

ZIMBABWE BRIEFING

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The Namibia summit: SADC said it best when it said nothing

In the week following the 16th African Union (AU) Heads of State Summit in January, Zimbabweans were inundated with propaganda celebrating Zimbabwe's absence on the AU agenda. This absence was couched as a victory for ZANU-PF, and a defeat for efforts of various pro-democracy groups including the Crisis in Zimbabwe Coalition in their advocacy efforts at the continental body. Similar assertions have been made in the aftermath of the Extraordinary SADC Summit which took place in Namibia on the 20th of May 2011, complete with celebrations in the 'captured' state media, of the Zimbabwe security-orchestrated ejection from summit venue, detention and harassment of Zimbabwe civil society leaders. This propaganda betrays a lack of understanding of civic society missions and their objective in engaging regional and continental bodies like SADC and the AU.

Missions to SADC and the AU, and their allied bodies, at least for the Crisis in Zimbabwe Coalition, are meant to ensure that these bodies set a firm precedence in dealing with errant regimes that refuse to leave power in the face of popular sentiments that they do so. In addition, they are meant to indicate how, from a civil society perspective, SADC and AU can avert situations like the Zimbabwean one from becoming replicated across the continent. This advocacy is always informed by the fact that Africa is a war-weary continent in dire need of peace and stability. Conflict related to elections is one of the main causes of instability, and therefore to address such conflicts through advocating for the establishment and respect for strong democratic institutions and practice is to



FLASHBACK: SADC civics watch the screening of a documentary on national healing in Zimbabwe at the Southern African People's Solidarity Network-organised "The SADC People's Summit" in Windhoek, Namibia last year.

contribute directly towards sustainable stability and peace.

To pursue such a mission with SADC and the African Union, it is preferable, but not necessary to have Zimbabwe on the agenda of key meetings when they take place. The Zimbabwean governance crisis, highlighted by the June 2008 violent sham election, can be indirectly engaged through the discussion of other trouble spots, like the Ivorian and Tunisian situations as was done in January by the AU, or indeed through the discussions on Madagascar and Swaziland as was done by SADC in Namibia. As policy bodies, the lobbying at the AU and SADC are around cogent policy frameworks to deal with these challenges and rallying around shared values, which can be used as basis for dealing with similar challenges.

Notwithstanding the hot air that continues to be blown by the architects of

people's suffering in Zimbabwe, and the rhetoric and spin from their tired spin doctors, it is self-evident that there are significant shifts in African policy towards dictatorship and a growing impatience with petulant dictators. This clarity is there from how the Ivorian crisis was eventually dealt with, and the isolation of the Libyan dictator - our "Brother Leader" comrade Muammar Gaddafi - Head of State and Government of the Great Libyan Jamahiriya and Spiritual leader of the people.

Civic Society has often called on SADC to say something and do something on Zimbabwe, but Namibia was different, it showed us that silence is indeed sometimes golden, in spite of a raucous and noisy circus being in town. Indeed SADC said it best when it said nothing at all at the Namibia summit. The only allusion to Zimbabwe from

Continued on Page 9

Zimbabwe's military utters reckless political statements; the police intensifies crackdown on MDC supporters

Coordinator's Note



dewaMAVHINGA

Our calls for urgent security sector reform in Zimbabwe ahead of elections were put in perspective last week when a senior military official, Brigadier General Douglas Nyikayaramba told a local paper that the military wants elections in 2011 and predicted in the same statement that ZANU-PF will win those elections resoundingly.

If SADC or other key policy makers were ever in doubt of how deeply entrenched the military is in our political and electoral affairs now they have the proof. Nyikayaramba, who is head of 3 Brigade in Manicaland province, also proclaimed 'Truly speaking, ZANU-PF is in me, and I am in ZANU-PF and you can't change that.'

Such reckless utterances by a serving member of the military, who incidentally, was said to have 'retired' back in 2002 when he was appointed head of the Electoral Supervisory Commission charged with running the presidential election that year, there is no way that the people of Zimbabwe can go for free and fair elections that are without violence or intimidation. Unless and until we have a truly indepen-

dent and non-partisan military, and security sector encompassing the police, prisons, and the central intelligence agency, then to hold elections who be to needlessly put the lives of the electorate in harm's way.

