REPORT OF A CONFERENCE ON ENGAGING ZIMBABWEANS IN THE DIASPORA TOWARDS ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION

Facilitated by THE INSTITUTE FOR JUSTICE AND RECONCILIATION (IJR)



Held at Le Franschhoek Hotel, Franschhoek, Cape Town, South Africa

3-4 December 2009

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

On the 3rd and 4th of December 2009, the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation hosted a two-day off-the-record roundtable in Franschhoek, Cape Town, entitled 'Challenges for economic reconstruction in Zimbabwe: An engagement with the Diaspora'. The conference sought to offer Zimbabweans in the Diaspora an opportunity to come together to assess critically economic developments in Zimbabwe, from the inception of the inclusive government to the present moment, as well as to engage with the role the Diaspora could play in contributing to the economic recovery of their country.

The government delegation from Zimbabwe explained that following the liberalisation of key economic sectors, the Zimbabwean economy is on the path to recovery. While the multiple currency system is poised to remain in force, the Zimbabwean dollar is projected to be reintroduced in three to four years when production levels and economic indicators improve. There is relative peace in the country, although there are still isolated cases of politically motivated arrests and prosecutions and violations of the rule of law. The Constitution-making process, while it has faced some hurdles, is on track as per the timetable stipulated by the Global Political Agreement (GPA). This will enable the referendum and credible elections to take place as agreed. The government is committed to creating an investor-friendly environment that respects private property rights and where citizens and investors alike are free from persecution.

The conference noted the need for government to create a legal framework that provides for the protection of private property. The issues of dual citizenship and voting rights of non-resident Zimbabweans must be addressed before the Diaspora is willing to invest in the economic recovery of the country. The successful implementation of the GPA will instil confidence in citizens and the international community, enabling Zimbabwe to engage with the international community and its Diaspora. The Organ on National Healing, Reconciliation and Integration has been established to spearhead the processes of national healing and reconciliation in Zimbabwe and emphasises reconciliation rather than judicial prosecution.

Zimbabwe will need to adopt multiple strategies in order to effectively benefit from its heterogeneous Diaspora. The Zimbabwean government therefore needs to generate a framework that allows for the retention of skilled workers, encourages voluntary return to Zimbabwe, and facilitating a skills exchange. In the short term, such an exchange ought to be prioritised. An example is the International Organisation for Migration (IOM) programme through which health professionals in first world countries teach at under resourced public universities and public hospitals. The Zimbabwean Diaspora has been shown to be willing to contribute towards processes such as constitution making; increased investment; the promotion of transparent channels to remit transfers; national healing and reconciliation; and the recapitalisation of the private and public sector through human capital development. The Diaspora is a unique human resource with a wealth of skills, and a qualified work force able and willing to contribute to current efforts. The conference resolved to create a Core Group of representatives, co-convened by the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation (IJR) and IOM to take the emerging issues forward. The Core Group is to recognise and extend from existing formations and initiatives, generate a strategic plan and act as lead interface between the Zimbabwean Diaspora and the government of Zimbabwe.

ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

AU African Union EU European Union

GPA Global Political Agreement

IJR Institute for Justice and Reconciliation

IMF International Monetary Fund

IOM International Organisation for Migration MDC Movement for Democratic Change

SADC Southern African Development Community

US United States

ZANU-PF Zimbabwe African National Union- Patriotic Front

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1 Introduction, background and objectives

The conference 'Challenges for Economic Reconstruction in Zimbabwe: An Engagement with the Diaspora' was hosted at Le Franschhoek Hotel, Franschhoek, Cape Town, South Africa from the 3rd to the 4th of December 2009 by the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation. Sixty-five participants from more than fourteen countries attended the conference. The delegates came from a wide range of civil society organisations, international non-governmental organisations, multilateral agencies, academia, business and government (See Appendix A for the full participant list).

1.1 Background¹

The implosion of the Zimbabwean economy has not only stood in stark contrast to the upward trajectory of global growth in recent years, but also defied the impressive levels of economic expansion that many of its peers within the Southern African region have achieved during this period. Ironically, as global markets sunk into turmoil during the second half of 2008, dramatic political developments within Zimbabwe contributed to the restoration of a degree of political stability unknown for some time.

