

ZIMBABWE BRIEFING

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Guest of Honour to the MDC Congress, Kenyan premier Odinga, calls for culture of constitutionalism and accountability

Powerful leaders and their close associates have done as they wished, in the knowledge that nothing would happen to them. Lack of accountability and transparency has fostered official corruption and the plundering of resources meant for development. It is these insidious developments – and not the colonial legacy – that have brought this continent to the brink of ruination, and its people to the desperate situation in which so many millions find themselves today.

But I speak to you as an Afro-optimist and a true believer in pan-Africanism, one who looks forward to the day Africa will be united in its irreversible democratic ideals and sound socio-economic policies. And on this occasion of the MDC's National Convention, I would like to share with you my thoughts on two issues that I strongly believe can help us turn the tide.

The first is that Africa must embrace the culture of constitutionalism. It must invest in the building of institutions that promote and compel sound leadership. That a constitution is indispensable in a modern society is underlined by the fact that the struggle for the second liberation in Africa, which began in the early 1980s, has centred on demand for the enactment of new constitutions. That was our aim in Kenya and it is no less true of Zimbabwe. We have seen that the mere re-introduction of multi-party politics in Africa, after decades of single-party and military dictatorships, has not solved the governance problem.

We have seen that multi-party elections alone will not propel us from institutionalised authoritarian systems to more democratic modes of governance. Not that constitutions of themselves are inviolable. We have not been without constitutions. We have had them, but they have been repeatedly amended at the whim of the ruling elite, and have

COMRADES IN ARMS:

Tsvangirai and Odinga wave at supporters. - arabnews.com



sustained and entrenched powerful presidents whose word has been law, and who have used their power not for the nation's benefit but for their own enrichment. Where such leaders have refused to give way through the ballot – and let's face it, that is, most of them – military dictatorships have sometimes ensued, and these have fared no better. In short, political power in Africa has often meant gain and riches for the ruling class and more poverty, deprivation and powerlessness for the ordinary person.

We had hoped that new constitutions – new beginnings by the leaders of the Second Liberation, mandated by a better-educated electorate that increasingly knows what it wants and has no qualms about asking for it – would instill in leaders new respect for the laws that govern their lands.

One of the great disappointments of the Second Liberation has been that many of the new liberators changed their tune once they got into power. They began to manipulate constitutions to prolong their rule, and coerced their parties into securing support for additional terms or eliminating opponents. Institutionalised corruption, instead of receding, loomed larger than ever.

That brings me to the second problem. Africa has truly been left wanting when it comes to visionary leadership, the kind of leadership that is undistracted in its quest for solid institutions committed to constitutional-

ism, equity and impartiality. We have failed to elect leaders dedicated to ignoring tribe, religion, region and race in the management of public affairs.

One-party rule might have withered and died with the introduction of political pluralism in the 1990s but its ugly monolithic vestiges linger. In particular, our ballots have yet to be free and fair. A long list of African leaders with questionable democratic credentials has used the pretension of promoting state unity as an excuse for excess, intolerance, repression, and illegal tenure of office.

This looks more dangerous than our previous situation. What could be worse than the electorate choosing how and by whom they should be governed, only for their verdict to be ignored? When leaders and governments lack popular support, democracy and good governance cannot be expected, and nations cannot move forward. This is the tragedy that afflicts Africa today.

Ladies and gentlemen, Zimbabwe must move quickly to resolve its democratic challenges, so that it can take its rightful place as a potential centre for economic growth in this part of the continent. All parties, and particularly the MDC, which will be a critical player, need to invest in building institutions of democracy.

Excerpts from Speech by Kenya Prime Minister Raila Odinga at the 3rd National Congress of The MDC, Friday, 29 April 2011

ZANU-PF Climb-down on Elections in 2011?