It is now abundantly clear that the fundamental challenge, the root of the governance crisis in Zimbabwe is not a bad constitution, or a litany of laws that curtail freedoms, but an extremely partisan and politicized security sector that does not understand even the rudimentary aspects of democracy and elections.

SADC must know now that any road map to Zimbabwe elections that does not ensure a complete separation of the military from political and electoral affairs is a sheer waste of time. All meddling in political and civilian affairs by the military must be stopped.

SADC must move to address the security sector challenge in Zimbabwe. South Africa must release the Generals Report and expose fully the hand of the military in perpetrating violence and coercing the electorate to support one particular party.

At the front and centre of the Zimbabwe crisis is

a rogue military that now dabbles in politics. But it is not the military alone that has gone rogue, sections of the police are willing merchants of oppression, selectively targeting MDC supporters and civil society activists for harassment.

Yesterday, Tuesday, May 31, human rights lawyers Charles Kwaramba and Marufu Mandevere of Mbidoz, Muchadehama and Makoni Legal Practitioners, who are members of Zimbabwe Lawyers for Human Rights (ZLHR) were denied access to over a dozen MDC supporters arrested by police following the death of a police officer an alleged confrontation as the police attempted to break up a meeting at Glen view shopping centre in Harare.

As SADC leaders meet to discuss Zimbabwe at the Sandton Convention Centre in Johannesburg from 8 to 12 June, their main focus should be on how to establish strong democratic institutions in Zimbabwe that do not pander to the whim and will of ZANU-PF.

This is an urgent matter that has ghastly implications for regional peace and stability, especially when one considers current concerns

regarding president Mugabe's age and health, and that there is no clear succession plan within his party that speaks to life after Mugabe. Should anything happen to Mugabe, the military vultures currently circling are sure to plunge Zimbabwe into chaos.

The MDC is a civilian movement for democratic change, on its own it will be powerless to stop a military onslaught. It is up to SADC to stop this madness. SADC must take the lead in writing a new narrative for Zimbabwe – one that breathes life and hope. If SADC fails Zimbabwe, it is South Africa that will carry the burden of chaos in Zimbabwe.

When SADC meets in Johannesburg we expect South Africa to tell Zimbabwe to shape up or be isolated. South Africa must flex its political and economic muscle on Zimbabwe in the interests of human security, enduring peace and sustained regional stability.

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Lest we forget: The imperative and urgency of security sector reform in Zimbabwe

A few weeks ago, I took interest in understanding the role of the security sector in national and human development. To break the ice, I decided to start with a cursory look at the visions and mission statements of the various security ministries in Southern Africa. Obviously, I had to start with my own country. After a brief internet search, I came across the vision of the Ministry of Home Affairs in Zimbabwe. It reads “To guarantee security, order, pride and peace of mind for all Zimbabweans”.

Like a primary school kid, learning how to read sentences, I read it again, this time word by word. “To guarantee...security,...order....pride..., and peace of mind...for all Zimbabweans”.

I am sure there are many Zimbabweans, who, like me, would find this bold vision an interesting but shocking read if pitted against their experiences over the years, perhaps even today -the opposite of all that: insecurity, disorder, dehumanization and troubled minds.

Security sector in Zimbabwe

The security sector in Zimbabwe, particularly the police, intelligence services and the army have been accused of abuse and perpetration of violence against ordinary citizens. As a result, the intelligence services, army and even the police are dreaded. This is largely because of their involvement –in the name of security, order and peace of minds for all Zimbabweans, in a number of widely discredited operations that resulted in displacements, injuries, deaths, rape cases, loss

SAFE & SECURE: Intelligence Chief, Happyton Bonyongwe (left), Zimbabwe National Army Commander, Constantine Chiwenga (centre) and President Robert Mugabe share a moment.-dailymail.co.uk



of property and many other forms of human rights violations. Recent and vivid examples include operation restore order (Murambatsvina) in 2005, military intervention to stop illegal diamond mining in Chiadzwa, commonly known as “Operation Hakudzokwi (You will never come back) and the alleged involvement of the security sector in the violence that followed the March 2008 harmonized elections, which some people code named Operation Wakavhotera papi (whom did you vote for) and many others.

