

## **HUMAN RIGHTS, ORGANISED VIOLENCE, TORTURE, AND FORCIBLE DISPLACEMENTS IN ZIMBABWE: PAST AND PRESENT**

Greetings to you all. Greetings to you all And welcome to the forum. today

Today we are looking at human rights. Organised violence and torture. And forcible displacements in Zimbabwe the past and present. And we have a very eminent panel Of persons webin very involved in this exercise over the years. And to take us into the discussion. Uh my job here is to introduce our moderator. my my my colleague and sister Francis Lovemo. Francis is a medical doctor. Who's been involved in documentation and treatment of victims of torture and organised violence over the years. She's been involved in research methods of empowering survivors to address issues of reparations and redress. Both locally and internationally. Look to Love More is the current director of the counselling services unit, the CSU in Parare. Which works to help victims and survivors of organised torture and violence. Jesus also the chairperson of the survivor support group. In the National Transition Working Group. Francis, welcome. It's not up to you. Take us through. Francis. Thank you very much Eva and thank you for that very very kind introduction. Um it's my pleasure tonight to be the moderator of this really

important forum to discuss the impact of organised violence and torture and forcible displacements in Zimbabwe I think that we're all very aware of the long history of force displacements and the lack of durable solutions for people who are displaced and the impact on their lives. But I think what hasn't really ever been highlighted is how many displacements are accompanied where by what is basically crimes against humanity In terms of the organised violence and torture that happens to to the people who are who are being, who are being displaced without solution. And the the impact on their futures and there are there are many many thousands of people in this country who have never felt settled in anyone place. They've never felt that actually get on with their lives. So this forum is really to introduce a paper that has been prepared highlighting how how many times organised violence and torture occurs with with displacement and also to discuss recommendations. I'm the author of the paper Tony Wheeler. I think everybody knows him but I think it's it's fair to say that he's really the grandfather of activists in this country. Post independence. He really has led the charge on protecting and highlighting human rights abuses. And developing much of

what we have in terms of civil society and and and the defence of human rights in this country. Um he currently is a senior researcher at research and advocacy unit. Um and I think it's just a part time job because he's involved in so many other things that are going on. But he does give the research and advocacy unit a lot of very good papers that that are that are able to be entered into into the important discussions around protecting human rights in this country. We also join by Maxine who is a legal researcher working with Veritas. Um who has a special interest in internal disbursement in Zimbabwe and has been tracking and documenting for the last two years. And really and really highlighting the the legal aspects of this. And then followed by who is the director of the Centre of Natural Resource and Governance in Zimbabweans working on improved governance of natural resources in our country. He's done extensive research and I can vouch that he has done extensive research and documentation on human rights conflict, minerals, and innocent trade in Zimbabwe's natural resources. And he is an a die-hard activist. Um in 2010 he was arrested for his human rights. Detained. and charged and detained for 40 days. And in 2 thousand and eleven he was

honoured with the Alison the award for extraordinary activism. And it was a very well deserved reward because he he has never he has never Never never given up on on on on this on this really hard battle cos the the the mineral wealth of this country is one of the big conflict zones. He was honoured by Rapaport a clean diamond campaigner for protecting protecting artisanal diamond miners in Zimba bweans, Maranghi region. There's also a PhD candidate of the Bit School of Governors in Johannesburg and holds an MA and peace and complex studies from the European University Centre for Peace Studies in Austria. And a master in some governance from Africa University. Um so and he and he also has a graduate of graduate of UZ. So I think that we have a very eminent panel. I meant to ask that Tony Kicks off and he's going to speak for about 20 minutes. Followed by Maxine and then and then by Farai. If you've got questions maybe put them into the into the chat box so that we can start to bunch them. Um and then I will also track people raising their hands or wanting to intervene. But it would be good to gets at least through the presentations and discussions and then and then move into into the open dialogue. But we we can we can adjust if if required. But don't forget the chat box

function and I think the moderator has the ability not me. The other moderator has the ability to mute people who are not on mute. So I'm going to hand over to Tony. Thank you. Thank you Francis. Uh apologies everyone. Um my screen my video apparently doesn't work. I got a new computer and it's baffled me and those of us who heading towards the latter part of our lives are not so collaborate fixing. So, and I don't have a 17 year old right around me at the moment who can fix it. So, thank you Francis for those remarks. Um I'd like to share my screen and I'm glad I did a PowerPoint presentation. I wasn't going to use it but and talk more. Uh alive but I'm glad I did that because this this way you can do it. So I'm going to share my screen if I may And let me open that. Okay? Um I've got to see. Right. Slideshare from the beginning. Okay, so this is I'm really trying to give a historical perspective and an understanding of why displacements are so important. in many ways, forced displacements are the poor relative of all the the crimes that are included in the field of human rights violations. Uh somehow they don't seem as terrible and awful as torture or extrajudicial executions or rape. They it you know people just move. So I want to start by

By  
talking about displacement  
in some more general terms. And  
I'd like all of you who who  
listening to think about the  
word that's in the middle of a  
dead place. I want you to think  
about place. And I want to  
think about what place means to  
you. What is your place? And I  
think that when you begin to  
think about place words come to  
you like my home. The place  
where my fam is the community  
within which my family and my  
home are part of the place.  
It's a very very central and I  
think it has been a central bit  
of human existence since we  
moved from hunted gatherers to  
becoming agricultural people.  
It became very very important  
around place. So placed very  
often and very much in the last  
30 years has become sort of  
synonymous with property rights  
that I lose my right to  
property in a very material  
sense. I want to talk about  
this in a deep psychological,  
social, anthropological, and  
even spiritual way. What is  
behind displacement And? when  
you think about the place, it  
it is this place where often  
you're born. You know, you  
connect your birth to a place.  
It's often a place where you  
grow up. You grow up and you  
learn life with your elders and  
your peers. It's often a place  
where you marry. And when you  
marry, you end up having And  
those children grow up and they

have other children. They become grandchildren. This is great continuity of life. Around place. And they also and it I think it's not just in Africa. I think it's all across the world. There are also places the place we often we die. And unless you live here. big cities, they're often the place where we buried. And in that whole cycle of life, around place, place becomes this link between the past and the present and the future. It's deep. So when people are displaced as, Francis has said, the effects are huge. They're not trivial. They're massive. It's always traumatic. And it goes on for generations. Francis Ruth to that. So we need to think that moving people from one place to another against their will is a massively traumatic, long standing event in people's lives. And as Francis pointed out, very often do not recover. So What we, it's also a legal concept, and I, I'm, I'm sure Maxine's gonna talk about this more. But forced displacement was quite clearly placed as part of the definitions of crimes against humanity genocide, genocide, and war crimes in the Rome Statue of the International Criminal Court. Um, it is not seen as trivial, it is seen as equivalent to all the other violations that take place. It was also very specifically put