An agreement was signed in September 2008 between the country's main political actors, the Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) and the two formations of the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC-T and MDC-M) to form an inclusive government. The new government, established in February 2009, resulted in a tentative yet visible opening of space for the kinds of national dialogues which were virtually unimaginable two years ago. The political agreement arrested the progress of material decline. However, in addition to local constraints, the volatility of the global economy dictates against any prospect of an overnight recovery. It is therefore vital that unity of purpose and vision be demonstrated for the rebuilding of Zimbabwe within a very challenging international context. Of great importance is the inclusion of Zimbabwe's vast Diaspora in any national dialogues. The contribution of this stakeholder group is vital to the promotion of national cohesion and the success of any national project. To this end, IJR was approached by Zimbabweans in the Diaspora to facilitate a series of high-profile off-the-record dialogue engagements to exchange views on the challenges and opportunities for rebuilding the economy.

Zimbabwean opinion leaders representing key political organisations and social sectors, both from within Zimbabwe and the Diaspora, were invited to participate in frank and open discussions about concerns and hopes for the regeneration of the country's economy. Delegates took the opportunity to engage on Zimbabwe's envisioned economic future and the appropriate platforms and structures to achieve this. While the content of the discussions was of critical significance, the process in itself represented a valuable opportunity for building trust and dismantling prejudices that may have existed between participants. The confidential nature of this event encouraged delegates to participate in a forthright and constructive manner.

1.2 Objectives of the Conference

The broad objective of the conference was to engage the Zimbabwean Diaspora to contribute towards economic recovery of the country.

¹ The material on background is adapted from a brief to participants by IJR

The Conference had the following specific objectives:

- To provide an opportunity for the government of Zimbabwe and the Zimbabwean Diaspora to openly discuss pertinent issues of the Zimbabwean economy following the formation of the inclusive government;
- To think strategically about possible opportunities for recovery and gaps to be exploited in the Zimbabwean context that are currently unidentified;
- To review the experiences of other countries in engagement with their Diaspora, from which Zimbabwe could learn;
- To interrogate systems and structures that could be put in place to create an enabling environment to facilitate the input of the Zimbabwean Diaspora towards reconstruction of the country; and
- To facilitate the creation of coherent mechanisms for the Zimbabwean Diaspora to interface with host governments and the Government of Zimbabwe in rebuilding the economy in the short and long term.

1.3 Organisation of the Conference

The Conference programme, though presented at the beginning, was flexible and continually amended to ensure full coverage of the key issues as well as to ensure full participation from all present. The final programme is attached as Appendix B.

The Conference was divided into plenary and parallel sessions in which presentations were made and discussions held. In plenary, sessions were facilitated by chairpersons and panellists who made presentations followed by discussions.

In parallel sessions, a facilitator initially gave presentations to guide the discussions. Each group reported its action plan to plenary for discussion, consolidation and adoption. Throughout the proceedings, emphasis was on full participation and free information sharing. The conference arrived at all recommendations through consensus.

2 Opening session

The opening session aimed at establishing what progress has been achieved in Zimbabwe following the signing of the GPA on 15 September 2008 and the subsequent formation of the inclusive government in February 2009.

2.1 Introductions

Participants introduced themselves, stating their current institutional affiliations, base and expectations for the conference. The issues that emerged included the debates surrounding the social construction of identity and citizenship, as well as the need for inclusivity in the definition of citizenship. For lack of a more acceptable term, participants agreed to use the term 'Diaspora' to refer to non-resident Zimbabweans, their spouses and people of Zimbabwean descendent. The Zimbabwean Diaspora was characterised as a heterogeneous group defying easy categorisation. Concerns were raised regarding the absence of representatives from ZANU-PF at the event, a major partner in the inclusive government, and the non-inclusion of labour and agriculture in the engagement. The organisers added that ZANU-PF had been notified of the event and invited to attend and participate. Another key issue to emerge was

the need for participants to engage in the process of volunteering material resources and skills for the reconstruction of the country.

2.2 Welcome remarks

Mr Brian Kagoro facilitated the opening session, welcomed delegates and briefly introduced the programme to the delegates. He then invited Dr du Toit to welcome delegates.

Dr Fanie du Toit, the Executive Director of the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation, welcomed the Prime Minister of Zimbabwe, the Hon. Morgan Tsvangirai, and all other participants and thanked everyone for their demonstrated commitment towards the economic recovery of the Zimbabwe. He indicated that IJR was honoured to respond to a request by the Zimbabwean government, as well as Zimbabweans in the Diaspora, to facilitate dialogue and engagement on how they could contribute towards the reconstruction of the country. Dr du Toit explained the mission and objectives of IJR's work in other African countries² and reiterated that the organisation is committed to taking the processes emerging from the engagement forward, should the need arise.

He acknowledged that the event would not have been possible without funding from the Royal Danish Embassy, the Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA) and the Charles Stewart Mott Foundation. Dr du Toit invited the Hon. Morgan Tsvangirai, the Prime Minister of Zimbabwe, to give an opening address to the conference.

