

## **Sapes Trust Online Policy Dialogue Series - What will it take to reach a Settlement in Zimbabwe?**

greetings greetings to you all  
we have joined us from all parts of the  
world  
tonight we this is the fifth in the  
series  
of policy dialogues on zoom and on  
facebook  
and youtube today we look at the topic  
what will it take to reach a settlement  
in zimbabwe  
which is a follow-on on the previous  
discussions that we've had  
the concept note before you  
seeks to inform the discussion this  
evening  
although by no means designed to confine  
the discussion to the to it just to  
highlight one or two points from the  
concept note the first of course is the  
reality that zimbabwe  
is a secular state a military state  
with with a nominal head of state with a  
hostage to the military  
aid of the state to be left of any  
social base or legitimacy  
and therefore isolated  
and besieged  
secondly we want to  
put the proposition that 31st of july  
although reported to have been a failure  
in terms of  
the the the  
the extent to which the state  
mobilizing as he did the whole army and  
police force  
that the demonstrations which were  
planned in texas  
nevertheless 31st of july is the red  
flag  
a warning that zimbabwe has reached a  
new and unsustainable level

altogether others might  
argue that no on the country  
they just isn't enough blood on the  
floor yet  
to to to prompt the kind of response  
nationally regionally and  
internationally  
and my question is how many more  
should be abducted tortured  
killed how much more bloodshed should  
they be in zimbabwe  
after 20 years of relentless struggle  
against a military factor and  
thirdly of course the 31st july  
has given birth to zimbabweans  
it's a mobile lives matter on the back  
of  
black lives matter again an indication  
given where it began in the diaspora  
there's public diaspora  
five million strong the diaspora which  
is  
sustaining the amount of remittances  
from the diasporas government diaspora  
probably equal or more than the national  
budget  
and likewise as we have discovered in  
the course of the discussions  
this bible diaspora is very engaged with  
home  
and to the extent that they began this  
movement  
zimbabwean lives matter is a fair  
indication  
that there can be no solution to the  
zimbabwean question  
without there  
i want also to put to the  
discussion that a lot is happening in  
zimbabwe  
the amount of civic  
activities against the government  
is enormous  
zimbabweans have designed new methods of

struggle  
and this cannot be ignored what we're  
asking here is that there should be  
the requisite support from the region  
and the international community in the  
face of this  
during diabetes uh one of our pandas  
will of course elaborate on what i'm  
just saying  
but but i want to just say that we  
are also members of the national  
convergence platform a  
a grouping of civic bodies churches  
human rights organizations  
citizens manifesto which came together  
on the 13th of  
december 2019. and  
they've produced a comprehensive  
national settlement framework  
which is very close to  
what has been muted as the proposed  
national transition authority the first  
the five  
five core issues one  
a victim led processed  
a two-third constellation commission  
which was set to the score  
of zimbabwe's history of violence  
the violence of 2008 elections the  
current  
violence and abductions these need to be  
to be subjected to a truth in the  
constitutional vision  
secondly a broad reform process  
towards constitutionalism the return of  
the military to  
the barracks and the rule of law  
thirdly a new social contract  
is the basis of  
an inclusive national economic vision  
fourthly a broad-based and inclusive  
national humanitarian and emergency  
response  
particularly to the coveted threat

and firstly mobilization of regional  
continental and  
global support  
for this struggle that the bubbles are  
engaging  
so this evening we have brought together  
people from the national situation  
visited by 10 diabetes and stuff uh  
who i'm going to introduce shortly we  
have  
we have uh from the us todd moss  
moss previously  
served as us deputy assistant secretary  
of state  
and it's january include the period of  
the  
elections in 2008. todd  
also served on a pre-election assessment  
mission to zimbabwe in may 2018  
those who have read todd moss and  
zimbabwe  
is one of the most refreshing informed  
and no doubt  
the person we'd rely on a lot in the u.s  
to help us  
in in in high in profiling this mobile  
situation  
then i have my brother and uh  
contemporary stephen chan  
professor at source many hats  
but we bring him here as a person who  
has been engaged with the zimbabwe  
situation  
since 1980 when he first met  
in zimbabwe and he  
is no doubt an expert on southern africa  
and is limited particularly  
and then tender diabetes nephew  
in diabetes both as a person and the  
name  
is almost anonymous of the struggle the  
second struggle of  
liberation is involved i would i want to  
even argue that is one almost

indispensable  
to the current situation in which we're  
involved  
standard is everywhere we're together  
the course on saturday  
we've just been caught now and hope was  
one  
he is everywhere he's a he's a jewel in  
our struggle  
and we have discussions we have  
malaya from zambia  
a lawyer deputy regional director for  
amnesty international  
i just want to say my condolences  
malaya just lost an ant to covet  
very close for that matter and we're  
grateful that you're able to make it all  
the same  
and then this is from malawi an  
executive  
at freedom house but more significant  
for me tonight  
i just discovered that  
giuseppe is tandy come condominius  
and we know that a few months ago we  
were moaning telliga  
so it was not the reason why we brought  
you here to say  
we brought it in your own right in the  
first instance  
and then my brother from down south greg  
mills  
former director of uh ceo of of southern  
national institutional affairs  
now director of brent tess foundation  
we bring him here also because he has  
been writing  
a lot with uh one uh hartley  
one is in mumbai and on south africa's  
policies to zimbabwe  
in a very critical fashion but he's also  
here  
to represent uh our old man  
president obasanjo was unable to make it

but send a note saying look  
greg will represent me so  
i'm not suggesting that you speak twice  
a great question anyway the old man  
thinks that you you  
you are you are sufficient to represent  
both yourself and him  
and of course uh chennai bt greg  
knows and  
produced a book recently on democracy  
which we were privileged to launch  
at surplus last year  
i don't know what happened to malema  
first of all i'd want to say that he  
he let us down because he never indeed  
did not it  
did not confirm we invited him but he's  
not confirmed so he's no way  
no show but we have another  
of our colleagues patrick smith  
the editor of africa report  
and again someone who's very very  
familiar  
with the african automation in zimbabwe  
he was also technically advised to the  
un  
panel on the exploitation  
of mineral and other resources in the  
drc  
in the 90s and is  
the author of wuzbu in southern africa  
patrick welcome so  
i now introduce a valid  
uganda or very able moderator  
to take us through the discussion thank  
you very much uh  
dr mendeza for those introductions and  
hello to viewers in zimbabwe and around  
the world  
i am violet gonda and welcome to the  
fifth  
in the sapes trust policy dialogue  
series on  
zimbabwe's deepening crisis and we are

of course  
looking for the way forward as you heard  
from  
dr mandaza today's theme is what will it  
take to reach a settlement in zimbabwe  
and the fundamental questions we'll be  
asking are  
is the zimbabwean crisis sufficient that  
it requires  
international pressure what should we  
expect  
from the regional and international  
community we are live streaming as usual  
on the sapers trust facebook page  
and participants watching on zoom can  
type their questions for speakers here  
or raise your hands during the open  
forum  
we will start with the presentations  
from our three panelists  
todd moss stephen chan and tendai beauty  
and then contributions from a number of  
selected discussions including  
malaya and from zambia to sika casambala  
from malawi greg mills south africa  
and patrick smith in the united kingdom  
it's now  
my pleasure to introduce our first guest  
speaker  
todd moss who is a non-resident fellow  
at the center for global development  
he will be interrogating the u.s  
position on zimbabwe  
while also making his own  
recommendations todd  
great well well thank you thank you  
violet um and  
thank you evo for that very generous  
introduction  
i'm honored to be joined by such  
illustrious colleagues  
um and i want to thank also sappa's  
trust  
you know i started my career in zimbabwe

30 years ago as a student  
in harare studying shona at ranch house  
college and learning about zimbabwe's  
politics and history  
and i visited zappos trust many times  
for my research on south african  
destabilization in the region  
and i'm grateful for the chance to talk  
with everyone  
who's logged in today so look this is a  
big question  
what will it take to reach a settlement  
in zimbabwe  
first and foremost you know any  
settlement is going to depend  
on the choices and decisions of  
zimbabweans  
it's not going to be decided by  
outsiders  
but i do think i can contribute to this  
discussion by sharing the perspective of  
the united states  
and the u.s matters because it has long  
been a friend and partner of the  
zimbabwean people  
the u.s is the largest provider of  
humanitarian  
assistance to the country and the u.s  
is a member of the paris club of  
creditors  
and a shareholder of the international  
financial institutions  
with whom zimbabwe is in billions of  
dollars in deep arrears  
and any genuine recovery in zimbabwe  
will require  
debt forgiveness and new loans  
any debt forgiveness or new loans will  
therefore require  
u.s agreement and thus any reform  
process  
that's uh supposed to undergird um  
new lending will have to be convincing  
to the united states

so if that sounds a little grim let me  
start with some good news  
the first piece of good news is that the  
u.s policy  
on zimbabwe has been very clear and very  
consistent for the past two decades  
uh the zimbabwe democracy and recovery  
act  
called zadera passed way back in 2001  
and it was just updated in 2018 everyone  
can read it  
google will help you find it it's only  
four pages long  
and it's very clear it says that u.s  
support for zimbabwe is contingent on  
good governance  
and a return to the rule of law there's  
a lot of misinformation out there about  
what zadera is so i would encourage you  
to have a look for yourself  
more good news u.s policy towards  
zimbabwe  
is very bipartisan it has been very  
stable from president bush to president  
obama to president trump  
and i can tell you that it does not  
matter who wins the election  
in what in the united states in november  
u.s policy towards zimbabwe will will  
remain steady  
and one last piece of good news  
washington dc  
pays very close attention to zimbabwe it  
knows  
zimbabwe's history and the u.s has not  
been fooled by  
by false uh promises we watched very  
closely in 2008 i was in the state  
department then  
during that that period we closely  
watched the  
government of national unity we saw what  
could happen  
in zimbabwe when you have a competent

finance minister  
in charge we saw the recovery that was  
possible  
but ultimately we saw what happens when  
the ruling party  
refuses to share real power  
and we watch the 2013 elections the coup  
in 2017 and of course the election in  
2018.  
now here's the bad news after  
at least five recent opportunities to do  
so  
uh the view from washington is that  
there is  
no reason to believe that zanu-pf can  
reform itself  
unlike some other governments the u.s  
has never bought into the propaganda of  
the so-called new dispensation  
i hope uh stephen will tell us more  
about what the british embassy  
in harare may have been thinking but i  
can say that the u.s  
very clearly was never fooled  
and as ibo mentioned i was back in  
harare in may 2018  
ahead of the election a group of former  
us diplomats came for an assessment  
and we the group of us came away  
convinced and i should say unanimously  
convinced  
that the ruling party was perpetuating  
three charades three different false  
campaigns to trick the international  
community  
and the zimbabwean people that things  
were changing  
now we concluded that each of the three  
charades were not real  
because there were lots of clear easy  
things the government could do  
if it was genuine but instead the  
government kept doing  
the opposite the three charades are one

political reform the elections from our  
perspective were a farce  
from the voter roll to the open  
intimidation of opposition supporters to  
the post-election violence  
the second charade was on economic  
reform  
open for business it was a nice slogan  
but virtually no  
meaningful steps were actually taken  
to open the economy or to tackle  
corruption  
and third the third facade was national  
reconciliation  
it seemed to us like obvious political  
theater  
there was no genuine intention of  
grappling with the ghosts of 2008  
2005 and certainly not gokuro hyundai  
and we concluded that the us government  
should be skeptical and move very  
cautiously  
i know i wish we had been wrong sadly i  
think we were proven  
right sadly the entire world now knows  
that the promises of reforms and  
national healing were false promises  
in fact they were specifically designed  
not to  
change zimbabwe but actually to shield  
those in power  
to further entrench them and  
most obviously to make them richer and  
sadly those same  
three facades today  
uh august 2020 still seem to be the same  
plan  
so any potential settlement  
going forward would need to convince the  
zimbabwean people  
that the prospect of reform was real  
and for the united states we would have  
to see  
genuine steps forward that reforms were

