A Review of Zimbabwe's Current Domestic, Regional and International Situation

Compiled by

Leontina Kanyowa

Organisation for Social Science Research in Eastern and Southern Africa

National Workshop of OSSREA Zimbabwe Chapter

020030006

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Report of National Workshop
25 July 2003
Harare, Zimbabwe

OSSREA
Documentation Unit
P.O. Box 31971
Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

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OSSREA acknowledges the support of Swedish International Development Co-operation Agency (Sida/SAREC), Ford Foundation, Norwegian Agency for Development Co-operation (NORAD), The Netherlands' Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and International Development Research Centre (IDRC).

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Printed in Ethiopia

Copyediting: *Samuel Tesfamichael*
Text layouts: *Etalem Engeda*

Organisation for Social Science Research
in Eastern and Southern Africa
P.O. Box 31971, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia
Fax: 251-1-551399
E-mail: ossrea@telecom.net.et
pub.ossrea@telecom.net.et

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1. INTRODUCTION

The Zimbabwe Chapter of the Organisation for Social Science Research in Eastern and Southern Africa (OSSREA) held its annual national workshop on 25th July 2003 at the Holiday Inn, in Harare. The theme of the workshop was: *A Review of Zimbabwe's Current Domestic, Regional and International Situation*. About 42 participants from the academia, civil society and NGOs attended the one-day workshop. In all, four main papers were presented. The papers generated heated debates in an effort to come up with viable and sustained solutions to the current crisis in Zimbabwe.

2. OPENING REMARKS

In his opening remarks, Mr. Masunugure, in his capacity as Acting Liaison Officer, extended warm welcome to participants of the 10th OSSREA Zimbabwe Chapter Annual National Workshop. He extended particular warm welcome to the participants from the Provincial Chapters, namely Masvingo, Mashonaland Central and Manicaland. Mr. Masunugure also recognized the presence of the immediate past President of OSSREA, Dr. Pangeti, who has played a major role in OSSREA by being the first women President. After these remarks, the participants introduced themselves.

Mr. Masunugure explained that OSSREA was founded in 1980 in Ethiopia and that its headquarters is situated at the Addis Ababa University campus. He further pointed out that OSSREA has active National Chapters run by Liaison Officers in 14 countries, including South Africa, which is the youngest member, having joined the organization in October 2002. However, its mandate covers 21 countries. Membership to OSSREA is open to individuals, private organisations and government agencies engaged in social science research.

The Mr. Masunugure outlined the main objectives of OSSREA as follows:

i. To encourage and promote interest in the study of and research in the social sciences in Eastern and Southern Africa;

ii. To promote collaborative research and facilitate scholarly exchange of ideas and publications between individuals and institutions engaged in the study of and research in the social sciences;

iii. To promote the training of African scholars in the study of and research in the social science and encourage the establishment of institutions dedicated to this goal;

iv. To work in close cooperation with other individuals and institutions in Africa and elsewhere in the world engaged in the study of the social sciences;

v. To establish a special fund to be used for the purposes of providing such research grants and training fellowships which are consistent with its objectives; and

vi. To promote dialogue and interaction between social scientists and policy-makers in Eastern and Southern Africa with a view to enhancing the impact of social science research on policy-making and development planning.

Participants were also informed what activities OSSREA Zimbabwe Chapter is involved in. These include:

A. OSSREA Information Dissemination

OSSREA provides opportunities for social scientists to undertake research through competitive grants, which are publicised through its provincial chapters. The awards and grants offered are:

i. The Social Sciences Research Award: This award is open to all interested persons, including government and NGO personnel, not just University of Zimbabwe academics;

ii. The Gender Issues Research Award: To compete for this award, male applicants should hold a minimum of a Master's degree, whilst a first degree is sufficient for women. The rationale is to encourage women to do research in areas of interest;

iii. The Senior Scholars Research Grant: This is a new grant. The region has been losing reputable scholars and, therefore, the aim of this grant is to keep these scholars within the region, as they are a scarce resource. Zimbabwe has managed to win this very competitive grant; and

iv. The Methodology Training Workshop: It aim is to meet research methodology training needs.

The granting of these awards and grants to Zimbabweans has been notable. In 2001 and 2002, two Zimbabweans in each of the respective years were awarded the Social Science Research Award. The Gender Issues Research Award and the Senior Scholars Research Grants were also awarded to Zimbabweans in the years 2001 and 2002. The Methodology Training Workshop has become popular over the years. In 2001, one participant from Zimbabwe attended the workshop and in 2002 this number went up to two. In addition to the award of grants and awards, five Zimbabweans attended the 7th OSSREA Congress in Sudan in 2002.

Participants were informed that the Liaison Office also disseminates OSSREA information on events, activities and current issues to its members through email. For instance, through email, members have received information on the 2003 training in social science methodology workshop to be held in Addis Ababa from 13th - 24th October 2003. Members have also received information on the Senior Scholars' Research Grant for 2003 and the deadline for submitting applications is 31st July 2003.

B. Graduate Students Essay Competition

Another OSSREA Zimbabwe Chapter activity is the graduate students essay competition, which is run every year. The first prize is US$150.00, second prize US$100.00, and the third prize is US$50.00

C. Zimbabwe International Book Fair

OSSREA Zimbabwe Chapter has facilitated the exhibition of OSSREA Publications at the Zimbabwe International Book Fair. The Documentalist, Executive Secretary and other personnel from OSSREA Headquarters attend the Book Fair.

D. Provincial Chapters

In order to make OSSREA Zimbabwe Chapter more national and representative, plans are underway to set up provincial chapters in all provinces.

E. Membership Drive

OSSREA Zimbabwe Chapter has embarked on a membership drive.

