is not South Africa's responsibility to speak or to supply, to support everyone. And I think that is a natural response. I'm not saying it is a proper response. But it is a response that we would see almost anywhere. In a country where you have 40, 50% unemployment. I saw today a statistic of 66% youth employment. selling immigrants saying that we should recognize and and welcome immigrants into South Africa was always going to be a hard sell. And saying that we should do it based on historical solidarity is a an argument that is always going to be lost on people who are barely born on the born freeze. The people who may not even remember a time when Zimbabwe stood with South Africa and its anti-apartheid struggle. So instead of expecting solidarity, I think we could though East South Africa, should we not be expecting South Africa to be acting in its own interest? And as I said, part of the economic argument has always been there. More movement throughout the region, remittances, flows, investment in different places is likely to be good for South

Africa. Immigration coming into South Africa appears in almost all of the economic analysis to generate jobs rather than take jobs. Yes, some people will lose, some people will be exploited but on aggregate, the investments, the skills, the energy, the trade that comes with migration would be good for South Africa. And clearly for South African companies, closer relationships with the region could be very powerful. In two thousand and eight, MTN, one of the largest cellphone companies here, lost tremendous amounts of business, or at least tremendous amounts of money, when the Nigerian government struck back and fined them. ostensibly because they did something wrong with their sim card registration. But effectively to send a message to South Africa. That look we are watching. If you want to invest in the rest of the continent, you should do more. For citizens, our citizens, for African citizens who are living in South Africa. But those economic arguments haven't gotten very far. In part, because those companies are not prepared to stand out publicly and speak in on behalf of immigrants. In because they're not organized and a part because they've decided to just allow South African politics to exist as it is while they've gone elsewhere. What we have seen however is

certain segments of the South African economy or economic interests push very strongly against economic regulation or for regulations of immigration, I'm sorry. Some of this comes from black economic and and entrepreneurs and others in the South African economy who want their businesses to be protected and feel that they will do well. And perhaps that is a legitimate effort at transformation. There's also others perhaps getting contracts from the state perhaps controlling businesses who are inefficient, who do not want competition from elsewhere. And oddly, we've seen one of the most organized elements of the South African economy, the sugar industry, soybeans, working very hard to undermine forms of regional integration, forms of of efforts of of building common economies. Cuz those industries need to be protected. And somehow they have helped frame the discussion about protecting South Africa, protecting South African jobs, protecting South African industry. And that has helped drive or at least prevent some of the move towards regional integration and a free movement of goods but also a free movement of people. But what I think is really behind this and I think this is where we're getting it wrong when we expect solidarity. Is that South

Africa right now is as I began by saying at least an economic crisis. Perhaps no worse than other places in the world. But what we see is a extraordinarily discontented South African population. We saw it in the protests that happened last year. They started in KwaZulu-Natal came up to South Africa to Johannesburg. We see it all the in protests, in resistance, in violence, as people are looking at a future where they don't know if they'll have jobs, where they don't know if they will be secure, where they don't know if they have houses. And the political parties that are meant to lead, meant to provide, have no message for them. The ANC has run out of ideas. It seems more concerned with its own internal battles. The other parties really have no other economic plan. But what they do have is a promise An empty promise but a promise nonetheless. That if we get rid of foreigners We'll fix South African problems. They learned this from the streets. They learned this from the violence that happened in 2008. With local level politicians made these kind of arguments. When they kicked people out of townships, when they closed Somali shops, when they kicked Zimbabweans out at that point. The politicians were watching. Those ones who led those small scale attacks have flourished.

They've gone unpunished. They have continued to thrive and continued to sell that message. And then that message moved up. It was always there to some extent but controlled by the kind of Pan Africanism and the lingering solidarity of the region. But now all of the political parties in South Africa. None of which have an economic plan for the country. None of which have a good idea of how they're going to address unemployment among the youth. They are fighting hand over fists to show which one of them can be the most anti-immigrant. The economic freedom fighters who despite all of their problems and issues and theatrics in the past have always been clear. That what want to do is a borderless Africa. That the enemy was white, Monopoly Capital, not Zimbabweans, not Mozambicans. As of yesterday, we started to see that very party and the leader of that party going to restaurants, going to businesses that hire immigrants, and telling those businesses that those jobs are for South Africans. There is not a political actor of any power of any weight in South Africa. Who is standing up for immigrants, standing up for solid solidarity with our neighbours at a human level. And I think we have to understand this as rooted in South African politics. It's

not about the region. It's not about a vision. The the the vision of the politics in this country now is about fixing South African problems. But in a short term way it's about fixing them and getting politicians elected. And until we start to think about how we mobilize domestically. How we move beyond a a a call for solidarity. A call to protect the rights of immigrants. We're not going to be able to speak that language of a real politic. And I think that's where us as immigrants, as advocates, need to start figuring out what can we do domestically to shift that narrative. Not to say immigrants can be protected and clearly not even to make an argument that immigration is good for South Africa in the long term. Yes, those arguments must continue to be made. But until we are smarter, and until we figure out what is driving this kind of politics of protectionism. We are never going to go get anywhere. So just in conclusion to say the expectation of solidarity, the expectation of a protection of migrants rights in an era of mass inequality, growing unemployment, growing infrastructure decay is an unrealistic expectation. Instead, we should be expecting more of what we see, more protectionism, more closure, and we need new strategies and

I don't have them but we need new strategies and hopefully, we can discuss them today for how we address some of the politics that driving these processes. So let me leave it there. I'm going to turn over to my colleagues and others on the panel. I'm sure I have much more and much more interesting things to say. Thank you.

Thanks Lauren. You gave us a very depressing situation.

Looks like we're going nowhere. And and the threats ah right at our doorstep. And I am I'm hoping that our next speaker will also throw some light on the elephant in the room.

Zimbabwe although the issue of migrants is not restricted to Zimbabweans. But clearly the Zimbabweans crises and one in which is almost 75% of all entrepreneurial, skilled and professional Zimbabweans. Are outside the country. In the desperate. And many millions I believe. It's all clear. Talk about two millions. Uh officially but I'm sure it's more like three, 4 million people there. We, Zimbabweans are everywhere. In the various sectors, health, education. And apart from the negative impact of mass migration into South Africa. You imagine the impact of attrition, of skills in the Zimbabwean situation. It accounts for numerous problems, Political and economic. So we are in a crisis. We are a regional crisis. Janet. I

introduced you already. Before you arrived. Hope you are ready to speak. Janet.