Coordinator's Note



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Last week ZANU-PF's chief negotiator Patrick Chinamasa conceded what we have been saying all along, that Zimbabwe is not ready for elections in 2011 given the absence of critical institutional, legislative and administrative reforms to enable the country to hold free and fair elections under conditions where there is no violence or intimidation. This climb-down by ZANU-PF is hardly surprising given the clear and firm position taken by the SADC Organ Troika on Defence, Politics and Security regarding the elections roadmap.

This week Zimbabwe's negotiators meet president Zuma and his Facilitation Team in Cape Town to address a deadlock regarding the crafting of the elections roadmap mainly dealing with the aspect of how to deal with the problematic, highly partisan and extremely politicized security sector ahead of elections. We understand that ZANU-PF is re-

sisting moves to ask the services chiefs from the police, the army, the prisons and central intelligence to publicly state that they will not interfere in the nation's political and civilian affairs, and also publicly to pledge to submit to civilian oversight and control. ZANU-PF is also resisting a call for all soldiers currently deployed across the country to be recalled and confined to the barracks lamely arguing that no such deployment has taken place. Another area of disagreement relates to the early deployment of SADC monitors and observers in Zimbabwe to prevent violence and ensure peace.

We know that the security forces are the root of all political conflict and violence in Zimbabwe and therefore there can be no meaningful or lasting solution that does not directly address them. Any roadmap that does not speak to the problem of security forces and how to deal decisively with them is a roadmap to nowhere.

After the talks in Cape Town, president Zuma is expected to present a report to the SADC Extra-ordinary Summit on Zimbabwe to be held in Windhoek, Namibia, on 20 May. Zimbabwe Civil Society groups under the auspices of Crisis in Zimbabwe Coalition and Zimbabwe Election Support Network are in the process of finalizing a Civil Society Zimbabwe Elec-

tions Roadmap to be submitted to president Zuma and his Facilitation Team and to the SADC Extra-ordinary Summit. We urge president Zuma, his Facilitation Team and SADC to remain firm and to insist of credible, fundamental and irreversible reforms before elections can be held in Zimbabwe. That ZANU-PF has conceded that elections cannot be held this year should not be an excuse to relax pressure, reforms must be instituted now. All provisions of the Global Political Agreement must be fully implemented ahead of elections.

In the meantime the main MDC formation led by prime minister Morgan Tsvangirai held its third congress (held every 5 years) to elect new leadership. The MDC elections at national level were peaceful despite violent skirmishes that marred some of the provincial electoral processes. Of the 13 members of the MDC National Executive directly elected at the congress, two are women – MDC vice president and the country's deputy prime minister Thokozani Khupe and Women's Assembly chair and co-minister for home affairs Theresa Makone representing 15% women in the top MDC leadership. There has been no change in women representation in the top leadership. Provinces also elected 12 representatives to the national executive com-

prising six women and six men as required by the MDC constitution.

Professor Lovemore Madhuku of the NCA, assisted by Kucaca Phulu, a prominent Bulawayo lawyer, presided over the peaceful elections which proceeded without incident despite a total absence of the police to provide security for the 6000 delegates. Various civil society groups including Crisis in Zimbabwe Coalition and Women in Politics Support Unit (WIPSU) observed the process.

Key resolutions taken at the congress in Bulawayo are that the MDC led by Tsvangirai:

- Restates its commitment to the drafting by Zimbabweans and for Zimbabweans of a new people-driven Constitution and while supporting the constitution-making process envisaged in the GPA, recognise the right of Zimbabweans at any stage in the future of exercising the right to make a Constitution by themselves and for themselves.
- Acknowledges the strategic importance of the GPA and the transitional government and calls for the holding of a credible, legitimate and free election only in terms of a Roadmap guaranteed by SADC and the African Union.
- Abhors the use of violence, in particular ZANU-PF and State sponsored violence in Zimbabwe and anywhere else as

a means and tool of achieving political aims and restate the commitment that the MDC will never use violence as a means of political arbitration.

- Is aware of the trauma caused by violence and other illegal actions by the State, and calls for the completion of a restorative and rehabilitative programme of National Healing and more importantly the implementation of a matrix of transitional justice in Zimbabwe.