in the Southern African definition of organised violence and torture. That of us put together in nineteen ninety Because of colonial history and apartheid. And in two thousand and three, Zimbabweans made a very clear point in looking at transitional justice for the future. That displacement held a very central part of it. The forced moving of people now for nearly a hundred and thirty years in this country has had devastating effects. But the key legal feature is that this displacement is part as the ICC statute says a wider or systematic attack to the directed against any civilian population with knowledge of the attack. So this is intentional displacement For. whatever reasons displacement happens. Now the key in what I'm trying to say is that very often people do not voluntarily move. They are forced And within that forced displacement come a whole plethora of other violations. So let's look at the independence area. I mean I am not going to try and cover a the colonial displacements from the early arrival of the settlers. But it is a history of forced displacement. And they lost land. And and too often we talk about in the current context about the loss of love. People did not just lose land, they lost their identity. Terrible things

happen to them as a consequence. They were cut off from the links between the past and the present and the future. And it was devastating on me. So there's a whole history there of a very long time. There are also the war district related displacements and sometimes I'm discouraged with the younger population That they have no concept very often of just how devastating the displacements were during the Liberation War. And just very quickly and I'm not going to spend long time in this. You have to think of seven hundred and fifty thousand people placed in keeps. By one estimate, there were 1 99 keeps from the Dande to Chirezi, along the whole eastern border of this country, in which these people lived, were forced to live, they were moved from their homes and placed in what were called protected villages, but were little better than concentration camps in the end. And the consequences of that life were enormous. Incredible deprivation and extreme poverty. And very importantly in the cycle of place that I'm talking about. The massive disruption of children's development. There are a number of publications that point out that children lost schooling. We had to go through a whole exercise. In the 1980s after independence to catch people up and all the missed years of

being displaced And. for some people beginning in nineteen seventy-two They were displaced for eight years. That's an immensely long time. That's almost a child's whole life. And I don't think that we have adequately documented that story. There are some some good books but I don't think anybody sat down and done the academic research to really understand the impact on people of those displacements. When we move to post independence, now this report that that that's being launched today, really deals with two major displacements. Um, there, there, there are many others, and, certainly many current ones, and, I'm going to leave that to Maxine and to Farai to talk about, and I'll just concentrate very quickly, onto the ones that really impacted us visibly, right across the country. Operation and the land invasions. and I'm not going to get into the detail of what happened with Operation Warmbuccina. I'm going to talk to you about the consequences, the human consequences that they faced. And some of you will remember that a special invoice was sent here under who produced a report and extremely detailed report and a report that caused considerable controversy. Uh caused so much controversy that when it was suggested that it'd be tabled at the UN Security Council. It

was blocked Uh but those initial gatherings were followed by a much more detailed study done by Zimbabweans groups. Uh under the umbrella of ActionAid. And they interviewed a very large number of people about their experience under Operation Murambatino. And if you begin to look quickly at the kind of impact that it had on them. This was forced displacement Okay. And and intentional. People were told to move, To stop doing things. Their shelter was taken down. Uh so it fits that definition of a widespread and systematic attack With the intention to do it. 70% of people reported that they'd lost shelter. Now remember the overall figure was something like close to a million people were affected by so you're talking about 70 percent of a million people who lost shelter. 76% said they lost their sources of income. Now these are features that go with forced displacement. School dropout was reported to be twenty-two percent. 22% of those the kids dropped out. And a further I think 40 percent of parents reported that the loss of income meant that they were now really struggling to keep their kids at school. Forty-eight percent said they had incurred loss of property. Their property was either destroyed and very often stolen. Their health slightly

over 25% of people saw that their deterioration of themselves or their loved ones came as a direct effect of the operation. Remember people had to sleep outside. They were deprived of food. They often didn't have access to health. food security Half of this population said that they became food insecure. They lost their money and this was urban and in urban areas, money means food. Half of the population said that household safety and security had been compromised. Forty percent said that their family units have been disrupted. That meant families had to move out and they had to send kids somewhere and they had to send somebody to Kumosha. Uh they had move in with relatives and some of them relatives could take some but not others. So the whole disruption of the family unit And go back to what I was saying in the beginning. How central that all is. An increased vulnerability for women, children and orphans. Thirty-five percent. Said that women and children have become more vulnerable as a consequence to operation. So these are massive human consequences that come with displacement. And. I think that if you went to a refugee population like the Mozambique refugees with whom I worked in. Late 80s and the 90s, they would report all of these

things as well. But that was in the context of a war and not a so-called urban cleanse. Now I mentioned that they have long term persistent consequences. Uh displacement affects people's psychological health. In this study, they also looked at whether people had become suffered from psychological disturbance. So, all the people were also screened to see whether they had psychological disturbance. And you can see the numbers there. In Harari, and these are big numbers There's. a big sample, five hundred and 70, 80 percent met the criteria for having an active psychological disorder. It was 51% and in Mutadi it was 71 percent. So the consequence was also to impact upon their psychological health. Now I don't know of any study that has tried to go back and see where all these people are today. Because one of the big issues about the trauma that goes with forced displacement is that it often requires professional help. And we don't know how many of these people and that's an enormous number of people. Ever received any legitimate for the trauma that they experienced. The consequence of that and I think in this report that the organisations are part of it. Uh make this conclusion and made the same conclusion. The conclusion was that this quite clearly met the criteria of a

crime against humanity. and I will say that that was an unpopular conclusion by the special envoy But subsequently a number of organisations looked at this with a much more legal eye and they arrived at the same conclusion the Oxford pro bono Publico unit came to that conclusion as did several other legal firms. So that's Operation Now, Operation of course was a lightning strike. It happened over the best part of a week. The next one we want to talk about was an extended period of displacement And. that's to be with the land invasions. Now I'm not gonna get into the merits of land reformance, necessity, etcetera etcetera. What I'm going to focus on here is the research that couples do. The agricultural and plantation workers unit of Zimba bweans who represented all the commercial farm workers. working on commercial farms. So, whatever happened during the the land invasions, it was clear that people lost their homes. Whether. they were farm workers and not holding title is less the issue than they lost their homes. What. was estimated was that by guppus and this and and relief web confirmed this is something like 78 percent of farm workers were displaced over about a four year period. The estimate was that between 325 and four hundred and fifty thousand