3. KEYNOTE ADDRESS

In her keynote address, Dr. Pangeti stated that she was happy to be invited to the workshop and indicated that she would like to continue working with OSSREA in her capacity as a freelance researcher.

In her presentation entitled: *A Review of Zimbabwe's Current Domestic, Regional and International Situation*, Dr. Pangeti indicated that Zimbabwe is going through a difficult time fuelled by both internal and international crises and that Zimbabweans have prayed and hoped that each passing month marks the end or the climax of the crises, after which people can look forward to some positive developments. However, this was eluding the people of Zimbabwe.

Dr. Pangeti indicated that she interpreted the theme of the workshop to mean looking at the country's domestic problems as one side to the story, and looking at the country's domestic problems within the regional and international contexts as the other side. This was in view of the increasing interdependence brought in by the new Globalisation and Regionalism. Historically, Zimbabwe has attracted both regional and international attention, starting from the colonial period/decolonisation phase especially after the UDI and after 1980, as the country took active part in both regional and international affairs.

Before dwelling on the negative, the presenter was of the view that it was only fair to start by acknowledging the very positive strides made in the first decade of independence in the social, political and especially economic fields. During this decade of development in Zimbabwe, the seeds of future problems were sown. The presenter questioned the subsequent adoption of ESAP as a means of addressing the economic problems Zimbabwe was beginning to face at that time, in spite of the presence of documented evidence of its negative impact.

Although all sectors of society acknowledge that the country is in deep crisis, no one seems able to do anything about it. The problems facing the country can be summarized as serious hyperinflation, negative real interest rates, foreign currency shortages, unsustainable levels of both domestic and external debt, fuel shortages, poor wealth conditions and general apathy. In addition, the closure of manufacturing industries has resulted in loss of productive capacity, jobs and exports. The agricultural industry has also suffered from the combined impact of land reform, poor weather conditions and the fall in commodity prices on the international market. The situation has been made worse by the impact of HIV/AIDS.

Not only has there been a major decline in the human development index, but there is also a clear indicator that most economic activities now take place in the informal sector or the parallel market. The activities on the parallel market have created new winners and losers and

the inequality gap has widened, hence the need for serious political commitment to economic reforms.

Government efforts to solve the current problems through the Millennium Economic Recovery Programme (MERP) have so far failed due to weaknesses in implementation and failure of the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe to put in place an effective monetary policy. Therefore, it was in light of these problems/crises or challenges that the theme of the workshop was most pertinent, and it was hoped that the results of the deliberations would filter to the right sectors of society so that they may help in finding solutions in the very near future.

Feedback on Dr. Pangeti's Keynote Address

A participant indicated that Dr. Pangeti's presentation was incisive and that it raised interesting issues. The participant, however, wanted to know whether there was now a paradigm shift whereby the black market was now being recognized and accepted as part of the economy, and what implications this has for the future.

In response, Dr. Pangeti indicated that the formal sector has failed the nation and that there are now activities that have come in to replace the formal sector. She asked whether we should call the informal sector these derogatory terms and continue to look down on these activities, considering that it is people in the formal sector that are putting goods on to the informal market.

Another participant was of the opinion that although the prices of goods on the parallel market are high, the sector has created opportunities for women because they can now sell certain commodities and are thus able to look after their children. Related to this point, another participant reminded participants about the fact that former Minister of Finance had cautioned the government about the dangers of creating a ministry to accommodate the informal sector.

A participant wanted to know whether the economic crisis was due to the current political polarization. In response, the presenter indicted that the problems were multi-faceted and that polarization was only one aspect of it.

4. SUMMARY OF PAPERS PRESENTED

4.1 Zimbabwe's Current Domestic Political Situation

(A. Hungwe)

Mr. Hungwe's presentation explored Zimbabwe's current political situation to base elements for strategic political direction for the country. The context of the paper was guided by theory Z which consists of four phases. These phases in relation to Zimbabwe are as follows:

Phase I: London-Harare dialogue: It attracts preliminary attention, but is a weak strategy.

Phase II: Washington pressures London-Pretoria dialogue, but again this is a weak strategy.

Phase III: Washington descends physically on Pretoria. Often change is effected through this strategy.

Phase IV: This constitutes direct military action on Harare. This is not feasible.

Based on this theory, it was the presenter's contention that fundamental changes on Harare will have to do with the Bush visit to Pretoria. There is a political stalemate between Zimbabwe's two major political parties, ZANU (PF) and MDC, and this forms the centrepiece of the crisis in the country. This stalemate is not sustainable as inter-party dialogue, which remains the only realistic option for breaking the political deadlock. In addition, inter-party dialogue has serious implications for the succession debate, constitutional reform discourse and the prospective 2005 Presidential and Parliamentary elections. Both MDC and ZANU (PF)

are long overdue for internal reforms and that if the current political crisis in Zimbabwe is to be resolved, more creative, imaginative and "statesmen" like leaders have to emerge from within the two political parties. In addition, domestic regional and international pressures should focus on reforms within both parties.

Furthermore, the presenter indicated that Zimbabwe needed to break the tradition of having one dominant political party. If this were to continue, the country would stumble from one political crisis to another every two decades. In a situation were one political party culture is dominant, the status quo is normally characterized by political violence, political intolerance, political decay, politics of exclusion, politics of marginalisation, patron-clientism, moral bankruptcy, social corruption and ideological bankruptcy. The presenter emphasized that, indeed, should the MDC form a government in the future, there will also be need for an opposition party to ensure that it benefits from a strong and critical shadow government.