- Acknowledges the critical role of state institutions and security organs in preserving the integrity of the national State but express deep disappointment with the partiality of some State institutions, in particular a minority section of the Securocrats, thus restate that State institutions do not belong to any political party, they must remain neutral and must serve the Constitution and the people of Zimbabwe.

- Acknowledges the importance of united or popular alliances and recommit the unequivocal commitment of the Movement of working together with civic society in particular the Unions, the Constitutional organisations, the Church and all other democratic and like-minded organisations in the task of dislodging dictatorship in Zimbabwe.

Meanwhile, yesterday, 3 May, the world celebrated World Press Freedom

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An Observer's Comment on the MDC Third Congress

"If Tendai Biti loses this election, what will the Commonwealth say?"

"ZANU PF officials voted for Lovemore Moyo during the election of the Speaker of Parliament, if this Congress fails to endorse his leadership, what message are we sending out there?"

The questions above were, respectively, posed by two delegates from Mashonaland Central and Chitungwiza provinces during the hotly contested elections at the third Congress of the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) held from 27 to 30 April at Bulawayo's Babourfields Stadium.

In this article, I seek to address the rationality of the MDC ordinary members, the way the congress was conducted, the campaign process, the voting process, the total absence of the police during the four day event, the overt presence of senior ZANU PF officials in Bulawayo and the possible implications of the Congress outcome to the party and the national democratic agenda. The article will also seek to draw parallels between the ways MDC conducted its internal electoral process and how ZANU PF administers its party electoral affairs.

As different candidates were canvassing for support at Babourfields Stadium on Friday afternoon, I can across a 60-year old lady – a delegate from Mashonaland Central province - who was lobbying delegates to vote for Tendai Biti, the Minister of Finance to retain his post of Secretary-General of the party. I asked the lady why she thought Biti was the best candidate worthy retaining the seat. Her answer was "If Tendai Biti loses this elec-



tion, what will the Commonwealth say?" To her the Commonwealth represented the outside world, the regional and international community and other forces and individuals outside of the MDC that she thinks hold Biti highly because of what she said is an excellent job Biti has done as Minister of Finance.

On the question of Lovemore Moyo, a delegate from Chitungwiza said she has high respect for Lucia Matibenga who challenged Moyo for the post of Chairperson of the party but she said MDC supporters felt that Moyo fought well against ZANU PF's political machinations in Parliament. She argued that Moyo would do a great job for party by bringing more ZANU PF supporters and officials to the MDC after some of them voted from him during the election of the Speaker of Parliament.

Her view was that Matibenga should have campaigned for a different post. She said Matibenga was a brilliant party cadre who campaigned against a person who is currently enjoying a lot of support and respect from members of the party. This writer sympathized with Matibenga and would have voted for her if he was a party delegate but the majority MDC supporters preferred Moyo and their collective wisdom carried the day. Biti and

Moyo won those elections. The thing to note was that the MDC ordinary members were rational and clear about the leadership they wanted. Whereas the elite uses divisive campaign strategies, the ordinary congress delegates appeared not to be influenced by regionalism, tribalism or racism. Thokozani Khupe, at 3047, received the highest number of votes for any candidate, closely followed by Moyo.

The campaigns leading to the vote was heavily contested with different teams moving around city hotels, schools and lodges where delegates were booked lobbying for their preferred candidates in a peaceful way. It was like a national election with candidates having flyers with campaign messages and what they would want to do for the party if they got elected. Nobody took anything for granted. I observed that the political violence that took place during provincial congresses did not feature at the national congress.

The absence of acts of intimidation and violence during the four-day event was partly because of the MDC leader Morgan Tsvangirai's strong message to take action against those found guilty of such acts. It was also because the national council of the party resolved to deal decisively with acts of violence in the

party, a decision which became a congress resolution. Tsvangirai spoke strongly against intra-party violence and warned those involved that after the Congress an independent investigation will be put in place to look at the problem and promised that heads will roll and that they would be no sacred cows.

