

Building International and Regional Consensus Policy Dialogue Report ***Zimbabwe: Transitional Challenges, the GPA and the International Response***



27th May 2010 Burgers Park Hotel Pretoria
Keynote speaker Honourable Prime Minister Morgan Tsvangirai

Tribute to the Prime Minister by Ms Judith Todd,
Zimbabwean author and human rights activist, SALO representative in Zimbabwe.

"I am on my feet to thank the Rt. Hon. Prime Minister Tsvangirai not only as a member of the SALO board, but also as a daughter of one of his predecessors, once upon a time also Prime Minister, Garfield Todd. It's eight years since our now Prime Minister and Mrs. Susan Tsvangirai attended the funeral of my father but I believe a spiritual bond between them and others continues, that expressed in Hebrews Chapter 12 which is: *"Therefore, since we are surrounded by such a great cloud of witnesses let us throw off everything that hinders us ... and let us run with perseverance the race marked out for us."* Thank you, Sir, for all you so bravely do for Zimbabwe and her people and may you be blessed with all protection, support and success. Also, on behalf of SALO, may I thank each and every participant present, particularly Ambassador Rylander and Tor Sellstrom¹, for your continuing role in the search for, and realisation of, peace in Zimbabwe; peace for our heroes and heroines such as Mrs. Gertude Hambira² and those she so bravely represents; peace in Africa."

¹ Rylander and Sellstrom are Swedes who have spent decades of their lives working for the Southern African region

² Mrs. Gertrude Hambira is the Secretary General of the General Agricultural & Plantation Workers of Zimbabwe who fled to South Africa last February. After Tsvangirai spoke at this meeting she addressed him from the floor, weeping and asking for his protection to enable her to return home to her family and six year old child. Police, before she fled, had accused her of trying to overthrow the government.

On 27 May 2010, the Southern African Liaison Office (SALO) convened a 'Building International and Regional Consensus policy dialogue' on Zimbabwe's transition, focusing on international re-engagement with Zimbabwe and the search for a breakthrough in the transitional process. SALO's BIC policy dialogue sessions bring together national, regional and international stakeholders, including civil society, policymakers and diplomats, to encourage greater North/South policy dialogue and to discuss ways they can engage moving forward.

This BIC meeting was held in advance of the 1 June 2010 meeting of the Friends of Zimbabwe in Oslo, in which all major players in the international donor community, including the World Bank, the IMF, the African Development Bank and the UN, participated. It was particularly noteworthy as the audience had the privilege of being addressed by the Prime Minister of the Republic of Zimbabwe, the Right Honourable Morgan Tsvangirai³. The meeting, chaired by Professor Rob Moore, Deputy Vice Chancellor at the University of Witwatersrand and SALO Board member, focused on 'the willingness of the international community to invest in one way or another in the Zimbabwean situation', be it economically or politically. Exploring the possible avenues of engagement, the speakers revisited some of the critical issues that define the scope of international engagement today, including progress on the GPA, economic recovery, the seemingly intractable issue of sanctions, and the question of timing for elections. A special farewell to outgoing Swedish Ambassador Sten Rylander was also part of the program.

Positive strides forward and continuing setbacks



The first speaker **Dr. Leonhard Kapungu**, Director of the Centre for Peace Initiatives, emphatically reminded the audience that 'progress has been made and mark my words *has* been made' in Zimbabwe since the formation of the inclusive Government and the signing of the GPA. Ambassador Rylander specifically noted the issuance of licenses to two independent Zimbabwe newspapers, NewsDay and Daily News, as evidence of the kind of necessary 'positive action on the ground in order to build up momentum for positive change.' Some innovative, out-of-the-box thinking also seems to be going on within

the GNU around their position on "sanctions", or the restrictive measures – for example, perhaps requesting that they be suspended until the next elections. While there isn't agreement on this to date, Ambassador Rylander notes that 'it reflects to some extent the dynamic situation we are in'.