Having outlined the above scenario, Mr. Hungwe pointed out that the MDC faces a number of challenges if it is to fully transform itself from a mass movement into a fully-fledged political party. In order to do this, there are a number of strategies the MDC needs to adopt, including:

- The MDC needs to define and articulate a clear ideological framework. To do this, the MDC has to address a number of internal contradictions, namely race (black vs. white), class (labour vs. capital), ethnicity (Ndebele vs. Shona), regional (Matabeleland vs. others), intellectual (lawyers vs. others) and constituent (NCA vs. ZCTU).

- The MDC needs to build its image and destroy the notion built by ZANU (PF) and others that it is a western-sponsored white-driven imperialist party. Serious membership drive in rural areas is necessary.

- The MDC needs to institutionalise its operations and desist from the *ad hoc* approach to politics it has largely maintained so far as evidenced by the mass action/ "final push" strategy.

Mr. Hungwe pointed out that in spite of the need to adopt these strategies, there was no doubt that the MDC would be a permanent feature of Zimbabwe's political terrain. He also stated that ZANU (PF) also faces a number of challenges beyond the current leadership, including:

- ZANU (PF) might disintegrate in the post-Mugabe era and that the party would meet the same fate as Kenneth Kaunda's UNIP. ZANU (PF) might go the UNIP way because the immediate circumstances between the two parties are similar: both have been dominated by powerful leaders and both have been challenged by trade-union-based opposition parties. If UNIP is an example to go by, there is a likelihood of these parties being reduced to minority opposition parties.
- ZANU (PF) needs to address the issue of factionalism in almost all its political provinces.
- ZANU (PF) needs a constitutional review and succession mechanisms.

Whilst a possible disintegration of ZANU (PF) into provincial/regional pockets led by provincial warlords is a possibility, ZANU (PF) might re-image itself and rejuvenate itself in time to win the 2005 elections. ZANU (PF) is still necessary for future political stability in Zimbabwe and governance would alternate between MDC and ZANU (PF) through free and fair elections, similar to that experienced in the USA and the UK.

As a way forward, there is urgent need for ZANU (PF) and MDC to engage in political dialogue, otherwise Zimbabwe would be plunged into total chaos within the next 12 months. The leaders in the two parties

need to rise above party politics and embrace the national agenda, thus becoming true statesmen. In the event that there is a transitional government in Zimbabwe, this should not mark the demise of the two major political parties, but rather an opportunity for political "re-birth", because a transitional government is critical for establishing macro-political stability in the country and for defining the rules for future political engagement between the MDC and ZANU (PF).

The presenter re-iterated the need for dialogue between the MDC and ZANU (PF); international and regional pressure is critical because domestic political forces have reached a stalemate. Pretoria in consultation with Washington could facilitate this dialogue, which will lead the country to the ballot option as opposed to the bullet option. Therefore, the future of Zimbabwe now lies in the hands of the MDC and ZANU (PF) leadership.

4.1.1 Discussant's Remarks

The discussant, Mrs. Kuchena, identified a number of issues she felt needed clarification:

- What constitutes the Zimbabwe current political domestic situation needed further elaboration by highlighting the manifestations of the situation being referred to. One of the manifestations is the formation of the MDC, which has been described in some quarters as being western funded.
- The no vote of 2000, which has been described as civil society campaigning against land redistribution, needed to be discussed.
- Violence against people and the role of the media in highlighting these invasions needed to be brought to the fore. It was also important to point out that the violence had a racial and gender dimension to it in that whites were killed and women raped.

- The intimidation and violence that characterized the last parliamentary and presidential elections also needed to be highlighted. It was also important to note how civil society reacted to this through mass action and food riots and how the government responded.
- The response of the external community through SMART sanctions and donor withdrawal has contributed to the crisis in Zimbabwe. There was need to point out that what started as a political crisis has culminated into economic problems.
- There was need to record the reactions of certain organizations such as Amani Trust, Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace and the Crisis Coalition.
- Whilst the presenter had made reference to inter-party dialogue, there was need for diversity as there is need for more players on the political scene. Caution should be exercised in trusting western models of democracy.

According to the discussant, one of the solutions to the crisis in Zimbabwe lies in the formation of a transitional government. However, there is need to be clear about who will involved, what the stakes are, how political intolerance will be removed and how transition will be possible in the wake of violence. A Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) could be a solution to some of these questions. However, there is need for openness, transparency and accountability as a way forward. The challenge to all Zimbabweans was to participate directly or indirectly in shaping the political future of the country.

4.1.2 Discussion

One participant said that she found the paper interesting but also indicated that she was not convinced that Zimbabwe should promote externally induced regime change, rather the country should consider adopting democratic processes that are home-grown. The participant

further went on to state that it was her view that the MDC and ZANU (PF) are the same side of the coin because MDC characters are products of ZANU (PF) and that they seem to be more interested in scoring points than dealing with national issues.

The participant also went to allude to the role of academics/researchers in facilitating change in Zimbabwe. Academics are good at digging up information, and analysing and presenting it. She felt that academics do not make good politicians. They just like argue and rarely accept opposing opinions because they want to score points

On the issue of potential anarchy in Zimbabwe, the participant felt that citizens of Zimbabwe are civilized and do not like to *toyi-toyi*. Spontaneous anarchy in Zimbabwe is, therefore, unlikely given what people have to put up with as they deal with the manifestation of the crisis. What further makes spontaneous anarchy unlikely in Zimbabwe is that some people are being cushioned by their friends and relatives who are living and working outside the country.

On the MDC as an opposition, the participant felt that this was the only opposition and as to whether they are serious or not, was another issue. Finally, the participant asked how mass-driven the mass actions are.

In response, the presenter stated that Zimbabweans are docile and this explains the current situation in the country. He felt that as citizens of Zimbabwe, the people have failed to play their role in finding solutions to the current crisis. Mass actions have not worked because they are not mass uprisings, which are more feasible. Mass actions are not sustainable and they have been an ultimate show down of domestic forces.

