

ZIMBABWE BRIEFING

a crisis in zimbabwe coalition regional office weekly report

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ZANU-PF oiling its violence machinery, targets churches in propaganda drive

ZANU-PF is readying itself for the next Zimbabwe elections by intimidating citizens, infiltrating churches and actually leading a wave of politically-motivated violence. All this is happening at the behest of some of its most senior members, notably Members of Parliament.

Zimbabwe Briefing can today confirm that Muzarabani South MP, Edward Raradza has been intimidating residents of his area and other surrounding areas to vote for ZANU-PF or else risk being victimised. While elections remain impossible this year – at least not before all the necessary conditions are in place – the sequence is mostly likely to begin with a referendum in the aftermath of the constitution-making process followed by general elections.

On February 29 this year, Raradza told a crowd in Muzarabani that going into referendum was no laughing matter and that ZANU-PF could still do what it wants since nothing could stop it. He then warned the crowd that the party had war veterans and youth militia stand ready to pounce on anyone who would go against the grain and show support for opposition parties, mainly the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC).

“We will protect this party [ZANU-PF] and if we hear any talk of MDC there will be no forgiveness. We have previously forgiven you [for supporting the MDC] but if you continue on this path, we have no option but to take necessary measures,” he said. Raradza went on to threaten the headman of the village in which the meeting was taking place.

“If we hear that the headman has



FLASHBACK: Scenes like these were prominent in the run up to the March 2008 polls. - zimrights

allowed the MDC to hold a meeting in this place, there will be consequences,” he said. The MP, who some reports have been placed at Chaona in Mazowe North on May 5, 2008, the day many people were attacked, also told the crowd that ZANU PF was willing to bring them food and projects as it had done previously. The party has a consistent record of using food and promises of life-changing projects as campaign tools to lure voters. He also said such – food and projects – ought to be used to lure opposition supporters to ZANU PF so that they could be able to vote and that was the only way they could benefit.

“Go and tell those MDC supporters who are not here that this is what MP Raradza has said.” The MP then made a comment on the violence that was flaring in Harare, especially in the high-density suburb of Mbare.

“These days if you read the newspapers, they say “Harare is on Fire”. It’s true, some houses are on fire,” he said, putting to rest any doubts that ZANU-PF was behind that violence in Harare.

But it is how religion is being increasingly used by ZANU-PF that is telling of how the party desires to use religion, Christianity especially, to legitimise violence. At the same meeting, Raradza invoked religion to help his audience understand better. “Even with God, when some people wanted to usurp power that did not belong to them, He told them to repent but when they eventually thought of doing so, it

was too late and they were swallowed by the ground on which they stood on and were buried alive,” he said.

And added: “Jesus, too, beat up people in the temple so we are not the first to beat up people.”

Some of the Vadzidzi VaJehovah (Followers of Jehovah) African apostolic sect is one that has also swallowed the ZANU-PF strategy to use religion for political ends hook, line and sinker.

Own investigations by *Zimbabwe Briefing* on three sects in late 2010 and early 2011 reveal that they are using President Robert Gabriel Mugabe to represent the Angel Gabriel. Songs – heard by *Zimbabwe Briefing* – have even been composed which speak to this.

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SADC: Don't be fazed by backlash – Insist on Zim doing it right

Coordinator's Note



dewaMAVHINGA

After the Livingstone SADC Organ Troika Resolutions on Zimbabwe, many wondered whether it was not just a fluke, whether SADC's next steps would not be taken in reverse.

It appears there is hope for Zimbabwe, SADC has not shredded the Livingstone Communiqué, instead, the institution is on a forward march to ensuring that Zimbabwe holds elections that are free and fair when the time and conditions are right.

This is commendable, especially as it comes in the context of a massive backlash from some ZANU-PF members who are still reeling in shock at the turn of events.

For instance, immediately after the SADC Troika Summit, professor Jonathan Moyo, a ZANU-PF MP and member of the party's powerful Politburo, wrote in a state-run weekly paper, "Following the Livingstone SADC Troika on Zimbabwe and the African vote on Resolution 1973 against Libya, it has become very clear that Zimbabwe's national security interests do not lie in SADC or AU pacts given the Judas Iscariot fact that is now rampant in the region and the continent."

He further noted, "...nobody needs to be rocket scientist to see that

the presumed SADC team of officials, if allowed to come into our country, will be nothing but a bunch of regime-change spies deployed to distort things and lie about Zimbabwe on behalf of the US and the EU to craft false evidence in the vain hope of making Zimbabwe a "UN Chapter 7" case while conveniently riding on SADC's treacherous back authored in Livingstone."