In order to promote free and frank discussions, the Chatham House Rule was applied to the proceedings of the roundtable dialogue.

2.3 Official opening

The Prime Minister thanked participants and organisers for the opportunity to engage the Zimbabwean Diaspora on how they could contribute towards the recovery of Zimbabwe.

He identified challenges to the twin objectives of the current transition under the GPA: of economic stabilisation and democratisation. The Zimbabwean economy is on the path to recovery following the liberalisation of some of its key sectors. The multiple currency system is poised to remain in force and the Zimbabwean dollar is projected to be reintroduced in three to four years when production levels and economic indicators improve. The Prime Minister affirmed that, despite the appearances of fragility caused by contestations for power within the inclusive government, it remains the only option available for the effective implementation of the GPA. The Cabinet is functioning reasonably well as a policymaking body in the inclusive government. As a consequence, the progress at this point seems

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² The Institute for Justice and Reconciliation helps to build fair, democratic and inclusive societies in various regions in Africa, with a focus on fostering dialogue and exchanging insights between countries undergoing political transition. The organisation was launched in the aftermath of South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission in 2000. The initial aim was to ensure that lessons learnt from South Africa's transition from apartheid to democracy were adequately recorded, analysed and taken into account as the nation moved ahead. Through a range of carefully selected and sustained engagements, the Institute cultivates the potential for reconciliation as well as justice after conflict. It works from the assumption that reconciliation and justice are two equally important and inseparable challenges facing nations in transition. The Institute organises its work in programmes which focus on the following key areas of work: reconciliation and reconstruction interventions in post-conflict communities; research and analysis of economic, political and social trends prevalent during political transition; development of educational resources and training; and stimulation of public dialogue and policy intervention

irreversible. There is relative peace in the country, though there are still isolated cases of politically motivated arrests and prosecutions and violation of the rule of law. Some elements of the armed forces and the judiciary who benefited from the old order have lost long-standing patronage benefits, leading to resistance to the changed reality of an inclusive government.

There are plans to resolve the security issues in the National Security Council, which is expected to meet on the first Friday of every month. The Constitution-making process, while it has faced some hurdles, is on track as per the timetable stipulated by the GPA. This will enable the referendum and credible elections to take place as agreed. The restoration of dual citizenship and the voting rights of the Zimbabwean Diaspora will be resolved during the rewriting of the constitution. The appointment of the four constitutional commissions – the Zimbabwe Media Commission, the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission, the Anti Corruption Commission, and the Zimbabwe Human Rights Commission – were to be announced on the 7th of December 2009 as per agreement between the GPA signatories. Once appointed, these commissions are expected to speed up reforms under their respective areas as provided for in the GPA. The establishment of the Zimbabwe Media Commission and the subsequent democratisation of the media in Zimbabwe will make concerns regarding media forcefully operating from outside Zimbabwe irrelevant.

The recent temporary disengagement by the MDC-T from Cabinet was not an exit from the inclusive government but should be understood as a strategy to ensure implementation of and full compliance with the provisions of the GPA. The current phase of inter-party negotiations in Zimbabwe following the Maputo SADC Troika meeting received renewed impetus from the facilitators and SADC and therefore was expected to conclude within the agreed timelines. Despite political posturing by the different parties to the GPA, the government remains committed to the full implementation of the GPA.

Prime Minister Tsvangirai reiterated that the government is committed to creating an investor-friendly environment that respects private property rights and where citizens and investors alike are free from persecution. This new environment is one where the Zimbabwean Diaspora will be encouraged to play an active role. The government is particularly keen to encourage the Zimbabwean Diaspora to invest in the country and to use transparent and formal channels of remitting transfers to Zimbabwe. The government is committed to supporting the Zimbabwean Diaspora and is in the process of creating a database of all Zimbabwean Diaspora in Southern Africa. The Prime Minister also called for the voluntary repatriation of Zimbabweans from the Diaspora.

3 Current processes on economic recovery under the inclusive government, Mid-Term Plan, National Economic Council.

This session outlined economic developments in Zimbabwe following the establishment of the inclusive government in February 2009. It was noted that the Zimbabwean economy has shrunk by 40 percent during the last decade. Agriculture, mining and manufacturing production have also declined dramatically. Zimbabwe's external debt has increased with reduced exports against increased imports, coupled with the closure of credit lines. Zimbabwe's foreign debt stands at US\$5.7 billion, hence the need for a debt and arrears clearance strategy. During the same period, the unemployment rate has increased steadily. There has also been a dramatic increase in the value of remittances from the Diaspora against a rapidly declining gross domestic product.