going to happen  
i i don't think washington will ever  
agree to a repeat  
of the government of national unity or a  
repeat of  
2018 and the recent  
use by the government of washington  
lobbyists to promote the poll ad  
suggests that they still think we're  
going to be easily tricked if they  
just keep trying now the us  
will look to zimbabwe civil society  
uh we will take important signals from  
the people of zimbabwe  
we will especially watch the movement  
and behavior of the diaspora  
if the diaspora is not coming home with  
their feet or with their money  
it is not a sign of confidence that  
things are really changing  
so to be clear the u.s will  
not rubber stamp another round of  
pretending  
uh that that is really just another  
attempt  
by the same small circle of people to  
hold on to power  
the same small group of people who  
caused the country's crisis in the first  
place  
so let me conclude by saying the big  
question for any settlement from the  
outside  
it it's actually quite a simple question  
even though it's a big it's a big issue  
will the settlement advance the causes  
of democracy  
national healing and economic recovery  
or will  
a settlement only serve to further  
entrench  
and enrich those who are currently in  
power  
why don't i stop there thank you thank

you  
um very much todd for those remarks  
let me start by asking you um a general  
question is america the best  
place uh to be lecturing the world at  
this point because many say  
democracy advocates have been betrayed  
by the u.s current administration  
and that the behavior of president trump  
is similar to that of  
uh president emerson nagawa in terms of  
attacking the press  
and authorizing democratic institutions  
what's your reaction to this  
look the united states is is is very far  
from perfect  
uh we always have been um and i think  
that we try as hard as we can  
to be honest about our shortcomings i  
think the the public outcry  
uh over um the george floyd killing  
and the subsequent black lives matter um  
movement has really you know this is  
going to fundamentally  
change the united states um  
and you know this is an issue that all  
society all societies are grappling with  
racism and we need to grapple with this  
honestly  
um yes i do think that the rhetoric and  
the actions of the trump administration  
have  
undermined uh our standing on human  
rights and democracy  
around the world including in zimbabwe  
but i would say  
none of that excuses the faults of the  
american government or the american  
um problems in the in america society  
cannot be used as an excuse for the  
zimbabwean government  
to violate their own constitution the  
human rights of their people  
and to continue to destroy the

zimbabwean economy  
we will be trying to deal with our own  
problems  
just like all countries are dealing with  
the with the current crisis  
but i don't think that you're going to  
see the united states  
abandon its long-term commitment to good  
governance  
to democracy to human rights and  
especially to  
the economic opportunity of freedom  
uh that all people around the world  
aspire to  
and and on the issue of um section  
sanctions uh critics actually say that  
sanctions are useless that they are  
hurting  
ordinary people and zimbabwe has had  
sanctions for  
20 years um and that's and they say what  
did they achieve  
your your thoughts on this  
sure so um so i think it's pretty clear  
you can  
uh you can use google again and go to  
the us treasury website  
and see the names of the people who are  
sanctioned  
these are not on these are not trade  
sanctions like uh  
against south africa during apartheid  
and these are not  
uh general sanctions against zimbabweans  
except the specific companies and names  
on that list and  
just yesterday two additional names were  
added to that list and 32 names were  
taken off which i think  
should be a sign that the us again is  
paying attention and trying to shape the  
sanctions regime  
to be updated as zimbabwe's situation  
evolves um

but i i also think that um  
the the issue of whether whether  
sanctions have  
been helpful or not to zimbabwe's  
trajectory  
as you suggest we've had sanctions in  
place for 20 years and zimbabwe's  
situation has mostly gotten worse over  
those 20 years  
sanctions are a relatively blunt tool i  
think at this stage the policy question  
for us  
now is not it's not can we go back to  
2001  
and and uh do something differently i i  
think we all wish we could do that the  
question for policymakers in 2020  
is is is and this comes back to my exact  
my final question will lifting sanctions  
in 2020  
will that uh will that advance the  
causes of democracy national healing and  
economic recovery  
or will that benefit those that are  
currently  
entrenched in power and enriching  
themselves  
my personal view and this is a policy  
decision i'm not in government now my  
personal view is that if the u.s  
lifted all sanctions right now and  
relieved that pressure  
that that would be a tremendous  
propaganda victory for the current  
regime  
and it would be interpreted by many as a  
signal that the u.s  
no longer cared about democracy and  
human rights and that is quite simply  
not true  
one last thing i'll just note is if you  
read the language  
on the last couple of sanctions editions  
including the action that was taken

yesterday  
you'll notice that there's a very strong  
new emphasis on  
corruption and the us is definitely  
taking a much sharper lens  
on looking to see which public officials  
and their allies are stealing money from  
the zimbabwean people and using that to  
justify  
additional sanctions because that's  
where  
we can use the tools of the global banks  
to try to limit their ability to steal  
money from  
from ordinary people okay last question  
um for you before i move to um professor  
stephen chandler  
you mentioned that the u.s is unlikely  
to  
support another gnu if i heard you uh  
correctly  
but what about the positions that have  
been outlined by  
um uh dr ebel mendez in his  
opening remarks about the ncp  
um what do you think the the us  
government will support  
um an initiative like that so  
look the the i think that the answer is  
going to be that the the us would assess  
the uh the options when that when they  
see them the us  
is not going to dictate the terms of a  
settlement to  
the zimbabwean people that will be up to  
zimbabweans to negotiate  
but the u.s will take an independent  
view about whether this is a  
genuine transition this is a genuine  
opportunity to get zimbabwe back  
on track i think the starting point is  
going to be deep skepticism  
because of the previous periods we we  
would want to

we would want to be convinced  
that this process was going to  
lead to all of the positive outcomes we  
want to see and not  
as the gnu was ultimately just another  
mechanism  
for a small cabal of zanu-pf to cling to  
power and to get richer  
um so that is the that is the the trick  
and  
and i'd say my my um  
you know my colleagues in government  
will definitely want to hear from civil  
society from the different opposition  
parties and from the diaspora if those  
groups all believe that that  
it's for real um and we're seeing  
concrete steps not just  
words and promises and billboards but  
actual concrete steps  
i'm very confident that the u.s would  
get behind and support that  
but before billions of dollars are wiped  
off of  
the books um and billions more put into  
the zimbabwean economy  
we're going to need a much higher degree  
of confidence that those dollars will be  
for good and not  
and not be uh for um for deepening the  
crisis we'll certainly come back to you  
um later but and i can see there are  
quite a few  
um responses in our zoom chat  
so um we'll come back and ask you some  
of those questions later but  
let me turn to uh professor stephen chan  
who is a professor of world politics at  
sowers  
university here in london he's going to  
start  
with his presentation on uk policy on  
zimbabwe  
professor chan

hello i'm delighted to be here with all of you and to see many old friends again and to be able to participate in this particular seminar i think that what we've got in the united states is a very very difficult in the united kingdom it's a very difficult situation where the united kingdom finds itself and battled on a number of fronts it has a covert crisis of course but what is also happening is that there's an economic meltdown in the united kingdom itself because of the mishandling of the brexit issue so you have a distraction in terms of being able to concentrate on key parts of the world and i think i have to say quite bluntly at this point in time africa in general does not really feature in high level united kingdom policy formulation and zimbabwe hardly features a tour in the deliberations of the government in the foreign and commonwealth office and in fact africa in general as far as the foreign commonwealth office is concerned has been to a certain extent downgraded there's been a huge rotation of ministers these are junior ministers responsible for africa each one seems to last not much more than a year and then they're rotated it's seen very very much as some kind of training ground for the possibility of future promotion and i think that most of the incumbents look at it very much as a passing through portfolio so they can be promoted

elsewhere so the whole idea of having consistent developing policy on a country like zimbabwe that's actually not there in the united kingdom right now and there's been a very deliberate taking the eye off the political war the current ambassador to zimbabwe melanie robinson she's an aid expert she came out of the department for international development and this market departure from the kind of ambassadors that the united kingdom used to send to zimbabwe and people like katriona lange for instance was very very clearly someone who is enmeshed in the political world in the diplomatic world in the world of high politics and the same with deborah branet before the same with mark canning before so there was a very deliberate sea change a very deliberate change of policy towards zimbabwe almost as if to say we're going to give up trying to fix the problems down there and let's just try to do as best we can in humanitarian terms now the last ambassador too was about where catriona lang became very controversial of course because of the messaging that she was meant to have been setting home to whitehall these messages have been to a certain extent misinterpreted i was very very close to the foreign office and in fact to katrina lang at that point in time and the kinds of messages being sent

back were that in the power struggles of  
zimbabwe  
the united kingdom government would  
benefit  
more from the meningocor administration  
as opposed to a grace mugabe  
administration and this was purely a  
pragmatic  
piece of advice the united kingdom  
didn't feel it could  
deal with the grace mugabe type of  
administration  
in the event it was the presidency  
the actual coming to power of military  
took the united kingdom  
by surprise they weren't expecting the  
movements that led to the fall  
of robert mugabe and at that point in  
time you had a new young minister  
for africa rory stewart uh who  
basically made a policy on the spot  
he invited me into his office to consult  
that very very evening he was on a plane  
to  
zimbabwe to attend the inauguration  
of munich but this was something which  
did not necessarily reflect the  
collective wisdom of his seniors  
in the foreign commonwealth office and  
in government as a whole  
even so he was very much required to put  
to malaga  
a very clear message that there would be  
no lifting  
of pressure from the united kingdom  
without very very clear signals in terms  
of civil liberties and in terms of  
political rights  
now i know exactly what was in her  
speech because i helped him write it  
and it was laying down a marker that any  
kind of  
re-engagement with the meningaku  
administration was conditional

and those two conditions were let me  
reiterate this to people with civil  
liberties  
and to do with political rights now  
insofar as the united kingdom pays any  
attention  
to africa and to zimbabwe in the middle  
of its current crisis  
then it's very very much looking at two  
things  
are those conditions being fulfilled and  
as with the united states  
the judgment would be no they're not  
the other thing they're looking at is is  
zimbabwe about to head into another  
humanitarian crisis  
particularly in terms of health care and  
particularly in terms of malnutrition  
needing to rely on food relief from the  
international community  
once again this is where motherly  
robinson the ambassador is very very  
well placed precisely  
to advise the government as to what kind  
of humanitarian relief the united  
kingdom can provide  
insofar as there's any foreign aid  
budget left in the united kingdom i  
think that there'll be a  
a very deep anxiety to try to do  
something  
to help the zimbabwean people the other  
thing i should mention  
from the point of view of the united  
kingdom is of course the very very large  
zimbabwean diaspora  
you know it grows and wanes in terms  
of its size but of course it's been huge  
from time to time  
and there are zimbabwean hot spots as it  
were there are  
towns and suburbs which are like little  
ferrari  
you hear shona being spoken on the

streets  
and they're phenomenally well organized  
and they're very well organized in terms  
also of  
their political views there used to be a  
very strong zombie pf  
presence along with the ashford that's  
faded  
quite noticeably this is not to say that  
there's a  
greater sympathy for greater degree of  
support for the mdc  
but there certainly has been a huge  
attrition of support  
and tolerance of what's happening back  
home in terms of the zanu-pf government  
and this is where i think that dr  
maddaza was perfectly correct in his  
introductory remarks and emphasizing  
that we should watch for the  
zimbabwean lives matter movement which  
has begun  
and which has in a very short time begun  
to attract the huge  
following in the united kingdom but also  
in the united states  
what i find quite interesting  
particularly in the united states with  
zimbabwean lives matter  
is the number of black american  
celebrities that have now been drawn  
to support zimbabwean lives matter  
once saudi pf starts losing the  
international  
black youth vote as it were  
this is going to have a huge effect  
because these are important voters  
for any kind of government seeking  
election or re-election  
uh they're going to have policies that  
say we're not going to lift sanctions  
for instance and they're going to have  
policies that basically say  
that civil liberties

lives matter suppression repression  
killing in the streets are precisely  
those things that will be  
alerted to governments from young people  
young black people in europe and in  
america  
that there can be no toleration for  
these kinds of policies from president  
obama  
so it's a new form of civil society i'm  
not sure if this is really sunk in  
deeply as yet in terms of mdc thinking  
because i've yet actually to see and  
coordinate to deeply thought out  
multi-platform  
electronic effort to capture  
international  
civil society but that really is the  
future with the reduction in terms of  
physical space  
because of troops on the streets police  
on the streets beatings  
killings abductions that kind of thing  
the new sphere of activism is very very  
much online  
and that's going to grow and grow and  
grow and  
shape international public opinion it  
might not  
change the government in zimbabwe but  
what it means  
increasingly and i'm actually going to  
make this into a very firm prediction  
this mantra  
of zimbabwe being open for business  
this is rhetoric of course as we've been  
discussing but it would be rhetoric that  
would  
sound more and more hollow in the face  
of the success  
of electronic campaigns like zimbabwe  
and lives matter  
no self-respecting corporation of any  
kind of monetary value