Thank you. Thank you very much Doc for this opportunity and thank you Lorraine. I think for aptly putting the migration issue. Um from the academic and experienced perspective that that you have. Uh is already introduced. Um Janet Jo. I work with the Zimbabwe Coalition on Debt and Development. Um and I'm also part of a network of social movements called the Southern Africa People Solidarity Network. Um and within that space and network is where we discuss issues around the plight of migrants. Um in the region. Um and most importantly to South Africa given the recent trends of xenophobic attacks. Which to some of the social movements that we work with. Um within the subscene. It's actually an issue of afrophobic attack to some extent. And from some studies that we have seen that were carried out. Just some small surveys that have been carried out. Uh like in Cape Town There was an attitude now. Studies in the informal sector in Cape Town. Which indicated as well that the most disliked nationality amongst those that were surveyed. Uh were Zimbabweans. And when we were talking about this we are talking about about 24% given maybe the conservative numbers that we have been given will

constitute the foreign immigrants in South Africa. So we really have a big issue and we're talking about maybe two point 9 million or so people. Uh that have migrated to South Africa from Zimbabwe some professionals some not professionals but to go and look for a livelihood. In South Africa or in neighbouring countries and some are far off. So I think Zimbabweans constitute quite a huge number of migrants in different countries in the SADAC region but at African level as well and even globally to some extent. But I think when we are analysing this, the difference is that we have seen migration. It has got a historical perspective in line with the system that has been there before. It could be of colonialism, imperialism, but the capitalist system as well. Uh which has always sought to find cheap labour. Uh for for purposes of developing economies or limelight kind of economies like South Africa, maybe at some point we also had quite a number of immigrants coming into Zimbabwe. But the difference maybe from the historical perspective while it's maybe when Nela was for as an example for Labour. Uh but we know that we had Mozambiqueans migrating because of war and the like. So the difference is that if it's war we are likely to accept those

kind of refugees would understand them and I think the citizens on the ground, initially may be moved by empathy, by the spirit of Ubuntu, that every African almost has the, we will accept and will take those kinds of people. Uh, to protect them, and maybe to make them have a life and a livelihood to some extent. But the difference now with the Zimbabweans is that we are not in a war kind of situation. But most of the Zimbabweans that have been they have moved in terms of the millions that we are talking about. Have moved because of economic issues. The economic challenges and crises that we have faced. And these are economic challenges have caused many or the majority of the Zimbabweans to live in extreme poverty. Of course I will talk about the current figures of almost 50% of Zimbabweans living in extreme poverty. Ah almost 50% of Zimbabweans living on less than twenty dollars per month. Ah which is the UN benchmark per month. Ah for a person to at least have a decent meals and have a decent life. That's like the lowest, the base, most of Zimbabweans. Actually the majority. At 49% live below that twenty-nine dollars per month. Um and over the years we have also seen inequalities which I think is what Zimbabweans have also read. In terms of those

Zimbabweans that made a deliberate decision to actually leave this country, leave their families, leave their loved ones or move with their loved ones to neighbouring countries to look for better opportunities. The issue of inequalities. Inequalities to access to opportunities. Um to education, to public services, to employment, opportunities. So and this has been caused by the issue of leadership. And the politics that we currently have. Um that has meant that there is patronage in most of the sectors. So which has left ordinary Zimbabweans who are not politically connected. Um not employed. Maybe not educated at all because there's no support for public services or for social services and the like. So the inequalities have deepened and people have lost hope. Where inequality is deep and people lose hope. Uh in their leadership. Uh they lose hope in ever getting opportunities. Um so they leave. So that is one of the reasons as well. That has caused most Zimbabweans to leave. Then the unemployment. Our unemployment. If we are not to consider the informal sector which is just as a survivalist economy. Maybe it's at about 90 percent because the informal sector is huge. Most of the people are not employed. Um in

Zimbabwe. So with these this is what has caused most of the Zimbabweans to leave and to go to South Africa. Uh and other countries. And from this perspective it would be therefore mean that as as as the influx is is taking place. The people, the host in the communities and the citizens in those ah in those countries. They also feel the pressure. Because these are people that are going to look for opportunities. And ah hostilities are likely ah to happen and to take place. Uh but from where I'm sitting I think this is when then there is a call for regional cohesion. Uh in terms of dealing with the the the crisis that is in the country that is pushing citizens out. Uh but to deal with how do we ensure that the receiving country or where they are the poor factors. Um how does it deal with that situation to ensure that people are taken care of. Human rights are respected. Um when I look at this in terms of the regional cohesion, human rights and ensuring that the movement is linked to development. Um the region I think despite the protocol that we are talking about. Um is a general acceptance of movement of goods. Uh movement of the minerals. Movement of all sorts of you know capital. But the the citizens themselves I think this remains a big issue. Uh

which the region has to deal with. That if we are accepting and facilitating the movement of goods. Uh maybe professional services. infrastructural equipment and the like. Then there is need for to consider how we protect the citizen themselves. And in the case of Zimbabwe I think this issue cannot be dealt with first without with with with the SADAC as a block coming together. Uh and addressing the Zim crisis decisively. The citizens in Zimbabwe have called over the years. I think in the past three or four elections for mediation and intervention by the SADAC region. This is where I think we stand in terms of the regional cohesion as a block to address the migration issues, the challenges that the Zimbabweans who are in South Africa are facing. So the the SADAC is leadership as a block has to deal with the current crisis in Zimbabweans. Be it political, the economic crisis and and give us something a settlement that will allow them the citizens to sit and development to start to trickle down and we have citizens getting we have people who that we begin lifting people from the extreme poverty where they are in. Uh we begin to address the inequalities and particularly the causes that have to do with corruption, that have to do with abuse of

public funds, that have to do with excessive power that is wounded by the executive to the point that there is no oversight. And there is arbitrary decisions, policies and legal frameworks that are put in place that continue to disadvantage the citizens. So this where I feel that the region when we're talking about cohesion and addressing the Zimbabwean immigration issue. Um which would maybe replicate in in all other countries depending with the levels of migration. We have to deal at the root causes from where the citizens are being pushed from. Then from the South African perspective, I think we have to accept that the Zimbabweans are also kind of subsidising you know the me to economic status of Zimbabwe in terms of providing the labour. Uh the cheap labour. Uh that currently they give in restaurants, in farms, in mines, in factories. So we also have to deal with the system and I think Loren is is spoken to that in terms of how South Africa may be protects its investments. He's also protecting you know its economy. Um and the like. But we need to address the South African imperialism as a threat to regional cohesion but also to regional stability And have us understand that capital the capital system or the capitalist system that we currently have will not hold

the region together. We need to address the deeply embedded issues of migrant labour or the systems that are there that profits the sectors that I have I have I have spoken to. So that that is something that we we, we really need to to deal with. Cos from where I am sitting I hear, like I said, the citizens in South Africa, they also feel the pressure. Uh, but the state itself or the government and leadership has to deal with this in terms of ensuring that they do not then sponsor xenophobia. Uh, either by, by statements, or actions, or, or, or policy. And we we get something that is holistic. That will ensure that we give reasonable prospects as well. Uh to the migrants that may be there for them to maybe live legally. Uh for them to also maybe compete in some sectors if they have to. Uh with with the the citizens in South Africa. But I do understand the challenges as well that that South Africans have and it is not only their issue that they they will have to to deal with in in that regard but we have to face the South African imperialism as a threat. Uh that we we we actually have to to to deal with. Um so the response is to me lie in of course we have to revisit. I think I've emphasized the issue of the SADAC cohesion as a block. Uh and have a policy framework that we review and

say where are we in terms of ensuring that the human investments, in the economy, whether it's in crisis or it's booming. Um is investments are protected. Uh the economies are protected. But we also deal with the root causes of the problems that have caused this this migration. I just wanted to raise another issue that while so the Zimbabweans migrants they face they are between a hard rock honestly and a hard place. In South Africa they have not wanted. They're working as cheap labour and they like. Here back home they are making remittance ah that they are sending to their families and to their loved ones. Ah subsidising this government ah that is in that is in power. Ah as we speak. So this is the the conundrum that the Zimbabweans citizen finds themselves in their subsidising in South Africa in terms of cheap labour. They are subsidising here in Zimbabwe in terms of remittances. And this cannot be dealt with in isolation where we are just chasing them away from South Africa. if South Africa would want to do this then they must take leadership in terms of of calling this the government in Zimbabwe to order calling it out in terms of addressing the current challenges and crises that have caused the citizens to move. And the pandemic has actually exacerbated this

challenge. So we are also doing this in a context of COVID-19. Where in every family they're saying at least one person in five or so families have lost they lost ah their jobs. So this is a this is a big issue. And ah when we are also facing displacements here in Zimbabwe there are displacements that are taking place because of a system. A capitalist system. A neoliberal system as well. Which is a regional I believe system that the region has taken up in terms of regionalising capitalism and neoliberalism. So internally here people are being displaced. We know for example Chitungo. In Zimbabwe people have been displaced. People are being and we've displacements to to give opportunity to big businesses. So we we are in a country at that we we have to deal with with and extricate the citizen from from from the economic argument of migration. But there's also the political argument to this migration in terms of leadership. That if we want to address the challenges that maybe the pressure that South Africa and other countries are facing when it comes to the Zimbabwean migraines. Then the political question has to be handled by the SADAC region and address the political question in Zimbabwe as well. Then we can begin to to to rebuild Zimbabwe and ease the pressure from