One speaker asked the presenter to explain further on how a transitional government would be organized. In response, the presenter stated that the only practical way out of the current crisis was through the establishment of a transitional government, which should be multi-dimensional and broad-based. It is this government that would see to the

task of defining a constitution and initiating debate on succession. However, this government should not be in power for more than 18 months.

Another speaker referred to the Z theory by stating that in the 1970s both South Africa and Rhodesia were under white regimes and that there was a situation of war in the region. He further stated that South Africa had stronger power over Rhodesia and was, therefore, in a position to influence her. Today, these are internationally recognized independent states and the power relations are now different. The speaker also went on to say that NEPAD and the African Renaissance are providing new dimensions for Africa. On the issue of docility, the speaker wondered whether it was possible to measure the level of docility.

Another speaker posed a question to the discussant whether the definition of civil society should be confined to urban areas. He asked the following questions to the presenter:

- What would your paper have been like if it had been written before the Bush visit? What is the motive and power behind the two political parties in Zimbabwe? Can they merge?
- The Z theory is too linear. What information is going to London, how is it being processed and for whose benefit?
- What should a sitting government do when faced with mass actions/ final push?

In response, the presenter stated that he stood by the Z theory because the conclusions he drew are based on historical facts. Mass actions do not work because they are not spontaneous; if they were, then that would be described as an uprising. Zimbabweans are under siege and that this is the reason why there can be no uprising.

The discussant stated that both rural and urban dwellers constitute civil society. The emphasis on the urban civil society, including non-

governmental organizations, was due to the fact that it was mainly the urban dwellers that openly came out against the yes vote in 2000.

4.2 Neo-Liberal Restructuring in Zimbabwe: Lessons from the Chilean Experience, 1973-1989

(M.C. Halimana)

Mr. Halimana examined the Chilean experience with the neo-liberal economic reform in the post-Allende era until the democratisation process in the 1990s, with the aim of drawing lessons from that experience.

The presenter conceptualised the nature of the economic problems in Zimbabwe by referring to National Economic Recovery Programme document, which categorically states that the country is facing severe socio-economic challenges that have been compounded by a hostile domestic and external environment, arising from those opposed to the land and agrarian reform programme. The manifestations of the crisis in Zimbabwe were outlined as follows:

- Drying up of important sources of foreign exchange;
- Worsening export performance;
- Rapid expansion of money supply; and
- High inflation.

After the conceptualisation of the economic problem in Zimbabwe, the paper outlined the basic ingredients of the Neo-Liberal Model (NLM) that was described as a critique of the Import Substitution Industrialization (ISI) implemented by many developing countries in the past.

The presenter cited four reasons why he examined the Chilean experience:

- Chile can be said to be a trailblazer in the neo-liberal economic reform;
- From a comparative perspective, there are certain features in the Chilean history that provide some useful insights from a reflective perspective;
- The interface between politics and economics comes out very clearly in the Chilean example; and
- There is always something to learn from those who have trodden the road before.

The presenter then drew parallels between the Chilean experience and that of Zimbabwe.

4.2.1 Discussant's Remarks

The discussant, Dr. Saungweme, stated that the paper was divided into two sections, namely neo-liberal model in Zimbabwe and lessons from Chile. However, the discussion devoted to each was not balanced in that the presenter spent too much time on Chile and very little time on Zimbabwe. The discussant also felt that the presenter should have defined the neo-liberal model.

The application of the neo-liberal model in Chile was divided into four parts based on the presidents that were leading the country. The four phases are then juxtaposed to Zimbabwe. This is not possible because Zimbabwe has had only one regime during the neo-liberal era. Another point raised by the discussant was that when Chile was a socialist state, inflation was high, shooting up to 118% and yet when Zimbabwe was a socialist state, inflation was low. The discussant, therefore, did not understand the basis for the comparison. The paper also did not explain on whom best applied the neo-liberal model.

On the issue of import substitution, the discussant said that in Zimbabwe big companies such as Anglo American, Rio Tinto, Zisco Steel, etc., did

import substitution, whereas in Chile, small companies did it. Thus, comparison based on import substitution is a problem. The issue of land reform in the two countries could not be compared because in Zimbabwe, it was indigenous versus non-indigenous; whereas in Chile, it was indigenous versus indigenous.

In conclusion, the discussant stated that the neo-liberal model is no good and, therefore, we should look for an alternative, which should not be an imposition from the World Bank/International Monetary Fund.

4.2.2 Discussion

A participant stated that he shared the same sentiments with the discussant and added that the presenter needed to clarify the type and level of poverty that prevailed in Chile and the alleviation strategies adopted. The participant also felt that the presenter should also have mentioned the co-relation between labour and the implementation of the neo-liberal model. On land re-distribution, the participant felt that it was necessary to highlight the necessity of land for progressive industrialization.

In response, the presenter stated he was trying to draw lessons from Chile, hence the emphasis on Chile. He also felt that the experience with land reform in both countries could be compared. He illustrated this point by citing information to the effect that in Chile 45,000 peasants sold their land. Similarly, in Zimbabwe, some new farmers have leased their land because they have no access to inputs and credit facilities. The only reason why they are not selling their land is because they do not have title deeds to these pieces of land.

A participant asked the presenter his perception on: "land is the economy and the economy is the land". In response, the presenter said that this statement is tautological especially since industry is heavily linked to agriculture.

Another participant felt that Argentina could have been a more appropriate example, as it is a more recent illustration of the neo-liberal model compared to Chile.