Despite these and other positive strides forward, the speakers each highlighted the ongoing impediments that block progress towards the full implementation of the GPA and the reform of the state. Ambassador Rylander noted with dismay the 'severe harassment' that recently took place against Gays and Lesbians of Zimbabwe (GALZ) as an example of the violations of basic human rights that continue. Lack of progress on media reform and the delays in swearing in Roy Bennett were other examples cited. Prime Minister Tsvangirai also expressed his 'frustrations at the slow pace of reform that has followed the formation of the new government in Zimbabwe,'

³ Prime Minister Tsvangirai's speech is included in full in the second half of this document.

as well as his dismay with the unilateral appointment of the Judge President as well as five other new judges by Mugabe without prior consultation. Dr. Kapungu reminded us, however, that the problem of Zimbabwe will not be solved if Mugabe is simply removed. Reflecting on his experiences in Somalia, he firmly believes that, as said by Prime Minister Tsvangirai on another occasion, 'Robert Mugabe is part of the problem. Robert Mugabe must be part of the solution'.

Elections

Professor Moore framed the discussion on elections, one of the major themes of the session, by asking whether delaying elections 'would bring any advances in the transition we have hoped to see or would it in fact stifle and represent continuity of what has happened in the past.' Ambassador Rylander reminded the audience that broad constitutional and electoral reforms are needed to ensure that good, credible elections are held. While many in the donor community are concerned that rushing into elections could result in unnecessary violence, he reminded the audience that the decision is up to Zimbabwe.



Prime Minister Tsvangirai unequivocally stated that 'one of the things which President Mugabe and I do agree on is that those elections need to happen next year.' As such, the main goal of the GNU is to 'embark on a roadmap to those elections without a return to violence, and to ensure foolproof ground rules for are laid and above all that they are free and fair and vote is secured and respected'. He assured the audience that the necessary reforms are underway. 'The Constitutional Process is delayed, but finally underway. Outreach is due to start now in a little

over two weeks. We have agreed on a series of Electoral Reforms which will go some way towards tackling the iniquities and dangers of the current system.' He also noted the issuance of licenses to four independent daily newspapers by the Zimbabwe Media Commission as a critical step forward. 'I believe,' he said, 'that with the continued support of SADC – and in particular President Zuma and his team who have shown enormous commitment over recent months – we can get to, and through, these elections with dignity and without violence.'

Looking forward, not back

Despite the challenges and obstacles highlighted by the speakers, the overwhelming message by all was that progress *is* being made. Prime Minister Tsvangirai reminded us that ‘in the last elections, the people expressed a clear and unequivocal will for real change in Zimbabwe. What they got was short of what they wished for; but at least the process of change has started. The challenge is now to keep that change coming, to keep it peaceful and free of further violence, and to make it irreversible.’ Ambassador Rylander encouraged us all ‘to look at the future, rather than looking back; and also to encourage Zimbabwe to look ahead.’ ‘I am convinced,’ he said, ‘that Zimbabwe is now turning the corner – maybe not yet completely out of the woods; things can still slide back the negative situation experienced just a couple of years ago – but with strong determination on the part of the forces of change (and Morgan Tsvangirai is one such force) and with strong and sustained support from all of us in the international community things should now move in the right direction. SALO has been and will continue to be for some while a key ingredient in this international support network. Zimbabwe will make it and will flourish once again as the country of milk and honey that made the whole of Southern Africa proud.’ Echoing this sentiment, Dr. Kapungu urged the donors meeting in Oslo to remember the importance of Zimbabwe within the region. ‘You destroy Zimbabwe, you destroy Southern Africa,’ he said, and asked all parties to ‘think of how they can encourage Zimbabwe to move forward, rather than to look backwards. ‘I am proud’ Prime Minister said, ‘of the progress we have made, and of our ability to stand together despite all the challenges we have faced.’

A Farewell to Ambassador Rylander



As Professor Moore explained, this special BIC session also served to ‘acknowledge some very venerable veterans of the struggle for democracy in the Southern region who are taking up long deserved imminent retirement and who will be proceeding in due course to their other homes in the North.’ In particular, the speakers recognised Ambassador Sten Rylander, who has been in Southern Africa for 30 years and a longstanding SALO supporter. Aziz Pahad, former Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of South Africa, was called on to deliver the farewell remarks.