South Africa. So what I look forward to is a policy and conversations in terms of how do we address this in a two kind of pronged way. Or three pronged way. We are dealing with issues in South Africa but we're dealing with issues in in Zimbabwe on the ground as citizens. Uh but we are also addressing this at the regional block in terms of how do we assist and be in solidarity with the citizens in Zimbabwe by calling their to order. Thank you very much. I hand you over back the the mic. Thanks Janet. Thank you very much. Just a few questions. Uh we you keep pleading to Sadiq. But for most of us Sadiq is not virtually non-existent. And if you can if they just had a summit a few days ago. One would expect it. That South Africa in particular would have demanded that the Zimbabwe crisis be put on the agenda. Eh what you what you have in fact on the contrary is absolute silence. Uh from the Zimbabwe side. We have heard nothing from the Zimbabwean government with respect to the impending crisis in South Africa. And and the impending and imminent xenophobia. You know. Uh what we have had we have had the Minister of Home Affairs South Africa. Motsalledi. Uh we had invited him to this discussion but not even an acknowledgement of our of our invitation. Uh at least he has spoken on on the

extent to which the Zimbabweans crises has impacted on South Africa. Yet there's been no response on the Zimbabweans side. They behaved, the Israel government behaved as this, there's no crisis at all.

Neither in Zimbabwe nor in South Africa with respect to Zimbabwean migrants in that country. So Janet how would you how would we go about prompting SADEC? To put this matter on the agenda. And in the protocol on freedom of movement. Which was, which was, which was drawn up in, in 1985, I think. What would be the way forward, eh, Janet?

I I think this is, this is really, something that I, I would also sorry, I, I think I was on mute. Um, this is something that we, we, we need to, address, I guess, beyond, as well this this, this, this, this, this, this policy dialogue in terms of, I think Lorraine and yourself, Prof Mandaza, you, you, you spoke to it in terms of, it's not only Zimbabwe that has faced this issue. So it is regional issue and the trends in terms of migration, in terms of movement of people is a regional trend and phenomenon that we are seeing and that I think is is civil society Um as as as the citizens ourselves be it social movements, the academia, the media, in the like we have to take to tap on. I spoke about displacements example in

in in in Zimbabwe and gave one example of, of Chilonga, But we can also talk about the eight hundred thousand people, that in Kabo delgado, you know, where, where, which was the displacements and the conflicts that we have seen, being triggered by the largest foreign investment project in Africa to extract gas in Kabo the Ogado as an example. Uh, for export, into the South African market, and abroad. So South Africa still comes in. And, for me, I think from where I'm sitting and the efforts that we are trying to make in terms of resolving these conflicts. Cos this is a conflict that we are talking about and it's an impending implosion as you have put it. And I think South Africa has to play that leading role in terms of ensuring that we we limit or we actually mitigate on the humanitarian and the human rights crisis that we are facing due to xenophobia. But to the different conflicts that are going to explode of the kind of investments, because of the kind of economic system or model that that the region has taken. So I'd want to say that I think it is high time that we, we, we, we converge as citizens, at some level, including the many South Africans who are empathetic, who still ride on the Ubuntu value, for us to rally together and see the problem, not as the

Zimbabwean migrant issue, but a regional problem, that is coming from the structural, that is coming from the issues and the institution called SADAC as you have put it. And how inept it has been. So we need to address it at those three levels. And it is for us citizens to have these kind of conversations. But action I think is more more important and I think there are platforms where we can actually begin to carry out the action. Be led. Maybe by the faith based organisations. Have mediation that we have to have. I think there are a lot of interventions that we could carry out that citizens led. Because I think at the government level we have tried this. It includes as well the implementation of the protocol as you have put it put it. Of 1995. Uh that we have to deal with them. Say what we have seen. And also in covid-19 is that goods continue to move. But it remains a challenge for the citizens to move just the same way as as a as as the Buddha moving. We've been talking for example about portable pensions. Given the Wanela situation where there is ah billions of dollars in the South African economy which cannot be accessed by the ah former or ex-employees of different mines during the Manila period. We are talking about cash transfers. We're

talking about different things that can connect us as citizens for us to be able to tackle this challenge. But for me I think the citizens action is the best that we can take. And we have to be pushing for South Africa to take leadership. Uh in this in this case. Thank you. Thanks Janet. Let me move now to Moles Mbe I want to acknowledge the fact that it was through more let's see that this discussion is taking place. Uh he has been an active factor in the South African context with respect to this subject. I would now invite Moleti.

Okay, can you hear me now? Yes, I can hear you. I can see you too. Okay, thanks Igbo and thanks for everybody for, I think this is a very important discussion. Uh from from where I'm sitting, I think what is not being addressed is the heart of of of the problem. Um and the source of of of population movement from Zimbabwe to the rest of Southern Africa. I think the I I'd rather see what is going on in that context. Uh what are the factors that are driving population movement from Zimbabwe to the rest of Southern Africa? Uh from my point of view the the reason, in fact, there is one reason which is driving the population movement from Zimbabwe to the rest of the region. And it it is how Zanu PF decided it was

going to maintain its political power. Zanu PF decided it was going to maintain its political power in two thousand And it adopted a certain modus operandi. In order to to stay in power. Whatever the Zimbabweans decided. And that is what is behind the driving of the population. Uh to to exit Zimbabwe from what I understood Zanu PF's strategy was Zanu PF's strategy was to disenfranchise sections of the population which it saw as supporting the movement for democratic change. One of the main constituencies that were supporting the movement for democratic change were the commercial farm workers. I worked for the mass media in Zimbabwe in the 1980s. And I did several stories about what was happening in the commercial farming sector. In the the workers in commercial agriculture in Zimbabwe were becoming unionised by by by trade unions affiliated to the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions. Which was one of the partners that initiated the formation of the movement for for democratic change in Zimbabwe. So one of Zano PF's first strategies after it lost the referendum. In in in January I think it was January two thousand. Was to decide who were going to disenfranchise when a national election came. And one of the first groups who they were going to