The security chiefs are on record for saying that they will not salute political leaders with no liberation credentials. For many Zimbabweans, this was a clear reference to the Movement for Democratic Change. As a result, the security sector has been accused of taking sides with ZANU PF party, instead of guaranteeing the security and peace of minds of all Zimbabweans. With this background, it is not surprising that in section 13 (1) of the Global Political Agreement (GPA), President Robert Mugabe, Prime Minister Morgan Tsvangirai and Deputy Prime Minister Arthur Mutambara (signatories to the GPA), had to make it clear that “State organs and institutions (including army, police and intelligence services) do not belong to any

political party and should be impartial in the discharge of their duties”.

It is against this background, that security sector reform is paramount and urgent. Many Zimbabweans and scholars are agreed that the security sector will have a ‘casting vote’ on whether Zimbabwe will once again be on the path to sustainable recovery and development or will regress to the years of economic and political free fall.

Security sector reform

The security sector, as defined by the Global Facilitation Network for Security Reform, refers to all the formal state institutions with the mandate to ensure security and safety of the state and its citizens against acts of violence, coercion or other internal or external threats. These include armed forces, the police, paramilitary forces, intelligence services and the elected and duly appointed civil authorities responsible for control and oversight of these institutions.

Citizens of Zimbabwe are looking forward to the unity government to prioritize security sector reform, alongside other issues such as constitutional, electoral and economic policy reforms. Security sector reform will include developing frameworks aimed at ensuring that

the security sector conducts its work in a non-partisan, responsible, transparent, accountable and responsive manner if the vision of guaranteeing the security, order and peace of minds for all Zimbabweans is to be achieved. Security sector reform is essentially aimed at the efficient and effective provision of state and human security services within a framework of democratic governance.

Looking ahead

Civil society and all truly patriotic Zimbabweans should make a strong case before the unity government for urgent security sector reform. Most people in Zimbabwe have no clue of what the National Security Council is doing or intend to do concerning the security sector. Section 13(2) of the Global political agreement outlines some of the key components of a security sector reform programme in Zimbabwe. These are outlined below.

1. Conceptualization of roles

The conceptualization of security in Zimbabwe needs to be revisited. It appears that there is a bias on defining security in terms of protection of those in power and their interests as opposed to a more people centered approach in which, as the vision

Continued on Page 9



20 May 2011

SADC: Lay Out Clear, Firm Pre-conditions To Ensure Democratic Elections in Zimbabwe

We, Zimbabwe civil society organizations under the Crisis in Zimbabwe Coalition banner, strongly urge the Southern African Development Community (SADC) to urgently lay out in clear terms, firm pre-conditions to ensure democratic elections in Zimbabwe that are without violence and intimidation and that fully comply with SADC principles and guidelines governing democratic elections. We reiterate that, despite talk to the contrary, Zimbabwe is not ready for elections in 2011 and that on her own, without direct assistance from SADC and the AU, Zimbabwe lacks capacity to deliver a free and fair election. We state unequivocally that the conditions obtaining in Zimbabwe such as widespread state-sponsored violence, partisan application of the law, increased deployment of soldiers across the country openly intimidating citizens and campaigning for ZANU-PF and increased arrests and harassment of rights activists and MDC leaders all confirm that key state institutions remain unreformed and extremely partisan and politicized.

We therefore call upon SADC to put on public record minimum pre-conditions that Zimbabwe must meet in order to create an environment conducive to holding free and fair elections where violence and intimidation play no part and to inspire confidence in the people of Zimbabwe, in SADC and the wider international community. In crafting a credible roadmap to Zimbabwe elections, SADC must endeavour to make the process as broad and as inclusive as possible. SADC must state clearly what appropriate steps it will take to ensure full compliance with its resolutions and directives regarding Zimbabwe's preparations for elections. For the roadmap to be meaningful and to inspire confidence in the people of Zimbabwe, it must directly address the following five critical pre-conditions:

1. A new, democratic constitution which includes critical electoral reforms such as an updated and accurate voters' roll, guarantees for media freedoms, promotes gender equality and equal access by all political parties to state media while repealing or amending all legislation that hinders free political activity. The roadmap must layout contingency plans of steps to be taken in the event that a credible constitutional referendum produces a NO Vote.
2. All soldiers currently deployed across the country must be returned and confined to their barracks and all service chiefs must issue a public statement committing themselves to restricting their activities to their constitutional mandate and to totally separate themselves from politics and from interference in political and electoral affairs.
3. The Zimbabwe Electoral Commission and its Secretariat Staff, charged with elections management, must be completely demilitarized, independent, professional, adequately resourced and has direct technical support from the SADC Electoral Commissions Forum to enable it to impartially discharge its mandate.
4. In the context of its on-going mediation in the political conflict in Zimbabwe, SADC must independently examine and certify that the environment is conducive to holding free and fair elections before an election date can be set, and SADC must supervise the elections to ensure full compliance with SADC principles and guidelines governing democratic elections. The elections must robustly monitored and observed by local, regional and international groups who should have unfettered access to all parts of the country.
5. Together with the AU and the UN, deploy peace-keeping monitors at least three months ahead of elections to prevent state-sponsored violence and intimidation and to guarantee peaceful transfer of power to the eventual winner of the elections. The peace-keeping monitors should remain on the ground a further three months after elections have been held.

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The Crisis in Zimbabwe Coalition is a broad based civil society network of over 72 active members comprising churches, women's groups, social movements, residents associations, labour unions, human rights lawyers, and health professionals. It was formed in August of 2001; to focus on democracy, human rights, good governance and sustainable development issues – working locally, regionally and internationally.

Zimbabwe Liberators Platform board of Trustees

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Harare, 30 May 2011

ZLP's Response to the utterance by Brigadier Douglas Nyikayaramba

We the members of the board of Trustees of Zimbabwe Liberators Platform, a registered civic organisation formed by genuine former liberation fighters wish to express our profound disgust at the outrageous statements attributed by the Zimbabwe Independent of the 27 May edition to Brigadier Douglas Nyikayaramba, the commander of 3 Infantry Brigade of the Zimbabwe National Army. The statements, if true are not only a callous disregard for democratic principles that entitle the people of Zimbabwe to vote for political parties and leaders of their choice without let or hindrance but also undermine the letter and spirit of the Constitution of Zimbabwe which provides for free and fair elections for people to elect their leaders and for the establishment of a professional and non partisan force through the Defence Act.

If Brigadier Nyikayaramba and those of like mind, fought for ZANU PF and Mugabe to rule Zimbabwe forever. We wish to state unequivocally that the majority of the freedom fighters within both ZANLA and ZIPRA fought among other things, for unfettered political freedom and democracy based on the right vote on the basis of one person one vote. We wonder whether the Brigadier had any political education at all during the war. Maybe, as he says he joined the struggle at the age of 14, he was intellectually challenged at the age to have comprehend the purpose and objective of the liberation war. For the record, the overwhelming majority of the freedom fighters were never card carrying members of political parties. We wonder whether the Brigadier pays the dues for his party card and duly carries it to office everyday as a sign of eternal loyalty to ZANUPF.

We are surprised that Brigadier Nyikayaramba, a very senior army officer who

once served as a leading elections officer does not appreciate the need and purpose of elections by insisting that Mugabe must rule forever. What therefore is the need for elections if the outcome is predetermined? On what basis does he demand that elections be held this year? Maybe the war ended too early for him as he was too young to have demonstrated his military prowess. We have full respect for liberation fighters who demonstrated their heroism by fighting against the enemy during the war but only abhorrence and revulsion for those who lead bloody campaigns against defenceless civilians whose only crime is to resist ZANUPF misrule and repression. Shame on all those commanders and fighters who wear acts of terror against unarmed civilians, black or white as a badge of honour!

The Brigadier goes to rubbish the need for security sector reform, something that all the principals to the GPA, including President Mugabe undertook to carry out. What an irony? Brigadier Nyikayaramba is alleged to have boasted that he would never salute Tsvangirai were he elected President and head of State in a national ballot. He is thus placing himself above the will of the people for which most of us fought and he is prepared to trample it under foot. It is this very despicable conduct and unfortunate utterances like Nyikayaramba's that undermine the dire and urgent need to reform Zimbabwe's state security sector. The national defence forces and other arms of state security should be rid of unprofessional officers and political activists, rotten apples like him. The objective of security sector reform is to mould a professional non-partisan national defence force and other state security arms into national institutions that respect the will of the people, submit themselves to civilian control, place human security above the security of the state and its leaders, respect the country's citizens, its constitution and its laws. A truly national defence force can thus do without Nyikayaramba and other officers who believe that Mugabe and ZANUPF should rule forever.