‘It is a privilege and honour to pay tribute to a diplomat of a special type, Ambassador Sten Rylander,’ Pahad said. ‘Sten and his wife Berit are outstanding examples of millions of people throughout the world, but more specifically in Sweden, who since the 60’s understood that their humanity and dignity could not be maintained if colonialism and apartheid continued in Southern Africa and if the rest of Africa was enmeshed in neo-colonialism, poverty, underdevelopment and conflicts. Recollecting his illustrious career in the region, Pahad noted several principles that Ambassador Rylander has always believed in that directly relate to the current situation in Zimbabwe: ‘Firstly, one cannot impose solutions; secondly, one has to listen to what representatives of the people we are in solidarity with are saying (e.g. sanctions). We also agreed that one has to be constructively critical and always look for solutions.’ ‘Sten,’ Pahad

said, 'your long walk has not ended. You have just relocated to a new field. You and Berit must continue to be champions of the African Renaissance.'

In addition to Pahad's remarks, Prime Minister Tsvangirai offered his thanks as well to Ambassador Rylander. 'I wish to recognise Ambassador Sten Rylander,' he said, 'who has not only been a strong supporter of the SALO, but has, over many years, proven himself to be a true friend of the people of Zimbabwe in their quest for a truly democratic society. Ambassador, I know that you will be retiring soon and I trust that you will continue to support and visit Zimbabwe. I can assure you that you will always be welcomed as a friend and comrade.'

SALO has reproduced Prime Minister Tsvangirai's speech below it in its entirety.

Address by the Prime Minister of the Republic of Zimbabwe, the Right Honourable Morgan Tsvangirai to the SALO consensus-building workshop, Pretoria, May 27th 2010:



Representatives of the Southern African Liaison Office and Idasa,
Members of the Diplomatic Corps,
Members of the civic society
Invited Guests,
Ladies and Gentlemen,

Thank you for allowing me this opportunity to be with you today. In particular, I wish to recognize Ambassador Sten Rylander who has not only been a strong supporter of the SALO, but has, over many years, proven himself to be a true friend of the people of Zimbabwe in their quest for a truly democratic society. Ambassador, I know that you will be retiring soon and I trust that you will continue to support and visit Zimbabwe. I can assure you that you will always be welcomed as a friend and comrade.

Before I begin my briefing, let me also express my pride as an African that our continent will be hosting the FIFA World Cup next month. I wish to acknowledge the enormous amount of work and commitment invested in this event by all South Africans, which will undoubtedly ensure the success of the tournament. I eagerly look forward to attending the opening ceremony next weekend.

Ladies and Gentlemen, it is good to be amongst friends here today who share a vision of a truly free Zimbabwe, in which all of our people can live in peace, opportunity, hope and prosperity. This type of platform allows for a frank exchange of views and I trust that in both this briefing and afterwards I am able to answer some of the questions and concerns which you might have.

I know that you too share my frustrations at the slow pace of reform that has followed the formation of the new government in Zimbabwe. Being a partner in this marriage of convenience has been a painful experience but a strategic necessity that will enable us to reach our

destination albeit uncomfortably. We do not necessarily share the same vision and values with our colleagues in government. Democracy is about respecting the will of the people. Many of us may have hoped – but few of us really believed – that the transition to democracy would happen overnight in Zimbabwe. In the last elections, the people expressed a clear and unequivocal will for real change in Zimbabwe. What they got was short of what they wished for; but at least the process of change has started. The challenge is now to keep that change coming, to keep it peaceful and free of further violence, and to make it irreversible.

The formation of this inclusive Government allowed us the opportunity to halt, and to begin to reverse Zimbabwe's terrifying acceleration towards a failed state. But we are not out of the woods yet. On a daily basis, and at any given turn we face dogged resistance to change from one of the partners in this government. We have a section of the bureaucracy that continues to resist any changes to the status quo and a security establishment leadership that no longer feels safe in the unfolding new political dispensation. Whether it is resistance to implement agreed democratic reforms; or the looting and misuse of state funds and resources; or the lack of respect for the rule of law and the constitution; or simply the ruthless determination to retain or usurp power at all costs and by whatever means... all of this shows how fragile this marriage is, and how fragile the transition process is in Zimbabwe. Just last week, President Mugabe unilaterally appointed five new judges, including a Judge President, without even a nod to the undertakings he had signed: to consult with me, and to protect the fundamental principles of independence and non-partisanship of the judiciary.