disenfranchise were the were
the commercial farm labourers.
There were workers in the
commercial farms. Who were eh a
lot of them were unionised.
Many of them were in workers
committees. And the trade
unions And the NGOs by the way
saved the children fund was
very instrumental in helping
the the the organisation of
farm workers. Uh they set up
clinics together with the
workers committees. Together
with the trade unions on the
commercial farms. They set up
clinics. They set up crashes.
They set up beer halls. Uh
which paid for for for for this
for the clinics and and crash
so that the children of the
farm workers did not have to go
to the farm with the with the
mother. Um Zimbabweans
agriculture at that time I
don't know. Now was very
advanced and it used a lot of
chemicals. And there was a lot
of poisoning of children. Uh
with their parents on the
farms. So the farm workers in
Zimbabwe that was the first
target that Zano PF decided
they were going to
disenfranchise the the farm
workers. Now to disenfranchise
the farm workers you had to
destroy a commercial like
agriculture. Which we all know
how this was done with the with
the war vets. Uh as that was
the first group that was
targeted to be removed from
their homes, to be removed from

the voters role Uh and then to be and then it was allowed to lead the country to go to the neighbouring countries, including South Africa. So at the heart of this population movement in Zimbabwe is how Zanu PF stays in power. Zanu PF has been disturbingly destroying the economy of Zimbabwe order for it to stay in power. Now we all know the central role of commercial agriculture in Zimbabwe as a multiplier in the Zimbabwean economy. The Zimbabweans sector a huge part of its manufacturing was processing agricultural products. So when you destroy the commercial agricultural sector you also destroy manufacturing in Zimbabweans. So you then destroy the jobs for the urban workers. Now the urban workers also voted for the movement for democratic change. So by destroying their jobs, Zanu PF knew that they were forcing them out of the country because they would have to leave the country to go and find a living somewhere else. So they were forcing the exit of the of this key groups, the, the, the, the, the, the workers in commercial agriculture, and the workers, in the manufacturing sector in Zimbabwe and this is what has been going on for the last 20 years. It's, it's not something new that started yesterday Uh, now I can go down the road to, to show the cascade of, of

other sections of the Zimbabwe society that were impacted.

which were then forced these populations to have to exit their own country because of Zanu PF's methods of of of staying in power. So that's one side of the equation. The other side was the A and C's position. The ANC found that civil society and the trade unions were the only really credible potential opposition to them. In terms of political part, power

The ANC

for example had opposed the the emergence of the movement for what's it called? MMD in in Zambia. The the ANC supported the one party system in Zambia President Tawanda's Unib one party system. And was opposed to the emergence of MMD. I was there. I was in the ANC research department. I and Zimbabwe all those guys I had talked to them. Then she was opposed to them setting up the the the MMD. It was opposed to the setting up of the NDC. And it collaborated. And it opened the borders of South Africa to enable the population that was forced to exit Zimbabwe because of the destruction of their livelihoods by Zanu PF's policies. It opens the borders of of South Africa to enable this population to exit Zimbabwe so that they don't put pressure on the Zanu PF government. In Zimbabwe. For example, they remove the army.

This is the ANC. The South African borders have always been controlled by the army. During the apartheid era and after the ANC came to power. But they removed the army control of the border and handed over the border to the police. Knowing fully the police had no capacity to control the border of South Africa. South Africa has a three thousand kilometre border. Uh land border with the with the with its with its neighbours. The police don't have the capacity to control the the the borders of the country. So the removal of the army from border control replacing them with the police who couldn't control the borders which the ANC government knew They didn't have the equipment. They didn't have the skills. They didn't have what it take. To control the body. This was to enable Zanu PF to kick out the population that was going to vote against Zalu PF. Uh and that's how Zanu PF stayed in power. Now That was the ANC strategy. Was to enable Zanu PF to stay in power. To make sure that what happened in Zambia where the movement, the political party of civil society, MMD defeated Uni To ensure it did not happen in Zimbabwe that's why they opened the borders of South Africa to to allow the population. Uh that was live rules were being

destroyed by Zanu PF's policies to to to come to South Africa and of course we we that was that's the heart of the matter. These policies are still continuing today. So a lot of the the talk about imit migration and this that and that. Why did the ANC for example have the exemption permit system it was precisely to make sure that especially the younger adults who came to South Africa To make it convenient for them not to go back to Zimbabwe to go and oppose Zanu PF regime. It was to enable the to to enable them to stay in South Africa rather than having to go back home to oppose to oppose the regime to oppose the regime. That if If if the if the ANC as as as our Minister of Home Affairs argues he said, oh, we, we had a flood of people asking for political asylum. Therefore, we introduced this exemption system. That is his story. That is not the truth. The point, the reality is that movement of population in Africa is controlled by the OAU and you refugee convention I was a refugee for nearly 30 years in the rest of Africa. My stay in Zimbabwe as a refugee, my stay in Tanzania as a refugee was controlled by under the OAU refugee conventions. South Africa did not apply the OAU refugee conventions precisely because it wanted to help the Zano PF regime by encouraging

population to to leave Zimbabwe instead of opposing the Zanu PF regime. So that in my book is is the heart of the matter. Now I was in in the in the trade unions in in in in in the early 90s when I came back for for from South Africa. And I was one of the people who worked with Kosatu in particular To oppose what Zanu PF was doing. We even sent a delegation to Zimbabwe which was deported the minute it arrived in Zimbabwe in Zimbabwe to to show solidarity to the to the people of Zimbabwe. This delegation was put in the bus and deported. The ANC government said nothing. It never protested about the manhandling of the delegation. It never protested that this was a violation of protocol and relations between South Africa and Zimbabwe of innocent people who the collaboration between the ANC and Zano PF is what has put us where we are today. Now why all of a sudden is the ANC now turning on the Zimbabwean people in South Africa. For the simple reason that the ANC is losing power itself. It is in the position that Zanu PF was in. In 2000. The ANC is in the same position. So it is looking for skateboards to attack for its lost of support by the population of South Africa. And it is turning on the Zimbabwean people in South Africa and saying you are responsible for

us losing votes. And therefore we are going to to deport you. So they are using Zanu PF and the ANC are using this population as a football which they kick backwards and forwards. And we to we the citizens of of Southern Africa have to fight against this. And we have to say it for what it is. It's got nothing to do with migration. It's to do with these two parties staying in power. And they are using they're abusing the welfare of these of the populations. Uh it is EFF is joining this bandwagon. Uh Heaven Mashaba is also joining this bandwagon of abuse. of African populations by the politicians to be a football to the to for them to dig them backwards and forwards. Uh generate xenophobia and all these kinds of attacks. But at the heart of the matter is the descent franchisement of the of the Zimbabwean population. The urban population. The working class population. In the rural areas and in the industrial sector. Who didn't vote for Zanu PF. And they and of course that is another group that did not vote for. So those were the the key groups that were being disenfranchised by Zanu PF in its effort to stay in power. And the ANC collaborated with it. And and it still collaborates with it today. Uh I think I'll end there. Thank you. interesting perspective

let's see. what's to be done
What is the nature of the
debate in South Africa? Uh in
terms of What do you understand
to be the current thinking
within the ANC government on
this problem? If at all.

Well, the current thinking of
the ANC is what the Minister of
Home Affairs is doing. Is to
find scapegoats for the loss of
of, of, of vote for the ANC.

If, if you look at the, at the
last election which we had,
last year, the local government
election. For the first time,
the ANC majority fell below 50
percent. Which there is another
election in two years time
which is the national election.