The conceited Brigadier needs to be reminded that the Zimbabwe Defence forces are a national institution funded and supported by the taxpayer's money and not from ZANUPF coffers, and that is where their loyalty should lie. The defence forces are not a ZANUPF militia as he imagines. If that was the case then he would have to direct his concerns about funds for rations and uniforms to the ZANUPF headquarters. And most interestingly, for his own information, ZANUPF does not even have a secretary for Defence in its leadership structure as an enlightened acknowledgement that they do not have defence forces of their own political party. If the Brigadier is filled with enthusiasm to campaign for ZANUPF, well and good, he should just go ahead and do the honourable thing like what RTD Air vice Marshal Henry Muchena did and take off his uniform and join ranks of the ZANUPF Commissariat and submit himself to the leadership of Jabulani Sibanda and Joseph Chinotimba, the commanders of ZANUPF 'war veterans. It would be his constitutional right to do so and no one would have

qualms with that.

We would like to hope and believe that Brigadier Nyikayaramba's views are not representative of the thinking of the officer corps of defence forces and that they are just the ranting and raving of an isolated overzealous ZANUPF zealot, a clear misfit and an anachronism within the ranks of the national defence forces. Minister of Defence have to say about his clearly treasonous statements.

No professional soldier should ever be seen to be expressing contempt for the Constitution by stating partisan political support and we demand his immediate resignation. Furthermore, we demand a disciplinary hearing into his conduct as should be required in a professional army. We therefore would expect an immediate repudiation of the view expressed by his superiors.

Signed:

Happyson Nenji (Webster Gwauya)

for

ZLP Board of Trustees

Wilfred Mhanda (Dzinashwe Machingura)

for

ZLP Board of Trustees

State Fails to Sustain Treason Charges Against Gwisai and Five Others



LEFT: Munyaradzi Gwisai.

High Court Judge Justice Kudya earlier this week dropped treason charges against Munyaradzi Gwisai, Hopewell Gumbo and four others and referred the matter to Harare Regional Magistrates' Court for trial on the lesser charge of attempting to subvert a constitutional government. Trial is on 18 July, 2011.

The ludicrous charges and harassment of Gwisai and others stem from a video screening of the Egyptian revolution. Justice Kudya agreed to loosen reporting conditions for the six to once every month from three days a week but refused to release their travel documents.

It's sad that the six activists continue to be subjected to persecution by prosecution in a case of politically motivated harassment. The struggle continues - we hope the Magistrates Court will drop these spurious charges and set the six free.

WANTED: Zenga Zenga in Zimbabwe

RIGHT:
Collective
action is still
unimaginable
owing mostly
to the alarm-
ing polarisa-
tion on the
political stage.
-bbc



When Prime Minister Morgan Tsvangirai recently announced Zimbabwe's parliamentary elections scheduled for 2011 would be postponed to 2012 or even 2013, many Zimbabweans must have breathed a deep sigh of relief. Relieved because the bloodshed which accompanies every election would be put off for a bit longer. And the rapidly mounting number of political activists and ordinary civilians arrested, tortured or denied medical treatment while in custody, as part of the state's crackdown on dissent, might gradually slow down. Treason has become the charge de jour for any hint of dissent in the banana republic. Offences range from the benign to the absurd like posting a comment on Facebook or, as veteran activist Munyaradzi Gwisai did, for organising a screening of the Egyptian Revolution. Even, Sabbath prayers for peace are gassed into thin air.

While for outsiders from more liberal countries, Zimbabwe might sound like human rights hell on earth, it isn't. Honest. Look, it doesn't even make a "top ten hells on earth" list. And for the average Zimbabwean, the spectre of treason is part of the everyday. It rumbles in the background while the business of living from hand to mouth takes precedence. Decades of censorship, the lack of strong civil society institutions and political apathy has been key in creating the huge gulf between the discourse of human rights



BROTHER ZENGA ZENGA: Libyan leader, Muammar Gaddafi's animated speech soon after revolutionary calls hit the desert country has been the subject of much ridicule, especially on the internet. Gaddafi threatened to clean all of Libya and root out all elements demanding change. The author, however, demands "zenga zenga" for uprooting all causes of apathy in Zimbabwean politics. -flickr

and the discourses of the everyday and economic survival.