Being in Government with a partner who does not respect the very agreement which they signed up to as a basis for that partnership... is a challenge, to put it mildly. It is now abundantly clear that ZANU PF never intended to implement much of what they signed up to. Fortunately for us though, and for the people of Zimbabwe, the world – and most importantly, the region – is watching. That agreement, the GPA, was brokered and guaranteed by SADC. And SADC has proved that they are determined to see it respected and implemented.

We all know that the essence of implementing the GPA means implementing the reforms necessary to allow the people of Zimbabwe to express their will clearly, unequivocally, and without fear of violence in the next elections. And fortunately, one of the things which President Mugabe and I do agree on is that those elections need to happen next year. The main purpose of this marriage of convenience therefore is to get us embark on a roadmap to those elections without a return to violence, and to ensure foolproof ground rules for are laid and above all that they are free and fair and vote is secured and respected. With enough active support from our friends in the region, I believe that this is possible. Despite all the frustrations and the deceptions, we have actually made some reasonable progress:

- The Constitutional Process is delayed, but finally underway. Outreach is due to start now in a little over two weeks.
- We have agreed on a series of Electoral Reforms which will go some way towards tackling the iniquities and dangers of the current system.
- Yesterday the Zimbabwe Media Commission issued the licenses for four new independent daily newspapers to be published in Zimbabwe.

These are all part of the mix of reforms that are needed for free and fair elections to be held next year. There is a whole lot more to do, but we are now finally underway. It is a protracted process.

I know and appreciate how seriously many of our regional partners view the situation in Zimbabwe, and how committed they are to ensure that the country does not once again slide down the road towards failure as it did before the last elections. I appreciate and salute their concerted and continuous efforts to support my country and to support the people of Zimbabwe. **No-one can afford for Zimbabwe to fail again. And with the right will and the right determination from all actors, we can ensure that it does not.**

Of course, coming back – and staying back – from the brink is not just about securing democratic reforms. My party was also elected to turn around the failing economy and to start to rebuild the shattered infrastructure of Zimbabwe-. Here again, we are deeply reliant on our partners, regionally and internationally. And we have received a great deal of support in this regard. Throughout the most difficult times, and until today, the international community has supported the Zimbabwean people by guaranteeing basic livelihoods when the state was no longer able to do so, and by intervening to protect and support critically basic health and education services. I am immensely grateful for this support, and look forward to it continuing and evolving as the Government slowly recovers its ability to look after its own citizens.

As we look forward to the Friends of Zimbabwe meeting in Oslo next week, I also hope that we can make swift progress in rebuilding my country's infrastructure. Zimbabwe's infrastructure has been decimated by mismanagement and corruption over a period of many years. And this is a huge obstacle to economic regeneration. To secure the country's long-term stability, livelihoods and growth, we will need a great deal help to rebuild this infrastructure. I am delighted that the African Development Bank is taking a lead in this area, and I believe strongly that the ADB's leadership and management of a Multi-Donor Fund will be of immense and lasting benefit to the people of Zimbabwe.

Ladies and Gentlemen, this last year has been a steep learning curve for me and for my party, the MDC. No-one expected it to be easy, and none of us went into this marriage with a light or a naïve heart. We have had to learn the difficult business of government and the messy business of coalition politics at the same time. **I am proud of the progress we have made, and of our ability to stand together despite all the challenges we have faced.**

But we have made mistakes, and I am the first to acknowledge these and to commit to learning from these mistakes. At times, we have been too caught up in our problems, and thereby distanced ourselves from our traditional partners and our allies. That is a mistake. At times, too, we have been so distracted by the daily battles we fight in government that we have lost some of the focus on the clear principles for which we were elected. That is a grave mistake.

