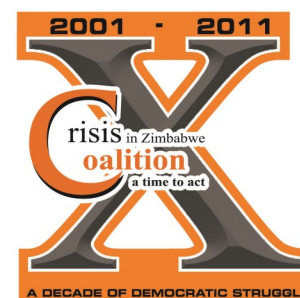


ZIMBABWE BRIEFING

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Mozambican Church and Civil Society Reaffirm their Commitment to Supporting Peaceful, Free and Fair Elections in Zimbabwe

Zimbabwean Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) representatives were in Maputo from the 5th to the 9th of June 2013 on a regional lobby and advocacy mission to encourage Mozambique, which is due to host a special SADC Summit on Zimbabwe's elections, to emphasize on reforms before the next elections. The delegation highlighted challenges that can be posed by the deadline on election dates in line with the recent constitutional court ruling compelling President Mugabe to proclaim a date for the general elections, which the court ordered, must be held before 31 July 2013. The delegation met with leaders of Mozambican religious groups who included representatives of Christians and Moslems, who had just had their own national conference on combating malaria. Separately, the delegation also met with church leaders mainly represented by the Christian Council of Mozambique.

Church leaders in Maputo affirmed their commitment to supporting a peaceful election in Zimbabwe. "The church has a moral obligation to maintain peace in society and the obligation does not end in church only," said Bishop Denis Matsola [former Secretary General of Christian Council of Mozambique]. The Zimbabwean delegation team addressed a conference of Mozambican Bishops and Clerics from different religions in the country. Dzimbabwe Chimnga from Zimbabwe Lawyers for Human Rights who was part of the Zimbabwe delegation explained the reason for the Zimbabwe civics' visit in Maputo.

"We urge SADC to impress upon governing authorities in Zimbabwe to; create a conducive environment by allowing civil society organizations to carry out their lawful activities without harassment, raids, restrictions and unlawful arrests and prosecutions, facilitate timely and adequate Voter and Civic education, which must be freely conducted within the confines of the Declaration of Rights in the new constitution and the electoral law, by the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (ZEC). Civil Society and Political Parties, and also SADC insists on the commitment of government, political parties and Election officials, to conducting a well-publicised, transparent and accessible Voter registration process, that allows every Zimbabwean not on the voters roll to register without unnecessary impediments and bottlenecks," said Mr Chimnga.

The Mozambican clerics were impressed by the commitment and

passion that the mostly young and middle-aged Zimbabweans who were part of the delegation have about their country. The Anglican Bishop of Maputo, Rt. Rev. Denis Sengulane, famously known for being part of the peace brokers facilitation between RENAMO and FRELIMO that ended the civil war in the country encouraged the Zimbabwe delegation not lose hope as things will certainly improve for the better sooner rather than later. Bishop Sengulane, who in 2010 was appointed to Mozambique's Council of State to serve as non-partisan advisor to President Guebuza encouraged the Zimbabwean civil society representatives to be resilient in their work and struggles. He emphasized on the importance of unity and cohesion wherever possible among non-state actors. Bishop Sengulane narrated to the delegation how his counterparts, the Anglican in Zimbabwe had been affected by political influence over the past five or so years. "If God heard our prayer to end war in Mozambique, he will hear our prayer for Zimbabwe to have free, fair and peaceful elections" echoed the Bishop.