Such vile insults, as those authored by a senior ZANU-PF official, Jonathan Moyo quoted above, cannot go unchallenged, and must not be allowed to sidetrack SADC from its correct focus on ensuring genuine regional peace, stability and development. ZANU-PF threats to walk away from SADC and the AU are not new, but the truth of the matter is that there is nowhere to run. Without SADC and the AU there is no legitimacy for any government in Zimbabwe, and not even China would be able to give that legitimacy. We urge presumed powerful allies like China to respect democratic values in Zimbabwe and not to prop up dictatorships against the will of the people.

Meanwhile, it appears that SADC's Extraordinary Summit on Zimbabwe initially scheduled for 20 May

could be moved to a later date, we expect SADC to treat the matter of Zimbabwe with the urgency that it deserves.

In Zimbabwe the constitutional reform process, which had stalled for some time on account of resources, has resumed with 17 parliamentary thematic committees convening in Harare to examine data gathered across the country during the outreach phase. Feedback from some legislators taking part in the thematic committees meetings is that the procedure being used, of simply checking the frequency with which an issue is raised, and endorsing the issue with the highest number of mentions from outreach meetings, is not going down well with many.

It will be recalled that during the outreach phase, there was widespread intimidation, coaching and violence including that involving the military, with the result that a number of people were not free to express their views. Therefore, dominant, coached views recorded are those of ZANU-PF supporters and their allies, and the method of recording views by simply looking at the frequency with which an issue is raised favours ZANU-PF views. The legislator who spoke to me about the process said, "We may as

well begin to mobilize for a NO Vote now, this process will not result in a credible, democratic constitution."

The prospect of a "No" Vote at the constitutional referendum raises a challenge of how the nation will proceed thereafter. SADC Facilitators and GPA Negotiators must clearly spell out what happens in the event of a "No" Vote.

It must be categorically clear that the obligation is not simply to hold a referendum, but to genuinely prepare a document that will be acceptable to the generality of Zimbabweans.

A key lesson from the February 2000 constitutional referendum is that after the No Vote president Mugabe stated that constitutional reform was no longer a government priority and continued with the 1979 Lancaster House constitution we have to this day, albeit with a litany of amendments.

One of our key demands to SADC therefore, is to ensure, not that Zimbabwe has a referendum before elections, but that it has a new, democratic constitution, among other reforms, before the next poll.

feedback:

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Zim Elections totally impossible in 2011

- Ambassador Lindiwe Zulu

Ambassador Lindiwe Zulu, member of the Facilitation Team trio that assists president Zuma - SADC Facilitator to the Zimbabwe Peace Process – and international relations advisor to Zuma, told delegates to a Southern African Liaison Office (SALO) convened meeting on last Monday in Pretoria that there will definitely be no elections in Zimbabwe in 2011 because a lot of work remains to be done to create the right environment for free and fair elections.

This represents victory over ZANU-PF which all along was insisting on elections in 2011, with or without a new constitution.

The Negotiators representing the three main political parties that are party to the Global Political Agreement (GPA) and in the inclusive government met with the Facilitation Team last week in Cape Town on Thursday and Friday to consider a draft Roadmap to Elections produced by the political parties and an annual review report submitted by the Joint Monitoring and Implementation Committee (JOMIC).

There was agreement on most issues with virtually less than three issues being referred to the principals. Ambassador Zulu stated that the basis of the Roadmap to elections which is under construction is the GPA and its full implementation and that the roadmap is also informed by SADC Guidelines and Principles Governing Democratic Elections that all SADC States are party to, a common understanding of democratic processes and by the experiences of the 2008 elections. Categorically, she said, Zimbabwe's next elections must be very different



ABOVE: Anxious voters press against each other in a bid to vote soon after polls opened in March 2008.

RIGHT: An elderly woman is assisted by a pollinga agent as she casts her vote during the March 2008 polls.
-zimbabweinpictures.com



from those held in 2008 and the conditions and environment must be completely different. She further noted that the Roadmap has to be a document that inspires confidence in the people of Zimbabwe, in SADC and in the wider international community.