workers were displaced Those were the people who worked on the farm. But their families lived there. And their families that often lived there for two generations and possibly more. And that meant that about between one. 5 and two million people were displaced. That's an enormous number of people who were moved from place. They lost their livelihoods And therefore their ability to earn. They lost a safety net because very often the place even if you regarded them as indebted. Labours and after mercy of the mercenary, commercial farmers. There were safety nets of some kind around them. They lost those safety nets. And as with the Liberation War the Children's development was interfered with and terminated. So the impact was huge. And took place over a long period of time. Now the difference between this and Operation is the time scale. When something happens bit by bit drip by drip by drip. You don't notice it in the same way. You know you hear six farms there or 20 there. You don't see the total aggregates in terms of people of what is happening. And all of us have memories of of commercial farm workers on the side of the road with their possessions to figure out where to go. So it it very much is a a trickle down displacement It. doesn't have the same singular event

that happens with Operation a. if you look at what happened to them, the kinds of things that they happened. You have to look at the kinds of violations that they experienced. And if you look along the bottom there, you'll see the violations are extremely serious. And and when you talk about their personal experience, you can see people talked about torture, death threats, assault, forced to watch beatings, many farm workers taken to where they were forced to witness the the violations of others.

Abductions. These are extremely serious crime God. And they fit within the context of the ICC statute, the notion of crime against humanity. The consequences for them were deeply serious. unfortunately nobody in this research did what they did in Morombachina and tried to look at the same time at what the traumatic consequences for people. But there was a small study done of I suppose I think it was about a hundred and fifty displaced farm workers in 2002 by the Omani Trust. And they found the rates of psychological disorder there. Extremely high. And what this little graph will show you are studies looking at victims of OVT. From the of the Liberation War and Jewish in riot victims. Mozambiquean refugees. All veterans. Uh studies done by the Armani Trust showed the amount of

psychological disorder amongst war veterans. It's exceptionally high. But amount of psychological disorder amongst commercial farm workers was extravagantly high. The highest rate that we'd had in the country to that date. So the point I'm trying to make And I hope everybody will read the report. The report will shortly be available. Um we will make sure that the link is provided as soon as we can to everybody who's here. And and widely anyhow. The point is you cannot see forced displacement as being the poorest sister of gross human rights violations. It. is serious and possibly the most serious. Because what always goes with forced displacement. Are all the other violations As we demonstrated with the commercial farm workers. Torture rape, abductions, murders. They all go together with forced displacements. And therefore it's an umbrella that encapsulates all these violations. So therefore it is critical that and we should have learnt this. We should have learnt this from the Liberation War. And the stories that people told are being displaced from their their home. realise that this is something that has to be done with extreme care and even if it's not in the context of political conflict, any displacement of people from their homes and their place and

their lives has to be done with such care and such caring and with full consultation of the people to avoid the people being traumatised. Thank you very much Francis.

Thank you Tony for that. I'm very very comprehensive oversight of the actual psychological impact of of forced displacement. And. I think we cannot overemphasise the the long term effects and the intergenerational effects of of of displacement. I. am going to hand over now to Maxine. Um Maxine are you online? Can you can you hear? Would you like to carry on please? Yes, I am here. Um, I would like to share my screen. Can you just do that? Can you all hear me? Alright.

So, my name is Maxine Chisweto. I am going to do a forcible displacements Um sorry. My excuse. Forcible displacement. House demolitions and arbitrary evictions in Zimbabwe and I have been tasked to look into specifically urban matters and the laws that are related to urban matters. I believe Farai is going to look at the raw aspect of it. Um including farms, communal et cetera. So to get us started So how I'm gonna go about this is that I'm going to look at the story. I'm going to look at the constitution. I'm going to look at the act and the statutory instruments that are related to

arbitrary evictions and displacements. Right. So to set us off I think Tony had sort of gotten us going on this one. But it's also just very important before I start. Uh to find these three words as they are critical to understanding the law and to understand the stories of the people on the ground. So to start off we're gonna look at what eviction means. Um UN Habitat has described eviction as a permanent or temporary removal against the will of the individuals, families or communities from their homes or land which they occupy. Arbitrary. According to the dictionary this means something based on a personal choice or whim. Something not based on the system or reason. Remember that. That's very important. An eviction of a person in a way that is not fair or just. And this is usually the case in evictions that take place without a court order. And without allowing the other side to be heard. And thirdly. Home. The word home. According to the South African Constitutional Court. In the dispatch municipality case. A home is structure which protects a person from natural elements. It is a place where they wish to stay permanently or temporarily for residential purposes and can be housing that is rented or a shack is also considered a home. Right.

So that's extensive to South Africa but it will help us in shaping and looking at the law that we have. And as well as our constitution. I like telling stories. So I'm going to tell you guys a story about Jim. This is Jim and his family. As you can see Jim has two kids, a wife. Uh this is Zimbabwe lives with three or four other relatives. And house help et cetera. So Jim lives in a house that is located on a plot which she bought from a housing cooperative in say 2010. And since 2010 Jim has contributed about four 000. US dollars in total to this housing cooperative, right? So as we mentioned, he lives there with his wife, his two children, relatives on the plot. Jim is making a life for himself. As Tony mentioned, when it comes to housing, it's so important to realise that it's not just not the shelter, but it's the community around him. It's it's the health facilities. It's the children going to school. It's literally the whole quality of life of someone. So from about 2010 to now Jim lives on this land peacefully. Enjoying the benefits of being a homeowner. And eventually somewhere along the line since twenty ten the city council even comes and makes water connections. For Jim and his community. And that's great. So although somewhere along the line as

well they hear a little bit of rumours about there being a dispute about housing corporations. Uh about struggle with the city council but nothing ever really comes to fruition from those squabbles. They just hear them in the background. They just whispers. So as fast forward everything has happened at some point they're told that they need to regularise. So it's called regularisation. Um where they make sure that all their papers are in order with the City Council et cetera. Fast forward December 20twenty. Bulldos show up. And half of their neighbourhood is destroyed. Literally they're told just a few hours before that the bulldozer is here. Get what you can. The identity documents are lost. Their clothing is lost. Their whole livelihood is lost. Now I know I've been saying Jim and his family and I've used a cartoon. But this is a common thing that has been happening over and over and over again. Uh in Zimbabwe it's happened in Budhiro for this story of Jim is actually the story of four. It's happened in Arlington. It's happened in Chutungisa. It's happened in many other areas. So even as Tony mentioned sometimes we don't see the effects of these evictions because their happiness small clusters in small neighbourhoods. But with Woody Riro 5 recently it was