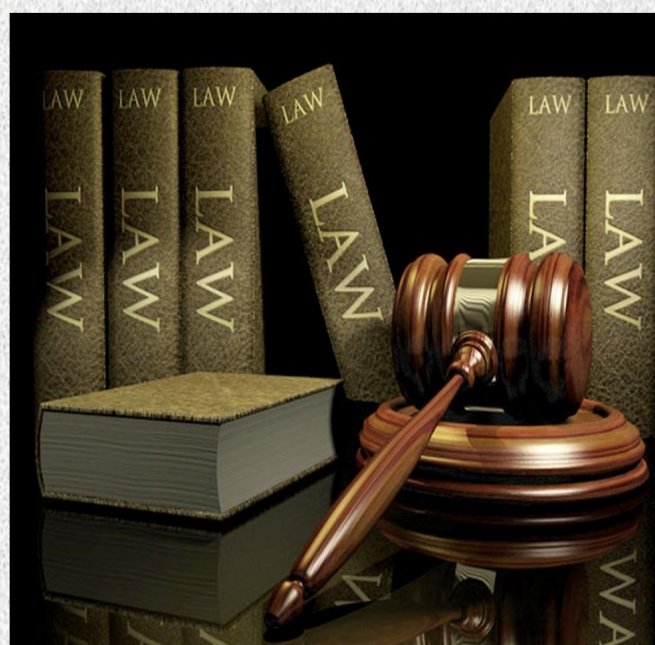
Speaking at a dinner with Mozambique church leaders based in Maputo, Bishop Matsola of Methodist Church informed the Zimbabwe delegation that Mozambique is currently preparing for an election scheduled and known to be taking place in November 2013. He expressed shock over the fact that Zimbabwe is to have elections by 31 July yet a lot of preparation is still to be done. The Bishops agreed with the Zimbabwe delegation that observing elections should not be seen as observing the Election Day only. Observers should be in the country at least two weeks before the election date. "The church in Mozambique is willing to observe the Zimbabwe election and it will not be the first time to do so, in 2008 March harmonized election our accreditation was only approved the night before election date" said Bishop Matsola.

The church in Mozambique asked the delegation to keep engaging them on developments in Zimbabwe. Pastor Moousa from Tete province [which borders with Zimbabwe] told the delegation that the Zimbabwean problem is not for Zimbabwe only but for the region as a whole. He narrated how during civil war in Mozambique the region was affected and he further noted that the end of the civil war set precedence that in SADC such things are intolerable. If Zimbabwe is allowed to have a sham election, this can set a bad

The Election Season Upon Us....

Constitutional Court Hears Diaspora Election Challenge

Hope could soon be restored on several exiled Zimbabweans who have been disen-



franchised from exercising their right to vote when the Constitutional Court will on Thursday 13 June 2013 hear a case which could open the floodgates for millions of Zimbabweans living in the Diaspora to vote in elections using the postal ballot system.

Tavengwa Bukaibenyu, a driver by profession, wants the Constitutional Court to declare that sections of the Electoral Act, which bar postal voting for ordinary Zimbabweans infringe on his rights to have a voice on who governs Zimbabwe. **ZLHR**

Visit the following useful sites on the election: www.zec.org.zw

www.zesn.org.zw

zimbabwееlection.com

www.erc.org.zw

precedence for the region given that most of the countries in SADC are going to have elections before 2015, said Pastor Moousa. The regional advocacy mission included representatives from the Crisis in Zimbabwe Coalition, the Zimbabwe Election Support Network, the Zimbabwe Lawyers for Human Rights, the Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum, the Zimbabwe Women Lawyers Association (ZWLA), the Media Alliance Zimbabwe, the Zimbabwe National Students Union, the Election Resource Centre, the Zimbabwe National Students Union and the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU) as well as representatives from Zimbabwean media houses. The delegation met various stakeholders including the church, civil society and government representatives and im-

pressed upon them the need to ensure that the Global Political Agreement is fully implemented.

By Crisis Media

Region Closely Watching Developments in Zimbabwe-Joachim Chisano Foundation Director

The visiting delegation of Zimbabwean civil society leaders who were in Maputo on a lobby and advocacy mission also learnt that the region is “closely watching developments in Zimbabwe” when they met with Dr Leornado Simao, the Director of the Joachim Chisano Foundation - a leading civil society organization in Mozambique.

The Zimbabwean civil society delegation met with Dr Simao, a Former Foreign Affairs Minister of the Republic of Mozambique who also has access to key wielders of power and influence in his country, to share the perspectives of civil society regarding the timing and conditions for a free and fair election in Zimbabwe.