Even in the total absence of uniformed police for the entire congress period, law and order prevailed. It became the responsibility of every delegate to maintain law and order in order to shame the conduct of the police who refused to provide security to the event. The youth Assembly Congress which preceded the main Congress indicated the orderly and democratic process that was to follow. Normally the youth youths are energetic, adventurous, impatient and rowdy. Nothing of this nature was exhibited when they held their elections. Like the main congress delegates, the youth assembly members had an all-night vigil waiting for the electoral outcome without any single incident of disorderly conduct or violence.

The voting process had its problems like the omission of the name one candidate on the ballot paper but the National Constitutional Assembly (NCA) which conducted the poll did a brilliant job. The elections were conducted in a free, fair and democratic manner. The presiding officer, professor Lovemore Madhuku announced that all contesting candidates, both losers and winners accepted the outcome of the election and did not register any complaints with him. The outcome of that election did not shock anyone who followed the political campaigns in Bulawayo. The outcome of the

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Zimbabwe: Death by Silence

Editor's Comment: A five-year genocide in Zimbabwe from 1983 barely raised a whisper of interest from London, Washington or the UN.

Journalist and genocide scholar, Geoff Hill, looks at a shameful history that has yet to be resolved and suggests steps that could be taken now to deal with the aftermath.

In July last year, Mr. Owen Maseko was arrested in Zimbabwe's southern city of Bulawayo for trying to display his paintings of a genocide in which several members of his family were killed. Depending on who you talk to, from 1983 to 1987, between 10,000 and 40,000 people were murdered in the Matabeleland provinces around Bulawayo under a fifth brigade military operation dubbed "Gukurahundi" meaning the wind the sweeps away the chaff. Was Gukurahundi a Genocide?

Dr. Gregory Stanton, past President of the International Association of Genocide Scholars (IAGS) and current head of Genocide Watch believes there is nothing to debate. "Gukurahundi cannot be defined as anything other than genocide," he says.

Dr. Stanton has drawn up a list of the elements present in Matabeleland which, he says, put the case beyond dispute:

- intentional killing of a significant part of an ethnic group
- mass murder and mass rape
- no legal protection for victims (police actually tortured and killed some of those who registered complaints)
- government soldiers acting on official orders that were illegal under Zimbabwe's own constitution and under international law, including the Genocide Convention.

But in Washington, Mr. Jonathan Elliott, Africa Advocacy Director for Human Rights Watch, says the matter doesn't end there. "It is not just the killings we should be investigating, but the global silence that allowed it to happen," he said. "The term, 'Never Again'



will only mean something when we act to stop soldiers slaughtering civilians on the orders of government, and ultimately hold those responsible to account."

Mr. Elliott said the argument that criticizing Mugabe may have weakened moves to end apartheid is irrelevant. "That position cannot be defended," he said.

"There are absolutely no circumstances in which holding silent about mass murder can be for some greater good. The story of Matabeleland should act as a warning to leaders who ignore an atrocity they could and should have stopped."

In 1999, with rising food prices and unemployment above 70%, riots broke out in Harare, and the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions, led by former miner Morgan Tsvangirai, called a general strike. With his union colleagues, Mr. Tsvangirai formed a new political party, The Movement for Democratic Change (MDC), and looked set to win elections due in 2000.

ZANU-PF responded with a campaign of violence in which they:

- set up torture bases across the country
- burned homes
- overran farms owned by whites who were seen as sympathetic to the opposition
- declared entire areas of the country no-go zones for the MDC
- arrested journalists who wrote

stories critical of government. More than 200 people are alleged to have been killed, mostly from MDC.

ZANU-PF won the vote with a narrow majority though many western countries refused to recognise the result, but Jonathan Elliott sees a link to Gukurahundi.

"When the world turned a blind eye to Matabeleland, Mugabe may have expected to get away with the second round of carnage he inflicted on the whole of Zimbabwe," he said.

"The international community must learn that impunity for serious crimes entrenches a culture of violence and abuse."