is going to invest in zimbabwe that's  
american corporations and that british  
corporations from the point of view of  
the business community  
in the united kingdom when i speak to  
them  
there's absolutely no confidence that  
zimbabwe really is open for business  
everyone thinks they'll lose their money  
everyone thinks that their money  
would not be safe that it would be  
stolen  
in other words the whole climate for  
investment  
is no longer something which is in any  
way attractive  
and public relations rhetoric of the  
sort of the president would be delaying  
simply is not  
going to work in other words as with  
political matters  
political liberties civil liberties  
the test is what's the reality if this  
reality is not apparent if it's not  
real then from the united kingdom at  
least  
they'll stand pretty much with their  
american cousins  
and not want to go there  
so that's what i wanted to say at the  
outset okay  
no um thank you professor chad just to  
back a bit to what you said right at the  
beginning  
you say uk communications are largely  
confined  
to humanitarian work if i heard you  
correctly  
but many would still argue that um you  
know britain  
did facilitate the 2017 coup  
so my question then would be to what  
extent is the uk  
stance on the deteriorating situation in

zimbabwe  
constrained by its culpability in the  
november  
2017 coup and uh what are the current  
lines of communications between  
harare and london right now basically  
just starting with your last question  
first the lines of communication are  
very very  
modest they're very low key there's  
finally a new ambassador from zimbabwe  
to london he's not been particularly  
active  
so that what you have is a presence at  
formal ambassadorial level  
and no real engagement with whitehall of  
any kind of  
meaning and whitehall doesn't actually  
want to engage itself beyond a certain  
very limited point to do with being able  
to honor protocol  
and things of that nature in terms of  
probability for 2017  
i actually differ from  
some received wisdom that somehow the  
united kingdom  
was in some way involved as i said they  
were very very surprised  
they preferred meningaga to grace  
mukherje  
but they were happy to see the end of  
robert mugabe it was almost like a  
personal feud  
between the two countries in the  
personalities of  
the president of zimbabwe and of course  
prime ministers like tony blair  
but i don't think anyone plotted or was  
in any way directly culpable  
for the removal of mugabe if you're  
going to say which government  
internationally was in some way culpable  
then you're looking at my other as it  
were hat

that is the chinese hat had basically  
i think my very strong suspicion  
is that beijing gave the green light  
not in any active way using basic  
chinese modest language very cultural  
attribute just saying well it's your  
business  
so go ahead but just for some strange  
reason we're not going to make any noise  
if you choose to go ahead don't forget  
that chiwenga was in beijing just before  
all of this started happening  
so you have as all kinds of rumors about  
which government was more comfortable  
than the other  
certainly i would say from the point of  
view of the british they were  
pleasantly surprised but very much  
surprised  
i don't think they were involved i think  
it's true to say that they preferred  
minnega  
but that's because and i'll use this  
term a strong term  
that's because they detested  
questionable garbage  
so you know you brought in the chinese  
element and dominic mutanga on  
zoom actually asks uh what role do you  
see  
china playing in either mediating or  
perpetuating  
the current um the current crisis in  
zimbabwe  
well it's been a little while since i've  
been in beijing but  
uh my recent visit to beijing they took  
me aside and showed me their figures on  
zimbabwe  
very very deep financial figures and  
calculations  
and i looked up from these figures from  
all of these papers they gave me and i  
said so you know it's a basket case

and they said yes of course we know it's a basket case and the basic position was they're still going to help in terms of development projects for instance infrastructural projects agricultural projects and they see a need for that they're not going to give budgetary standby support they're not going to bail out the government and apart from some certain gestures about writing off 102 loans they're not going to write off a huge number of loans now when mini goldberg came to power our estimates in the foreign and commonwealth office was that zimbabwe owed 9 billion immediately that required to be repaid out of a possible 35 billion and rising to the rest of the international community those were the most modest estimates that we were able to come up with now 9 million the chinese could have just given that just like that there would not be a problem for them we need nine billion here's nine billion but they themselves were not convinced that the zimbabwean government would introduce fiscal transparency if you look at what the chinese did in angola they basically said we'll keep investing but we want to have transparency in your national budget allocations the national budget used to be one gigantic slush fund without any subheads but the chinese basically imposed subheads as it were on the national budget so it could not just be

a slush fund open for corruption it's  
still of course a corrupt country  
but transparency at least in a  
superficial sense  
was implanted into the angolan  
fiscal situation and the chinese were  
able to continue  
their relationship with the government  
of angola on a financial  
basis heavy chinese investment there  
that's not going to come to zimbabwe  
because they're not satisfied with your  
fiscal  
probity with your fiscal discipline  
when you look at the way that the  
chinese are acting right now not  
any longer state to state giving of  
money  
that the state provides liquidity is  
increasingly being done by chinese banks  
they might be state banks or banks with  
majority state holding  
but a bank is a bank as a bank as a bank  
it's got to get its money back  
it's got to impose fiscal conditions  
repayment  
servicing all of those kinds of things  
reliability  
of expectation in terms of returning  
money now  
with this basic lack of confidence  
coming out of beijing towards the  
current government  
they're also not particularly minded to  
act as a mediator  
let someone else do that we've put so  
much into this country  
right from the very beginning we helped  
zaru pf with the liberation struggle  
we trained their soldiers we equipped  
the zamra army who stood by them  
all of these years we're not removing  
our support but we're not increasing it  
and we're not going to get our hands any

deeper  
into the zimbabwean mud now they'll  
never say it like that  
but i'm willing to bet my hat or bedtime  
dye's hat if i could steal it from him  
at some point in time  
he always wears very nice troubies that  
the chinese behind closed doors think  
along those lines  
we'll hear from tendai just now the last  
question for you and it's a what's up  
message and it goes with your  
you the last sentiments that you've you  
talked about in terms of  
um mediation who could be the  
right uh person or country to do this  
so the question is uk has import has  
had an important role in lancaster what  
about  
now what about bringing the political  
parties to the table  
what can you say briefly on that one  
before we move on to to tendai  
we don't have a foreign minister like  
lord carrington anymore  
he was really one-off whether you loved  
him or loathed and  
i had a love hate relationship with him  
myself but  
really we have nobody of that kind of  
stature and nobody with that kind of  
inclination  
if you're looking for international  
intervention then someone like a special  
representative of the united nations  
secretary general  
that could be something to aim for but i  
would not be in  
total favor of that a special envoy a  
special representative of the chair of  
the african union  
would signal that africa was trying to  
deal with its own problems  
try to deal with its own members or

maybe a  
past president or chairman of the  
african union  
somebody like jean ping for instance  
from gabon whom i regarded very very  
highly  
and not just because he was half chinese  
but someone of that kind of  
stature someone who would come and  
be able to talk a language that was  
understandable to both of the main sides  
but i don't think that even if you found  
a mediating  
figure that the two major parties are at  
this stage interested in  
mediation they're playing a game of  
attrition against each other at this  
moment in time okay  
now thank you professor stephen chan  
now let me move on to tendai bt who's  
the mdc vice president  
uh tendai can you give us your position  
from  
the opposition point of view  
well thank you very much and uh good  
evening to  
the viewers and listeners and my good  
friends  
todd and craig  
i think the question demands a certain  
critical answers  
and the first question is uh  
is zanu-pf ready to talk  
and what is zanu-pf who is zanu-pf  
are they incentives for zanu-pf  
to to talk what are the drivers  
uh or for any dialogue  
he has zimbabwe and the two main  
er parties the mtc alliance in zanu-pf  
if we reach the a a mutually  
self-hitting status quo which leaves  
the parties with no choice but to  
dialogue and talk  
which is what we did in 2007 and in 2008

uh when a president mugabe was still  
around  
and the president changi was still  
around  
this time around i don't think that  
zanu-pf is ready to talk  
i think that the biggest challenge  
and the elephant in the living room is  
the complete takeover  
of the zimbabwean states by the military  
the rise of uh the securocratic state  
which since november 2017  
we have seen this massive authoritarian  
you know consolidation we have seen  
massive  
closure of political uh you know you  
know you know you know spaces  
in a manner that is a you know you know  
you know unprecedented  
the current goings on now of abductions  
arrest of journalists a rest  
of pastors of lawyers no one is safe  
is unprecedented it's almost like you  
are you are dealing with a totally  
deranged  
you know you know you know elite uh in  
zanu-pf  
that is controlling that is controlling  
the state but this there's something  
that is happening other than  
authoritarian consolidation there's  
something else  
that is happening which is an incentive  
for the retention of the status quo  
and the disincentive uh for change  
for transformation and for dialogue  
this screen is the massive looting that  
is currently  
taking place in zimbabwe at the present  
moment  
i chaired the public accounts committee  
of of parliament  
i've never seen such massive looting  
done directly from treasure from the

ministry  
of finance the minister of finance is  
traditionally  
a gatekeeper and when you have a  
situation where the gatekeeper becomes  
the gate crusher  
you have a problem in some of the  
figures 2.7 billion  
u.s dollars stolen in 2017 and in 2017  
on one day alone  
the 27th of december 2017  
1.5 billion us dollars was stolen  
directly from  
from treasure i mean for christ's sake  
rusty was on christmas day  
2018 3.5 billion u.s dollars  
uh was was was was stolen  
then you have what they've been stealing  
from the reserve bank the u.s dollar  
uh what they've been stealing through  
command agriculture what they've been  
stealing through  
their true fuel what they've been  
stealing through a procurement  
what they've been stealing through a  
subsidies it's a  
it's a dog's breakfast and one which not  
many dogs  
would touch look at the way they're  
stripping you know commodities minerals  
and so forth  
kudata guri and sakunda now have their  
hands  
in virtually every sector of our  
commodities  
whether it's platinum whether it's a  
gold  
whether it's chrome whether it's  
diamonds their ugly hands  
they are there and emerson was right at  
the center  
of this they've taken over the transport  
the entire transportation  
of public transportation of zimbabwe the

monopoly has been given  
to support the zimbabwe united passenger  
omnipotent  
company who is controlling that it's  
actually amazing  
and i don't think there's any incentive  
for them to to dialogue and to  
negotiate as michelle wong wrote  
in relation to kenya it's their time to  
eat  
and when they are eating i don't think  
they would want to  
they would want to to depart from the  
political scene  
it effects this incentive  
for departure is the elite rapture  
inside the  
you know zanu-pf itself so apart from  
the state being an arena of  
accumulation it's also an arena for for  
safety  
as long as you are president you can  
control  
the armed section of the state for your  
own security  
no one is going to come to your door to  
to  
to prosecute you so holding on to power  
fragile in slippery is it is uh  
it becomes a source of a personal  
security family security a tribal uh  
you know you know you know security so  
in my respectful  
submission the  
the the drivers of change in zimbabwe  
which i  
will talk about at the present moment  
outweighed by the  
regime retention agenda  
or more appropriately the regime  
survival  
the regime survival agenda and that  
doesn't bode well  
uh for for for for for for zimbabwe

what are the drivers for for for change  
and how do we make the drivers for  
change for transformation for dialogue  
how do we make them outweigh  
the regime survival or regime change  
a a you know you know you know agenda  
how do we get to a stage where we can  
actually  
a dialogue uh the drivers for change are  
number one  
the complete economic mismanagement by  
this a  
regime look at the total mismanagement  
of monetary policy and the foreign  
exchange  
regime they introduced the auction rate  
a few  
weeks ago but the auction rate itself is  
increasing exponentially  
simply because you can't control the  
product that  
you don't have and we're not we're not  
producing there's no  
productivity so yesterday the auction  
rate it was one is to eight  
the black market rate is one is to a  
one zero five in a few weeks time the  
production rate will be on ones to  
105 in the parallax will keep on growing  
faster  
than the than the auction rates  
the source of all zimbabwe's economic  
stability is of course  
a lack of fiscal discipline and lack of  
fiscal  
uh consolidation while it's nominally  
they appear to have  
in surpluses the deficit is being  
monetized and hidden through the reserve  
bank which has started printing money  
and is increasing a broad money supply  
only a week ago they signed an agreement  
a global compensation fund  
agreement with the with the mem the