Which the what happened in the
local government election is
telling us that the ANC is not
is going to lose. Or it has a
high probability of losing
power. In the next in in the
nineteen twenty-four general
general election. So to try and
regain the vote of the urban
working class. Because that's
what they earn. If look at who
stopped voting in South Africa.
We had a low voter turnout. The
big component of the low voter
turnout was the African urban
working class in the big
metros. They are the ones who
didn't vote. And they were the
backbone of the ANC vote
before. Now once they stopped
voting for the ANC then the ANC
lost its majority. Now the ANC
is going to this population, to
this electorate. And it is

saying to them, oh, reason why our you are unemployed. Why unemployment is growing in in in the in the urban areas. It's because of Zimbabweans. Therefore we are going to kick out the Zimbabwe migrants. So that is the response of the ANC. To to to its loss of but it is about it's not about the welfare of the black workers in South Africa. It's about the ANC looking for a a formula to stay in but, but, but, by finding scapegoats, for the failure of its economic and social policies. What, what about, what about the attitude of the South African working class themselves? In terms of their, their, their attitude towards their foreign foreign legals, including Zimbabweans. Isn't that a feature in itself, which doesn't require South Africa, ANC having to mobilise. Looks like they're already mobilised against foreigners. You see one of the challenges which we have in South Africa with the growing D industrialisation. Remember ANC's policies neoliberal economic policies have driven the D industrialisation of the South African economy. During the last 25 years. So a big section of the working class in South Africa is suffer unemployment has has come under unemployment, informalisation, casualisations. So so and then most importantly this is leading to the weakening of the

organisations of the working class in South Africa. Of the black working class in South Africa. So organisations like Kosatwa are enormously weakened compared to ironically what they were under the apartheid era. Where they were very powerful organizations. Today, they are pale shadow or a black shadow, maybe I should say, or for, or, of what they used to be. So so we, we, we having multiple crises within the urban environment in South Africa. And then you are getting the lumpenization of the working class in South Africa. So then you get the elements, the lumpen elements, who attack foreign who think the foreign workers are the cause of of of their problem. So it is that sort of a complex situation. But primarily driven by the political factors.

Thanks Moleshi. We'll come back to you. We'll come back to you. Uh Eleanor, Sisu. Eleanor. Um yes Uh hello. Good good evening and thank you for the conversation. Uh thank you for Moletsli to initiate for initiating it. Um and I agree with part of his analysis.

There are some parts I don't agree with. For example I don't think that the ANC as a coherent policy. Um the ANC is a house divided And I think what what is happening the Minister of Home Affairs Response is more a reaction to a deep-seated and violence

xenophobia in the community. And it's and if you trace if you go back to the nature of these and I want to talk about afrophobic violence. Attacks on African bodies. Zimbabwean migrancy is a is is an issue, a feature throughout the region. Namibia, Botswana, Mozambique, Zambia, Malawi, all have large numbers of Zimbabwean migrants and in fact Botswana and Namibia with their small populations have reasoned to be more worried because they can be easily swamped. South the problem with in South Africa is that it's the violence of the response. Which is not a feature in any of the other countries. And in fact the violence of the response which I can't think of any parallel maybe except when the gun Nigerians decades ago when there was attacks on Ghanaians and Ghanaians were killed. And sent back to Ghana. So I think we in the short term are dealing with this violent response. And how whatever migrant issues there are in South Africa, whether it's caused by, it's not migrants. Yes and I agree with Moletsi. A lot of Zanu PF's policies, whether they did it intentionally or unintentionally, but the consequence is that you have, they've caused a, a, a migrant crisis in South Africa. And, and, and there's a deeply violent and xenophobic

response. I want to talk about a historical experience. In twenty in the run up to the World Cup the the World Cup Soccer Tournament. There were plans for attacks on foreigners and the plan was that this would happen so that by the time the World Cup had you know happens that the the South Africa all foreigners are out of South Africa and by all foreigners it's all Africans. And the South African Council of Churches was at the heart of mobilising a response with civil society, social justice organisations, migrant organisations, which collaborated with the security sector to prevent these attacks. And and I think these attacks are reminiscent of the kind of black on black violence that took place in South Africa in the 1990s. Between mostly Zulu hostel residents and and township. Uh and South Africa those the people never faced consequences. For those that kind of violence and the killings that took place then. There was a political solution and South Africa try to move on from there. But those the modus operandi of that kind of violence against communities, vulnerable, working class communities in South African urban peri urban spaces is the same. It's it's black on black violence. And in some would say yes it's the poor attacking the poor. It's competition for

resources. But the questions that South Africans have to ask is why does it take such a violent a violent form which doesn't happen in the rest of the region. And and I think the challenge for for me the first and foremost is how to stop this violence and how to hold the people accountable. And I don't think the ANC has a deliberate thought out policy. I think it's just reacting and it's reacting and not knowing what to do. And there's no counter narrative against a movement like put South Africa first. Which is which is a mobilisation of xenophobic forces. To remove foreigners. Uh ostensibly undocumented but when it comes to the actual push and move of people and attacks on people, there's no question of documented or undocumented. And people are even talking about removing foreigners from the universities. Etcetera. So I the forces in South Africa that were there say in 2010. The organisations and the civil society and the justice and the legal are not there anymore. They've been well not not that they are not there. They they are there but they have been decapitated. And and the covid-19 has impacted on them. And so they have been depleted. They don't have the resources and I think don't have the energy. And South Africans are observed absorbed with their

own internal issues. And what is happening also is that internal political fights opportunistically xenophobic tropes are being used. So that people will, you know, don't have any issue with foreigners, but when it's convenient they, they, this, you know, xenophobic tropes are, seeing, are taken up. What is, what is, this solution, I think some of the solution lies, really, in a, an appeal, South Africa has to address its relationship with the rest of the continent. There has to be a counternarrative developed, which actually African project for South Africa. That helps South Africa to better absorb refugees, asylum seekers and also to address its relationship with the rest of the continent. And a narrative which says to South Africa that your economy is dependent on trade with the rest of the continent. If you have these attacks and you get isolated by the rest of the economy. The the the continent. Your economy will suffer. It will contract further. And the crises contraction of your economy There's nothing very little to do with foreign migrants. It's to do with the fact that South African manufacturing is steadily being depleted and cannot compete mainly with Chinese the Chinese manufacturing machine. And and so this contraction of the

manufacturing sector of South Africa is a major factor in the crisis. And you know Mazulu said our our problem is that we don't produce what we consume. We don't consume what we produce. And so this crisis of employment lies in issues of consumption and production. And there's need for for for education and when I was in a student in Zimbabwe my my cousin Ibo there was one of the people who sent groups of us to West Africa. I was very resistant to that. I was sent to Senegal against my wishes. But it was the most transformative, valuable experience of my life. And one of the things I really wish we could have a project that sends young South Africans, influential young South Africans around the continent to actually develop a cater of South Africans who have an idea of how to better relate to their continent and how to fight these powerful xenophobic forces within their own society. And I want to pay tribute to the South Africans that have fought very hard and their own lives. Uh in this fight against this afrophobic attacks. Thanks Eleno. And hello Max. How are you Max? I can see you. Tony. Thanks Eleanor for that eh. I think the the point and point you made is that really the issue of migrants will not as little or no impact on the

level of unemployment in South Africa. Really. And someone argued I think it was yourself. Uh earlier that assuming you've got all the migrants out of the country. It's doubtful that that will improve the employment opportunities in Anyway, Tony Rilla. Tony. Thank you. I, I, I, I, I posted a question to Lauren which is answered in the chat, but the motivation for that was that, probably about four years ago, the organization I worked for, Rao, were requested to have a meeting with a couple of World Bank consultants. And their task was to look at migrants in the region. And to look at the impact. Um and we are pretty stunned. I mean because fundamentally the best data they had and the best prospect or research was in fact in South Africa. Um and so they they explained their research and find in in detail and didn't give us a copy of the research I'm afraid. And what they pointed out was that most migrants create at least another job. Some more than one. So the beneficial part of of having migrants in in countries is seems to me undisputed. Lawrence talked about that but what was interesting to me was that the World Bank folk said and we said, well, can we have a copy of the report? And they said, maybe not. We we we were really worried about this