The security situation and confidence in the country has improved remarkably following the formation of the inclusive government in February 2009. There is renewed hope, and business is slowly regaining

confidence in the inclusive government and the consistency of its policies. Inflation has come down; industry production levels are up from below 10% to an average of 45%; tourist arrivals have increased rapidly following the removal of travel warnings by most European countries, and basic commodities are readily available in shops. Projections of growth in the agricultural, mining, manufacturing and tourism sectors are positive in the short to long term. Despite remarkable progress in stabilising the economy, there are still problems as the financial markets in Zimbabwe have generally been tight on liquidity. This is primarily because external funding and credit lines are risk averse and highly sensitive to political developments in the country.

Prime Minister Tsvangirai added that most international support agencies and financiers are ready to reengage with Zimbabwe on two conditions. Firstly, Zimbabwe has to come up with an acceptable debt and arrears repayment plan in order to leverage loans and grants from international partners. Secondly, although the GPA has made the conditions for removal of previously imposed sanctions redundant, the parties to the GPA have to be seen to be honouring their own agreement in order to gain the confidence and support of external partners. The conference noted with some concern that, although the international partners were ready to reengage Zimbabwe, the global financial crisis had reduced the resources that could be made available to the country. There is an inherent risk that when Zimbabwe is ready later, resources from international partners will no longer be available. There is therefore an urgent need to bring to closure all the outstanding issues in the GPA in order for Zimbabwe to leverage international support as soon as possible.

It was also added that Zimbabwe could reclassify itself as a highly indebted poor country, a move not without political consequences but one that could alleviate its debt repayment obligations.

4 Creating an enabling environment: Challenges and opportunities for the Diaspora

The focus of this session was on the need to create an enabling environment for growth and development to take place. Government representatives advised of efforts and progress within the national healing framework. For national healing to be effective, it has to come from the people including those in the Diaspora. In the first ten months of the inclusive government, the Organ on National Healing, Reconciliation and Integration consulted all ten provinces, engaging with multi-level stakeholders with regards to the expectations of the GPA and how the process of national healing should be taken forward. These consultations revealed that communities favoured the removal of youth coordinators at ward level and the disbanding of ZANU-PF neighbourhood watch committees.

The second stage following these consultations has two objectives. The first objective is to create a just, tolerant, peaceful, safe, secure, stable, and prosperous society in which individuals are free to live normal productive lives without fear of violence, intimidation, kidnappings and disappearances, unjustified arrests and discrimination, and in which the fundamental human rights of all are fully respected. The second objective is to establish a culture of zero tolerance for political violence and all forms of abuse, impunity and discrimination, and to ensure that survivors are protected against further victimisation and retribution. Perpetrators must be dealt with fairly under the law and law enforcement agencies must fulfil their obligation to protect all Zimbabweans against violence in the future. The Organ advocates reconciliation over and above prosecutions. Delegates noted with concern the need to balance reconciliation with justice in the up-and-coming transitional justice period.

As part of its efforts to promote national healing, the inclusive government is repealing offensive legislation – such as the Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act (AIPPA), the Censorship and

Entertainment Control Act, and the Criminal Procedures and Codification Act – in order to create a secure legal environment. Concern was raised by participants that the Diaspora has not been adequately catered for in the current healing and reconciliation processes.

The conference also noted the need for government to create a legal framework that provides for the protection of private property. Despite property rights being enshrined in the constitution, there must also be an accompanying general acceptance of these values. Investors acknowledge the existence of some risk in business but cannot accommodate the possibility of appropriation of private property by a predatory state. The land expropriations, specification of individuals and corporations, and unauthorised withdrawals from corporate foreign currency accounts by the central bank, though ostensibly on the basis of necessity, have raised the risk profile of Zimbabwe. The regulatory regime guiding the registration of real estate and the start-up of new business has been prohibitive due to high transaction costs. The inclusive government must remove regulatory bottlenecks, which include the reinstatement of Diaspora dual citizenship and voting rights, to encourage investment in the economic recovery of the country. Some Zimbabweans in the Diaspora had, for convenience and practical purposes, taken up citizenship of their host countries. The appropriate environment could facilitate the contribution of the Zimbabwean Diaspora towards capital investment.

5 Facilitating economic growth under the current restrictive measures

This session interrogated the nature of the debate surrounding the restrictive economic environment, and specifically issues around sanctions and their impact on the economy. Consensus on the nature and the effect of sanctions on the economy was not reached. It was noted that the issue of restrictive measures goes beyond technical implications, as they are also a political construction affecting the manner in which the issue is debated at international forums, including SADC and the AU.