extra farmers  
of u.s 3.5 billion dollars that has not  
been brought to parliament  
that has not been approved by parliament  
but that will impose  
serious fiscal obligations on the  
republic of zimbabwe  
is half of that amount has to be paid by  
within 12 months uh within 12 months  
from now  
the crisis is also increased it's also  
coming the cost  
the way to put soldiers on the streets  
they have to cancel the leave of every  
policeman every cio  
every every soldier that is committed  
at a cost they had to increase the  
salaries of of civil servants  
and so and so the the budget deficit  
is looming and as all of us know it is  
not the budget deficit per se which is a  
problem  
it's how they monetize the budget  
deficit  
how they cover the wall and if you cover  
the wall through creative  
extra legal means like the printing of  
money you've got a problem  
so in short economic mismanagement is a  
driver for change  
corruption itself is a drive of change  
our people are very very  
uh are very very angry number three is  
the violence on our people  
you know you know you know you know you  
know recently uh we had those three  
girls  
those girls were sexually uh you know  
you know you know you know abused  
with young che you are in in again  
viciously assaulted  
and sexually abused we've got  
journalists that  
are that are in hiding we've got

complete capture  
of state institutions uh and i'm a  
practicing lawyer  
going to court is a nightmare because  
the formalities  
because appearing in court is that a  
formality  
you know the outcome it is brazen and  
they don't  
that they don't care so in my submission  
there is an obligation on the citizen  
including the mdc alliance of keeping on  
pressure against  
the regime is is permitted in terms of  
section 59  
of the constitution of zimbabwe will  
with all the attended  
risks with all the attendance uh you  
know you know you know you know you know  
dangers  
so 31 july it was fantastic  
some will argue that it flopped i would  
submit that it didn't  
because the state was stretched uh the  
stretch  
was was was exposed and they failed to  
mix  
uh the the test you also have impending  
constitutional amendments amazon is  
amending the constitution  
to consolidate his own hold on power  
and to recreate an imperial you know you  
know president  
so the constitutional project is another  
one that is creating incentive for  
change  
because the citizen is very unhappy uh  
with  
the constitutional you know you know  
amendments  
so there's an obligation on the citizen  
to keep on pumping the pressure  
there's an obligation on the mdcli is to  
actually provide

the requisite leadership but most importantly there is an obligation on every zimbabwean of understanding that he or she is no obligation to act the next critical issue is that even if we put pressure there has to be external urgency on this weapon crisis there has to be external a referee so it is going to be very critical for the region to act it is going to be very critical for cyril ramaphosa to act and i think it's disappointing at the present moment that we haven't seen the leadership that we expect uh of of cyril ramaphosa we haven't seen sadiq behaving and acting in the same way that other regional bodies in particular the west african original body has been acting and so sadiq itself has become a hot spot of for of nasty characters take john pumbi maga fully in tanzania take education in in in zambia take philippe nuci in mozambique and our very own emerson rambuzzo uh so there is an obligation uh on on on sadiq there is an obligation on international law to provide not just a deterrence to the kind of fascist madness that is taking place in zimbabwe but also the kind of incentives that are necessary to ensure that there is order in zimbabwe there is a there is stability and my hope is that with the world paying attention closely

on zimbabwe as it is at the present moment  
that the u.n and in particular the u.n security council  
may uh may uh you know you know take notice  
so my submission is that the primary obligation  
of obtaining the change we need lies on zimbabwe  
but zimbabweans alone without the agency and external  
refereeing of the regional community it won't be enough  
in 2007 in 2008 uh we we you know we we you know we we  
we we got we got bots so a national transitional mechanism is  
something that we support but it must be based on the agenda  
of reform on the agenda of transformation  
and we must avoid the mistakes we made in 2007 in 2008  
when we created the government of national unity by  
focusing and creating an agreement that was essentially a peace  
agreement a peace truce to stop the violence and the killings  
of 2008 this time around we're wiser we have learned from our mistake  
we must actually craft an agreement that focuses on real reform and the real  
reform must start with how do we zero with the security  
question in zimbabwe how do we ensure that the military go back to the barrack  
how do we ensure that the military comply with section 205 of the constitution  
and respect and elected civilian order secondly how do we deal with the scourge

of state capture  
in my respective view corruption has  
become such a  
key issue in the zimbabwean discourse  
that to move forward  
you have to put it high up on the agenda  
of any meaningful you know discussion on  
reform  
on transformation so after the security  
question  
after the military question you have to  
have discussions on security  
on corruption because corruption and the  
military sector  
are inextricably linked you'll find the  
same characters  
the same cabal involved in both sides of  
of the coin then of course we need a  
political reform  
we need constitutional reform we need  
legislative reform  
and perhaps most importantly how do we  
recover and rehabilitate  
the economy the ordinary citizen out  
there is suffering  
95 percent of zimbabweans uh are  
unemployed  
seven million zimbabweans are food  
vulnerable  
five million zimbabweans they have to  
receive  
in the national humanitarian you know  
you know assistance  
79 percent of zimbabweans are living in  
extreme poverty  
surviving on less than us 35 cents a day  
what we here in zimbabwe call called  
sauna  
so then of course you've got the the  
crisis you know you know  
the part to covet a pandemic which has  
been seriously  
been mishandled and mismanaged by  
by this uh by this regime so we have a

number of issues that need  
you know you know you know you know  
address but in my opinion  
we are still a far because you've got a  
a group of direct individuals who are  
oblivious to the pride of zimbabweans  
who are concerned with two things and  
two things alone  
a the power retention agenda and to  
state capture or corruption in the  
headquarter of that group  
is amazon i will stop here for now thank  
you very much  
you've touched on quite a few issues and  
i can see  
that the chat room is quite busy they're  
quite a lot of questions  
from people so i'll ask some um the  
first one is from t  
doddler who says military has always  
been  
an extension of zionism and i would  
actually want to also  
add a question to his observation saying  
that  
um so what do you propose to do  
in terms of bringing the military to the  
table do you think the military should  
be  
brought to the table since there is such  
a significant  
play and this all in the saga well i  
think  
i think it's a dangerous precedent to  
actually  
bring the military on the table on the  
table i think it's a dangerous  
precedent  
it's an unconstitutional a precedent and  
i think it must be avoided  
but there must be dialogue there must be  
dialogue  
that's it that it takes care  
of military consensus in the military

and military issues uh in 2008  
in april 2008 after where the mdc had  
won that election  
and morgan  
had beaten a president robert mugabe  
the military sent invoice to talk to  
morgan in changi  
and they were about six key issues that  
they raised  
with the mdc at the time the first one  
was that  
where concerns about a transitional  
justice  
want a future government prosecutors for  
human rights abuses  
that we have made to commit in the past  
and we gave an assurance on an  
open transparent program of transitional  
justice the second question was  
will a future government not dispossess  
them  
of the proceeds of their illicit  
or legal business activities  
the third question was will the future  
government  
uh not dispossess them of their lands  
and not reverse the land question and of  
course the answer  
is obvious no one wants it to reverse  
the land question  
and i don't think it's it's possible to  
reverse the land reform  
uh program anyway the fourth  
or fifth question was whether those of  
them who wanted to leave the country  
would be allowed to leave the country  
and of course there's freedom of  
movement  
in zimbabwe the next question were their  
own conditions  
of services distance salaries and and so  
forth again obvious question  
next question was their patience they  
wanted a guarantee on their pension that

their pensions  
would not be affected again not a  
you know you know a problem the last  
question was whether they will be  
allowed  
to participate in the spheres of the  
economy  
including joining the civil service  
should they quit  
the military so my submission is that  
their concerns must be it must be  
attended to the  
important stakeholder but i believe  
strongly that  
by and large the majority of the  
military will accept  
the detectives of of of the of the  
constitution  
but you still have a few and the few are  
largely  
people in the military who participated  
in the liberation  
struggle who feel that this is our theme  
and to  
to use the local language and  
that generation the liberation  
generation  
is a challenge not just in the military  
but in the length in the breath of  
zimbabwe  
because it's a generation that is  
through fighting a war that finished 40  
years ago  
it is a generation that is driven by by  
entitlement  
it is a generation that is driven by  
impunity  
it is a generation that is driven by an  
extractive  
mindset it is a generation that is  
driven by  
a messianic mindset we liberated you we  
are  
we are your own jesus so nothing

there's no zimbabwe without us so it's  
it's  
it's a challenge that we have to face  
it's a challenge that south africans  
will face it's a challenge that  
mozambicans are facing  
it's a challenge that angelians are  
facing it's a challenge that every  
country in africa  
which has gone through a physical  
liberation struggle  
is facing and um  
you know there are sent sentiments  
especially on social media platforms  
saying that uh nelson chamisa has made  
himself a passenger  
in this process and that the main  
opposition party has largely been silent  
and if i can read you know some of the  
um sentiments even on this zoom platform  
um there's nokia says meaty paints a  
picture which does not put the mdc  
alliance at the center  
opting instead to place emphasis on the  
people  
but what position does the in does he  
imagine for the opposition in  
galvanizing people in the face  
of zono pf's onslaught what can you say  
about this  
yeah firstly i think the attacks on  
president chamissance  
uh he just lost his his mother  
uh and and we all know what it means  
what matters mean to us  
he also just lost his uncle uh you know  
you know a week ago so i think that uh  
let's let's respect him and i allow him  
to mourn  
his really beloved you know you know  
mother who sacrificed the lord for him  
to go to school the issue of um  
you know again there's a also a very  
unfair

uh attack on the role of the mtc  
one of the iron is violet is that  
if you look at the one simple  
organization  
which is taking the branch of the  
insanity of  
of uh amazon munagago it's actually the  
mtc alliance  
where the strange court judgment ended  
against us in the middle of a covet  
cavity epidemic within our head office  
taken over  
by the military in the middle of the of  
of the night  
where that our members  
disproportionately if you look at  
everyone who has been adopted tortured  
is disproportionate by far by overwatch  
by far  
the members of the of the of the of the  
mtc on friday  
saturday in court for zhaima area our  
spokesperson  
uh was in court together with a spell  
for members  
uh our secretary general's in quote i  
mean literally everyone is a  
is in court say our youth leaders each  
one of them right now is either in  
hiding  
or in prison or out on payroll  
for instance in in in  
in so so we've taken the brands  
but will lead and will lead from the  
from the from the front so we've got an  
important  
role to play i however emphasized  
however emphasized that every zimbabwean  
must play israel  
every zimbabwe must play a role  
uh it's it's now beyond a single uh you  
know you know you know organization  
because of the brutality of of of the  
regime

the ubiquitousness of the regime look at  
what we saw  
on the 31st of july in 2020  
there were basically policemen and  
soldiers literally in every state  
of of of of zimbabwe without exception  
whether you went towards  
children's weather you went to odds  
whether you went to tunis  
and and so forth so we need to increase  
the cost  
of the dictatorship in every zimbabwean  
citizen is without  
an obligation to play his or here  
just like we did during the liberation  
struggle so  
mr mitchell just a final question before  
i move on to the discussions and open  
uh the the line so that you know our  
viewers can also participate because i  
can see a lot of people saying we want  
to contribute  
and i'm sure um they'll be able to ask  
some of the questions that they have for  
you  
bottom line what settlement is required  
and what should the opposition do to  
mount an effective challenge to the  
current regime  
briefly please well the settlement is  
very clear we wrote about that in our  
reload  
you know you know you know document uh  
sanu pf needs genuinely to come to the  
to the table  
in 2008 they didn't come genuinely to  
the table  
uh two there must be an agreed set of  
reforms uh uh you know spoken about that  
three  
there must be external referee there  
must be a mutually agreed  
mediator who at this present moment i  
don't think it will be