report because we suspect and
and I remember it was pretty
close to elections in South
Africa. They said this would
look like a potential spur for
xenophobia. You know, the
notion being that Zimbabweans
go to South Africa and they
create two jobs and I think
those of us who travel to South
Africa and take Uber or
whatever it is, you'll find
these sort of networks of
groups of migrants who work
together as they have done in
the United States and Australia
and all these places that have
taken it. We can say tend to go
within the communities and I
presume they were frightened
that those findings would
foster greater xenophobia. So
I'd be interested to know I
mean I've I've not been able to
find that report but I'm
interested to find out from
Lauren whether he had seen that
report or what his view is on
that. Thank you. Thanks Tony.
Lauren, would you like to come
in on that? Lauren? Yes, thank
you. Thank you, Tony. I mean, I
think the the evidence is by
from almost any reputable
research company where I know,
you know, or or university is
that immigrants are generally
positive in terms of job
creation, in terms of trade for
South Africa. There is
replacement in certain sectors.
Obviously, hospitality,
construction. You're seeing
fewer agriculture, fewer jobs

there, in part because immigrants are working without documents. So, they're easily exploitable. Um But even there on aggregate there's an economic argument to be made. I think what this points to, however, is, is really that the the issue here is not about economics and not about protecting South African jobs. It's about political populism. I mean, all of, we've known from the beginning that a a regional labor market would be good for for many people, for business, for certainly to help address some of the skills gaps in the short term, in the South African economy. but business won't stand up and and argue for it Uh and there's very few people in South Africa who will do it. Instead anytime immigration comes up you do as as you suggested get a kind of populist backlash. And as a result we've actually been trying to take immigration off the agenda to try to think about how we we talk about trade. How we talk about regional integration that is good to create jobs. Because as soon as you start talking about the movement of people across the region everything else gets taken off the table. Yes.

Thanks Laurie.

Jared, let me come in. Janet.

Yes thank you. Thank you very much for the opportunity and thank you Moletsi. I think for really explaining some of the

issues I was trying to raise in terms of the ease. The economic argument and I think Loren had spoken to that. Uh but there's also the deeper political connotations to the xenophobic attacks and the migration patterns that we have seen between Zimbabwe and in South Africa. And I think I besides the issues around the political parties or the liberation, political parties and how they have implemented maybe strategies as as as shared debatable. But I think one of the key issues when we are looking at the economic push factors that have caused this crisis that that we have the xenophobic of Afrophobic attacks that we have seen. Um from an economic point of view I think there is the issue of the the primitive accumulation tendencies both in in in Zimbabwe and in South Africa. Uh with their underpinning of course in the economic and political system. Uh that we see in in both countries. And I think this is at another level as we address the political issues, the political challenges, the economic challenges. We need to interrogate and see how as citizens we dismantle these primitive accumulation. Which that if it's in Zimbabwe citizens have been left with nothing, with no jobs. Uh whether it's in the mining, it's in the agriculture and all

the other sectors where there have been movements to South Africa. Um whilst leaving just a few political elites and business elites benefiting in Zimbabwe thereby maintaining the status quo that we have at the economic level at the social level and at the political level. Uh the same applies. Uh I want to believe in South Africa. If you look at the issues of ownership of the means of production. Uh and I would tend to also agree with Eleanor that it's not just the poor fighting against the poor. Um but it's a setup. Uh where the poor have been set up against each other. Uh for me by the system that is also obtaining in South Africa. Uh so the politicians because of the kind of politics that we have. The conflation. So if you you you read the South African context in the Zimbabwean context in terms of conflation of business and politics Um I think you you would pick it from there that the the poor themselves are then left set up against each other by a system that has disproportionately and undemocratically benefited you know the few political elites, the ruling elites at the expense of the majority who have been stripped of of their live livelihoods. So I think at the centre as well of this migration crises that we have. We have to be addressing the system of primitive

accumulation of corruption of
you know tenderpreneurships,
issues around procurement and
and and and the ownership of
the means of production at both
levels. But one as well really
pushing and ensuring that we
are organising the citizens.
I'm I'm sure. Um in Zimbabwe
and in South Africa I agree
with some of the the
submissions that have been made
by Eleanor in terms of exposing
a critical mass in South
Africa, you know, to connecting
with, with, with the region, as
in the African region or the
African continent in different
countries, so that they have an
understanding as well, of how
maybe neighbouring countries,
how Africa, how other Sada
countries played a role for
South Africa to be where it is
now, and it is also time for
South Africa to also give back
in terms of, of, of leadership
and addressing the current
challenges that we are facing.
But not exonerating as well the
role that has to be played in
Zimbabwe to ensure that we deal
with the the the political
crisis that we have that has
pushed the citizens out and
thereby disenfranchising them
as as has been said. We've been
calling for example for for for
the diaspora vote for a long
time and from where I'm sitting
we've been linking it to the
economic contributions that
these Zimbabweans are making in
terms of remittances. They

right now remittances sit at number two when it comes to the foreign exchange that's coming into Zimbabwe. Uh but these are people that are sending their resources but have no decision making. I have got no say when it comes to the politics, when it comes to the economy. Uh in terms of participation and ownership in the means of production and playing doing business or investments in the lucrative sectors of the economy. Which been set aside and privatised mainly for the for the cartel. So so we we really need to to look at this but for me I think the ball really rests in in in building the critical mass amongst the citizens to really understand that this migration crisis that we are facing is an issue where where the political elites, the business elites are making their elitists parks whether want to maintain power, whether they want to close out investments from, from, from, from the citizens and, locals and indigenous people. Uh, we need to, to, to address it, from, from that perspective, where we say, at the end of the day, we only have this region that we have to deal with, that is actually being plundered by the political elite, by the military, and by the, you know, business and, in particular from different the east, from the west ah that are plundering

and looting our resources,
while at least we fight ah,
each other and we are set up
against each other. And I think
that is not very difficult to
do, Um, I think we we share a
lot of commonalities in terms
of history. Uh, in terms of
value systems. Uh, of
respecting you know, the human
life dignity, the sanctity of
life. Uh, and we must be
questioning ourselves when we
are implementing violence as an
example to say, where have we
really lost it, because share a
strong value system as as
Africans from the liberation
struggle from fighting
colonialism. So where have we
gotten it wrong that we get to
this? So for me I think those
conversations should be leading
to those so that we we we do
find each other. Thank you.
Thanks judge. Um we are now in
plenary. I'm going to ask learn
some cherry coming but I also
just to alert Elizabeth and
Steven from Sire. If you can
come in from the foreigner
international relations
perspective. And to what extent
the the issue of that we are
discussing impeaches on the
foreign policy considerations
in South Africa. Also I'd like
to hear from a former minister
of government regular member of
our policy dialogue. Faith
Chung. Um what might be the
thinking in government in
Zimbabwe What are we hearing?
Why is such a silence on this