190 houses. Before that four were talking about hundred houses. Arlington were talking about in the hundreds as well. So all of this builds up to make a considerable size of the population which is being made homeless in effect by the actions of the city council. So issues arising from Jim's story. So in order to understand the effects and what has really happened to Jim. And what laws they have based these evictions on. We need to look at them step by step. So like my my bullet point said, what laws if any protect Jim and his family? Are their local laws adequate? Is there anything that can be done? Are demolitions arbitrary? demolitions and other evictions constitutional. And like I mentioned, I think in the beginning, there was no court order. Uh when it comes to the evictions of hoodie raw, Arlington, Chitungisa et cetera. So if there was a court order on what basis would this court order be given? But even still if we give the court order have we gone through due process to make sure that in effect we're not leaving these people homeless. In effect we are not changing the trajectory of these people's lives forever. So I'd like to start from the top. Um which is the constitution as we know it. Um as you know we have a new constitution in quote. Um from

2013. So the direct protections that we have are a section seventy-four of the constitution Which says that there should be no evictions or without a court order. Um of course this section is quite extensive but for the sake of time I've just taken out things that are buzzwords that are directly relevant to us. And then section this is complemented by section 28. Section twenty-eight isn't necessarily a right section 74. So section 74 is under the Bill of Rights. Meaning that this is something that's basically done and dusted. We are afforded this rights to an extent. I'll come and back to that. Section twenty-eight gives places the obligation, the positive obligation on the government to realise or to give us access to adequate shelter. But of course there has limitations such as sorry, within the limits of resources available. So that is the limitation. Right. And then we also go to section 68, which is administrative justice. Um, which means that whenever there is a matter. So going back to gym, right? Where Jim was supposed to be evicted? Jim was supposed to be given the right to be heard. There's a law maximum called the Audi Outer Impartum War in Latin. Which means that the other side must also be heard. So administratively due process

was meant to be followed. If we are a victim a victim gym. What laws are we specifically basing and saying that we're following step A, B, C, D in order to get Jim out of his house, out of this property, off this land, if we're saying that this land is indeed illegal land and Jim has settled there illegally. And in section six 69 gives the right to access to cost. So this complements administrative justice in the fact that before we even evict Jim before we should again give him the right to stand before court. To say that I think that ABC because I will sold this house by a house incorporation. I have a right to this land. I have a right to live here. I have made my community here. And in section 86 two. The limitation clause. So this is sort of the push back cruise. So in certain instances with any rights that you've been given in the constitution. So the right section 78 that I mentioned earlier. There's a limitation cross. Your rights can be limited in certain instances. Where the limitation is fair. It's reasonable. It's just and it follow that type of reasoning. I will come back to this later.

So that is the constitution. Now we're talking about the local laws, the urban laws I guess. So as to call it. And this is what mainly the city council bases its evictions on.

So even though some of them are contrary to the constitution some of them do agree with the constitution. But I'd just like to jump on my slide. Um cos I'm looking at the urban Act. But before I look at sections 180 one ninety-nine and two one<sup>3</sup> I'd like to specifically mention the council bylaws. Um from nineteen seventy-nine. Now if the devil was to have descendants on earth, then it must be in the form of of SI one oh nine seventy Most of the evictions that are taking place right now in the country. Especially in urban areas. Are being on the on section 18 of SI 10 979. So what this section basically says, it's an all-encompassing section. It just says dangerous housing, dilapidated housing, unhealthy housing, houses that do not conform to the plans of city council or building standard can be demolished and the people can be evicted. So this section in itself is a drastic drastic power. And the and City Council has used it in numerous cases. Um for the Dusabe case. We've got the sorry the I just wanna get this name right. Uh but I can't seem to find it. Oh. The Mukungu routine case and time and again City Council has come and said that no no no but we are evicting according to SI one oh nine seventy-nine And the thing that S one oh nine seventy-9 does is that it doesn't even mandate for there

to be a court order. So that is why the city council right now is getting away with demolishing houses and evicting people without a court order because they are basing it on section one oh nine seventy-nine overseas 79. But if you remember Um we talked about in the constitution where it says that people have a specific right not to be arbitrarily evicted. And a couple of judges have actually referred to this and said that SI one oh nine seventy-nine is unconstitutional. But as you all know to date nothing has been done to repeal this or to even say that it's not supposed to be used. One thing we must also remember about SI 109 Of 79 is the time and the era that these laws were enacted. You must remember that this was a time when Africans were not really afforded what we now call reveal, right? So in effects, we are using something that our coloniser used. We're using something that was meant to harm the people that is not in line with our 2013 constitution, but we're still using it. Now going back to the top, sections 180 and 186 of the urban Councils Act. Uh, do allow demolitions, but in very few instances, where structures are built of a drain, sores, water mint, but even so in this case, 30 days notice, must be given to the people on the land. And in section 199,

allows demolitions and controversial in contravention with conditions of title. And then two thirteen buildings that encroach roads, etcetera may be demolished, but even so, in these cases, these people are compensated. These people are moved, and they may be compensated temporarily or permanently, but there is some sort plan to relocate them. And then the housing standards control act. So this act also allows demolitions in very specific instances. Um so demolitions for buildings which are suitable for occupation. But even in such a case the person is notified well in advance in reasonable time to say that we've identified this house or this structure as one that must be demolished and even given the chance to demolish the house or the structure themselves. Um the city council comes in and demolishes. So once the notice has been given and the owner ignores this notice. Only then after they've not adhered to the court order. Does the city council come in and then they demolish that? The house or the structure? And then the last one that I want to touch on is the land acquisition act. So section nine of the land acquisition act says that there must be given three months notice of evictions. And eviction of former owners of land that's acquired by the

state or some other acquiring authority and then failure to evacuate you are in a contempt of court. Um the problem with this one as well is that there's that phrase that acquiring authority. We don't really know who that acquiring authority is. And so the acquiring authority can literally become anybody. Now just to round up on the things that I have said. One thing that we must look at as well in how Zimbabwe has given court orders. When court orders are given and the city council claims that oh no we have a court order And so we can legally affect these people. Is that we haven't really We haven't really mapped out so to say. What it means to have a sufficient court order. What is it that the the courts are supposed to look at? Um because the section says that a court order is only issued once all relevant circumstances have been considered. So in South Africa in a case for changing tides. They actually did come up with sort of a matrix. Um of how these court orders should be issued. And they've got about nine or 10 things, which I won't go into much detail right now. But for the sake of leaving it up for it. I'm hoping that we'll get to it. Um in discussion. But I'm just to round up. There is still a lot that we in Zimbabwe need to do. There's also the international