a zimbabwean an eminent uh you know  
african and  
the there are many of them including uh  
president papa papparo passancho  
and four there must be in implementing a  
mechanism the national transitional  
authority  
as we as we call it five  
there must be an agreement on the  
duration of the implementation  
of the reform agenda lastly there must  
be a free and fair  
election to restore the country to  
legitimacy so it's a simple  
straightforward roadmap okay and then  
i'll come back to you again because i  
really want to know  
what the mdc is doing about getting to  
that  
particular kind of system that you  
you've narrated but let me move on  
um and bring in  
let me start with from zambia  
and she's the deputy regional director  
for amnesty international  
malaya your initial thoughts uh  
especially with all that we've heard  
from the panelists right now  
thanks violet yeah it's a it's a  
pleasure to be here as a discussant  
and uh it's it's it's it's almost as  
though  
uh this is a story that we keep talking  
about  
and for me uh i've been working on  
zimbabwe  
for about 20 years so the first time was  
covering the invasions that were  
happening and i remember  
working then with um advocate tawanda  
hondura  
and we went to the university of  
zimbabwe did loads of interviews at that  
time we were fresh

faced and we thought well we're going to change things  
but here we are now 20 years later and we're talking about the same thing the same tactics that were used uh way back then are the same tactics that are being used  
um and speaking from the position of my organization amnesty international i mean the we have documented over the years so many human rights violations that have happened in zimbabwe but we are seeing a an escalation of the of the violations and uh it's true that the previous speakers have spoken about zimbabwe being open for business  
uh two years last year actually we released a report open for business but closed for human rights  
because we have seen uh the authorities come through to talk about the country being open for business but  
uh during his tenure as president emerson munangaga has presided over a systematic and brutal crackdown on human rights including the violent suppression of protests  
a witch-hunt against anyone who was there to challenge his government there's also a very unprecedented level uh of abductions and torture that we've seen  
of dissidents or perceived dissidents and as tendai was talking there are a number of people that are still in hiding right now following the 31st july um a protest so it's it's almost as though this

is a a government that is so  
recalcitrant  
and listening to president munang a  
couple of days ago saying that we will  
flush  
them out the dissidents or even the  
perceived dissidents because you  
you you don't even have to be a  
dissident sometimes it's enough for you  
to be perceived  
to be opposing uh the government  
uh but using the word flush them out was  
such a red line  
uh for us because to me uh particularly  
it sounded  
eerily familiar or similar to  
the the evidence i dealt with when i  
worked at the international  
criminal tribunal for rwanda and it was  
a very scary word  
flush them out so  
it it it it it's it's  
it's we're at to sit we're at a point  
where it's not enough to say  
well there is fatigue and yes i do agree  
actually that you know what stephen was  
saying that um  
uh zimbabwe is not featuring very highly  
um in high-level policy formulation of  
the uk it's not just the uk i think  
we've seen that happening with  
governments  
generally across the world that were  
previously engaged with  
zimbabwe not uh engaging  
on on zimbabwe but  
it's important that that changes and i  
do think that  
there is an uh there is a possibility  
for it  
to change um corruption has been talked  
about  
by um i told i think you spoke about  
that

tendai has talked talked about  
corruption corruption is an important  
factor  
because corrupt politicians use  
jurisdictions that are prone to secrecy  
for example to londa fans  
and zimbabwe is not immune to that  
we've seen various reports that have  
spoken about illicit financial flows  
that have contributed to the collapsed  
economy that zimbabwe is in now  
so it's just a toxic mix of a lot of  
things  
um the triple burden of inequality  
poverty  
unemployment all of that is mixed with  
the securities state that  
and i was talking about and it's  
important  
that all of these issues are  
brought to the table uh so  
um how is uh the last point i really  
want to make is how  
change is going to happen so we all know  
uh in 2018  
uh two years ago tendai uh  
dr eba we were sitting at a uh  
in the same meeting at the south african  
institute for international affairs  
discussing the question about uh the  
impending elections that were coming  
through and i do remember  
at the time ambassador catriona laying  
literally refusing to look at  
to to engage with the discussion around  
human rights and how that would play  
into  
a better zimbabwe because she was so  
convinced  
that uh we needed this change and that  
emerson would be the the guy  
to uh to to to bring about this uh this  
change  
we were very steadfast in saying that we

really would wanted to see  
a change in the authorities approach to  
uh to human rights so how will change  
happen yes  
i do agree when todd says that change is  
going to come from zimbabwe  
to zimbabweans themselves but i also  
strongly agree with what tendai said  
about  
zimbabweans in zimbabwe not being enough  
for the change that  
it is required we would like to  
have international solidarity um  
which is going to be a really critical  
factor  
in in change in zimbabwe so a  
well-organized diaspora  
zimbabwean diaspora but beyond the  
diaspora  
ordinary people so again it can't be  
left to organs that  
have clearly failed to address some of  
these questions  
the african union has been seized with  
these matters um  
on zimbabwe uh a number of times the  
african union has not  
addressed um matters that are brought  
before it  
on zimbabwe again i recall my  
time working interfacing with the  
african union and zimbabwe  
would block any discussion on on  
zimbabwe it would just not be tabled  
as a discussion so morib  
the southern african development  
community again  
aston dye said is very very different  
from what we're seeing at  
ecowas because there's very little in  
fact there is nothing we have heard from  
sadek which is a  
total shame but it is so important  
for president ramaphosa who is the

current chair of the african union to  
really engage  
not only because he's the chair of the  
african union but south africa  
is the powerhouse here in this region  
and therefore  
we would expect that he would engage and  
so how will that  
happen i think that the  
increasing voices of people on the  
ground talking  
including influential people like actors  
i was very amazed to see that jada  
pinkett smith was one of those  
calling for change in zimbabwe but  
ordinary people here in south africa in  
zambia  
anywhere there will be a time when our  
leaders  
cannot ignore those people anymore and i  
say this with conviction because  
if people rise which is why they're  
scared  
which is why they're repressed if a  
whole lot of people rise  
and call on them to do something then  
something is going to have to give  
and so mediation yes mediation will  
happen but how will that happen  
it will be increased and sustained  
campaigns  
from ordinary people um internationally  
applying the necessary pressure that is  
allowed  
because international solidarity i'm  
seeing this as  
a way of um of changing  
their trajectory of um the  
the downward trajectory we see now in in  
in zimbabwe  
so i i think i'll end there for now  
thanks uh uh um just um a couple of  
questions  
what kind of intervention can we

realistically  
uh expect from a pressure group like  
amnesty international  
and also i would like to read  
a comment that's similar to what i'm  
asking uh from  
mr muriel who says what's  
malaya's take on recent statements by  
nick manguana  
in a media uh released today where he  
rubbished  
human rights abuses why can't president  
monaghan be dragged  
uh to the international criminal  
criminal court for example with all the  
documented  
evidence that amnesty international has  
for example  
what can you say about this  
thanks yes so uh so pressure groups like  
amnesty i think we've been very  
consistent as amnesty  
i'm sure that the participants here and  
those that have been following what  
amnesty has been doing  
will agree with me that we've been quite  
consistent in calling for  
uh respect protection and fulfillment of  
human rights in  
in zimbabwe we are going to continue to  
do that  
but amnesty international is just one  
organization yes it is a global  
organization we have  
however many millions of supporters and  
members  
that campaign on  
various issues including the zimbabwe  
question  
but it's not enough for amnesty  
international alone it means that  
we you there have to be many more groups  
and there are  
a lot more groups including here in in

in  
in the region in zimbabwe itself so  
what i am saying is that beyond these  
particular groups  
we actually need people on the ground so  
the protest  
that happened in zimbabwe on the 31st of  
july gives me hope  
because it was ordinary people walking  
on the streets and not even in big  
groups  
in cells sometimes five people 10 people  
but that is the kind of movement that is  
going to grow  
and at a certain point it would be so  
big that it would be  
impossible for authorities to ignore  
those kinds of uh  
organizations so that is going to that  
is the sort of pressure i'm talking  
about  
now in terms of um international crimes  
um yes uh it uh  
the the uh international criminal  
tribunal  
is uh the the icc is  
is there to um uh to prosecute  
international crimes i think that they  
have to be seized with those  
uh without with those matters and even  
though  
uh countries have not um uh  
agreed to be uh part of the uh  
or have not ratified and accepted the  
icc's  
ability to come through and do that  
there is still a way in which those  
can be prosecuted yeah thank you very  
much malaya now let me  
get the views from tiseke kasambala who  
is the chief  
of party for the advancing rights in  
southern africa  
program at the freedom house to say okay

what is the way forward in your view  
you've been covering the zimbabwean  
crisis also for for many years  
and i've been interviewing you for the  
last 20 years so  
from you can we just get like your  
views in terms of what would make a  
a peaceful or long lasting settlement in  
zimbabwe  
um thank you very much violet and thanks  
to the  
surface trust um for inviting me to be a  
discussant on  
what is a very broad and deep um topic  
so it's a very difficult task  
you are trying to advance us in terms of  
asking what is the way forward  
and i'm going to kind of take on some of  
the salient points that were made  
by some of the presenters in terms of  
how we can advance  
this discussion the first one i want to  
speak about is  
the issue of impunity and all these  
conversations we're having right now  
looking at the issues of corruption and  
the ongoing human rights  
abuses that have been taking place in  
zimbabwe cannot be addressed without  
kind of tackling the issue  
of the lack of accountability and  
justice for previous crimes in zimbabwe  
and tendai bt and i think todd moss  
spoke about  
the issue of reforms there was talk  
about  
victim-led reforms and victim-led  
interventions  
but unfortunately when we keep talking  
about this issue of settlement  
what i'm not seeing is how we can  
push for accountability and for justice  
to be done and in the course of my work  
i have seen that there can never be any

long-term peace  
when you are dealing with people who  
perpetrated  
crimes you cannot bring in the very  
perpetrators of crimes  
into negotiations and settlements it has  
never worked in the long term  
and so i think that's the first thing we  
need to talk about in zimbabwe  
how do we address the issue of  
accountability and justice  
the second point i want to make is on  
paralysis  
and when i talk about paralysis i'm  
talking about it from  
both the country a country perspective a  
regional perspective  
and an international perspective stephen  
chan  
talked about the fact that the uk  
government  
um foreign policy on africa was quite  
weak at the moment  
um and whilst todd moss said that the  
u.s  
government had been quite consistent in  
its policy and was bipartisan  
with its policies um what we can say is  
that we have not seen consistency across  
the board in terms of  
international especially western  
governments who are lessing around  
a consistent message on the zimbabwe  
issue  
and calling for democracy rule of law  
and human rights  
as western governments as the  
international community  
this also throws up for us the original  
question and the original paralysis we  
are seeing  
in particular with president ramaphosa  
it is quite telling that  
um after after almost a week we finally

saw  
a message coming out from the government  
of south africa on the situation  
in zimbabwe and the call should be on  
sadiq and the au  
two at the very least acknowledge the  
human rights crisis in the country  
um and speak out against it and call for  
justice and accountability  
there is not enough robust pressure  
being placed  
on amazon nagabo and we have uh  
some explanations that the liberty are  
needed to in terms of the creeping  
autocracy  
we're seeing in other countries in the  
region what we're seeing in tanzania  
angola  
etc but at the same time in so-called  
democratic countries like south africa  
um we have seen um and to some extent  
justifiably saw a lot of naval gazing  
and a focus um on domestic issues  
but without the long-term realization  
that those domestic issues cannot be  
resolved  
without addressing the original  
questions  
about instability in neighboring  
countries such as zimbabwe  
and so that is something that really  
needs to be in my opinion  
addressed and tackled head-on and we are  
seeing  
the pressure coming from citizenry and  
citizens and in many ways i think this  
pandemic has thrown up  
um discontentment in countries across  
the region and  
across the board internationally and  
that is an opportune moment  
for for for civil society for  
the opposition in many countries to call  
less surrounding message

against corruption against impunity for  
corruption  
pushing for accountability so let's not  
lose this momentum and this pressure  
we're seeing on zimbabwe  
which by the way we're also seeing here  
in in south africa  
with the corruption scandals that  
president ramaphosa  
is facing so there is kind of a unity  
around  
a general discontinuous and messaging  
within the region about what is going on  
um in terms of corruption and how  
governments in in our on our continent  
and governments in the region  
have not taken into account the needs of  
the citizenry  
and the final point i want to make in  
the i think  
20 seconds that i have is around  
fragmentation and it's closely related  
to the issue  
of international solidarity and regional  
action we have seen we're seeing  
fragmentation at all levels  
and um the challenge i would like to  
throw to to the mtc  
and to zimbabweans is is there  
a moment where the various actors and  
especially  
when because we we have seen civil  
society we have seen  
the opposition we're seeing doctors and  
nurses all coming out  
um in the in light of the economic  
situation in zimbabwe and the economic  
crisis and the political crisis  
but i i would question whether we're  
seeing um  
a unified movement in zimbabwe and that  
quality thing i'm talking about  
around the situation and the and  
pressure being placed