The frank and unprecedented disclosure and open engagement with Ambassador Zulu inspires hope and reinforces the view that the strong SADC Organ Troika resolutions of Livingstone, Zambia, were no flash in the pan. More importantly, there is evidence that SADC is ready to deal with the difficult issues, including security sector reform, an issue that Ambassador Zulu confirmed is now on the table. Negotiators and Facilitators

have resolved to directly engage Zimbabwe's security chiefs to raise concerns and also to hear their concerns regarding Zimbabwe's transition and their role in political and electoral affairs.

Negotiations over the Roadmap are also covering issues of the composition of the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (ZEC) and its guidelines. Finally, Ambassador Zulu also gave a brief feedback on a global trip recently undertaken by SADC representatives including herself, to call for the lifting of sanctions on president Mugabe and his inner circle.

She said they believe that sanctions must go for two reasons: (1) because the

sanctions are not serving the purpose for which they were intended and

(2) they are hindering important progress being made regarding the Roadmap.

As Zimbabwe civics, we insist that conduct inside Zimbabwe must trigger changes to the sanctions regime. At present widespread violence and other abuses continue giving little justification for shifting positions on sanctions.

SADC should seriously consider robust African sanctions for African problems, especially in the event of continued failure to implement SADC Troika resolutions.

By Dewa Mavhinga

ZANU-PF oiling its violence machinery, targets churches in propaganda drive

From Front Page

One such song goes: *Gabriel will rule all over Africa/Gabriel will rule all of Africa.* And a typical sermon – also heard by Zimbabwe Briefing in Rushinga – went as follows: “Gabriel is supreme and is the carrier of the blood of Jesus [Christ] so we can’t abandon him. In this gathering we always say “Forward with R.G Mubabe and you also agree that it so, right?” said the minister and the congregation agrees with him.

He goes on: “Who really is Gabriel? Is he not the president?” Again, the congregation agreed that it was indeed so.

Then: “For him [Mugabe] to be named Gabriel, were there no other names to give him? He is the anointed

one. He was even ordained by Mbuya Nehanda (spirit medium and protagonist of the first uprising against colonial rule in the 1890s) as somebody who was fit to govern Zimbabwe and not those we are being given today.”

In Epworth, near Harare the minister was heard saying the church with largest number of ZANU-PF Chairpersons was his.

“As we are gathered here, the leaders [in ZANU-PF] know that we all belong to the party and that even anything to do with sport such as football was also a part of the party. Forward with ZANU-PF! Forward with our land! Down with those who do not support this,” he says and the congregation agrees with him.

In Mudzi North, the preacher

was heard saying: “We are sorry for some of our black colleagues who meet and work with white people. It’s now time to decide whether we let the country go [to sell-outs] or we guard it.” The congregation then breaks out in song saying Gabriel will rule all over Africa.

It is highly unlikely that Zimbabwe will go to elections soon but an upcoming SADC extra-ordinary summit on Zimbabwe should shed more light on how the body feels about Zimbabwe’s state of preparedness to go to the polls. Meanwhile, ZANU PF is in election mode and is continuing its campaign across Zimbabwe.

- By Our Own Staff

Bulawayo riot police crush peaceful WOZA protest

Baton-wielding riot police waged a brutal crackdown Tuesday on peaceful Women of Zimbabwe Arise (WOZA) demonstrators in Bulawayo, with witnesses saying dozens of people were injured.

WOZA said thousands of protesters gathered in central Bulawayo to express their frustration at the persistent daily ‘18 hour power cuts,’ when riot police arrived and began to indiscriminately beat the peaceful activists.

The protest was aimed at the Zimbabwe Electricity Transmission and Distribution Company (ZETDC) for what WOZA termed was daylight robbery by the utility company.

The protesters were demanding that ZETDC should stop cheating fixed meter consumers, provide proper timetables of load shedding and urgently put in place a proper and transparent billing system.



ABOVE: Baton-happy Zimbabwe Riot Police captured in this file photo. -nehandaradio.com

RIGHT: WOZA’s Jenni Williams was injured during the protest.-zimbabweinpictures.com



They chanted slogans, calling for justice, freedom and urgent social reforms. Our correspondent Lionel Saungweme, who witnessed the protest, said the brutal attack on the demonstrators was yet another sad paragraph in the ongoing state sponsored violence against innocent and unarmed civilians.

‘The police were acting like dogs. They were so vicious and the ferocity

of the beatings would have left some people thinking they were beating up football rioters and yet they were just merely women,’ Saungweme said.

He added; ‘This brutal attack underlines the need for an urgent security sector reforms because the protest did not warrant such a crackdown. It was a bloody messy af-

fair where women were being chased and beaten along the streets.’