laws that through our constitution have said that we are going to take it and we are going to adapt into our own law. And so are all these evictions that we are carrying out No the situation, no matter where we say they are. land parents, there's political issues behind it. No matter the situation, there is no legal justification for infections without court orders. And there is no legal justification for evictions without relocation. Whether the relocation is temporary or the relocation is permanent. And there is definitely no justification for evictions or demolitions without prior sufficient notice. I will hand over back to you Doctor Lovemore. Thank you very much Maxine. That was a brilliant presentation and you have a rare ability as a lawyer to unobscure the law. Um it was so so clearly presented. Thank you. Um and it also reads the very vexatious questions around you know who are the duty bearers and who are the duty bearers to protect our population. Um from being dragged into these terrible situations where where they are basically deemed illegal after they have been deemed legal. And who who pays the bills for, for, for what has happened to, to the people, and where is the right to reparation? Where is, we are, where, where do we find the right to reparation for

these, literally, I think  
Maxine, we must be in the tens  
of thousands, if not hundreds  
of thousands of people who've  
been affected by just the last  
five to 10 years of, of, of,  
these laws being used. Um Parai  
I would very much like to hand  
over to you. I think you were  
online when I introduced you  
but for I please take it away  
with the with the with the  
aspects from the rural from the  
rural land issues. Thank you.  
Thank you. Thank you Doctor  
Lavmo. Thank you so much. Uh  
Maxine and Tony Uh for those  
very brilliant presentations.  
Um is my screen visible? Yes.  
Okay, so, I'll take it up from  
where the true first speakers  
left. And I will give some  
experiences, from, rural areas.  
Um, so, basically, I'm not a  
lawyer and I don't want to  
ordain you. It's a subject  
which is not part of my work.  
But, observation is that there  
are two pieces of legislation  
which are being used to take  
away land from people in rural  
areas. And this is the mines  
and minerals act of 1961 and  
the communal Land s Act of  
1981. Uh the mines and minerals  
act gives a lot of power to  
mineral title holders. Whilst  
the communal lens act does not  
live up to its title. Um which  
seems be empowering people. But  
actually it disempowers people  
ah by still confirming that  
anyone with mineral title has  
got a lot of authority over

people living on communal lands. So I will look at actual displacements, threats of displacement and the likelihood of displacement I think in the post independence era the most severe ah, and wide scale disbursement that is Zimbabweans, witnessed, was in Marange, which started in two thousand and nine. First there was the violent military takeover of parts of Marangi between 27 or I'm from 2-seven October two thousand and 8. And the operation went on for several years. Uh up to around 2013 They were still the the military was still forcing people off Marange. This is mainly because at first the land that was known to have diamonds was very small. But as they continued to discover more diamonds, more people were targeted for displacement. So in 2009, that's when two mining companies were brought to Marange that was in Bada Diamonds and Carnadio. And here we see the beginning of the problems. Where a license is given to a mining company. The local people are not consulted. They are not part of the equation. So the president invoked his power. You know the minerals are vested in the president. The communal lands are also vested in the president. And in that photo you see the former president and the incumbent. Uh which must so give you an idea of the

continuity that we have in terms of our policies with regard to to land. Because nothing has changed. The same vulnerabilities that existed before have continued even under the new dispensation. Um so when they moved into Mirande at first they told the people that they should depart voluntarily. But the people resistant. And after a while there was this standoff. And then there was this conference that was held in Mutare at the the Marymount teachers call it in December two thousand and 10 That's when government deployed the military into Marange And the people told to pack their belongings and get onto the trucks at gunpoint. And the when people were forced off their homes they were bulldozers on standby. Which moved into the villages and demolished the people's homes as they watched. And there was no valuation of properties that was destroyed. Uh they no written agreements between those who were demolishing the houses and those who owned those properties. Um so a lot of people left eh Marande in tears. They were crying. Um as they saw everything they had ever worked for. Eh reduced to a rubble. Um and you see this picture now as they were now living these were the trucks that they used to carry the belongings that could be salvaged. And when they arrived

in Maranga there was also they no land for cultivation. They didn't care about ensuring that these people can continue with their lives. I think the the the real issue was to get them off the the diamond fields. Um so these people who were self-reliant, now we see them signing for food. Uh food handouts. Um you can see that elderly woman there is she's getting food handles at a transfer.

And then I moved to also Shilonga where our government wanted to displace. They still have the intention to move hundreds of people off their land in Chilonga. And I have put here the statutory instrument 50 of 2 thousand Which was issued early this year. And it clearly said that the Minister of Local Government, Ebony and Rural Development. In terms of section 10 of the communal land act hereby met the following notice. This notice may be decided as a communal lent setting aside of land. The area of described here under in terms of the schedule shall be set aside with effect from from the day that this statutory instrument was published. And it continued to say any person occupying or using the land specified in the schedule. Otherwise than by virtue of a right yield in terms of the mines and minerals. Act is

ordered to depart permanently with all of his or her property from the same land by the debt of publication of this notice. Unless he or she acquires rights of news or occupation of the same land in terms of section nine of the communal land act. So they were expected to depart that very day that the this structure instrument was issued. If we go down you also realise that there was a of imprisonment if they did not depart from that land. Um so we had to rush to court. Um to stop this implementation of this statutory instrument And government later withdrew But the threat of eviction remains. Um so currently there are over hundred communities that are dis placements in Zimbabwe and these threats are coming in the form of special grants. Which are being issued and there are two people who are able to issue the special grants. We have the president who is issuing special grants according to the Minds and Minerals Act, the president is the one who can give special grants over oil, coal and gas. So you have got the of Mbire district and district. Where exploration for call are before oil and gas is undergoing right now. and and the president has already issued special grants which means if this company is going to proceed into the drilling stage. Tens of thousands of people are going

to be displaced And. the government refused to compensate them because according to the communion lens act the people living in Cominoland in Zimbabwe they do not own that land. It is owned by rural district councils. Invested in the president. what is the likelihood that these communities are going to be displaced? It? all depends now with what the companies that are currently doing exploration are going to find. Um there are some areas where the there is a likelihood that the current exploration projects are going to bring positive results. For example in Dinde, in in Wange, the community say they've seen the Chinese celebrating that they've managed to find good grade of coal. It therefore means those people are likely to be dispressed. Um where they may be they don't get a very good quantity of what they are looking for. Perhaps that will discourage them from going into full time mining. But Zimbabwe is open for business mantra. He has post millions of Zimba bweans to displacement. Mainly because if the minerals are discovered wherever in this country, people are likely going to lose their land without any compensation. And of course, finally, we also have situations where people are not told to move. But a mining company makes the place uninhabitable. Such that people

move away for their own safety and security. This is happening like in the Wanga area where the companies are digging very deep pits. And when the rain falls it collects in these pits which becomes very hazardous. We're dealing with a case of a boy who went swimming into that pit where water had collected. And he ended up being attacked by a crocodile. Um and and of them are drowning in these pits and families some are deciding to move away to places where they can raise their children in a safe environment. So I will end here for now and thank you very much once again Doctor Rafu