In this world, to speak of human rights, is sometimes a luxury and sometimes rights are a dirty word. Years of one-party rule have created the apt conditions for rights and freedoms to be traded off for the stability and security of the many, while some of the outspoken few, are booked and charged.

Stories of villagers being terrorised by soldiers patrolling the diamond fields of Marange in eastern Zimbabwe

are enough to scare off any revolutionaries dreaming of a Chimurenga-style uprising. But it's not only the very real obstacles of violent repression that could prevent Zimbabweans from fully catching the protest fever currently doing the rounds on the continent and the Middle East. The nation suffers from a grave illness: apathy.

It's difficult to cite books or social scientists diagnosing this to be the Zimbabwean condition but

Continued on Page 10

SADC said it best when it said nothing

From Front Page

the Namibia Summit's communiqué was in noting the presence of uncle Bob. This in itself says a lot in the context of the ZANU-PF agenda, which was to reverse the Livingstone Troika resolutions, intimidate the mediator and purge his facilitation team. That strategy fell flat on its face despite ZANU-PF deploying a strong delegation comprising Defence Minister Emerson Mnangagwa, negotiating minister Goche and Chinamasa and foreign affairs minister Mbengegwi together with bogus civil society outfits and members of the Youth militia's who clearly owed allegiance neither to Mugabe and ZANU-PF.

The bogus, ZANU-PF aligned civil society groups were led and comprised of one serial organization former, Goodson Nguni, who this time around was wearing four different hats depending on who he was talking to. From the Federation of NGO's (FONGO) which he formed in 2008, when the SADC Observer mission wanted to engage Civil Society, to the Civil Society Coalition he formed when the Kimberly Process Certification Scheme fact finding mission wanted to engage Civil Society in

2010, to the All Africa Associations of NGO's (AAANGO) which he claims to have formed in Lusaka two weeks prior to the Special Summit in Namibia, and a new formation which he called Zimbabwe Today, whose main weapon of engagement was a propaganda magazine which sought to blame the Movement for Democratic Change led by Morgan Tsvangirai for all the political violence in Zimbabwe.

SADC clearly showed that they would not be held at ransom by unreasonable submissions from just one of the three political parties in the GPA, which sought to reverse the Livingston resolutions through a cocktail of abuses on SADC, personal attacks on the mediator and threats that if ZANU-PF does not have its way it would withdraw Zimbabwe from SADC as it did with the Commonwealth.

By the end of the day on the 20th of May 2011, the leadership of the official ZANU-PF delegation retreated to Harare, celebrating the death of the SADC Tribunal which had been engineered by justice minister Chinamasa. A reading of the Communiqué from the summit - and the conspicuous absence

of Zimbabwe - showed that SADC is tired of baby-sitting Zimbabwe. And now, after spewing vitriol on president Zuma, soiling the name and reputé of Ambassador Lindiwe Zulu and her colleagues in the facilitation team, and calling everyone else in SADC naïve - ZANU-PF will now have to do it all over again in South Africa on 10 and 11 June when SADC leaders meet to exclusively discuss Zimbabwe with no cover from the issues of Madagascar.

One can only hope that the region will be steadfast in its resolve not to tolerate hogwash, and stand up to ZANU-PF. One also hopes that the issue of a meaningful road map to elections will be finalized, complete with a coherent time framed implementation plan with clear monitoring mechanisms from the regional body. The regional body must ensure that there are clear demonstrable steps towards the implementation of the SADC Troika resolutions from Livingstone, Zambia. That was the call of Zimbabwean civics in Namibia, and that will be their call in South Africa.

McDonald Lewanika is the Director of the Crisis in Zimbabwe Coalition.

The imperative and urgency of security sector reform in Zim

From Page 3

of Ministry of Home Affairs puts it, the peace and security of all Zimbabweans is the main driver of security sector strategies. In responding to this, section 13 2 (a) of the GPA advocates for the inclusion in the training curriculum of members of the uniformed forces of the subjects on human rights, international humanitarian law and statute law so that there is greater understanding and full appreciation of their roles and duties in a multi-party democratic system.

2. De-Party politicizing the security sector

In line with section 13 (1), there is need for the security sector to be de-party politicized. This is even more pertinent noting the historical relations, emanating from the liberation struggle,

between the security sector, ZANU PF Party and Government. Section 13 2 (b) calls upon the parties to the GPA to ensure that all state organs and institutions strictly observe the principles of the rule of law and remain non-partisan and impartial.