The meeting last month was preceded by a similar engagement undertaken in November 2012, when another delegation of Zimbabwean civil society leaders met Dr Simao and briefed him on the political developments in Zimbabwe including the status of the implementation of the Global Political Agreement (GPA).

Dr Simao commended Zimbabwean civil society for understanding the value of regional civil society solidarity since most countries in the region have various challenges that they have either solved, or are in the process of solving.

Dr Simao said that all lessons gleaned from dealing with the various challenges the region was facing were important in pursuing regional stability and development, adding that Zimbabwe and Mozambique have a lot in common as nations and their peoples have a long history, hence it makes



The Zimbabwe Civil Society Delegation to Maputo with Dr Leornado Simao

sense to share challenges and successes.

The delegation of Zimbabwean civil society leaders impressed upon Dr Simao the need for the implementation of GPA agreed reforms before the watershed election, which the Zimbabwean constitutional court has ruled should be held before the end of July 2013.

In response Dr Simao said SADC generally respects the sovereignty of states and as such Zimbabweans must try and solve their challenges and not expect dramatic positions to be taken by SADC.

He however hinted that discussions between heads of state “are always taking place even without summits”,

adding that citizens in the region should not expect the regional body to engage in a “finger pointing exercise” whenever one of the countries was in a crisis or facing challenges.

He assured the group of civil society leaders that Zimbabwe was high on the agenda of the region and every effort will be made to ensure that the next election is free, fair and credible. He narrated events of the 2008 election, when he was an election observer stationed in Chinhoyi and hinted that a repeat of June 2008 is undesirable.

Dr Simao emphasised the need for dialogue in the resolution of conflict, hinting that more often than not what separates people is usually lesser than what has potential to bring them to-

gether. He said however without dialogue it is very difficult to find each other and the consequence is conflict at in the communities.

Dr Simao commended the delegation for including youths but was quick to caution that change takes time and patience is of key importance. He highlighted that during the civil war in Mozambique, when he was a young medical doctor, he thought change was going to come in a few weeks and end the crisis, but the war continued for 16 years.

The delegation thanked Dr Simao for keeping his door open to Zimbabwean civil society and hoped that the key messages delivered by the delegation will find its way to the corridors of power in Mozambique. In response Dr Simao said he treasures solidarity and Zimbabwean civil society organizations can rely on his support for the people of Zimbabwe. While stressing that he was no longer in government, Dr Simao highlighted that he will use his influence to relay key messages delivered by the delegation to the authorities.

Meanwhile Statutory Instrument 85 of 2013 that relates to the Amendment of the Electoral Act Regulations has been gazetted following a decision by President Robert Mugabe on June 13, 2013 to evoke the Presidential Powers (Temporary Measures) and effect amendments outside of Parliament. The President has also used the same Presidential Powers to proclaim 31 July as the date for the harmonized elections ostensibly to adhere with the Constitutional Court’s ruling.

‘Soft’ Mandela and ‘Tough’ Mugabe: ‘Sell Outs and Revolutionaries’

The characterisation of former South African President Nelson Mandela as ‘soft’ and ‘too saintly’ by President Mugabe in Dali Tambo’s programme, People of the South has the potential effect of misrepresenting and bastardising history particularly given the increasingly contested nature of policy direction and national priorities in post-colonial African societies.

The wrong characterisation of Mandela is full of historical flaws, fraught with inaccuracies and indicative of some level of amnesia on the part of his critics.

It represents an illusionistic interpretation of history that seeks to create ‘sell outs’ and ‘revolutionaries’ or in Professor Terrence Ranger’s words, ‘a patriotic history’ full of false consciousness.

This opine will argue that failing to question such historical misrepresentations may undermine people’s voices in charting policy direction and national priorities in the post colony as former liberation movement leaders plunder and pillage public resources under the guise of a revolution.