2010: A Sense of Impunity

In March 2008, ZANU-PF lost a general election to the MDC. Tsvangirai, a Shona like Mugabe, had declared that his government would mount a thorough investigation into Gukurahundi.

The next round three months later was a vote for president, but the situation became so violent that Tsvangirai withdrew and Mugabe stood as the sole candidate. Two years later, the MDC is junior partner in a power-sharing deal where the army, police, state media and CIO are run by ZANU-PF.

"They are scared of being sent to The Hague which is where they belong," says the Matabeleland Freedom Party's Andrea Sibanda.

"To be honest, we would like to break away and make Matabeleland independent like South Sudan or Eritrea. It is the only way we will ever believe this can't happen again."

Fresh elections are likely over the next year or two, and already ZANU-PF is setting up militia camps in rural electorates. In August, an independent newspaper, *The Zimbabwean*, published a Q&A with some of Mugabe's campaigners, one of whom said the party would have little problem rigging the vote.

"At every police station, the officer in charge is ZANU," he said. "Every army commander for even a small unit, all the bosses at CIO, even in far places away from Harare,

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An Observer's Comment on the Third MDC Congress



CLOCKWISE FROM TOP: Delegates to the third MDC Congress, 27 to 30 April 2011, Babourfields Stadium, Bulawayo.

MDC Women's Assembly Chairperson Theresa Makone and MDC Secretary General dance in celebration of electoral victory while party president Morgan Tsvangirai, who was endorsed unopposed, looks on.

Delegates to the third MDC Congress, 27 to 30 April 2011, Babourfields Stadium, Bulawayo.

- Dewa Mavhinga

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MDC congress reflected the prevailing consensus among the voting delegates on the nature and type of the leadership that they wanted. The ballot was secret so the outcome reflected the unfettered position of the delegates. The MDC, judging from the Congress outcome, is likely to get more united and focused on delivering a democratic Zimbabwe. Except for Tsvangirai and Roy Bennett who retained their posts unopposed, those who won the elections were robustly challenged by other party cadres and nobody took the process for granted. The victors also got to realize their shortcomings that they should address in order to bring cohesion in the party structures and membership. The concerns of the few who voted for losing candidates should be addressed. The party should also move fast to embrace those who were not successful and make them appreciate that a democratic process has such outcomes which should be

respected and celebrated.

The significance of the guest of honour Kenyan Prime Minister Raila Odinga, the singing of Kenyan and Zimbabwean national anthems to a party political process brought an aura of the inevitability of democratic transition. Delegates including those who were not victors could be heard saying that they would never abandon their party after all their struggles. This to me signifies that the possibility of a political rapture in the MDC ranges from slim to zero.

It was an interesting to see the presence of Nicholas Goche and Saviour Kasukuwere, two senior ZANU PF officials in Bulawayo during the congress days. I hope the two officials learnt something about the conduct of internal democratic process. Unlike in ZANU PF, the election of party leaders was done through a secret ballot. The leader of the MDC did not seek to impose any candidate and all candidates that were nominated by the party's 12

provinces were subjected to an election where all delegates from the different provinces made their choices.

In ZANU PF, the national leadership of the party is never elected, it is nominated. For instance if a candidate is nominated by six out of its ten provinces that person is deemed the winner without subjecting him to the scrutiny of the collective wisdom and will of all its delegates.

That's why suggesting a secret ballot system in ZANU PF is deemed a criminal offense worse than treason. Because of this internal electoral malpractice ZANU PF party leaders lack national legitimacy apart from President Mugabe who succeeds himself at every party congress. These practices by ZANU PF poison and contaminate Zimbabwe's electoral democracy.

By Pedzisai Ruhanya, Crisis in Zimbabwe Coalition Programs Manager

Politically motivated violations victim analysis by gender and association for the Month of March 2011

A close look at the victim toll distribution shows that more males had their rights violated than their female counterparts during the period under review. There were 1 046 male victims in the month of March. The male victims represented 69% of the 1 505 victims tally.