Two schools of thought regarding the restrictive measures emerged. The one argued that there were no external sanctions imposed on Zimbabwe but that the country had failed to leverage the balance of payments and loans from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank. This was not because it was subjected to sanctions, but rather because it had failed to meet its debt repayment obligations. The issue of reengagement with international financiers was therefore a technical matter dependent on Zimbabwe's ability to generate an acceptable debt clearance strategy.

The fact that the United States (US) and the European Union (EU) have imposed restrictions on individuals and companies should be regarded as actions against specific human rights violators, rather than against the country as a whole. This group argued that there is no logical connection between the restrictive measures targeted at individuals and the socioeconomic implosion. This school of thought identifies the Zimbabwe Democracy and Economic Recovery Act (ZIDERA) as the only potential source of sanctions against Zimbabwe. The Act instructs all US citizens on the boards of multilateral lending institutions to oppose any lines of credit or support to Zimbabwe until certain conditions pertaining to the rule of law, democratic elections and legal and transparent land reform have been met. This instruction is tantamount to sanctions. However, since Zimbabwe has been technically ineligible to borrow from the IMF and the World Bank, the Act is of little practical consequence. Zimbabwe has been suspended from receiving support from the World Bank and the IMF following its failure to meet its loan repayment obligations.

The second school of thought on sanctions argued that sanctions existed regardless of what terms – such as restrictive measures – are employed. The restrictions imposed on forty companies to do

business with the US and EU were clearly sanctions and indeed had a negative impact on private attempts to leverage offshore credit lines. This political construction of sanctions is presented to SADC as a strategy of a Western country to effect regime change. This view galvanises support for Zimbabwe in the region as sanctions are regarded in this context as a response to a nationalist government's legitimate efforts to redress past and imperial wrongs.

Consensus was reached on two broad issues regarding the restrictive measures. Firstly, that the restrictive measures were affecting the economy and impacting on trust amongst the GPA signatories. Secondly, the failure by the Zimbabwean government to implement fully the GPA compromised its position during negotiations for the removal of the restrictive measures; the conditions for removal of the restrictive measures would fall away with the full implementation of the GPA. Despite eagerness on the part of many donors to reengage with Zimbabwe, the continued delay in full implementation of the GPA will adversely affect the relations between Zimbabwe, the EU and the US. Pending the conclusion of the outstanding issues in the GPA, possible only with continued support from the SADC, the political dynamics in Zimbabwe will change and the previous political construction of sanctions will become redundant.

6 Experiences from other countries in mobilising Diaspora participation for economic and social development.

This session aimed to establish what Zimbabwe can glean from the experiences of other countries regarding the contribution of the Diaspora to national economic development. Experiences from the Philippines, India, Mexico, Lebanon, Liberia, Armenia, Sierra Leone, Rwanda, Cambodia, Somalia, Uganda, Nigeria and Haiti in engaging their Diaspora in national development were recounted. The examples of the Philippines and India revealed that the Diaspora community played a critical role in the restoration of basic services in health and education. Evidence from other countries indicates that, given a favourable investment climate, the Diaspora was a significant source of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI): Armenia: 25% of total FDI (US\$500million) in 2007; Afghanistan: 75% of total FDI (US\$5billion) in 2007; China: 80% of total FDI (US\$69.4billion) in 2006; Nigeria: 5 million Diaspora-controlled potential investment funds of approximately US\$15 billion in 2003. In a number of countries, remittances and investment by nationals in the Diaspora have contributed as much as three percent of gross domestic product (India: US\$45 billion (2008) and 3% of GDP, Mexico: US\$25.25 billion (2008) and 3% of GDP, Uganda: US\$814million (2006) and 8.7% of GDP, Nigeria: US\$3.3 billion (2006) and 2.9% of GDP).

The non-resident citizen investor, like any other foreign investor, requires a stable environment; however, they are usually better-informed as they have existing social networks; they know how to access market information; know how to navigate official processes and generally have a longer investment horizon. The experiences of other countries indicate that the adoption of the multipronged three-R strategy led to increased benefit from Diaspora. The first part of the three-R strategy is to retain skilled personnel in the country, the second part involves the reversal of the movement of skilled people out of the country, and the third component is to retrieve skilled personnel from the Diaspora.

The experiences of other countries indicate that the Diaspora can only remit through formal transparent channels once trust in government policies has been established. In that regard, the early resolution of the outstanding issues in the GPA will go a long way to restore the confidence of the Zimbabwean Diaspora. There should also be a broad definition of the Diaspora community to include all those non-resident citizens, their dependents and spouses.