um um i'll be  
despite the the the the very narrow  
space for civic activism  
and so i think there's a need to really  
support and this is a challenge  
to the international community and the  
regional community to really support  
civil society in zimbabwe um that is  
really working hard  
um and is at the core face of of facing  
up to the zimbabwean government and this  
regime  
which has not changed at all from the  
previous regime and in many ways this is  
the same regime  
um even though we we are also focusing  
on discussing securitization and the  
securitized state which is very  
important  
but the zanu-pf we're seeing now is the  
zanu-pf we saw  
20 years ago and was designed that we  
saw under mugabe  
so let's provide more support for civil  
society  
organizations because i think that they  
have been lost in the conversation  
and let's deal with the fragmentation  
which has left  
the various actors isolated every time  
they want to come out  
um in protest so i agree with malaya  
about this idea  
of a broader um citizen movement and  
support for a broader alliance  
of groups and put pressure on the naga  
regime  
um thank you very much thanks to seki  
and just a brief uh  
response to this um a comment  
from a malawian on twitter phil  
mafunda who says zimbabweans are so  
chilled to fight  
who are we as malawians to fight for

them  
malawians protested for months until the  
judges and government  
felt uh people's anger your thoughts on  
this just a brief one before i move on  
to greg  
and patrick smith and then open up the  
floor  
um i i i would i would say that  
malawians had support from the region  
and  
i think whilst it was malawians fighting  
for malawians and the same expectation  
is  
that the zimbabwean citizenry will  
address the issue of zimbabwe  
um it can't happen without regional  
support so i think  
in in a very kind of succinct manner i'm  
going to say  
um i disagree with my brother there's a  
need for regional support  
and regional momentum to push forward  
the the crisis  
in zimbabwe and bring an end to that  
crisis thank you okay  
thanks at a second now let me uh  
move to greg mills who's the head of the  
brenter's  
foundation based in johannesburg now  
um greg i understand you'll also be  
representing former president  
um the former nigerian president or  
messenger  
in your brief presentation if so can you  
start by giving us  
reflections on both nigeria's and the  
au's positions on  
zimbabwe uh thanks very much  
violet it's very nice to be with you  
here this evening  
rather like todd moss i first came into  
contact with  
sappers when i was a graduate student

and  
and then subsequently when taking  
students from the university of the  
western cape where i was teaching 30  
years ago to go to zimbabwe  
for south africans learn how to do it  
i think possibly we probably would avoid  
some of those lessons right now which  
seem to be more about how not to do it  
and you know it's always said that when  
people get older and this applies to  
most of the  
familiar faces around here they get more  
whatever you start with it gets  
exacerbated exaggerated so if you're a  
good  
guy a good a good woman to begin with  
those qualities come through and the  
reverse is also true  
and i think what we've seen under covert  
is we've seen  
generally an amplification and an  
acceleration  
of whatever situation states we're in  
so if they're already the the uh  
undergirdings of corruption  
or uh the threads of state decay  
you've seen these considerably worsen in  
a very short  
accelerated time sequence  
and this is of course not surprising in  
the zimbabwe situation given the  
economic conditions  
uh and political conditions that existed  
pre-covert  
and i think today and i think it's the  
point that stephen chan made  
that um the the same old games are still  
being played but they're being played in  
a smaller and smaller  
with a smaller and smaller audience with  
a smaller and smaller group of people  
and so when we see things uh in south  
africa or elsewhere

about settlements with farmers three and  
a half billion  
people see them pretty much immediately  
for what they are  
it's just another scheme it's just  
another game  
in attempt to to milk some money out of  
the system  
but because of covert it is the same old  
same old but it is somewhat different  
because i do think the consequences  
are graver the time frames are shortened  
and the world is less charitable i think  
the world is less  
has less attention on africa as stephen  
was saying  
but the world i think is less charitable  
as a consequence of this  
and what i'm going to say is is less  
about what president obasanjo will say i  
i'm reflecting  
his role in the foundation that i work  
for as the chairman  
and i want to talk a little bit about  
what happens if  
if zimbabwe continues on the current  
path and these are things that i know  
that he's interested in  
and what is the way out of this because  
i believe that everyone would be  
interested in that  
and i think that it's it's clear from  
being sitting in  
in south africa that there's  
incontrovertible evidence  
uh of the cost of what's been going on  
in south africa  
uh in terms of the of the four million  
zimbabweans that are reputed to be  
living within our borders  
um this is a daily reality for south  
africans some of them i think have  
already been  
uh on this on this on this program

um and we know very dramatically the costs of further economic implosion we are in some ways beneficiaries of the talent of zimbabweans but the long-term cost is of course much exacerbated by the current circumstances because it's in terms also of the cost of a lack of benefit so the fact that zimbabwe's economy continues uh its downward trajectory that zimbabweans are poorer virtually every day of course has a net negative impact on the south african economy as potentially the second biggest economy as zimbabwe could be in the region and of course as the number of beneficiaries within the patronage state that is zany becomes smaller and smaller of course you risk more and more violence and that's indeed i think a consequence of what we're seeing today both inter-party which has been in the main what we've seen but increasingly intraparty the second point i would make is we know pretty much what's necessary you need some sort of negotiated solution arrangement which leads to a free and fair election i think we would all be in pretty much violent agreement not violent agreement with violent agreement uh around the table on this issue and this would have to be followed by a set of micro short-term band-aid type economic reforms but longer deeper structural reforms which

address the fundamental political  
economy  
which undoes this patronage state  
myself and my colleague jeffrey herbst  
wrote about this many years ago  
we called it the third liberation  
zimbabwe is still as tender referred to  
in the second liberation phase getting  
rid of the liberators  
but the third liberation is that  
liberation from old ways  
of doing business the old structures of  
the economy the kind of  
very elite based political economy where  
a set of white guys was replaced by a  
set of black guys  
uh at independence we we also know i  
believe  
and we've heard this i think today more  
from stephen than  
todd is that this this negotiated  
settlement is not going to come  
from the united kingdom no matter the  
bogeyman image  
that is portrayed sometimes in the  
zimbabwean media and in the  
politics of the uk or in the same way of  
the united states  
it's not going to even come from russia  
or china for different sets of reasons  
but they're not interested in this  
either it's probably not going to come  
from the au  
although it should or and it's probably  
not going to come  
from sadig who are at best underwhelming  
uh rather than using the opportunity to  
seize leadership in southern africa  
but like with rhodesia like with ian  
smith's rhodesia  
this is probably going to have to come  
from south africa itself  
and south africa will have to display an  
element of leadership

and and i think the question has to be  
about what's  
the the likelihood of change in  
south africa's policy right now  
and there's some negative signs and some  
positive signs  
i i believe the negative signs is that  
the anc  
still sees uh threats in terms of the  
way in which zimbabwe is portrayed  
domestically  
it sees the zimbabwe situation and zany  
pf still  
from within its own domestic political  
prison  
and liberation politics and liberation  
tries  
ties and liberation mythology has  
trumped human rights  
it's even trumped economic self-interest  
in this regard  
if you consider that zimbabwe's economic  
implosion is not  
in our evidence self-interest so and  
also  
as and i borrow attendance words in this  
regard  
south africa is learned from the  
state capture model very well that  
zimbabwe once provided and we are busy  
feasting  
in fact we can barely take our eyes off  
the covert pot of money at the moment  
uh to to turn our attention elsewhere so  
those are the negative signs  
but there are some positive signs of  
change  
i think it's more difficult and there's  
an awareness in south africa and i was  
listening only to the secretary general  
of the in this regard last night  
it's more difficult for south africa to  
stand  
for prosperity and isolation from the

region  
we have to do this together if we think  
about the benefits of  
of of small things to ourselves they  
have very big impact at home just think  
fixing bike bridge what the impact that  
would be  
on the south african economy for example  
but we can't  
project a image of prosperity  
and and a series of policies which aim  
at that uh in ignoring  
uh zimbabwe we can't also wait  
for the worst to happen in zimbabwe  
because we could get  
syria on our doorstep these things you  
can't simply wish away  
there are severe consequences to state  
failure  
one of which is it's so difficult to to  
repair  
over the long term um and of course  
we we're not going to get any of the  
positive benefits that we so  
desperately need in our own economy  
which in which employment is now nearly  
50 percent as a consequence  
of failure of anc policies on the one  
hand  
and uh the structural inheritance of  
apartheid  
on the other and now covert so those  
three triple whammies together  
have led to a a dire economic  
situation uh of of 10 years of lost  
growth  
um and then of course the imf loan that  
south africa has just taken  
and the fact that we are borrowing much  
more heavily from  
in the international community makes us  
more vulnerable to external influences  
let me just conclude  
with three brief points we know from

south africa's own settlement  
that you need three broad ingredients to  
make  
settlements happen you need an awareness  
internally that there's more to be  
gained  
by settlement than by continuing on the  
path  
that you're on and i think you have to  
ask yourself is zanu-pf  
in that position is are the costs of  
continuing on this path  
sufficiently high enough for zanu to to  
want to sue  
for peace the second one and this really  
speaks to what todd and steven were  
chatting about  
is the need for external consensus in  
pushing the different parties to the  
table  
is the whole international community  
using all the tools at their  
disposal to push the parties to the  
table  
and then of course for 10 dimension you  
need leadership  
you need someone who can do this you  
need someone who can  
if necessary broker this you need timing  
and you need method but i would say at  
least from a south african vantage  
given the the heating  
or the brewing storm in south africa's  
own economy  
that the moment is increasingly ripe it  
may not be ripe enough yet  
but it's increasingly ripe for south  
africa to take a much harder look  
at what's going on in zimbabwe  
and and try and find a way to address  
this without which  
we are i think increasingly feel we  
could not only  
suffer the consequences of no benefit

but suffer the consequences  
of failure and the very importantly and  
this is my very last point  
the weakening of the image of the anc in  
terms of that  
liberation ethos uh and mythology the  
fact that people  
are being so clearly and openly and  
regularly abused  
and their human rights trampled in  
zimbabwe does  
affect the anc and that's i think that  
perhaps the  
the most powerful point to be made in  
this engagement thank you  
thank you very much um greg just  
one uh question and that would be  
how far then are we from a situation  
in which south africa will push for a  
settlement in zimbabwe in your view  
well i think it's i think it's brewing i  
mean i i don't i  
i i think the parties in zimbabwe have  
to steer that debate in south africa and  
if  
it's not going to be only bf and i don't  
see why there's going to be any interest  
in them  
to do that yet at least it's going to  
have to be the mdc  
who takes the position of the moral high  
ground  
as it were in terms of finding a way  
forward for  
some sort of transitional arrangement  
leading to those elections  
and making that point clear um so it's  
it's not one thing violet i think it's  
going to be a series of pressures  
and a series of opportunities but i  
would argue that covert  
has probably almost definitely increased  
the chances  
of some sort of transitional arrangement

some sort of  
settlement rather than worsen them  
undoubtedly things are probably going to  
get nastier before they get better  
um because that's the nature of  
of of such regimes but uh certainly i  
think south africa is  
feeling the effects of its failure  
in zimbabwe okay no thank you very much  
for that  
um greg mills um  
our last uh speaker is patrick smith and  
then we will allow  
um some of the  
viewers on zoom to contribute now i see  
we have more than 400  
um people watching on zoom right now  
and quite a few have expressed um  
they want to to contribute so you can  
start raising your hands  
and as soon as patrick smith is finished  
then we can start bringing in some of  
you to  
contribute uh patrick smith um  
from the africa report in africa  
confidential  
so much has been said but um maybe from  
you  
if you can just give us your thoughts in  
terms of what you  
think now is the way forward for  
zimbabwe and you've been writing about  
zimbabwe for many years  
also um thanks violet  
yeah perhaps i most usefully could talk  
about what i've  
seen as a reporter uh running around  
africa over the years looking at  
transitions uh  
in a range of different places nigeria  
ghana where both transitioned out of  
military regimes into  
multi-party uh open political systems  
um also um liberia