4.3 *Rambai Makashinga*: Zimbabwe's Relations with the International Community

(L. Sachikonye)

In the introduction, Prof. Sachikonye stated that in the 1980s and 1990s, Zimbabwe enjoyed a high international standing in the African region and the world. However, the year 2002 marked a nadir in Zimbabwe's fortunes on the diplomatic front; by 2003, Zimbabwe's originally high profile in international and regional relations had been cut to a very modest size, although the AU, SADC and the NAM still provide a comfort zone. However, some countries in the AU and SADC have become quite outspoken about the state of governance in Zimbabwe.

The presenter went on to say that during the first decade of independence, Zimbabwe's foreign relations were reasonably good. Furthermore, Zimbabwe had the most industrialized and modern economy and there were concerted efforts to invest in social services as a component of redistribution. Zimbabwe sought to consolidate itself in a potentially hostile environment created by apartheid South Africa and its destabilization tactics in some neighbouring states, as it continued to occupy Namibia and to destabilize Mozambique through Renamo and Angola through Unita. The presenter pointed out that it was in this broad context that Zimbabwe was viewed as a major player in polities in the Southern region. Not only did Zimbabwe enjoy good relations within the region, but also its relations with both Eastern and Western powers were good.

The presenter went on to state that the government continued to enjoy popularity and stability at the beginning of the 1990s after the merger of ZANU (PF) and PF ZAPU. However, the international situation was

already undergoing changes, namely the collapse of the Soviet Union, which ideologically signalled the collapse of socialism and the triumph of capitalism of the neo-liberal variant. The world was now left with one superpower and this had great significance for the way African countries conducted their foreign policies. In regional terms, the second far-reaching development was the transition from the apartheid state to a democratic majority rule in South Africa. Relations between Zimbabwe and South Africa were not auspicious at the beginning. Although relations between the Mandela and Mugabe governments were reasonably good, they were not warm. This was attributed in part to the liberation era rapport between ZANU (PF) and the Pan-African Congress (PAC). In addition, there was a hint of "regional rivalry" between Mugabe and Mandela.

In his presentation, Prof. Sachikonye also alluded to what he referred to as "external intervention, pay-offs and backlash". He discussed Zimbabwe's intervention in the DRC conflict after Laurent Kabila had fallen out with his erstwhile allies Uganda and Rwanda in 1998. This intervention came at a heavy cost to Zimbabwe's economy and domestic cohesion and its international standing, at least in the West. There was little to show for the intervention that, at its peak, involved up to 11,000 troops. The presenter further explained that apart from the DRC intervention, the late 1990s to date have also been characterized by the land reform programme, the constitution reform debate, smart sanctions and the 2000 and 2002 elections and their aftermath. These domestic developments have shaped the tone and direction of Zimbabwe's international relations during the era under discussion.

In conclusion, the presenter indicated that Zimbabwe's role in the Southern African region remains the core of its foreign policy, but this has been tested since 2000 as land reform and the conduct of the 2000 and 2002 elections provoked western consternation. Zimbabwe's domestic situation featured highly in a number of SADC summits in 2000 and 2001. Some SADC states expressed solidarity on the land

reform, whilst there was growing disquiet with how Zimbabwe was handling its domestic governance amongst others. In addition, the presenter expressed concern about what he termed "the privatisation of diplomacy" and its toll on the nation.

4.3.1 Discussant's Remarks

Dr. Chikowore commented that the paper was consistently analytical and logical in defining the socio-economic development in Zimbabwe and the landmark issues that define the country in regional and international contexts. However, the intervention in the DRC should have been articulated and understood in Pan-Africanist paradigms. Furthermore, there was need to highlight the moral basis for the intervention in the DRC and to outline what the pay-offs have been. On the land and smart sanctions era, the discussant said the sanctions were in essence a reflection of disrespect for international law and that there is need to acknowledge the economic dimension to land re-distribution.

In conclusion, the discussant felt that the following needed highlighting:

- The morality of smart sanctions within the UN convention, African Union, European Union, and the SADC conventions;
- Why the European Union would subscribe to smart sanctions;
- To debate what is wrong with intervening in the DRC given that this country is part of the SADC; and
- To examine the extent to which the regional and international communities have contributed to the current situation in Zimbabwe.

4.3.2 Discussion

One participant asked whether South Africa resisted Bush's call for Robert Mugabe's exit and whether African is sunk with Zimbabwe. In response, Prof. Sachikonye stated that Bush's visit to South Africa and

the position taken on Zimbabwe demonstrate the strategic interests of United States in the Southern African region. Therefore, the United States did not wish to disturb the relations between South Africa and the USA. He further added that in contrast, the US policy on Liberia is not consistent at all and this demonstrates that the US has no concrete economic interests in Liberia.

Another participant made a comment to the effect that the liberation war legacy is scaring off people with political ambitions and that to a large extent they have influenced policy. In response, Prof. Sachikonye indicated that he agreed with analysis of the speaker. He further added that the events that took place in Zimbabwe in 2000 and the role of war veterans alluded to the liberation war legacy but also demonstrated Zimbabwe's failure to re-integrate this population into society through training, employment and other means of sustaining their livelihood. This was a belated lesson that Zimbabwe learnt from the event. A participant corrected the house by explaining that in actual fact, during the 1980s, the government of Zimbabwe had in place packages to facilitate the integration of war veterans into society.

However, Prof. Sachikonye also expressed concern about the level of xenophobia by war veterans towards farm workers of non-Zimbabwean origin.

A speaker in the audience alleged that Mbeki and Obasanjo are not honest brokers. In response, Prof. Sachikonye stated that regarding whether or not Obasanjo and Mbeki are honest brokers, it is best to just agree that they are brokers. He, however, pointed out that Mbeki and Obasanjo would genuinely like to see the Zimbabwe stalemate broken. The presenter further elaborated this point by stating that South Africa has lost revenue due to the situation in Zimbabwe through the negative impact on tourism and lost of investment.