A 2005 IOM study indicates that 74% of Zimbabwean nationals in the Diaspora sent remittances home and 77% would like to contribute to Zimbabwe's development in the key priority areas of business investments, land development and skills transfer. By 2007, remittances from abroad accounted for about 7% of Zimbabwe's gross domestic product, up from 2.4% in 2004. To benefit from the input of the Diaspora, Zimbabwe needs to undertake needs assessments and outreach to beneficiary institutions in Zimbabwe; conduct Diaspora skills mapping and outreach; match the skills in the Diaspora with needs in Zimbabwe; create appropriate financing mechanisms; develop appropriate databases and online platforms; and conduct monitoring and evaluation of key processes.

Success in engaging the Diaspora is dependent on several factors: their trust in government and political will; the credibility of government partnerships; leadership and policy (for example, the establishment of a department or ministry of Diaspora outreach); and their spirit of volunteerism and strategic risk taking; as well as funding in the form of financial and human resources.

Zimbabwe needs to adopt multiple strategies in order to effectively benefit from the heterogeneous Zimbabwean Diaspora. The Zimbabwean government therefore needs to generate a framework that allows for the retention of skilled workers, voluntary return to Zimbabwe and brain circulation. In the short-term, brain circulation will be more significant. An example is the IOM programme where health professionals teach at public universities and work in public hospitals. As Zimbabwe regains access to grants and loans, nationals with the appropriate expertise can be engaged as technical cooperation experts. It was noted that the Diaspora is a unique human resource with a wealth of skilled and qualified people, many of whom are committed to helping with Zimbabwe's reconstruction.

7 Organising the Diaspora; mapping issues for Diaspora participation and engaging in Zimbabwe's reconstruction

In this final session, participants were divided into two groups that interrogated how the Diaspora could be organised to effectively contribute to the development of the country. The two groups reported their findings in a plenary session in which a way forward was agreed upon. The conference resolved to create a core group of representatives to take the emerging issues forward which would be co-convened by IJR and IOM. The plurality and occasional polarity among institutions associated with the Diaspora informed the choice of IJR and IOM as conveners: they are both neutral institutions with relevant and accessible expertise. The Core Group was to recognise and extend from existing formations and initiatives, generate a strategic plan and act as lead interface between the Zimbabwean Diaspora and the government of Zimbabwe.

Aims and objectives of the core group as an outcome of breakaway sessions:

Vision: an informed Diaspora that is engaged in the development of Zimbabwe

Mission: to mobilise, organise and develop the capacity of the Zimbabwean Diaspora to participate effectively in Zimbabwe's development and benefit from the resources in Zimbabwe

Principles and Values:

- 1. At least 50% participation of women in all processes, leadership position and decision-making;
- 2. Inclusivity in all processes branding of core group and the identified processes as non-partisan, non-sexist, non-tribal and non-racial (political and technical expertise);
- 3. Efficiency;
- 4. Patriotism;
- 5. Accountability;
- 6. Transparency.

Key objectives:

- 1. To ensure that the Zimbabwe government and other governments' engagement with the Zimbabwe Diaspora is institutionalized within a coherent policy framework;
- 2. To develop and maintain a database of the Zimbabwe Diaspora that helps to address the social and human development needs of Zimbabwe;
- 3. To strengthen Zimbabwe Diaspora networks and increase their ability to contribute towards comprehensive national recovery and development;
- 4. To engage co-operating partners, all stakeholders and relevant institutions on supporting Zimbabwe's recovery and development;
- 5. To ensure effective citizenship rights and representation for the Zimbabwe Diaspora;
- 6. To publicise, maintain relevance and facilitate the continuous discussion of Zimbabwe Diaspora issues internally and externally to Zimbabwe;
- 7. To share global standards and practice for ease of doing business in Zimbabwe as the country moves forward;
- 8. To support the development of public sector institutions that work effectively and deliver.

In selecting representatives to be members of the Core Group, four main criteria were used as a guide: geography (representatives must represent the major geographical zones such as Europe, Australasia, Southern Africa and North America); expertise in identified thematic areas; incorporation of interests of existing Zimbabwean Diaspora institutions; and their participation in issues affecting the vulnerable, including children and the elderly. The following were unanimously selected as members of the Core Group:

Silas Chekera, Ennie Chipembere, Petinah Gappah, Violet Gonda, Brian Kagoro, Alex Magaisa, Thoko Matshe, Daniel Molokele, Bhekinkosi Moyo, Glen Mpani, Takawira Musavengana, Geoffrey Nyarota, Gabriel Shumba and Lydia Zigomo.