matter? Um so Zamchiya first. Thank you, professor Igbo. I've been enjoying listening to the debate. And I'm more persuaded by this view that it's it's it's sheer political populism at play. Because if we look even at the details of this Zimbabweans permit in terms of the decisions that were made. I think first of all we can actually see that it's it's Utopian. You know. The South African state seems to be out of touch with the local realities. There are kind trying to engineer society to a degree of perfect social order. Which definitely is not going to happen in the way that they they think. And and let's look at the hypocrites within within the state at this juncture. Uh the state is actually saying those who hold these special permits given one year to apply for the mainstream visas. You know that's hypocrisy. At at its highest order because they tend to forget why the migrants were undocumented in the first place. And one of the main reasons is that the South African mainstream visa regime is hostile to the poor and vulnerable workers. You know your domestic workers, Uber drivers, general cleaners and and so forth. And we know that the bulk of this permit holders actually fall in this law skilled labour category. And and this is going to have a

huge impact on Zimbabweans living and working in South Africa. And I don't stand why the state in its utopian imagination actually thinks that this Zimbabweans are going to leave South Africa or to be deported. Because one I think there's a historical lesson here. Uh that people actually have the capacity to resist. And I think in this case most of the migrants who simply go underground and become invisible to the state. Rather than turn to a crisis torn Zimbabwe to suffer die and some still face political persecution. But but at the same time if they go underground as Molets was saying they risk exploitation by the capitalist employers. And also as Eleanor was saying increased dysnophobic attacks. So that's what the South African state is is going to achieve. I don't know whether these are in intended or unintended consequence and in the very end I think South Africa will have to deal with this self-made daily crisis of undocumented migrants. Uh in in in the society. So I I I don't really then I get to understand why they even think that the Zimbabweans are going to return to Zimbabweans and at the same time when people become eligible to the state. It means that they won't be able to pay those taxes that they were paying. And All those are

negative economic consequences.
Uh thank you Igbo. That's my
input. Thank you very much.
Someone else? Elizabeth? Steve?
Faye are you ready to come in?
Welcome Ready to come in here.
Can I come in? Or Elizabeth
first? Sure. Elizabeth had a
hand first. Elizabeth
How are you? I'm well. Can you
can you hear me? Yes, I can
hear you. Ja. Sorry, I had to
pop out briefly. So, I missed
some of the some of the
conversation. Um which I hope
to catch up on afterwards. But
just to to make a couple of
observations on on sort of on
South Africa's foreign policy
in this regard. And I think
it's it's probably I think the
point that Zamtrina made now are
are are speak directly to that.
You know South Africa
since 94 has always focused on
on how its foreign policy is is
geared towards Africa, it's
African agenda. You know, in
2011 with its white paper, it
was talking about a diplomacy
of Ubuntu and I know that Janet
earlier on spoke about
Chubuntu. And yet, you know,
these initiatives and, or this,
this Home Affairs decision,
let's, let's put it this way,
so this this domestic decision,
at the same time the way in
which we have the way in which
the state has engaged on
xenophobia actually goes
against what we espouse as as
as central to our foreign
policy. And and the fact is

that you know we've we've been caught out so to speak. I mean I'll never forget a really powerful discussion. We had an Eleanor was in it. Uh was part of that. We organised it together. I think Eleanor it was in September 2019. Uh was 2018. I can't remember now. Uh just after after the latest in, in a series of attacks, where a number of, of people in the audience said, you know, South Africa cannot, African states need to act, other African states actually need to stand up and call South Africa out on this. And the very strong statements that had been made by Nigeria, sort of in, in, in, in, in the days before our, our workshop actually spoke very much to that. You know, it was 2019, thanks, thanks Eleanor. It's, we, this, this, this goes to the very core of what our foreign policy is. And if we and if Doca and the and the government don't recognise that, that the way in which we are engaging with migrants, the way in which we're engaging with Zimbabweans in particular, because there we've actually also played a role in, in, in, in the crisis. Um, really undermines anything we might espouse in global forum about Africa and I've just come out of a meeting now on vaccine nationalism and the importance of, of, of, of getting African production of vaccines etcetera. All of that rings

hollow. And that I think is the big challenge that the South African government actually has to has to countenance and has to deal with if we're really serious about about our African credentials so to speak. And I mean the point that Lauren made right at the beginning understandably in terms of the social context. Um absolutely you know ordinary people who are basically battling to put food on the table. That is the response. It's response in in South Africa. It's the response in in in other parts of the world. But we're dealing here fundamentally with a state whose capacity has really eroded significantly over the years. And to hope that you know that we deal with crime. Uh and that we deal with unemployment. Through simply getting rid of immigrants is is is you know is is really quite quite amazing that we think the solutions are so simple. But then how do we go how do we come up with with innovative ideas? The point that Lauren made. Uh that actually speak to the emotion. Because this is also about emotion at the grassroots. And and that is not you know you you cannot argue with them from in terms of of rational arguments. You know you it's it's a very emotional and very very existential challenge which people face and I think that we haven't gotten

right in in in many of these discussions and I unfortunately I have to to to concur with Lauren the point he made that I also don't necessarily have any specific concrete ways in which we can tackle that. Thanks Elizabeth. Thank you. Stay tuned.

Thank you very much. I think the presentations so far made have all been excellent. I agree with, can you hear me? Yes, thank you. Okay. Uh I agree with what Lauren, Janet and Eleanor have said all of them are correct. What is the solution? It seems to me that we have some practical things and it cannot be done overnight and very quickly. One of them has already been mentioned that they are very powerful groups in our societies. The church has already been mentioned. There are others. The traditional leaders, the chiefs are very powerful in their own sphere. Like in Zimbabwe chiefs still control 60 to 70 percent of the rural population. And they can and should speak on development programmes. Uh we have the issue of dire poverty mentioned by Janet. More than 50 percent of Zimbabweans population do not have enough food. Um what is the answer? And this is in country where there's plenty of excellent land and where we've taken some 16 million hectares of land. A lot of which is empty. Uh I think we to discuss poverty in

terms of land. Uh we need to look at the issue that both ANC, Zanu PF and the parties behind them in the country only have populism as the main policy and populism as we know leads to fascism and violence in the end. Now we need to have a discussion about the political systems in the various countries. Uh job creation Imagine that only 10% of Zimbabwe Zimbabweans are in the formal economy. And 90 percent are in the informal economy. Now we have to do something about the informal economy. What about postgraduate students? Can we not have organised meetings? They can discuss political and economic issues. What about our economists? So what I'm saying is that we need to look at the different political and economic groups in the country And see how they can contribute in the immediate and long term. And I think SADAC has a role there. Uh they used to organise educators and ministers of education. And I think they can do this for economists, for doctors, on poverty. Uh on job creation. Uh think asking Sadap to solve our our problems is a mistake. I don't think they can solve our problems as an organisation but they can certainly give policy and economic leadership in any of these various special groups. Thank you. Thanks Faye. Thanks very much. Anyone else?

Kadenge. Zimbabweans are too quiet on this problem. We are causing problems next door.

Come on. Njozi.

Anyone coming in? If not I would go back to my panel. And begin with that. Hi. Hi it's Tony here. Yes. I mean it is a central theme that's going through this thing. With this this whole discussion which is in Zimbabweans. The problem is political. I think that was explained extremely well by Moletsu. And the key issue I mean African foreign policy in general terms. Yes, they foreign policy is confused as Elizabeth Putar. But the foreign policy on Zimbabwe is particularly confused. And I mean it it seems to me that the critical question is when will they South African government call a spade a spade? Right? The reason Zimbabweans are going there is primarily political. Whether they go there as economic refugees. So they go as people seeking asylum because they're fleeing political violence. But they're going there because the fundamental problem is political. So the political problem that has to be addressed is the political problem within Zimbabweans seems to me that's the crux of the problem. Oh yeah. Thank you. Maybe Molisi can come in now and also sum up on your part. How to deal with these political problems? We have you

were in the earlier discussion last year when we discussed the South African foreign policy of the Zimbabwean to say about the lack of policy in that regard.