Another speaker in the audience said that Zimbabwe has been consistent on its policy on the DRC intervention. He went on to say that whilst

Zimbabwe embraces the concept of intervention, the country should also reap the fruit of its labour. In response, Prof. Sachikonye said that perhaps Zimbabwe has been unable to reap the fruit of its labour in Mozambique and the DRC because it lacks the capacity to do so.

A speaker asked the presenter a hypothetical question regarding what the pattern of events would have been if the NCA had agreed to join the Constitution Review Commission and if the proposed national constitution had won the referendum. In response, Prof. Sachikonye said that hypothetical questions are difficult to answer and proceeded to state that it is conceivable that if the draft constitution had been accepted, there would have been no land re-distribution and perhaps Zimbabwe may not have had as violent an election as there was. The presenter went on to say that if the constitution had been accepted, the MDC would have been able to campaign in the rural areas and the result may have taken a different form.

4.4 Zimbabwe and the International Community

(L. T. Kapungu)

Dr. Kapungu invited participants to accept the axiom that governs relations among nations; that is, in international relations, there are no permanent friends and no permanent enemies. If this axiom is accepted, the interaction of four elements determines the position of a country in the international community, especially a small or medium country. The four elements were identified as follows:

- How a country defines its national interests and how it seeks to attain them;
- How other countries perceive those interests and the methods used to attain them.
- How other countries define their own interests in relation to that country and how they seek to attain them; and

- How the subject country reacts to other countries' interests toward it and the methods used to attain them.

The presenter stated that Zimbabwe is a small/medium country that has experienced the best of times and the worst of times. At independence, the international community was split on their position on Zimbabwe. There were those who applauded its leadership and those who had doubts and trepidation, and feared that the new leadership would be vengeful against the former colonizers. They also feared that what they called Marxist socialist policies would be introduced, disrupting the economy of the new nation. Those with doubt were surprised; those who applauded the new leadership were further astonished by the statesmanship of the new leadership. In spite of suffering years of incarceration, the new government declared a policy of national reconciliation and formed a government of national unity.

The government further declared that its priority was the education and health of its people and these two sectors were expanded accordingly. In addition, the new government declared that its foreign policy would be based on the oneness of Africa and non-alignment in world affairs. Zimbabwe became a star in the OAU and the United Nations, the Commonwealth, the Frontline States and the Non-Aligned Movement. This was the period between 1980 and 1985, described as the best of times for Zimbabwe. However, with the break of the Government of National Unity, Zimbabwe plunged itself into an internal crisis in 1986 when ZANU (PF) and PF ZAPU became at loggerheads. Between 1986 and 1989, the international community began to doubt whether the work that the Government of Zimbabwe and its people had invested in during the period 1980 to 1985 was sustainable. Zimbabwe was able to overcome this problem when ZANU (PF) and PF ZAPU signed the Unity Agreement in 1987.

The presenter described the decade between 1990 and 2000 as a period that led Zimbabwe to experience the worst of times. Factors associated

with this phenomenon include the fact that Zimbabwe took a stance on the land question, which led to withdrawal of international support, mismanagement of the economy, brain drain into the Diaspora and the involvement in the DRC at the time when the economy was slipping. The situation has been further compromised after the constitutional referendum of 2000, Parliamentary elections of 2000 and the Presidential elections of 2002.

Dr. Kapungu emphasized that the international community must realize that Zimbabwe is a nation born out of a liberation struggle and that that struggle has created a psychological framework within which the people of Zimbabwe shall always operate. In other words, Zimbabwe shall always be governed utilizing rules that are perceived to be the interest of the country. However, from time to time, there shall be differences in perceptions of the methods that Zimbabwe uses to attain its national interests. What is essential is to develop a framework in which there is a convergence of views from both within and outside Zimbabwe on whether the policies pursued and methods used are in the interests of Zimbabwe and its people. What must be avoided is creating unnecessary confrontations, as these are detrimental to the people of Zimbabwe.

As a way forward, the presenter stated that there is need for dialogue and that this dialogue should be based on five elements, namely:

- Our national integrity is the basis of our governance;
- The security of our nation and the security of the individual as the basis for our survival;
- Our human resources are the basis of our development;
- Our economy is the basis of our strength; and
- Our international relations should be based on our recognition that it is only through making friends rather than enemies in the world that our national interests can be served.

4.4.1 Discussant's Remarks

The discussant, Mr. Badza, observed that the presenter has overgeneralized the turmoil in Zimbabwe in that not all of Zimbabwe is in turmoil. It is the international relations with the west that are not good. However, Zimbabwe has excellent relations with the rest of Africa, Caribbean Pacific countries, the African Union and SADC.

Mr. Badza also highlighted the role of perceptions and misperceptions in international relations. Perceptions shape foreign policy and the way the media reports influences perceptions; for instance, the media reports on the plight of white farmers brought the issue of racism to the fore.

Mr. Badza expressed reservations about classifying countries into small and big. He felt that it is better to classify the world into super/greater/middle/small power countries; a country's size may not mean much.

On the issue of permanent friends, the discussant expressed concern about the over-emphasis on relying on old friends. If old friends can help us achieve our goal, that is fine; otherwise countries should be encouraged to make new friends.

The discussant commented on the role of the liberation struggle in shaping international relations, especially in light of the land question in Zimbabwe. Zimbabwe cannot go back on the land question; it is, therefore, important to understand that the liberation struggle has shaped the political thrust locally and internationally.

On the recovery of lost alliances, the discussant was of the view that Zimbabwe should resuscitate the dormant ones; for instance, the non-aligned movement in a post-cold war era.