The month saw 402 females having their rights violated constituting 27% of total. Though the victim toll is heavily skewed towards the usually politically active males, the fact that 27% of the victims were females remains a serious cause of concern.

As has been in the past, the bulk of the victims have been MDC-T supporters who had their rights violated more than their

counterparts from the other two political parties in the inclusive government that is Zanu PF and the MDC-M.

There were 1 030 MDC-T supporters who had their rights violated representing 69% of the victims compared to Zanu PF's 106 supporters accounting for 7% of the victims tally.

The analysis clearly shows that a large percentage of people are now afraid of openly declaring their political affiliation as 24% of the victims' connection to political parties was unknown. There were 364 victims whose affiliation was unknown.

Male and Female Perpetrator Analysis

The perpetrators analysis by gender show that males were

the chief culprits representing 81% of the violators of human rights compared to their female counterparts who constituted 15%. During the month of March, 1 641 males were recorded as perpetrators, while only 296 were females showing a marked increase as compared to the February figure of 172 females who were reported as having caused human rights violations throughout the country.

As has always been in the past months, ZANU-PF had the highest percentage of perpetrators during the month of January accounting for 90% of people directly responsible for leading politically motivated human rights violations.

There were 1 804 perpetrators from ZANU-PF

while 144 were MDC-T supporters with 37 cases having been perpetrated by state security agents and mainly soldiers accounting for 2%.

The perpetrator statistical spread still suggests that ZANU-PF supporters have remained the major perpetrators across the board although the level of residual violence in the MDC-T is a great cause for concern.

However official figures from the police suggest that MDC-T supporters are the main perpetrators of violence.

Excerpt from Zimbabwe Peace Project Report: SUMMARY ON POLITICALLY-MOTIVATED HUMAN RIGHTS AND FOOD-RELATED VIOLATIONS - March 2011.

ZANU-PF Climb-down on Elections in 2011?

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Day. Press freedom in Zimbabwe is virtually absent. Crisis in Zimbabwe Coalition members in the media field, including the Media Institute of Southern Africa (Zimbabwe Chapter) and the Media Monitoring Project, Zimbabwe (MMPZ) note that, apart from licensing of new players in the print media by the Zimbabwe Media Commission (ZMC), there is no improvement in the media environment. Repressive legislation such as Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act (AIPPA), Criminal Law (Codification and Reform) Act, Interception of Communications Act and the Broadcasting Services Act (BSA) remain in place, with the state-controlled Zimbabwe Broadcasting Cooperation (ZBC) maintaining its stranglehold on the airwaves.

To that extend, Crisis in Zimbabwe Coalition recommends that SADC, as it leads in the crafting of a Zimbabwe elections roadmap, should ensure the following:

- The Broadcasting Authority of Zimbabwe (BAZ) be reconstituted urgently and licensing of aspiring community and commercial broadcasters begins as an interim measure to open up the airwaves ahead of elections.
- The Zimbabwe Broadcasting Cooperation's governance board should be reconstituted urgently to ensure that the broadcaster fulfills its public service mandate and reflects all shades of Zimbabwean opinion.
- The Zimbabwe Broadcasting Cooperation, and the print media, affords all political parties and independent candidates contesting an election free access to their broadcasting services in line with all the robust provisions of the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (Media Coverage of Elections) Regulations.
- The Inclusive Government, forthwith, takes robust measures to end the ongoing abuse of the public media by the present authorities and end its use as a tool of propaganda and

Dr Lovemore Madhuku pictured at the 3rd MDC Congress. - Dewa Mavhinga



hate language.

- That the Mass Media Trust be resuscitated and be adequately resourced to insulate state print media against political interference and manipulation by any political party.
- That there be urgent repeal or extensive amendment of repressive laws such as AIPPA, BSA, Criminal Law (Codification and Reform) Act and the Interception of Communications Act that continue to impinge on free journalism enterprise, free expression and the right to information access.
- All individuals implicated in extra-legal media freedom violations should be arrested and prosecuted in order to eliminate wanton harassment of media practitioners and guarantee their security in the conduct of their duties.
- The Zimbabwe Media Commission (ZMC) should fully execute its mandate to ensure professionalism in the media and rein in those violating the basic tenets of journalism that currently manifests in hate messages, abusive language and half-truths.