9 Closing remarks

In his address, the Deputy Prime Minister, Professor Arthur Mutambara, reiterated the position of the Prime Minister that all partners in the inclusive government were committed to the full implementation of the GPA. He indicated that counsel from both SADC and the AU, as well as reality on the ground, led the three political parties to a firm position that the solution to Zimbabwe's problems lay in the inclusive government and the full implementation of the GPA. There was no other viable option for any of the three major political parties in Zimbabwe outside the inclusive government. He affirmed his optimism in the resolution of outstanding issues during the current phase of negotiations and that the full implementation of the GPA would solve concerns around exiled media institutions and the restrictive measures imposed by the US and the EU on some parties to the GPA.

The Deputy Prime Minister implored Zimbabweans to become involved in the development of their country through remittances and investment and being ambassadors for the country. Zimbabweans in the Diaspora were reminded of the need to participate in the reconstruction of the country. He called for the voluntary repatriation of skilled workers so that a critical mass is created to facilitate the development of Zimbabwe. Without this vital skills base, he said, rescuing the country from economic and social malaise would be an impossible task. His counsel to participants was that there was never an opportune time to return home and that members of the Zimbabwean Diaspora should take some risk and return to contribute to the recovery of the country.

10 Vote of thanks

Mr Brian Kagoro extended thanks to the conveners of the conferences. Special thanks were extended to IJR and Glen Mpani. In his final remarks, Dr Fanie du Toit indicated that IJR was profoundly humbled by being requested to join the Zimbabwean family through convening the Core Group and taking the process forward. He indicated that from the South African perspective, the processes of reconciliation and justice are lengthy and require consistent and dedicated effort. He extended special thanks to Brian Kagoro for his facilitation of the conference. Dr du Toit noted that IJR had recently published a book on the history of Zimbabwe which would be made available free of charge to all conference participants who were willing to meet the cost of postage.

Mr Geoffrey Nyarota gave a vote of thanks on behalf of all participants. The conference had given participants an opportunity to reacquaint and network. Special thanks were extended to IJR for convening the conference and to the Zimbabwean government delegation led by the Prime Minister for their active participation.

Appendix A Participant list

Hon Morgan Tsvangirai Prime Minister of Zimbabwe
Hon Arthur Mutambara Deputy Prime Minister of Zimbabwe

Hon Gorden Moyo Minister of State, Prime Minister's Office

Hon Sekai Holland Minister of State for National Healing, Reconciliation and Integration in the office of the Prime

Ministe

Andrew Byumbe African Development Bank

Andrew Mashanda Stanbic Bank

Arnold Tsunga International Council for Jurists
Benson Muchinenza Government of Zimbabwe

Brian Kagoro Action Aid

Charles Goredema Institute of Security Studies, Cape Town.
Choice Damiso International Organisation for Migration
Christo van Zyl Industrial Development Corporation (SA)

Daniel Molokele International Diaspora Forum

Deprose Muchena Open Society Initiative for Southern Africa

Donald Chirunga Organ on National Healing, Reconciliation and Integration

Dr Nii Saban Quao Bell Family Medical Centre

Dr. Alex Magaisa University of Kent

Dr. Arikana Chihombori Bell Family Medical Centre

Dr. Bhekinkosi Moyo Trust Africa

Dr. Fanie du Toit Institute for Justice and Reconciliation

Dr. Nkosana Moyo
Dr. Petinah Gappah
Dr. Theresa Moyo
Ennie Chipembere
Fortune Sibanda

African Development Bank
World Trade Organisation
University of Limpopo
Action Aid International
Open Society Foundation

Friederike Bubenzer Institute for Justice and Reconciliation

Gabriel Shumba Zimbabwe Exiles Forum
Geoff Nyarota Zimbabwe Times
Glen Mpani Open Society Foundation

George Murira Zimbabwe Prime Minister's Office

George Wachira Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation

Jan HofmeyrInstitute for Justice and ReconciliationJames MaridadiZimbabwe Prime Minister's OfficeJohn RobertsonRobertson Economic Information ServicesLazarus MuriritirwaZimbabwe Prime Minister's Office

Luke Zunga Zimbabwe Diaspora Development Chamber

Lydia Zigomo WaterAid

Moses Chundu Zimbabwe Prime Minister's Office

Mutumwa Mawere Africa Resource Limited
Norbert Musekiwa University of Cape Town.