Furthermore, it will be argued that Dali Tambo and Mugabe disingenuously sought to re-invent the image of President Mugabe as a ‘Robin Hood’ of Africans, while ignoring the reality of the politics of decolonisation.

It is undeniable that colonialism and apartheid dehumanised and disempowered Black Africans. This paper will therefore not engage with that discourse, as there is no need for re-emphasis.

However, by labelling Mandela as ‘too good’ and ‘saintly’ to non-black peo-

ple (whites in particular), is flawed in two ways.

The first assumption is to reduce the African National Congress (ANC) and all its members into ‘political yoyos’ of Mandela. This reasoning insinuates that Mandela ran the ANC as a personal fiefdom just as President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire (now DRC) or Kamuzu Banda of Malawi did. It suggests that, to a certain extent, all that mattered in post-apartheid South African politics was Mandela.

Whilst Mandela managed to serve as a uniting figure and brand for the ANC in post-apartheid South Africa it would be wrong to claim that the new South Africa to which he contributed, was the result of one man’s feat.

It should be noted that during President Mandela’s time, Deputy President Thabo Mbeki was almost the defacto president of the Republic of South Africa as he almost literally ran the day to day affairs of government; an observation alluded to by Mark Gevisser in his book, “Thabo Mbeki The Dream Deferred” and William Mervin Gumede’s book, “Thabo Mbeki and The Battle For The Soul Of The ANC”.

This was necessitated by the realisation within the ANC that while Mandela has been a fatherly symbol of perseverance, dignity and reconciliation, floating above the fray as a kind of patron saint of that grand compromise, there was need for a new broom to take over the reins of state power and chart the discourse of transformation.

Therefore, the compromise by the ANC under the leadership of Mandela

exhibited great visionary and maturity, for nations are never built on populism. Henceforth, Mandela was neither soft nor a sell-out but a pragmatic leader who was quite aware, that while the Blacks had the numbers, the Whites had the guns and the money.

Thus it was not desirable to threaten the non-black community and there was need for compromise as that may have prolonged instability.

Secondly, the argument of ‘Mandela the saint’ also disingenuously attempts to ignore the realities of the politics of decolonisation and nation building. One fundamental question that faced liberation movements in Africa especially those that were former settler colonies was the question of the architecture of new society in particular racial relations.

Given this scenario the ANC and even Robert Mugabe’s ZANU PF were faced with the same dilemma and had to agree to a settlement agreement that did not threaten the former colonisers. Thus in 1980 Mugabe had to say, “It must be realized however that a state of peace and security can only be achieved by our determination, all of us, to be bound by the explicit requirements of peace contained in the Lancaster House agreement, which express the general desire of the people of Zimbabwe. Surely this is now time to beat our swords into ploughshares, so we can attend to the problems of developing our economy and our society”.

Therefore, Zimbabwe adopted a policy of reconciliation as one key determinant to ensure smooth transfer of power and as well build the foundations of

a new state.

The same happened in South Africa where the ANC agreed to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission as a strategy of closing the chapter of apartheid and create a new society. It should be realised that failure to assuage the fears of the minority Apartheid and Rhodesian governments, would have meant protracted conflict. It was not just the barrel of the gun that brought independence, but negotiations as well played their role. In addition, Mozambique had also served as an example to other former liberation movements to tread carefully, as the expulsion of the Portuguese community soon after gaining its independence had negative consequences.

Thirdly, the Dali Tambo-Mugabe interview suggests a linear history for Zimbabwe from 1980 to the present. In this history, Mugabe is painted as an unblemished revolutionary fighter who has managed to give back Black people their Land and Natural Resources.

As a thank you back for the public relations stunt, Mugabe cajoles Tambo by invoking nostalgia and mystification of the past by claiming that “If Tambo’s father was alive, the ANC would be different”. In Shona we say ‘Afa anaka’ (the dead are saints).