A statement issued by WOZA after the crackdown said one of those injured was their co-coordinator Jenni Williams. No arrests were made and WOZA said all the injured had been assessed and attended to.

By Tichaona Sibanda (SW Radio Africa)

Mugabe too sick to stand for president

Zanu just does not seem to understand that suddenly the world has moved on and in the process left them behind. They now understand that the President, Mr Mugabe, cannot be the next candidate for Zanu PF simply on health grounds. The mirage of an election in 2011 under the same conditions that prevailed in 2008 has dissipated and the reality that they are going to be held to their signatures on the GPA road map is dawning on them.

The consequence is an election in a years' time, time they simply do not have, reforms to the electoral process that will prevent the essential rigging they had planned and therefore seals their fate. Zanu PF simply cannot win any election in the near future.

Discussions in the Cape this week will almost certainly produce a proposed road map to an election in 2012 and will bring with it essential reforms to the whole process, supervised and guaranteed by the region as a whole.

I have been saying to people for some time now; do not underestimate the commitment of the region and wider African leadership to the GPA process. This is

an African construct and they are going to see it through.

I spent the afternoon today at the opening of the Trade Fair in Bulawayo. This was attended by Mr Mugabe and it was clear as he drove into the Stadium with full pomp and glory; outriders, armed soldiers, brass bands and a spectacular honour guard, that he was greeted in almost silence except for the rent-a-crowd sitting in one part of the stadium and a few loyalists behind the podium.

The heads of the Army and the Police were there and this may be the last time that we will see them in their uniformed splendour. Both are listed for immediate, compulsory retirement in the road map.

The Trade Fair was a pleasant surprise - they had pulled out all the stops and it was packed with people and nearly all stands were taken up. Much different from the dismal affair in recent years and giving me hope that our private sector is not yet totally dead. The previous weekend was our Congress and contrary to all the expectations, it was a great success. There was no violence and the elections were properly managed and the whole process democratic.



FIT TO GOVERN? Robert Mugabe prepares to take oath of office after he was declared the winner of the March & June 2008 disputed poll. -zimbabweinpictures.com

Several senior leaders lost their posts and accepted defeat gracefully. Resolutions were adopted and speeches made - and in particular the keynote address by the President, Morgan Tsvangirai, was in my view one of the best he has ever made.

Not far behind was the opening speech by the Prime Minister of Kenya who pressed all the right buttons. That was followed by the heaviest storm of the season when nearly 100 mm of rain fell on the grounds, soaking everyone and all the equipment.

Rain is always welcome in Bulawayo and it did not spoil the mood. In the morning we woke up to a brilliant clear blue sky and the final day was weather perfect.

There was one interesting development after Congress - in a two page comment in the local State controlled paper, one of their many 'analysts' wrote about efforts prior to Congress to influence the elections in our lower structures (branches, wards, districts and provinces) to support an effort to weaken the power base and support for the Party President.

This was interesting because it confirmed what many of us had seen firsthand in the field for several months now - a concerted effort was made to try and subvert the whole process and very large sums of money were spent in doing so.

We allowed it to carry on because we did not want

Continued on Page 6

MDC-T Supporters' Houses Burnt in Chimanimani

Chimanimani:

In suspected politically motivated violence, seven houses belonging to 3 households were burnt and several people beaten up by suspected but unidentified ZANU-PF supporters in Chimanimani East's Cashel Nyambeya Village in Ward 1. The horrific attack took place on the night of 1 May, 2011 in the district represented in Parliament by MP Samuel Undenge (ZANU-PF).

Youth Forum's Chimanimani District Chairperson, Pardon Maguta, reports that 15 to 20 thugs chanting ZANU (PF) slogans and singing revolutionary

songs praising the party attacked the houses at around midnight. The attackers demanded to know why members of these households had attended the Movement for Democratic Change congress that was held in Bulawayo at the end of April. The houses attacked belonged to Moses Chemwanyisa, Admire Chizikani and his mother, Naomi Chizikani who is also a widow.

The occupants of the houses, who were mainly women and children, screamed for help but no one came to their rescue. The incident has since been reported to Cashel Police Station but no arrests have been made.