Nqobizitha Mlilo Zimbabwe Ministry for Economic Planning and Development

Patience Ukama Rusero Communication

Peter Mudungwe International Organisation for Migration

Prof Brain Raftopoulos Solidarity Peace Trust
Prof. Nick Segal Business consultant

Rosline Zigomo Zimbabwe Prime Minister's Office Sam Muradzikwa Development Bank of Southern Africa

Shingi Munyeza African Sun Limited

Silas Chekera Zimbabwean lawyer based in The Hague

Thandi Ngwenya

Mlilo Nqobizitwa MDC

Takawira Musavengana Institute for Security Studies

Teresa Mugadza FEPEP

Thabang Nare Zimbabwe Prime Minister's Office

Thoko Matshe Palme Centre

Valentine Sinemani Zimbabwe Prime Minister's Office

Vibeke S. Pedersen Royal Danish Embassy

Victor Muchesa Zimbabwe Prime Minister's Office

Violet Gonda SW Radio Africa

Wellington Chadehumbe Triumph Capital Investment Wouter Jurgens Netherlands Embassy

Appendix B Conference programme

Dinner (Le Verger Restaurant)

CHALLENGES FOR ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION IN ZIMBABWE AN ENGAGEMENT WITH THE DIASPORA

Le Franschhoek Hotel, Franschhoek, South Africa, 3-4 December 2009

PROGRAMME

DAY 1: 07:00-08:30 Breakfast (La Pavilion Restaurant) SESSION 1 **Facilitator: Mr Brian Kagoro** 09:00-09:30 Registration 09:30-10:00 Introduction by: Dr Fanie du Toit, Executive Director, Institute for Justice and Reconciliation 10:00-10:30 Address by the Prime Minister of Zimbabwe, the Hon. Morgan Tsvangirai 10:30-11:00 Discussion 11:00-11:15 Tea Break SESSION 2 **Facilitator: Mr Brian Kagoro** CURRENT PROCESSES ON ECONOMIC RECOVERY UNDER THE INCLUSIVE GOVERNMENT, MID-TERM PLAN 11:15-12:00 AND NATIONAL ECONOMIC COUNCIL Panellists: Dr Nkosana Moyo, Mr Shingirai Munyeza, Mr John Robertson 12:00-12:30 PLENARY DISCUSSION 12:30-13:30 **Lunch** (La Pavilion Restaurant) SESSION 3 **Facilitator: Dr Goodwill Shana** CREATING AN ENABLING ENVIRONMENT: CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR THE DIASPORA 13:30-14:30 Panellists: Dr Alex Magaisa, the Hon. Minister Sekai Holland 14:30-15:00 PLENARY DISCUSSION 15:00-15:15 Tea Break SESSION 4 **Facilitator: Dr Deprose Muchena** 15:15-16:00 FACILITATING ECONOMIC GROWTH UNDER THE CURRENT RESTRICTIVE MEASURES Panellists: Prof Brian Raftopoulos, the Hon. Minister Gorden Moyo, Ms Theresa Mugadza 16:00-16:30 PLENARY DISCUSSION

Day 2	2:
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19:00-

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07:00-08:30	Breakfast (La Pavilion Restaurant)
SESSION 5	Facilitator: Ms Thoko Matshe
08:30-09:30	EXPERIENCES FROM OTHER COUNTRIES IN MOBILISING DIASPORA PARTICIPATION FOR ECONOMIC AND
	SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT
Panellists	: Dr Nkosana Moyo, Ms Lydia Zigomo, Ms Ennie Chipembere
09:30-10:30	PLENARY DISCUSSION
10:30-10:45	Tea break
SESSION 6	Facilitator: Dr Bhekinkosi Moyo
10:45-11:45	MAPPING ISSUES FOR DIASPORA PARTICIPATION AND ENGAGEMENT IN ZIMBABWE'S RECONSTRUCTION
	Panellists: Mr Mutumwa Mawere, Mr Peter Mudungwe, Mr Geoff Nyarota
11:45-12:30	PLENARY DISCUSSION
12:30-13:30	Lunch (La Pavilion Restaurant)
SESSION 7	Facilitator: Dr Petina Gappah
13:30-14:00	ORGANISING THE DIASPORA FOR PARTICIPATION WITH REGARDS TO ACCESS TO INFORMATION, LEGAL
	MECHANISMS, THE ROLE OF ZIMBABWEAN EMBASSIES AND CIVIL SOCIETY PLATFORMS
	Panellists: Mr Daniel Molokele, Mr Silas Chekera
14:00-14:45	PLENARY DISCUSSION
14:45-15:00	Tea Beak
SESSION 8	Facilitator: Mr Glen Mpani
15:00-16:30	Way Forward

16:30-17:00 Closing Remarks by

The Deputy Prime Minister of Zimbabwe, the Hon. Prof. Arthur Mutambara

19:00 Please join us on the terrace for a drink before dinner

19:30- **Dinner** (Le Verger Restaurant)