Fortunately, the MDC is a truly democratic party, and our grassroots are there to hold the leadership to account, to remind us of what we stand for, and to bring us back on course. On the 16th of May, the party's National Council met and made a number of very clear resolutions, amongst them were the following:

- That, the parties and the Principals of the parties must take measures to implement and execute the agreed positions as reflected in the Negotiators report dated the 3rd of April 2010 and more importantly, must enforce and uphold the Implementation Matrix as prepared by the Negotiators.
- On indigenization, the MDC believes in broad-based empowerment for the people and for this reason condemns the current proposed indigenization regulations on the basis

that they are elitist, selective and a mere vehicle for further enrichment of the rich few, self aggrandizement, patronage and further destruction of the economy.

- The party noted with concern the lack of transparency and due process in the handling of diamonds at Chiadzwa and in the granting of concessions and mining rights in the same.
- It resolved that due process of the law and all court orders issued in respect of the Chiadzwa claims should be honoured and respected and that that all income from Chiadzwa should be accounted for transparently to the State to enable the same to attend to capital and recurrent expenditure and in particular the adequate remuneration of civil servants.
- There is no room for wayward involvement of some wings of the security forces in the mining of diamonds as evidenced by the issuance of licenses to some of them. This will only destruct them from their core business of national policing and security.

The MDC leadership also called for rapid intervention by SADC to resolve the implementation of the GPA and also to clearly define the roadmap to an election and the guarantees to the legitimacy of this election.

Which brings us back to the question of next year's elections and the future of Zimbabwe after those elections. As I have already said, I believe that with the continued support of SADC – and in particular President Zuma and his team who have shown enormous commitment over recent months – we can get to, and through, these elections with dignity and without violence. It is then that the challenge of establishing a truly stable, democratic and peaceful Zimbabwe will really begin. And that will be a challenge in which all Zimbabweans will need to play an active role. Any post-election Government will need the full and active support of the Civil Service, the Uniformed Services, and Civil Society. It is a remarkable testament to the character and strength of Zimbabweans: just how skilled and professional each of these groups has remained, despite and throughout the disaster of the last ten years. I find it immensely reassuring to know that the skills, the professionalism and the determination remain to serve and to serve well.

It will not be an easy task to recover fully from the wounds of the past, especially when so many of them have been self-inflicted. But I know that we can do so without rancour and without revenge. And in this task, I know that we will enjoy the full support of our friends and allies, and in particular of South Africa.

Ladies and Gentlemen, for all these reasons, I am both confident and excited about the future of Zimbabwe. The Zimbabwean people have shown remarkable resilience and a determination to fight for what is right, and for what should be theirs. And their friends in the region and beyond – represented by many of you here today – have shown your determination to stand by us, to support us and to help us.

In conclusion I wish to reiterate that one of the critical reforms being undertaken is the constitution making process and I am aware of the differing positions on the process and the misgivings about the nature and role of the people. We in the MDC believe that getting bogged on process and not content may be akin to aiming at the trees and missing the woods. Any opportunity to level the playing field should be seized by all those who have fought gallantly for the constitution reform agenda. That, I firmly believe, is a winning team. Together, we will be able to build the Zimbabwe which I, like all Zimbabweans, have dreamed of. **I THANK YOU.**

A full transcript of the meeting and list of participants can be made available upon request. The analysis and recommendations included in this Policy Dialogue Report do not necessarily reflect the view of SALO or any of the conference participants, but rather draw upon the major strands of discussion put forward at the event. Participants neither reviewed nor approved this document. Therefore, it should not be assumed that every participant subscribes to all of its recommendations, observations, and conclusions. The contents of the report are the sole responsibility of SALO and can under no circumstances be regarded as reflecting the position of the donors who provided financial assistance for this policy dialogue session.

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The Southern African Liaison Office (SALO) is a non-governmental organisation which promotes informed process and debate about regional conflicts and crises. SALO does this by organising dialogue events and forums for informed discussion amongst key government and civil society actors from South Africa, the SADC region and internationally, as well as through lobbying and advocacy, documentary media production, and research and analysis.

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