Alright. Thank you. Thank you very much for that. Um summary of of just a very very small part of what's actually happening within the rural areas with with mining, with infiltration, with the state, state acquisition. Um I had actually asked Maxine whether she could perhaps comment on on all of these SIs and their actual constitutionality with regards to the bill of rights Um Maxine are you are you in a good position to comment? Yes, I actually I'm happy. I think mostly with the SIs, I think We, we just have a blatant disregard of observing oh, sorry.

Can you see me, sir? Yes, no? Yes Uh I think to comment on the undermining of the constitution. Um by all these

SIs. And failure for the state to protect the Bill of Rights. I do believe that it's literally the state turning a blind eye. Because if the courts as high as the Supreme Court has said that these SIs are unconstitutional. And if we all know that these SIs are unconstitutional then there is reason for us not to repeal the laws, which means that the Minister of Local Government is literally because this SI the SI 109 of 1979. Um was enacted by the Minister of Local Government then. Meaning that the Minister of Local Government now is to stand and to say that okay this is this is a part of law that we do not want anymore. Um something that we don't want city councils overall Um to be using. So that's also a man that's also responsibility on the sake of the city council. And just to comment as well on the constitutionality of all the failure to protect the Bill of Rights by the state. I think we are not committed. Um especially to section 78 because if you look at how our constitution is set up our section 78 and our section 28. So to put it in an equation. Section 78 and section twenty-eight of Zimbabwe is exactly equal to section 26 of South Africa. Um on the right to shelter, adequate housing against arbitrary evictions et cetera. But South Africa now

has even taken the extra step to put in an act the unlawful occupiers and prevention of illegal eviction act which states step by step what a court is supposed to do and how a court is supposed to get to the judgement of issuing a court order regarding evictions. So, I I guess it sounds quite flimsy to say but I think we are just not committed to the protection of this bill of rights and it is a culture and a nature that we need to overturn as a people and even when we are doing our advocacy work in alignment of laws with the constitution. It's something that we definitely need to look at. Thank you Maxine. Thank you for that clarification and I think it's something that we often fail to put front end and foremost in in in a lot of our conversations is is is our our undermining of the constitution. On such a regular basis and and the impact on this on on on other population's confidence in the social contract between the government and the population. Um I'm going to open the floor. I see that no raised hands. If people would like to comment or ask questions please feel free to raise your hand and to and to make a it. As they come Doctor Lafamo, can I just respond to a point raised by tronny on Toronto. Absolutely, please do. Thank you. So, yes,

when these people were moved from Maranga to other transau, there were so many issues of trauma that they suffered. Um, one of it is that, when men left in Maranga, they were like he conquered and moved into an area where they could not feed their families. Um, there was a change in terms of, breadwinners we saw women now having to sell grass. They would cut grass and firewood to go and sell. Uh at odds business centre. Um and that was not enough. Children we saw them also being involved in shared labour. Helping their mothers to carry bundles of grass and firewood. Um we also have situations where parents were forced into a very small house in unit. Uh with their children we have just married. Um and there was a lot of distress that came up on them. and also the issue of traditional leadership. There was a loss of authority. For instance, the people of Maranga identify with Chief Marangi that they live under Chief Maranades. They are traditional figureheads. When they were moved to other transau, they were now under chief Zimunia. They were treated as people who came. They were like refugees. In in in the Zimunia area. And when they were caught in a cutting grass and it's by the Zimonia ah people and forced to work as punishment in the fields or whatever the people

of Simonia wanted them to do. We don't know what else abuses they could have suffered. Um but there was a lot of tension and it is still there. We were in Mara in Adam with parliament three weeks ago and people were still saying they don't feel like be accepted or tolerated by the Zimunia people. So there is this contestation between the Marangi people and the owners of the tent or where they are in now. I also heard reports of domestic violence happening as a result of the loss of livelihoods, loss of authority, that people have been fighting in their homes as they try to adjust to the new realities of living a place where there is no source of livelihood, no income, no traditional leadership, they've lost their shrines, church members were separated, families were separated. So I think a lot of research needs to be done to look at to what extent if these people been affected psychologically because of this relocation. Thank you. thank you thank you very much for those comments. Um I think I would like to comment at this point is that we haven't really highlighted the the violence in the mining areas against the the villages and and and people living in the areas by the by the by the security guards. And we certainly see a number of cases per month of of very

nasty violence against village  
village and and and passers by  
by the companies. We have also  
spoken about the exploitation  
of labour by the mining  
companies and the and the  
appalling con ditions under  
which some Zimba bweans are  
working. And the artisanal  
mining issues, the violence and  
crime that is that is now  
becoming a national a national  
issue. Just because of the  
insecurity of tenure, the lack  
of regulatory frameworks and  
and the fact that it's becoming  
a a factional war zone with  
with within many of Zimbabwe  
bweans mining and and and the  
violence and crime that we that  
we are seeing. Um because I  
think I think that is an  
important point. Um you know  
when when when when the  
frameworks are so undermined  
and so unstructured. It's it  
enables all sorts of other  
things to be happening as well.  
Thank you doctor Lafmo. Um yes  
artist in my mind in in  
Zimbabwe we call it organised  
details whereby on the surface  
they appear very disorganised  
but if you get closer you  
realise that there is actually  
political organisation in every  
artisanal mining region in the  
country. And because of the  
involvement of politicians. Um  
they have a lot of power that  
is no miners over the local  
villages. Only last month made  
a situation in Penalonga where  
the local people ended up