sierra leone transiting from a war zone  
uh to uh to again civilian multi-party regimes south africa of course which is sort of sui generis in its own way um but most recently um and i was saying this to dr mandaza yesterday  
uh sudan i think offers  
uh despite being a a very different country from zimbabwe in so many ways and i don't think either the national islamic front regime nor zanu-pf would relish anyone comparing the two regimes  
i think they do have something in common and moving the way that the sudanese opposition galvanized over over 30 years of uh dictatorship essentially from 89 to to last year and what they did with that massive demonstration half a million people gathered outside the military defense headquarters in cartoon and to give you a sense of what they were up against um the suran regime presided uh under the national islamic front regime under omar but she presided over the deaths of two million people in south sudan and at least a million people in various wars in numa mountains kodafan darfur and so on within sudan um so it was one of the most ruthless regimes up there with saddam hussein and bashir al-assad and the suranese put together this opposition i think it's an awful lot that can be gained from looking at what they did extremely disciplined uh uh vowedly nonviolent there was just no

point in being violent because there was no way even with the numbers you were going to be able to confront the the sudanese military and intelligence services um and having then formed and what was really interesting was the way they formed alliances with dissidents within the sudanese military who realized that what bisho had done was lead the country into a very bloody culture sack and it was just going to get worse and worse for successive generations after him as a as a 78 year old and i think malaga was 77. he had no real interest in in the future more than a few more years essentially as as running the country so i think i i think there's something to really be gaining what they did and how they then triggered this negotiating process in sudan which um is not so far away from what is being talked about in zimbabwe as this national transitional authority so um just to be very quick i'd say uh the key things that have come out of what happened in sudan that might be relevant for zimbabwe is that the participants the key participants were the people the the civil society organizations the trades unions played a major role the professional associations there the doctor and doctors association one was one of the leading lights in in the opposition movement just as it has been it's some respects in zimbabwe you have a very similar corpus of

professional responsible professionals  
in civil society organized the workers  
organizations and so on  
um above and beyond the part is no  
disrespect to  
uh to the mdc and the other opposition  
parties who as tendai have  
has said have endured a hell of a lot  
just to stay  
in business as political entities but  
the  
the issue in in saddam was that the  
there was a much wider range of of  
activism drawing from the streets and  
the communities  
and that really uh really put pressure  
on  
on the government and and finding ways  
of making alliances  
weird alliances but alliances  
nevertheless  
with dissidents within the military  
within the police  
to get political change and that's what  
they started when  
they pushed out uh omaril bashir  
in april 2020 2019 and started this  
process of change  
so i don't think it's beyond the wit of  
uh the political entities in zimbabwe  
to do that but i think it takes looking  
at what happened in sudan  
um as as the possibility of drawing on  
some useful examples from there  
so so patrick is the ncp  
the kind of um like sudan movement that  
zimbabwe needs  
um so the ncp um well  
what um oh i said  
for zimbabwe um well i mean i i think  
there are  
there are similarities yes i mean  
because  
what the the sudan revolu well they they

regard themselves as revolutionaries  
because they were overthrowing a  
not just a regime but a way of running  
government  
and they started very much with this  
grew up these grassroots committees  
in the regions uh organizing on a  
community and street basis  
bringing people not just together for  
sort of making political judgments but  
also saying  
okay you've got a health emergency here  
let's talk to  
the guy down the street who's got a  
small pharmaceutical company get some  
drugs  
to that community providing benefits it  
wasn't just  
politics it was actually was a material  
benefit  
uh teachers and university lecturers had  
a responsibility to  
work with communities and it was all  
part of this revolutionary movement so i  
think it's  
yes i and i think that that that goes  
into  
revitalizing uh civil society and  
and make making sure it's it's  
autonomous and it has its own agenda and  
can really contribute to the process of  
change  
alongside the established political  
parties and  
uh whatever and other entities are in  
the mix  
okay now thank you very much for that uh  
patrick smith so  
now um i'd like to take some  
uh contributions questions comments from  
the floor  
we have quite a number of people who  
have raised their hands so please  
ask you to keep your contributions very

brief and i also ask the panelists  
to keep their answers very brief because  
we need to  
finish by um seven o'clock or eight  
o'clock  
in zimbabwe time so let me i'll just go  
from the top  
going down um  
who is the first one there just a sec  
i've just lost  
my chat i think  
it's sherman ban no no no no  
just bear with me uh chorus nyamakunda  
can you unmute  
yes first of all i'd like to respond to  
patrick smith  
patrick smith the methods we are talking  
about sudan and other countries  
the xanph government this mobile  
government is fully aware the  
zimbabweans have tried  
that i think there are other methods  
that are that  
involve um not letting blood  
there are other methods that can be used  
that's my response to that  
um whatever organization trying to try  
the government would still be  
fully aware you can't do anything secret  
without the government knowing  
and number two um getting back to greg  
mills  
the when said when the anc came to power  
they had more than two-thirds majority  
so they had absolute power to do  
anything  
the change of politics in south africa  
which you mentioned  
um is it denting the anc and  
also the opposition parties in south  
africa are they speaking with the same  
voice  
is the zimbabwean issue an issue for  
those opposition patches

thank you thank you i'll take two more  
for now  
and then we'll we'll get the panelists  
to respond so panelists please can you  
keep a note of the questions that you've  
been asked and then you can come and  
respond  
towards the end um the next one  
is  
oswald oswald moyo  
can you unmute oswald yes yes i've done  
so  
um thank you thank you very much uh  
um actually i i think i have a  
contribution i think  
the people of zimbabwe generally they  
underestimate  
uh the story the history of of zanu-pf  
and how actually zanu-pf got into power  
from 1980 you realized that the 1980  
elections were disputed  
and were contested and up to date we  
don't know  
who won the election they proposed  
robert mugabe but some zebra cutters  
still say  
no joshua won the elections that's why  
up to date even the national archives  
we don't have the ballot box or the  
ballot papers i mean to say they went  
away with lord zones  
so firstly the election thing has failed  
for a long time to resolve this  
involving crisis  
of governance and on another important  
issue i believe that  
the the opposition itself has not been  
a strong it has been weakened  
within and whenever the opposition try  
to  
to to to make maybe strides and reforms  
within itself  
it is penetrated of recent we have seen  
the coup monsoor function

also after the the the dimension food  
doctor morgan richardson but actually  
the opposing  
also is even lost to the organic  
intellectuals that it used to have  
this included the workers so  
now the opposition actually when we look  
from its founding grounds it is also  
lost to the gist with the people and if  
you look largely  
the marginalized communities especially  
the business  
they do not know the ideology of the  
opposition  
so i believe it's high time also the  
opposition's mother should continue the  
people  
they have tried to listen to do that but  
i believe  
there is more to this that they should  
do and i believe  
everyone knows that this movement  
situation is just reached in a numbing  
level  
and people need leadership to fight  
so we lack um real leadership  
from the opposing political parties  
because they are divided  
so that's what i i generally think is  
the problem which also must be  
thank you households will get 10  
diabetes to respond to that  
next sherman banner  
thank you i hope you can hear me um i  
just want to  
refer to the last speaker who spoke  
about the  
sudanese case firstly we've got to  
really really understand when we do  
comparisons um different socio-economic  
cases  
in sudan we've got a very very small  
middle class  
and so a lot of people were

predominantly on the same  
level and had really really  
nothing to lose and could take to the  
streets  
and demonstrate in a way whether it was  
peaceful or violent  
what we have in zimbabwe is a vast  
difference in classes  
okay and that's due to the large  
diaspora  
kind of base so you get a lot of people  
who have a lot to lose  
and that's a reality on the ground  
you've got people  
you spoke about certain professionals  
and doctors and pharmaceuticals  
who could contribute to the um  
local community and whatever the case  
may be in zimbabwe we've got  
certain people of certain caliber who  
don't who have so much to lose  
for looking after the next caliber that  
it's very impractical  
to be united so we've got so many  
classes of people  
who look out for their own benefit and  
that's why cohesion in  
any sense of opposition is so  
far-fetched that's number one so  
uniting as an opposition to any kind of  
government or any kind of um  
any kind of government or any kind of  
dictatorship is very very  
difficult because of this the vast  
differences  
in benefit and the vast difference in  
class and that's a dynamic  
okay we can't control  
due to our diet or a community that's  
number one the second thing that i  
wanted to add was  
um well basically that's that's it for  
now thank you  
thank you sherman and in this round i'll

take one more from  
edison capondo  
edison can you admit  
because okay  
yes good evening  
hi it's and we can hear you um  
i think um  
what i can say from my own point of view  
is most people to understand our  
situation  
here in zimbabwe and it contribute  
um sustainably we really need to  
understand  
where we are coming from where we are  
and the most uh  
effective effective thing which can be  
done  
once you are focusing on where we are  
and where we are right now uh  
if we are to think of we  
literally don't have like any  
industry running at the moment and there  
is no need  
for us at this particular moment  
to have a current which is called this  
magnum dollar  
it's just kind of a form of current  
which  
which is simply disturbing  
the pattern which is simply determining  
the entire economics of the nation  
and what kind of people are we dealing  
with  
then we go back to the classrooms what  
can we do as a zimbabwean  
effectively collectively to fight  
against our common enemy thank you  
thank you edson so let me start with uh  
tendai bt  
um the question from oswald about  
opposition he seems to say the  
opposition  
needs to do more and that there's  
lacking real leadership what can you say

about that briefly please  
look i think that  
i think that there is a  
there is a lack of appreciation of the  
role of an  
opposition we can't we can go  
ahead of the people if we go ahead of  
the people we leave them and suspend it  
if we go ahead of the people we expose  
them  
to a particularly brutal  
regime we saw what it did on the 1st of  
august  
2018 we saw what it did in january  
2019. so our role and we've been doing  
this  
is to steer the ship to  
to to confront in such a way that  
we are able to remain standing  
uh the morning after because we we know  
of zanu-pf  
it is the same party that killed our  
people 30 000  
during a google wound over the years we  
have  
led the protest we've led the struggle  
you remember  
from the days of the final push the days  
of  
march 2007 even march uh 2007  
the violence which we took in in  
in 2008 and sometimes we don't direct  
we don't provide direct leadership we  
work  
through and with other uh you know you  
know you know you know you know  
you know organizations  
and what i want to what i want to say  
particularly connected to i think it was  
chairman  
is that firstly the mdc alliance is a  
huge mancus organization  
and don't make the mistake of judging it  
from the talk from the

the challenges which were having with  
the likes of coupe  
and and the monzora judges  
from the ground how organic  
this movement is and what a huge  
humongous  
a mass organization you know you know  
you know you know  
it is secondly i beg to differ  
uh with a shaman when he says that  
there are zimbabweans with a lot of  
toulouse and therefore you will not have  
a homogeneous  
response to the crisis first  
let's separately you know you know you  
know using opf  
in the likes of nancagua the small  
elites that you'll find in these  
categories  
and they're not more than 40 people  
they're not more than 40 people that you  
find  
in all these huge companies they're not  
more than 40 people  
the rest of the zimbabweans including  
the middle class including people who  
own business  
are carrying the huge building  
brought by zanu pf debating of  
illegitimacy  
debating of incompetence the burden of  
extractiveness the abiding of  
predatoriness  
so we had that stage which which the  
left would call the national democratic  
revolution  
the national democratic stage where we  
are all in it together it doesn't matter  
whether your middle class  
it doesn't matter whether you own a  
business it doesn't matter whether  
you're a student  
it doesn't matter whether you're a  
peasant and and that's why i say

in my address there's an obligation on  
all of us  
zimbabweans to provide the agency  
but of course the mdc must take the lead  
and i have no doubt that we've been  
taking the lead that's why  
even in things that were not involved  
directly look at 31st of july 2020 we  
didn't call for it  
but in his response zanu-pf unit's  
response  
it targeted the mtc alliance because it  
knows  
how organic and how powerful this  
organization is  
okay thanks tendai uh greg and patrick  
i'll come back to you in fact what i  
will do i'll i'll come back to all the  
panelists  
uh just now to just give us you know  
your final words and then greg  
and um and patrick you also include  
your responses to the questions that you  
asked because i'm running out of time  
and there are so many people  
um who have raised their hands so i need  
to take at least a few more before  
before we we come to the final words um  
ifram mumbai  
please can we at least we know already  
what the problems  
are let's try and stick to the theme of  
this  
discussion today what is the way forward  
so  
let's not go back and talk about the  
problems we know what they are  
please if if you don't have you know  
specific  
solutions or comments to do with the  
topic  
uh i i will have to to to mute you to  
meet your mic  
so ephraim please go ahead