Is there a chance, a window of opportunity? Now, listening to the Minister of home affairs.

Uh Aaron Motseledi. He's coming very close to saying things as they are. Calling a spade a spade. That the crisis in Zimbabwe is a cause of the migration. Into South Africa. Anyway Moleti. Please.

Well, Well you know as I as I said in my view the the this is a political crisis. And we can't get away from from from it. That it is a political crisis. Uh it's caused by political the meltdown of of Zanu PF. The loss of of support by of electoral support from the population of Zimbabwe. Uh we are the same thing in South Africa, the loss of support by the ANC of the electorate. And they are starting to victimise vulnerable population. Uh and as it happens the vulnerable population in the here and now in South Africa is the Zimbabwean population. But I have no doubt they will find other vulnerable populations of South Africans who they are also going to victimise. So this is challenge that we are having in in Southern Africa. Of of the former liberation movements. Becoming neo fascist organisations. Like you see in Frelimo. Frelimo has become a

heroin trading regime. But the other the former liberation movements are defending the heroin trading regime of of of Frelimo. Which is victimising the Islamic population in Kabo delgado. So this is a challenge that we are faced with in Southern Africa. All of us. Because obviously we we have multi-racial, multi-ethnic populations. We and and you have groups that are very easy to victimise when when certain elements of the ruling class are losing power. They they turn sections of our populations into scapegoats. Uh and they victimise those sections. So this is something that we have to we all and by way I mean the progressive part of Southern Africa. We we have to be aware of. And we have to start preparing for it. And and and we have to start preparing working amongst ourselves. Um if I can digress very very briefly. When when a few years ago when Morgan Swagirai was still alive. We realised that there was a conspiracy amongst the former liberation movements who were now governments to set up a a forum to repress parties like NDC. So we then start set up a forum of opposition parties in SADEC. And and and that's why when ATH became president of Zambia. That's why he invited Musi Maimani and Nelson Chamisa. Who became who who he treated almost as head of state. It's because they

they had supported him. When he was being victimized by we have to revive this order. You know unfortunately when Musi left, the DA and and Morgan died, this forum kind of collapsed. We have to revive the SADEC forum of opposition parties. So that it has the muscle and the ability to address this emerging huge challenges where where sections of our populations in Southern Africa are being and are going to continue to be victimised. Thank you very much. Janet. Your last words for today I mean.

You are muted. You are muted. You are muted. Okay. Okay, thank you. Sorry. Uh, yeah, yeah, thank you. Yeah, listen. It's not for the last time, I think this is one of the areas that I'm going to speak more about. Um, because I think the, the, the diagnosis that we are making here, is a big one, and it, it, it shows us the, where, where, you know, the economic mismanagement intersects with the political crises that we have that is facilitated this whole crisis that we have and have you know prescribed drugs to eat when it comes to the migration without really fully understanding at the leadership level. Or maybe it's not necessarily that they do not understand where where the problem is. But not really being sincere in terms of dealing with the root causes

that have caused us to be where we are. And I think from this conversation and the agreements that we are making in terms of this is a political question. Uh this is a political ah crises that ahm those that seek to continue to hold on to power. And this is either political power or economic power ah have continued to use the narrative that divides us as citizens when it comes ah to addressing or to challenging them. Um at the economic level and at the political level. We we need to therefore it means that ah as citizens the narrative has to change and I think for a long time not politicised Um this conversation of of of migration to the level that we have done here. Uh we have spoken about it as an economic issue, like we said, economic arguments, the economic refugees, without really politicizing it, it, and saying, wait a minute, what, what is happening here and what is the role of our leadership and those that are holding onto power, and how are they responding to it, and in responding to it, violating human rights ah in it killing livelihoods. Ah and in it ah setting up ah communities. Setting up citizens against each other to the point that we have the conflicts that that we are having that are violent. Uh that are out of character. Uh when it comes to our value

system as as I have spoken. So I think that realisation can come from a a a discourse of politicising the the the migration issue with regards to the xenophobic attacks that we have seen in South Africa. Uh that have turned violent but as also Eleanor said it it happens. It's subtle in the other countries. It may not have turned violent but but it is there. There's hatred. There's suspicion. Um there's a feeling of dejection for the host. Uh but also for those that have have migrated to those countries. So for me I think my point, my last word that the way we have elevated this discussion to a political level is where we have to take it. But it the political discourse and narrative has to be owned by the citizens. And how we are going to do that is what we have to think about. Uh is that what we we have to converge about in terms of the awareness that we need to raise at the community levels. I want to believe that even at the community level there were mechanisms that people used to deal with conflicts. Uh people used to deal with hopelessness. Uh people used to deal with what they felt with threats. And those community mechanisms called for dialogue within safe spaces or spaces which are led by those who would have made to understand the the the situation. So I would say the

call is on us to continue to policies to politicize this narrative. Uh and and and give it back to the citizens. Um than having it continue to be at the very elite level where the prescriptions and the solutions is face aid copylist. Uh where we're just saying let's chase them away or it's here in Zimbabwe ah policies that do not materialise and we cause a lot of anxieties in the movements ah that we have seen that ah cause the challenges that that that we are facing. And I would say a dialogue about Zimbabweans Zimbabwe has to be carried out for us to address this as a political issue. Uh if we are going to to move forward in inclusive dialogue where we say where are we going and and building the national question. I think it's a big issue that we also need to address. Thank you very much. Thanks Janet. Thanks Janet. Lauren.

Lauren had to leave Ebo. Though he thrift? Yeah. You like to sum up for him?

comrades. I think. I'll close. I'd pass it to pass it to the chair. Thank you. Okay. Well, just I won't try and summarize the discussion at all, but I think three takeaways. One is the urgent need for SADC. We are, with the conclusion, SADEC is useless, but I think we have to do something. Uh, either through the various factors in our societies, in

our countries. To cause a discussion on the protocol on freedom of movement of citizens in the region. To get to do as ECOS and Komesa have done in the East African community. I think it's a very important where we have to take it from this discussion. Uh which has been recorded. We should be transcribed and published. But as part of our policy dialogue process is to impact on SADEC. Secondly we need to well let's say made the point about this forum of opposition parties. I think we should also talk about forum of progressives. Progressive individuals, progressive organisations. We should come together. We should have a discussion on this matter. bring pressure to bear on our governments, on our respective countries, to to to adopt a genuine and practical Pan Africanist position. And thereby use the media, our educational institutions, Mm. To educate our populations. Mhm. About the the values And principles of pan Africanism. And thirdly, it's ready to to carry the discussion forward. As Eno says we need to have a series of discussions on this. In our countries. Respect to countries but also on the on the regional forums such as the policy dialogue. I want to thank Lauren Janet and Moletsi in particular but also all those who have participated. Uh Eleanor, Tony Rilla, Feychun,

that have contributed the discussion. Where our next discussion is on the 3rd of February. We are going regional again. Around the subject of constitutionalism and the rule of law. And and in the context of our region. Highlighting the the the tragedy. Where constituents and the rule of law does not exist such as the cases in Zimbabweans. But using the current debate in South Africa on the same subject. Uh to highlight the importance of constitutionalism and the rule of law in our societies. So until then.
Goodbye and good night. Thank you very much.
oh