arming themselves with ehmm wars  
you know spears and the like  
attacking artisanal miners from  
Midlands ah who are very  
politically connected and  
operating under a guy who  
formed a that forged their  
partnership with metal and gold  
to have 7030 percent mining  
partnership at Red Wing in  
Penalunga. Um we are seeing it  
also in Mazoi where artist no  
mining it's very politically  
connected. We are seeing  
emergence of kind of some  
wallots In this country, which  
is it's going to be a big  
threat to national security  
especially if government does  
not come in to regularize this  
sector. Um I don't even know  
the role these people are going  
to play in twenty twenty-three  
election. But they've been  
given a lot of power in  
protection And we are also  
seeing at his no miners taking  
over land that belong to  
villagers. If they is called  
there Uh we a lot of complaints  
from villagers who say they are  
digging in my land. I've  
approached the ministry of  
mines but nothing is being  
done. And on that point I also  
want to add the ineffectiveness  
of the environmental management  
agents ever. They are supposed  
to be ensuring that the  
environment is protected in  
that mining take place within  
the upbeats of the law. But  
because of the criticism and  
militarization of the

artisanal mining sector. Uh at  
eh environmental management  
agents officials are now  
helpless, they are just  
watching as the ah artisanal  
miners go on a rampage eh with  
the protection that they are  
getting from the politicians of  
this country. Thank  
Thanks for thank you very much  
for that. Um I think Tony's  
asking for Maxine to comment on  
the Archaic Mining Act. I know  
I know there is there is an act  
and process but none of us as  
usual know what's happening.  
Um interestingly, as virtuous,  
we've actually done Bill Watch  
Artists on what the mining act  
looks like. Interestingly, we  
came to the confusion that the  
mining act is probably most  
likely constitutional. But then  
to mean that it's  
constitutional, doesn't  
necessarily mean that it's  
equitable or desirable. Because  
it doesn't capture the policies  
that we now stand for now  
today. So I'm sorry I just  
wanna go back to the question.  
Uh comments wanna take money.  
So of course I do know as  
Doctor Francis mentioned that  
there is work being done in  
order to change it. Whether  
these types of provisions that  
apply to the communal land  
scenario will be changed. We  
are not sure. But as I've  
mentioned interestingly we  
found it to be constitutional  
but not equitable or desirable.  
Yeah, I love that. I love that

phrase. Equitable and desirable. Um, okay, so I just wanted to are there any more questions, I don't see any hands raised, anybody wanting more comments on any, on any particular aspect that we've discussed this evening.

there's Kendall delay has had a Kennedy. Kennedy, sir, I can't see your hand, but please carry on.

Oh, okay. Yeah. Thank you so much for for a very insightful presentation. Yeah, my question is on on compensation. To say, like what does our law say about compensating the the people like who they've been involuntarily like displaced especially in the mining sector. What does the like the the mining act say the communal lens or like say about composition. If they are provision for operation, who is supposed to compensate the victims? The mining companies or the government or both. Ja, so I just want to to know if there is clarity on on that issue of compensation because we are seeing like a of cases where some are getting compensation, some are not getting compensation. And those who are getting compensation, they are not getting adequate compensation. Thank you so much. Kennedy thank you. Um Maxi, would you like to answer that question before Tony? I see Tony your hand is up. Um but maybe Maxine can answer

that question first. Um, I wanted to actually ask if Farai wanted to answered first, then I can go after him. Right, Karen.

I think what the communal men's act say is that they should be given alternative blend is to others getting compensation. I'm not aware of any anyone who is who got compensation from the government of Zimbabwe Um we at the case of Muroa Diamonds which moved about 100 families from the Maziwa communal lands of when they started developing their mind. Um these ones were compensated but they were compensated by the mine. Uh I am not very sure how much they were given but I think it seen as the best model Um in the Zimbabwean context where people were really there was an agreement. Kind of. And then hê in the case of Marangi they were given only one thousand dollars disturbance fee. That was the title given to the money that they were given. But it was not compensation. Thank you Thanks for I am Messy would you like to comment and then I I will say comment. Um I totally agree with what Farah is saying. There's something interesting in the miners act where miners have to pay royalty to the government on minerals that are taken from their locations. But then this royalties are paid to Zimra and then they go onto the

consolidated revenue fund et cetera. There is actually no provision and the acts for payments to be made to inhabitants. So the people that they took from the communal lands et cetera. But this is something to think about. Uh especially when the new mining act is coming into play that how are we going to compensate these so-called people and where we going to pull this money from is part of this fund perhaps supposed to go towards compensating those people. So these are all things that perhaps are in maybe our recommendations. Um when we're talking about this.

Thanks Maxine. Thank you. Um as you would like to make a comment that you know compensation and and restitution should be equitable and desirable. And if we do a study of all of the displacement both pre-independence and post independence. Much of the land that has been reallocated has been far from equitable or desirable to the people who've been resettled. And I think we protect the top of displacement Um the the land that they were allocated is basically unusable. It's drought struck and the water supply is saline. And the and the people are very unhappy and they're being extremely bullied by the by the sugarcane farmers. So you know it really it's always a

downgrade. It's you know if if there was an upgrade when you were displaced it would be slightly more palatable. But I think I think that this always downgrading our population to to a less desirable situation is is actually very sad. Um so are there any other questions? Otherwise I'm gonna hand back to the panelist to just give a quick summary of of where we think we've got to in this discussion. And then maybe I'm gonna hand back to to Igbo to to close out for us. So, I'm gonna, Tony, would you like to comment and then I'll hand to Maxine and then to Farah in that order. And then we'll hand over to Ibo.

Thank you.

I wanna go back to the beginning of the things I said. and the impact upon people to be moved from place is a massive traumatic event. And Francis you raised the notion of intergenerational trauma. Many years ago a very wise woman here with Danielle looked at the consequences of the Holocaust on the Holocaust survivors. And what she found was that trauma for at least another two generations after the event. That's the consequence of dis placements. So when we start to think about dis placements in the current context and we have not dealt with the burden as we pointed out. All the displacement have taken place for 130 years.