4.4.2 Discussion

A participant was of the opinion that in the presentation, there was need to allude to NEPAD and the need to engage the west to get it to work.

Another participant felt that the conceptualisation of what constitutes national interests needed clarification. In response, Dr. Kapungu said he belonged to the old school where national interests of any country are identified as being territorial interests, economic development and social justice, after which a government breaks these into elements. He further went on to say that national interests are permanent for almost every country, but state interpretation can lead to variations in perceptions among countries.

A participant wanted to know whether outright victory after a struggle for independence is possible. In response, the presenter stated that outright victory is not possible and that he was a firm believer in national dialogue to solve problems.

A participant wanted to know who shaped and articulated foreign policies in Zimbabwe. In response, the presenter stated that currently in Zimbabwe, there is confusion on the articulation of foreign policies because everyone is commenting on it. The people should prescribe national reconstruction. In other words, the people of Zimbabwe should exercise self-determination by defining national reconstruction with the norms and values of national interest.

5. CLOSING REMARKS

In his closing remarks, Dr. Chimanikire stated that this had been a day well spent and that he had enjoyed the deliberations. He further stated that OSSREA is constantly reviewing the situation in Zimbabwe and that presenters are free to improve on their papers and have them published, as long as the author acknowledged that the paper had been presented at an OSSREA workshop. Authors could also have their papers mounted on web sites. Participants were reminded about the fact that articles published through OSSREA are recognized as scientific papers and are a basis for promotion.

Dr. Chimanikire informed the participants that OSSREA is not only for members of staff in universities or institutions of higher learning. OSSREA tries to embrace everyone aspiring to do research in social sciences; therefore, everyone is encouraged to submit proposals for possible funding. He also pointed out that OSSREA is an effective networking platform.

In conclusion, Dr. Chimanikire thanked Mr. Masunungure and the organizing committee for organizing the workshop.

ANNEX 1: WORKSHOP PROGRAMME

Friday, 25 July 2003

08:00 – 09:00	**Registration**
09:00 – 09:30	**Opening Remarks:** Mr. E. Masunugure, Acting Liaison Officer of OSSREA Zimbabwe Chapter
09:30 – 10:00	**Keynote Address:** Dr. E. S. Pangeti, former OSSREA President
10:00 – 10:30	**Tea/Coffee Break**
	Chairperson: Ms. D. Chingarande
10:30 – 11:00	Zimbabwe's Current Domestic Political Situation *Mr.A. Hungwe*
11:00 – 11:15	**Discussant:** Mrs. M. Kuchena
11:15 – 11:45	**Discussion**
11:45 – 12:15	Neo-liberal Restructuring in Zimbabwe: Lessons form the Chilean Experience, 1973-1989 *Mr. M. C. Halimana*
12:15 – 12:30	**Discussant:** Dr. Saungweme
12:30 – 13:00	**Discussion**

13:00 – 14:00	**Lunch Break**
14:00 – 14:30	*Rambi Makashinga*: Zimbabawe's Relations with the International Community *Prof. L. Sachikonye*
14:30 – 14:45	**Discussant:** Dr. G. Chikowore
14:45 – 15:15	**Discussion**
15:15 – 15:45	*Zimbabwe and the International Community* *Dr. L. Kapungu*
15:45 – 16:00	**Discussant:** Mr. S. Badza
16:00 – 16:30	**Discussion**
16:30 – 16:40	**Closing Remarks:** Dr. D. P. Chimanikire

ANNEX II: LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

1. Dr. D.P. Chimanikire
IDS
University of Zimbabwe
Box MP 167
Mt Pleasant
Harare
Phone: 263-4-333341-4
Email: dpchimanikire@science.uz.ac.zw

2. Mr. Livit Mugejo
POLAD
University of Zimbabwe
P.O. Box MP 167
Mt Pleasant
Harare
Phone: 011 757 875
Email: lmugejo@yahoo.com

3. Mr. Diamond Njowa
POLAD
University of Zimbabwe
P.O. Box MP 167
Mt Pleasant
Harare
Phone: 011 418432
Email: dnjowa@yahoo.com

4. Mr. Pondai Bamu
POLAD
University of Zimbabwe
P.O. Box MP 167
Mt Pleasant
Harare
Phone: 570980/571316

5. Mr. Augustine Hungwe
University of Zimbabwe
P.O. Box MP 167
Mt Pleasant
Harare
Phone: 303211 Ext 1453
Email: augustinehungwe@mail.com

6. Dr. G. Chikowore
IDS
University of Zimbabwe
P.O. Box MP 167
Mt Pleasant
Harare
Phone: 263-4-333341-3
Email: gchikowore@science.uz.ac.zw

7. Dr. E. S. Pangeti (Former OSSREA President)
Heritage School
Harare
Phone: 884730/862287/011 716061
Email: pangeti@mweb.co.zw

8. Mr. E. Banda
University of Zimbabwe
P.O. Box MP 167
Mt Pleasant
Harare
Phone: 303211 Ext. 1225

9. Ms S.D. Chingarande
Sociology
University of Zimbabwe
P.O. Box MP 167
Mt Pleasant
Harare
Phone: 303211 Ext 1331
Email: sunungurail@yahoo.co.uk

10. Miss Patience Mutopo
POLAD
University of Zimbabwe
P.O. Box MP 167
Mt Pleasant
Harare
Phone: 091 397928
Email: pmutopo@yahoo.ca

11. Mrs. Monila Kuchena
History Department
University of Zimbabwe
P.O. Box MP 167
Mt Pleasant
Harare
Phone: 303211 Ext 1243
Email: kuchena@eng.ac.uz.zw