3. Security sector strategies

Zimbabwe also needs to review its security sector strategies with a view to embracing a human security as opposed to a state centric approach to security issues. This should be done in a participatory manner, whereby all stakeholders including civil society have a stake and their contributions are considered in re-shaping the future of Zimbabwe.

4. Supportive policies and laws

Zimbabwe does not need laws that restrict personal freedoms. Supportive laws and policies are the hallmarks of democratic and effective states. Laws such as the Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act, Public Order and Security Act, Miscellaneous Offenses Act and many others that had become handy to the security sector certainly needs to be reviewed.

The GPA acknowledges this. In the final analysis, as section 13 2 (c) stated: laws and regulations governing state organs and institutions should be strictly adhered to and those violating them be penalized without fear or favor.

Conclusion

Civil society in Zimbabwe needs to capacitate and challenge itself to take interest in

and influence the direction and substance of security sector reform. Some of the activities that civil society should perform include security sector strategy and policy analysis; international and foreign policy analysis; advocacy for legislative review and training of security officials in human rights, democracy and rule of law.

Security sector reform cannot be left to politicians alone. Lest we forget the experiences of yesterday and find ourselves in the same predicament!

Bob Libert Muchabaiwa is a Zimbabwean working for a regional organization based in Botswana. He writes in his personal capacity. This article, reproduced here with the author's permission, first appeared in the Newsday.

WANTED: Zenga Zenga in Zimbabwe



LIKE EGYPT, LIKE ZIMBABWE? Can scenes like these captured at Egypt's Tahir Square be replicated in Zimbabwe in the near future?
-daily mail.co.uk

From Page 8

personal lived experience suggests this is the case. To an extent, academics like Brian Kagoro and Glen Mpani, who have explored the reasons for Zimbabwean passivity and indifference, confirm this.

In their respective works, both researchers argue that the post-colonial condition of political apathy has its roots in decades of living under a one-party state. The multiple interlocking burdens of living under an increasingly authoritarian, economically regressive regime have resulted in a population which "normalises the abnormal" as a coping strategy. In other words, it's become so normal to hear of opposition members being beaten and jailed that it's hard to be concerned. Indifference makes it easier to be dismissive and say "it doesn't happen everywhere".

Because of this standard response, it's sometimes difficult for the "law-abiding" rich and poor to connect their economic woes to the absurd imprisonment and torture of someone or the shortage of medicines and medical expertise in hospitals.

This nationwide disorder combined with the terminal impotence of an ever fractious and frenzied opposition, which co-habits in a coalition government with Zanu, creates the perfect setting for pantomime-style elections to be held in 2012/3. Or, when time or health gets the better of soon-to-

be ninety Mugabe. Then our Comrade President shall declare the dates when violence and impotence take to the stage and battle it out in winner-takes-all parliamentary elections.

When Mugabe declared "we will not brook any dictation from any source. We are a sovereign country. Even our neighbours cannot dictate to us. We will resist that" in response to SADC's calls for an end to state-sanctioned aggression, he was right.

Only that "We" is the sovereign people of Zimbabwe, not "We" the sovereign party of dictation, Zanu, which is sometimes mistaken as a synonym for Zimbabwe. So the correct statement should be: "We, the people will not brook any dictation from any source. We are a sovereign nation. Even our leaders cannot dictate to us. We will resist that."

If any lessons are to be learnt from the Egyptian and Tunisian revolutions by Zimbabweans, it is that dictators can be overthrown by the people; security and stability be damned. But before any fantasies of popular uprising or ousting Zanu by the ballot can be organised by serious activists and non-one-hit wonder online revolutionaries or used as campaign rhetoric by a formidable opposition party (yet to be seen) Zimbabwe needs a zenga zenga revolution, to remix Gaddafi's words.

A revolution of conscience in every city, every street, every house, every village and every hut. Zenga zenga; every nook

and cranny must be cleansed of the viral strains of apathy that allow evil to flourish and culminate in an inability to equate human rights with the right to pursue prosperity and live in a relatively stable country.

If Zimbabweans truly want a change in the status quo or "no other but Zanu, but without the violence" as some desire, then it begins with this critical mass realisation. Legitimate desires for stability and prosperity can never justify indifference towards the unjust persecution of another Zimbabwean.