The country is bracing for elections, and for these to be free and fair, the environment must be right. ZANU-PF and all other political leaders must come out clear and denounce the violence and ensure free political activity and freedom of assembly and association in accordance with the letter and spirit of the Global Political Agreement

*From the Youth Forum Information and Publicity Department
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Mugabe sick

From Page 5

to subvert the democratic process as a whole and because we simply did not have the time or the resources to counter it effectively. But now that Congress is over, the MDC has resolved to investigate the whole thing and to take action against the many that were responsible for violence and vote buying in the lower structures of the Party.

Building a democratic system in any country is not an easy or a quick process. Like an internal combustion engine, all parts must be working and no part is less important than another - tyres may not be glamorous but you cannot move without them.

You cannot mix oil, fuel and water - but you have to have all of them in close proximity for the engine to function properly.

If the Parties representing the people in a democratic State are not themselves democratic it undermines the whole system. The democratic system itself is a complex structure with many parts - each of which has to function properly to yield a result that the people will accept.

I doubt that we have had a single real democratic vote in this country since Independence. Zanu PF has used every trick in the book and a few of their own invention, to ensure that they retained total power in the past 30 years. Despite this, our people have never lost faith in the system and for me, one of the great experiences that I have had in recent weeks was supervising elections at Ward and District level in remote areas on the country. Driving into a village after a 150 kilometre journey to find 300 men and women sitting under a tree waiting to conduct their own secret ballot elections for new lead-

ership. Many walked 20 or 30 kilometres and then walked back when we finished. Simple farming families who revel in the opportunity to influence how they are to be governed in the next five years. All this effort (perhaps 10 000 branches, 2000 wards and 210 districts) led up to the Congress where several thousand elected delegates sat patiently in the sunshine in an open stadium, to listen to the speeches, participate in the electioneering and campaigning and then to line up and vote for the leaders of their choice. Not a policeman in sight.

Zanu sent two truckloads of young people past the Stadium - perhaps to try and incite some violence and I was so proud of our people as they simply laughed at them and gave them the MDC open hand and then turned back to the business in hand.

Nothing terrifies a despot more than the freedom of his subjected people and if the recent tough stance by SADC and the AU was not enough to rock their world, believe me the sight of those events in the Stadium in Bulawayo, would be enough to totally discourage them.

Zanu is trying to work out just what to do. They are deeply divided, their strategies in the past two years have not shaken off the grip that MDC has taken on the political process and now they are tied into an exercise in self-destruction.

A glance at the international news shows that the game has changed - the events in Pakistan, the Ivory Coast, Angola, Sudan and Kenya, all show a new resolve to build and enforce democratic practice in the world around us.

The world has moved on rapidly in recent months and we are part of the process. Those who stand still, are simply left behind as yesterday's men.

*Eddie Cross is MDC
MP for Bulawayo South.*

Negotiating Zimbabwe's Electoral Minefield:

The perilous path through referendum to elections

No date for the next Zimbabwean elections has been set, but the nation is intent upon - and in many respects braced for - the event. The 2008 elections remain seared into Zimbabwean memories. Election day went smoothly, but the nation then waited five weeks for first-round presidential results, then endured a national ordeal of a run-off ballot.

Thousands of Zimbabweans were intimidated or beaten, especially in rural areas. More than 200 people died - mainly supporters of the opposition Movement for Democratic Change formation of candidate Morgan Tsvangirai.

Studio 7 at the Voice of America proposes to sound the views of Zimbabweans in South Africa on what seems likely to be as critical a period in Zimbabwe's history as any since Independence in 1980. Our panel of seasoned political and social observers will frame the issue and we count on Zimbabweans in South African to flesh out that framework.

This town hall meeting or indaba will be rebroadcast as a special edition of Studio 7 LiveTalk.

Panelists:

Dorcas Hove, Consultant, women, gender and media issues
Reverend Doctor Paul Verryn, Methodist Church of Southern Africa, Johannesburg
Dewa Mavhinga, Regional Information and Advocacy Coordinator, Crisis in Zimbabwe Coalition
Abel Mutsakani, Editor, ZimOnline

Date & Venue:

Saturday, May 14, 2011, 2:00-5:00 PM
Bassline Jazz Club,
No. 10 Henry Nxumalo Street, Newtown, Johannesburg, South Africa

UPCOMING ACTIVITIES

- > SADC Extra-Ordinary Summit on Zimbabwe, Namibia, 20 May
- > Africa Day Zimbabwe Public Seminar, Durban, 25 May
- > Film: "The Axe & The Tree", Nelson Mandela Foundation, Jo'burg, 24 May
- > Studio 7 Live Talk, Bassline Jazz Club, Newtown, Jo'burg, 14 May



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