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Zimbabwe: Death by Silence

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they are chosen by ZANU.” he said. “Voters are afraid and they know that if the soldiers come, no one will help them.”

Greg Stanton has no doubt this culture of violence has its roots in Matabeleland. “Never imagine that you can stay silent just this once, and the problem will go away,” he said.

“This is why we set up tribunals to try perpetrators when national courts will not. And it is why the International Criminal Court is essential and why it was right to issue an arrest warrant for President Bashir of Sudan.”

And he warns that bringing true democracy to Zimbabwe will not be easy. “That sense of impunity is still strong, and I doubt it will end until Mugabe and his murderers are sent to prison where they belong.”

But, in the absence of any resolve to arrest the perpetrators, there are seven steps I believe could be taken to ensure the genocide is not forgotten, and lay a foundation on which the country may be able to deal with the past.

1) An independent investigation should be set up urgently. In a country where the World Health Organization estimates that one-in-seven are HIV positive and average life expectancy is less than 40, there is an urgent need to interview survivors and those members of the former Fifth Brigade who may be willing to talk about what happened and, especially, who gave the orders.

2) A panel of advisors could be drawn with equal numbers from the Shona and Matabele tribes, but also with members from other countries who would not have an emotional attachment to the issue. Preference should be given to nations that have dealt with the aftermath of genocide including Cambodia, East Timor, Guatemala, Rwanda, Nigeria, Israel, Armenia



SILENCED: Artworks such as these by artistes like Owen Maseko (pictured page 4) have been suppressed by the Mugabe regime from fully entering the public space in Zimbabwe. Maseko himself has been arrested for staging exhibitions of this art. - Zimbojam.com and [Solidarity Peace Trust](http://SolidarityPeaceTrust.org).

and states of the former Yugoslavia.

3) Whether or not Zimbabwe decides to prosecute the perpetrators, there is a historic and ethical need to identify those responsible, and to name the missing and, where possible, find their remains.

4) A memorial to Gukurahundi should be designed by the Matabele and erected in their largest city, Bulawayo. This might include a museum and tributes to the fallen.

5) The sense of fear that surrounds discussion of Gukurahundi must end

6) For the future, those who were close to Zimbabwe and declined to comment should discuss their actions. This shouldn't be a name-and-shame exercise, but an effort to persuade those now in power not to make the same mistake when such killings take place anywhere in the world.

7) Zimbabwe is not a member of the International Criminal Court. However, as we have seen in Cambodia and East Timor, with the right political will it is possible to set up local hearings to indict the accused. To this end, organizations that study genocide, including the IAGS, must continue to pass and publish

resolutions that may advance the process.

It is hard to imagine how peace can come to Zimbabwe while accusations of genocide hang over some of those still in power like Air Marshall Perence Shiri and even Mugabe's possible successor in ZANU-PF, Mr Emerson Mnangagwa who was minister for security at the time of the killings.

In Harare the Censorship Board has now officially banned art displays relating to Gukurahundi, so it is unlikely that Owen Maseko's work will be shown, though he hopes to find a sponsor for an exhibition in Europe, the US and South Africa.

The charges against him were dropped after Maseko's lawyers said they would come to court with graphic evidence of the genocide to show why the display of his art was in the public interest. More comfortable for the state just to let it go. But Lucy Dube senses a change. “For 25 years there has been silence on what was done to us,” she said. “Now our voices are growing louder. “We will shout until everyone hears us, at home and around the world and we will not stop until justice is done.”

UPCOMING ACTIVITIES

- > SADC Extra-Ordinary Summit on Zimbabwe, Namibia, 20 May
- > Africa Day Zimbabwe Public Seminar, Durban, 25 May



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