12. Mrs. Leontina Kanyowa
School of Social Work
University of Zimbabwe
P.B. 66022, Kopje
Harare
Phone: 752965/6/7
Email: lkanyowa@yahoo.com

13. Ms. Linett S. Nyathi
History Department
University of Zimbabwe
P.O. Box MP 167
Mt Pleasant
Harare
Phone: 263 – 4 – 303211 Ext 1564 or 011 739 049
Email: lynnyathi@yahoo.com

14. Mr. Eldred Masunungure
POLAD
University of Zimbabwe
P.O. Box MP 167
Mt Pleasant
Harare
Phone: 303211 Ext 1326 or 011 216952
Email: eldred@social.uz.ac.zw

15. Mrs. T. Rwodzi
Mutare Teachers' College
P.O. Box 3293
Paulington
Mutare
Phone: 263-020-64623 B or 020-61536 H
Email: tandiweuk2000@yahoo.com

16. Mr. P.J. Mavhunga
Masvingo University College
Box 760
Masvingo
Phone: 263-039-65955
Email: mavhunga2001@yahoo.com

17. Mr. T.M. Mashingaidze
Midlands State University
P. Bag 9055
Gweru
Phone: 011 868 565
Email: mashingaidze2000@yahoo.co.uk

18. Mr. Collin C. Mabiza
Department of Geography
University of Zimbabwe
P.O. Box MP 167
Mt Pleasant
Harare
Phone: 011 764309
Email: mabizacc2004@yahoo.com

19. Mr. Tirivanhu Juru
Zimbabwe Open University (ZOU)
Department of Media Studies, 6th Floor, Dolphin House
L. Takawira
Harare
Phone: 251891; 023 753 582; 091 282 930
Email: tirivanhujuru@hotmail.com

20. Mr. Joseph Mujere
University of Zimbabwe
P.O. Box MP 167
Mt Pleasant
Harare
Phone: 023 259 569
Email: vajosefa@yahoo.co.uk

21. Mr. Young Mudavanhu
Bindura University of Science Education
P. Bag 1020
Bindura
Phone: 263-071-7531 Ext. 1068
Email: nyamayaonda@yahoo.co.in

22. Ms. Petra R. Chinyere
University of Zimbabwe
P.O. Box MP 167
Mt Pleasant
Harare
Phone: 091 352 118
Email: rumbipet@yahoo.com

23. Dr. J. Saungweme
TRADES Centre
P.O. Box MP 1168
Mt Pleasant
Harare
Phone: 308000
Email: hansaubright@yahoo.com

28. Mr. Norbert Musekiwa
POLAD
University of Zimbabwe
P.O. Box MP 167
Mt Pleasant
Harare
Phone: 303211 Ext. 1670 or 011 801 940
Email: nmusekiwa@yahoo.co.uk

29. Mr. M.C. Halimana
IDS
University of Zimbabwe
P.O. Box MP 167
Mt Pleasant
Harare
Phone: 333341-3
Email: mchalimana@yahoo.com

30. Prof. L.M. Sachikonye
IDS
University of Zimbabwe
P.O. Box MP 167
Mt Pleasant
Harare
Phone: 333341/ 3
Email: sachi@zol.co.zw

31. Ms. Sarah Mudzengerere
POLAD
University of Zimbabwe
P.O. Box MP 167
Mt Pleasant
Harare
Phone: 303211 Ext 1733
Email: sahmud@yahoo.com

32. Mr. Chenjerai Mabhiza
University of Zimbabwe Library
P.O. Box MP 167
Mt Pleasant
Harare
Phone: 303211 Ext. 1163/1170
Email: cmabhiza@yahoo.com or cmabhiza@hotmail.com

33. Mr. S. Badza
POLAD
University of Zimbabwe
P.O. Box MP 167
Mt Pleasant
Harare
Phone: 303211 Ext. 1865
Email: simonb312002@yahoo.co.uk

34. Dr. Leonard Kapungu
Centre for Peace Initiative in Africa
2 Deal Avenue
Alexandra Park
Harare
Phone: 263-4-745670
Email: CPIA@Africaonline.co.zw

35. Mr. Xolani Zitha
Department of History
University of Zimbabwe
P.O. Box MP 167
Mt Pleasant
Harare
Phone: 303211 Ext. 1564
Email: xzitha@yahoo.com

36. Mr. Muusha Russel
POLAD
University of Zimbabwe
P.O. Box MP 167
Mt Pleasant
Harare
Phone: 011 763229
Email: russieai@yahoo.com

37. Mr. M'faro M. Charambira
POLAD
University of Zimbabwe
P.O. Box MP 167
Mt Pleasant
Harare
Phone: 011 763 229 or 797814
Email muvivo@yahoo.com

38. Mr. Simukai Shamu
U.Z. Sociology
P.O. Box MP 167
Mt Pleasant
Harare
Phone: 011740 833
Email: shamuts@yahoo.com

39. Mr. P. Chigora
U.Z. P.O. Box MP 167
Mt Pleasant
Harare
Phone: 091 918 958
Email: chigorap2000@yahoo.com

40. Ms. Pedzisayi Leslie Mangezvo
Sociology
University of Zimbabwe
P.O. Box MP 167
Mt Pleasant
Harare
Phone: 303211 Ext 1331 or 091 354 823
Email: mangezvo@yahoo.co.uk

41. Mrs. P.N. Moyo
IDS
University of Zimbabwe
P.O. Box MP 167
Mt Pleasant
Harare
Phone 333341/3
Email pndinashe@yahoo.co.uk

42. Mr. Samuel Tesfamichael
OSSREA
P.O.Box 31971
Addis Ababa
Phone: 251-1-551163
Email: sami@ossrea.net