iframe mumbai okay i think we've lost  
ephraim  
uh god free god free mutindi  
thanks so much my my question is in two  
parts  
hello yes we can hear you go ahead can  
you make my question is my question is  
in two parts  
the first of all on on misty i think  
it's missed  
moss he started at the  
issues of governance in zimbabwe  
democracy human rights  
he did not start where zida is let's be  
honest in our  
has got analysis pr has got two premises  
which is one  
zimbabwe is a threat to the us interests  
and then two zimbabwe was supposed to  
compensate the white farmers according  
to the sadak tribunal  
that's what the document says and all  
these other issues  
of democracy and a  
human rights come later so let's let's  
discuss  
things as they are we are we are we are  
we are researchers  
and we are professionals second thing  
i'm asking about the the compensation  
for the  
white farmers the 3.5 billion  
that is being reported that zimbabwe is  
going to compensate the white farmers  
could that be also um  
an issue that we are supposed to discuss  
here  
in the in that one day how are the  
partners  
involved the cooperation partners in the  
international these are really good  
questions  
but we we really have run out of time  
and what we wanted from people

in this section is just to tell us what  
needs to happen now  
so i'm sorry that we have to bring in  
another conversation  
so let me get one more from the floor  
basically we want to know what is the  
way forward so if anyone has that  
dominique mutanga  
yeah uh thanks violet i just  
took to a two-part question for ten  
diabetes  
who spoke about the military um you said  
that the con  
they brought up some concerns in 2007  
prior to the gnu  
my question is if the military as we  
know are the power brokers  
has there been any efforts to engage  
them directly  
uh to discuss the way for at the  
resettlement and then number two  
what happened to those military guys  
that you spoke to  
are they dead are they alive and if  
they're alive why can we not engage them  
as part of their resettlement  
thank you okay thank you very much for  
that uh dominique and i'm afraid  
we we just have too many uh hands  
raised right now and not enough time so  
i'm really sorry about that  
uh ladies and gentlemen but i need to go  
and  
get final comments from the panelists  
um and in your final comments uh please  
can you  
at least just tell us what you think is  
the way forward in just a minute and a  
half  
and not more than that so that we can  
then end with the convener of this  
discussion dr mendeza with last words so  
let me start with todd moss  
okay thank you thank you violet uh look

on the zadera question i'm gonna paste into chat the link to zadera everyone should read it for themselves it's uh it's it's four pages it's very clear the united states you know there's not one american citizen uh who's had a farm stolen so the idea that that the us government uh the policy towards zimbabwe's about white farmers is just wrong so i'll share that so everyone can see look the the international community including the united states stands ready to support uh a genuine reform process in zimbabwe but given the behavior of the government over the past 10 years we will not underwrite um anything that leads to more theft and more repression and that's why the the role of opposition parties and civil society is so important that they have to continue to speak up and stand up and that's where the international community will will support them it is not for the united states or britain or europeans or the chinese to dictate terms of a negotiation you know i i wish that the au would play that role but i'm not very optimistic um uh so whatever process that is there zimbabwe is going to need resources and support and the you know the u.s and others are ready to do that but not in a way that's going to make things worse uh rather than better um so that's um those are my comments and i'm grateful for the opportunity to talk to

uh to talk to everyone so thank you ebo  
thank you violet  
uh and all of the panelists and  
commenters thank you  
todd moss and professor stephen chen  
thank you very very much can you hear me  
now yes we can  
okay it's been a pleasure to participate  
on this panel  
i agree with what the other speakers  
have said and that the  
final breakthrough the final solution  
if there is one for zimbabwe has got to  
be led by zimbabweans  
however this is not just zimbabweans who  
live in  
zimbabwe many millions have had to  
leave zimbabwe so what you need is a  
unified movement i'm not really sure  
that the  
opposition parties have reached out  
sufficiently to this involvement  
diaspora  
internationally there's at least a  
million of them here in the united  
kingdom  
about four million at least in south  
africa  
we come across them in many many  
countries in other parts of africa  
uniting them into a major pressure group  
in other words these are people who put  
pressure on their host governments to  
put pressure  
on zimbabwe so unifying  
the diaspora as a key part of civil  
society not just concentrating on an  
internal civil society but  
international civil society using  
electronic  
civil society mechanisms which i  
reiterate the opposition has not been  
very good at doing  
now so far that i think is going to be a

key and critical part of going forward in the future there's one other very controversial way which requires as it were some back room back channels of diplomacy and that is that if we're going to be brutally honest we talk about the secure crafts in zimbabwe i actually have very grave doubts about their military capacity and military professionalism in a real conflict situation so using the good offices of senior military people from other countries preferably other african countries to talk to them about what true military professionalism means this could be a very interesting adjunct back channel but the primary channel for change has really got to be by civil society international zimbabwean civil society all right now thank you very much professor stephen chan uh tendai bt tendai i think you yes yes okay yeah so three points are critical uh violence and the first one is that um there has to be the agency of zimbabweans across the length and breadth of our society and including a compatriot uh in the in the diaspora i think convergence is is is coming we are seeing signs of it the zimbabwean lives matter you know in a movement something something is brewing something is being born the mtc alliance will play its part it has always played

this part  
it will provide the necessary leadership  
number two it is the external refereeing  
the role uh of uh the international  
community  
particularly the region particularly uh  
you know you know you know you know  
south africa third  
is the obligation that we need to bring  
a zanu-pf to the table in my respective  
view i don't think it's going to be  
possible under amazon  
gaga i suspect that any dialogue any  
possible dialogue can only take place  
after amazon manager is gone but that  
dialogue must focus on reform  
that dialogue must create an  
implementation mechanism  
that's dialogue must include to to to to  
to  
to to to an implementation period which  
would then  
lead to free and fair elections it can  
be done  
and we've done it before we didn't do a  
good job  
but i think they will be changing this  
country sooner  
rather than later okay thank you 10  
diabetes from the ndc  
malaya  
oh thank you very much so i  
my last point is uh where i ended  
that uh international solidarity is  
going to be important  
in order to change this yes from  
zimbabweans but zimbabweans cannot do it  
alone  
we are going to have to work very very  
hard to get  
people across the region across other  
countries to  
be part of this so in whatever way we  
can

those people on this call those of us  
working in the organizations we work  
we must reach out to other people to  
be part of the movement thank you malaya  
um thanks violet sorry i was trying to  
unmute  
um my my final point is that any  
discussions around negotiations and  
settlements  
must not be limited to political  
settlements alone  
that must be premised on human rights  
must be premised on  
democracy and governance but also move  
beyond and engage the zimbabwean  
citizenry  
be widely consultative engage civil  
society organizations  
as well and most importantly must  
specifically  
address the issues of accountability and  
justice  
in zimbabwe finally i would like to say  
that even though there is regional  
paralysis  
when it comes to african governments and  
regional governments in southern africa  
regional support remains key and this  
moment provides an opportunity there is  
momentum in countries like south africa  
and there is  
support from kosatu from south african  
citizens and others within the region  
across southern africa for  
um democracy and human rights in  
zimbabwe  
and so let's take advantage of that  
opportunity let's take advantage  
of the momentum thank you very much to  
ck  
and greg mills  
by myself ah thank you very much i try  
to unmute myself  
just very briefly on the a question

about opposition politics in south africa the two major opposition movements which is the opposition lead with the the official opposition the democratic alliance has nearly 21 of votes in south africa and uh uh the economic freedom fighters eff nearly 11 so that together is nearly 32 percent of the vote and of course they take a very strong line albeit from different perspectives on zimbabwe uh um and julius malema has been particularly outspoken on this issue recently south african governments interested in things that make them look bad and interested in things that make them look weak and interested in acting against issues or for issues that are to do with jobs and the economy and that's why their support has been driven down uh to just 57 percent of the electorate really it's about the combination of corruption and economic performance on my last point i would make is and sorry zimbabwe plays into those two issues of of corruption and economic performance is covert has created a slightly different slightly a very different world as different circumstances even in zimbabwe it's created undoubtedly in the short-term opportunities to eat um and we've seen that here in south africa and it's also been the case in zimbabwe but it's it's dramatically increased

the costs and speed  
of failure uh and as the sign behind me  
suggests  
uh don't let a crisis go to waste and  
that's something  
that the opportunity in zimbabwe should  
not do  
they need to be valuable they need to  
propose a series of dialogues and they  
need to make a plausible case  
for transition to something better  
for zimbabweans thank you greg mills  
and from our last speaker patrick smith  
patrick you have to unmute i'm trying to  
yes  
i think i think that's working now yep  
um fine um  
yeah i just got a message about uh the  
sudan thing again  
uh which is pro uh prompted some some  
interest and maybe criticism as well  
um one one caller said um that he  
thought  
the parallel with between zimbabwe was  
closer with the egyptian revolution the  
sudanese  
revolution i i'd say yeah definitely  
from a socio-political analysis  
there are you know closer parallels with  
the sort of nazirite nationalist regime  
in um  
in egypt than there are with the  
islamist regime in sudan  
the point being that uh what happened in  
egypt was tragic because the people got  
onto the streets  
demanded political change they got some  
backing from the military they kicked  
out  
uh mubarak and then they had an islamist  
regime  
that failed and now they've got a  
dictator who's as bad as mubarak  
probably worse uh so what the sudanese

are trying to do  
by having this extended transition to  
talk about  
brief  
the importance of this idea that  
everyone in zimbabwe has been talking  
about this transitional  
authority that can actually start to  
change  
institutions and start to change the  
society but more importantly  
bring the entire society together into  
that process  
of debate argument and institutional  
renewal and i think that that's  
you know a more coherent and effective  
way forward  
thank you very much patrick and i'm  
afraid we've run out of time so let me  
bring in dr ebermann  
dr mendez i think you only have a minute  
thank you thank you very much  
yeah i'll have two minutes well i think  
this has lived up to the expectations  
and i'll have occasion to thank the the  
panelists and the discussions  
at the end i think we have established  
a viable link between the national  
regional and international perspectives  
on zimbabwe and we hope that in the  
future we can actually recognize  
that linkage through the kind of people  
that we have on the panel  
and through them to put pressure  
towards some kind of settlement in  
israel secondly i think  
we the role of south africa has been has  
been  
has been uh quite central i know that uh  
the this this afternoon i had an  
interview with  
one of the tv stations and that  
unfortunately before they  
they didn't they didn't know i was

listening but i had  
complaints that oh zimbabweans where  
they were bothering south africans  
they should do their own thing you know  
they should do enough  
to to free themselves and i want to just  
remind ourselves  
but also in the context of the  
discussion the role of the international  
community  
i pointed out during the discussion that  
in south africa without the global  
movement  
the anti-padded movement they may not  
have been liberation in south africa  
they may not be democracy in south  
africa so we cannot underestimate  
the role of the international community  
the global committee  
the african the continental effort  
nigerians for example raised a million  
one dollar each one neither each to  
support  
struggle in southern africa so i think  
that also refers to our discussion today  
thirdly i think we have learned  
as problems the need to define refine  
and present acceptable models that we  
want  
and i spoke a lot about but i think we  
need even through the ncp  
the civic society the diaspora to refine  
this concept of the transitional  
authority as  
necessary so that we are ready for it  
when it comes up  
last but not least  
i think we want to call upon the  
international community  
and south africa in particular the  
region to  
to stop the violence the abductions  
the torture in zimbabwe that doesn't  
require a meeting

that emerson was counted as phony  
let the the british prime minister  
the state department in the us just make  
it  
known that the violence the abductions  
the torture of young activists should  
stop  
immediately i wish now again to thank  
the panelists todd stephen  
tendai leia  
greg and patrick thank you very much  
indeed  
you really made a difference to this  
station  
i think it's a it would be a memorable  
one 400  
uh or more on zoom thousands thousands  
on facebook  
thank you very much and thanks to violet  
thank you  
thank you very much uh doctor mandela  
and we have come to the end of our  
broadcast  
thanks to all our panelists discussions  
and contributions  
we are sorry we weren't able to get as  
many of you  
in the call um but next time  
and uh this broadcast as you've heard  
from dr mendez is brought to you by the  
cypress trust  
policy dialogue forum my name is violet  
gonda  
have a good