Just as the apolitical urban middle and working classes deserve to live in peace, so too do the villagers of Marange. As do praying parishioners. And White Zimbabwean, Zimbabwean Indian and Nigerian traders and business owners harassed in the name of indigenisation. As Zimbabwe continues to discover the highs and lows of 31 years of independence, may the spirits of past liberators bless her with the realisation that indifference to the suffering of others can be cured at the church of born-again humanitarians by St Conscience, the Empathic One.

Tendai Marima writes from the United Kingdom. This article first appeared on the Mail & Guardian's Thought Leader blog and is printed here with the author's permission.

Promoting housing on the transitional government's agenda

This article addresses the transitional government of Zimbabwe's role in providing adequate housing to its citizens in line with its domestic and international obligations to promote socio-economic rights, including the right to adequate housing as enshrined in the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (IESCR). Despite the efforts that the Inclusive Government is making in eradicating the housing problem, much more needs to be done to ensure that citizens (especially those in vulnerable groups) are not deprived of their basic rights, such as the right to housing.

Research has shown that when a community has ownership of housing, there is dignity, especially for women and children who are frequently marginalized. There is need for political will in order to address the housing crisis in the country. The government of Zimbabwe is a member of the international community and participates in a number of global urban forums (including the World Urban Forum (WUF) held every 2 years) and other like-minded platforms at UN, AU, and SADC platforms. It has also signed a number of human rights instruments including the IESCR- right to shelter (article 11) that places obligations on states to ensure that every person has a right to housing.

Since inception of the inclusive government in

February 2009, responsibility for the housing ministry is with Prime Minister Morgan Tsvangirai's MDC (Giles Mutseyekwa is current minister for National Housing and Social Amenities). There are attempts to address the bottlenecks that inhibit full housing delivery, but there is also need to look at other housing issues in the context of the gender dynamics, since more women than men are responsible for ensuring that their families are living in decent shelter. The key issues around women's rights to own housing is central in ensuring that they enjoy other basic rights.

Men have always been the key beneficiaries of housing as most of them are in the formal economy and through the traditional customs, they are able to own and control land and other properties. Zimbabwe is a signatory to SADC, AU, UN protocols that promote women's right to land. The Habitat Agenda also promotes equal access to housing for both women and men. Various organizations and movements have managed to engage women in the local government to ensure that these issues are addressed at policy level, though more needs to be done to ensure that concrete proposals are put in place, especially for women living with HIV & AIDS and Disability to have an opportunity to access decent shelter.

Various alternatives have been noted including the

formation of co-operatives to ensure that ordinary people have access housing, though it means that the members must be able to save a significant amount of funds to ensure that they access the housing and to buy building materials. This is ultimately related to the performance of the economy, and to the levels of income available to the working population.

The new constitution under construction should be able to address women's rights to housing, which also entails women's rights to own and control land, especially in the urban areas. Key issues that need to be addressed include:

- Land question
- Access to finance for housing
- Conducive environment for investment in housing
- Political will at local and central government level
- Transparency and accountability in the allocation of housing

With the ever growing population in the towns and cities around the country, there is definitely a greater need for the transitional government to urgently address the housing situation. This entails constant engagement with the various policy makers such as the Parliamentary Portfolio committee on housing and local government, Ministries of National Housing and Social Amenities, Women Affairs, Gender and Community Development, Finance and Eco-

nomic Planning and Land.

Advocacy on housing should be evidence based and concerned groups could be able to provide sound alternatives that will ensure that women, youths and other disadvantaged groups can access housing in their lifetime.

The housing agenda can only be addressed if other sectors of the economy are also fully functioning which will bring in revenue for public spending, including housing and other important infrastructure.

The recently discovered Marange diamond fields should have been the key solution to Zimbabwe's economic challenges, but unfortunately the issue has been politized and there is no accountability for diamond revenue. Civil Society should continue to advocate for national and local government budgets that are sensitive to people's needs, including to the right to housing.

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UPCOMING ACTIVITIES

> **Special SADC Summit on Zimbabwe, Sandton Convention Centre, Jo'burg, South Africa (11-12 June)**

> **Zimbabwe Week (hosted by Ditshwanelo, the Botswana Centre for Human Rights), Gaborone, Botswana. (6-10 June)**



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