There are fundamental historical flaws in these assumptions. This creates the flaw of ‘pitfalls of national consciousness’ as articulated by Frantz Fanon besetting the land reform and indigenisation process.

It took President Mugabe's government 20 years to compulsory acquire land, and to further show the insincerity of his government to distribute land it took ZANU PF two years to pass amendments to the Land Act to conclude the Land seizures that had begun in 2000. ZANU PF wining and dining with white capital and agriculture proceeded the period of the fast track land programme. Mugabe's government was never inclined towards having an empowered black business or agricultural class.

This explains Strive Masiyiwa's struggle to get a licence, despite that ECONET has become the most successful business company owned by any black Zimbabwean. There is a litany of cases where black entrepreneurs were haunted out of Zimbabwe and some of them, like Mutumwa Mawere, are still fighting to get back

their business empire from the government.

In addition to this, the people of Marange and Chisumbanje have experienced land dispossession as Mugabe's Chinese allies and alleged ZANU PF financier Billy Rautenbach are given free rein to exploit the land at the expense of ordinary villagers who have lived in these areas for very long periods of time.

In addition, the nostalgia and mystification of dead heroes is nothing more than the act of creating ideals of mental comfort zones, as today's live heroes were once idolised institutions of hope and progress.

The difference lies in that today's living heroes are there to face the test of time while the dead are not there to face the test of time. This is why we speak glowingly of them because they are not there to be measured by political reality.

Therefore, we say 'afa anaka' and so are Oliver Tambo, Chris Hani, Herbert Chitepo, Nikita Mangena, Lookout Masuku and Josiah Tongogara. They are unblemish and symbolise the purity of African Liberation; or so we are made to believe. Yet we forget that, the present day villain Robert Mugabe and ZANU PF were once heroes and that there were times when it was regarded as an honour to be likened to Robert Mugabe.

The same applies to President Jacob Zuma; he was a darling of the working class and a significant number of ANC members before the Polokwane conference but this has all changed as the realities of politics and policy priorities begin to sink in. There seems to be a growing fallacious perception that disenfranchising white people will translate into prosperity for black people. Political and Economic transformation means going beyond pigmentation, and

not all black people act in the interest of black people.

Blackness has never been a homogeneous class and similarly a black leadership does not mean the end of poverty for black people. Furthermore, the characterisation of Mandela as 'soft' is historical dishonesty and at the same time fails to recognise the realities of the politics of decolonisation that existed. Lastly, Mugabe is not a revolutionary, but former liberation turned into a despot that has outlived his time. It is time for new brooms.

*By Tamuka Chiramambowa
A PHD candidate at the University of KwaZulu Natal Durban, views reflected here are his own and not of the Coalition*

Mugabe evokes Presidential Temporary Powers, gazettes amendments and chooses Election Date

STATUTORY Instrument 85 of 2013 that relates to the Amendment of the Electoral Act Regulations has been gazette following a unilateral decision by President Robert Mugabe on June 13, 2013 to evoke the Presidential Powers (Temporary Measures) Act and effect amendments outside of Parliament.

Reports indicate that the President has

also used the same Presidential Powers to proclaim 31 July as the date for the harmonized elections.

Zimbabwe Lawyers for Human Rights, Board Member, Mr. Trust Maanda said the President cannot have extraordinary powers that allow him to operate outside the constitutional provisions and that although the Presidential Powers (Temporary Measures) Act

affords President Mugabe certain powers – he doesn't have all the powers.

As reactions to this latest turn of events emerge, the Crisis in Zimbabwe Coalition will today be launching a paper on "Countering Electoral Manipulation: Strengthening Zimbabwe's Chain of Democratic Choice" from 5:30 – 8pm at the Book Café.

The implications of President Mugabe's decision to evoke the Presidential Powers (Temporary Measures) Act will be tabled for discussion.

Those in Zimbabwe are free to attend.

For more information call 002634798038