Or the land invasions or the Liberation War We have to think right now about a human consequence that is distinct and opposition to the notion of property rights. It matters where people live. Uh and in a country where so many of our people live in that. The land that they have been on for generations. The idea that you get another piece of property is a A trivial response to what people will have to experience. in the constitution that Maxine was talking about. section that talks about nobody shall be evicted. Essentially without due cause. And due course must take into account the human effect of what that means. we have to change the debate. We have to change the debate from property and development to people. And and this becomes a really critical thing for me because if you move them as we've seen and the evidence is there. The evidence is unimpeachable. The consequences to people, their families, and their communities is devastating. And until we put that in front of people and people understand as that very poignant case made by Maxine of a family who created place and then had their place destroyed in a matter of minutes. Until we understand that that impact has an impact on the family, on the community, and on the next generation and everyone else around them. Until we begin to

understand that and we begin to think about the human consequence against the economic consequence, more love, the macroeconomic picture that the country is paying us debts etcetera etcetera. But it pays its debts. Too often on the consequences to people's lives. So for me it's it's how do we begin to raise the debate? you know, somebody posted in the thing, what do we do? Well, I suggest one of the first things we do is we begin to shift the dialogue from property and development to people. I want to begin to engage people, then, we'll think much more carefully about property and development. Thanks Tony. A hand to you or Maxine at your next and then thank you Francis. I think one thing that is of great importance is actually the launch of this report. So many times in our country especially there are rights that seem to get lost. Because they are ones that make it on the news daily. And the ones that don't. And as Tony kept referring and saying these things are things that are happening every day. But they're just in the background. So the launch of this report to the person in the comments were saying that Zimba bweans are tired. What now? Where do we go? The launch of this report is the first step. To those of us who work in spaces that have the ability to make change. We

are going to go back. I'm going to go back to Verges and I'm going report back and say that, okay, here, where the questions were raised on archaic law. When we are now lobbying and advocating for the change of the mining act, for new acts to come, to come forward. How are we drafting in a way that addresses all the situations and the concerns that we have spoken about? And one thing that we really need to look at, especially with the question of compensation, I think that one is important, because we speak of confidence but how are we going to bring this principle into practice? So as Tony mentioned, this was a good start for the conversation. It's time that we shift the conversation from development to people. To actually seeing how we are going to change the lives of each individual that has been affected. What now? You know we're talking about the starting point of demolitions. But what about the people who've already suffered the demolitions and who have been arbitrarily evicted. The people who homeless. How are we going to cater to those people legally? So in closing, I'd just like to say thank you to everyone who is actually on this platform, people who are asking the questions and people who were the panelist because this has paved a new way for us to be able to think in a new

direction that's effective.  
vaccine Okay, thank you Doctor  
Ravmu. Um I think there are  
three things which I would like  
to propose. Number one is  
legislative reform. The  
constitution is the supreme  
governing law of Zimbabwe And  
if the mines and minerals act  
in the communal lens act are  
out of sync with the  
constitution then we need to a  
lot of noise to force the  
repealing of those outdated  
pieces of legislation and  
demand updated legislative  
mineral legislation and  
communal lens act that does not  
victimise our people. Secondly,  
human rights lawyers need to  
challenge, displacement in the  
courts of law. Using the  
supreme law of the country. Um  
I I was very much relieved  
listening to Maxim speaking and  
if such lawyers can work with  
organisations even like ours  
who are deep in the communities  
where these things are  
happening. Then we can refer  
cases to you and and take these  
issues up with the course of  
law and expose the injustice  
which these legislations  
represent and faint civic  
education. Zimba bweans must  
know that displacement is  
unconstitutional. Ah and that  
ah they need to organise  
themselves. Otherwise we need  
to build power from below. And  
eh and and bring those people  
in out in those communities. Uh  
into the equation. So that they

can have their own urgency. And displacement even when people come to try to displace them. They need to stand eh their ground and say we are not going anywhere. Um eh you know and defend their territory. So I think those three things we need to come together and and pursue them. Thank you. Alright, thank you very much and I think in summary, I think Miles highlighted it. Once again, we've highlighted the challenges. Um we have subsolutions but need to keep moving forward. I see Maxine's dropped off which is sad because I was trying to message her. I must say that our speakers have been are you there? Well, hi. Um our speakers tonight have been superb and thank you for a brilliant discussion. Um I want to hand back to Evo because I don't want to drag on. Um so, Eva, maybe you could close off for us. thanks eh Francis eh before I thank you and the panelist just acknowledge some of the people far and wide. Ah my brother ah George Mzongola and Talaja ah from DRC but in the US. Thanks for joining us. Reward him share with Basa in UK. Jennifer Mohammed Katerre in South Africa. Greg Powell, Chris Mukofa in the UK. Crystal Mary. Page who's now become a regular In the in Malawi. Thank you for joining us. The again we we are looking at a very intense subject. Uh which is

not just peculiar or applicable to Zimbabwe because Organised Violence and Torture and forced border displacements. It said that the the history of contemporary Southern Africa with its minerals curse. It's become a history of displacements. In the colonial era. And sadly in this era Uh and Zimbabwe Zambia. And even South Africa. Are you straight of of the the new expansion.

albeit that which was in the hands of sister generals now have the Chinese leading the pack. And therefore the points raised by Farai And closing, the need for legislative reform, The need for human rights organisations, civil society to challenge displacements, the need for civic education in particular, You can see the when we discuss such things as corruption, human rights, forcible displacements, one would expect given the the importance of the subject that we'll have more people engaged in such discussions. You can see it's very limited And it's almost like Zimbabweans have become immune. To issues of corruption. To issues of human rights. To issues of participation. Said. I don't know how we gonna raise that level of consciousness towards a more sensitive response to things happening everyday

around us. And therefore I like to thank Tony. the passionate treatment presentation. And is is a description of place. I've not seen that kind of description before. It is so profound. To make sin. As you see young lawyer So, rest in the subject and old comrade was being in the trenches for a long time. And has been on this platform, number of times. Uh, when he has to acknowledge the enormous work that Malaysia are doing across the country. It's something we'll never take you enough for it. And of course, our, permanent moderator, Francis, who has always been a background. But today we got into the into the chair itself. Uh and conducting such a intelligently the discussion that we have. Thank you very much. As as you all know the members of this platform of this policy dialogue. Uh this is recorded. It will be transcribed. And be published. Uh eh the form of a policy of a policy brief. We should be online and also in hardcore. And we will through that in sort of launch a new form of dissemination. Through which to sensitise our populations At home. And abroad in the region. To issues which are very pertinent to our region. Na next policy dialogues on the fourth of November. We return It's election mode in Zimbabwe and election mode is almost back to the war zone. Already

the issue of violence  
raises a question whether we  
will ever get to the twenty  
twenty-three elections in  
Zimbabwe. So let's look at  
that. The the ramifications.  
And whether we should be  
looking at more a bold and and  
and and resolute  
decision to discuss something  
other than just elections. Is  
it possible to to get a  
national, regional and  
international consensus? It was  
some kind of settlement. given  
that elections situation is a  
way of not being the solution  
to our problems. So on that  
note I'd like to thank everyone  
who has joined us. And in  
particularly the panelists we  
have been very active and and  
producing the report. Which we  
will help in disseminating.  
Thank you very much and good  
night.  
Africa.  
feet tight  
up a sign