



Retired Army Commander General Mujuru is no more

We have received credible reports that Retired army commander - General Solomon Mujuru (pictured) died on Monday night following an electrical fault fire at a farm house in Beatrice some 50kms south of Harare. General Mujuru was husband to vice president Joyce Mujuru and was widely considered a kingmaker and power behind his wife in her battle for succession which pits her against Defence Minister Emmerson Mnangagwa.

General Mujuru's death, whether suspicious or otherwise, will undoubtedly have a significant impact on the succession debate in ZANU-PF where

murmurings about Mugabe's retirement are gathering momentum. Initial reactions are that his death has greatly weakened his wife's faction, but it may well be that he may become more powerful after death - tipping scales of support in Joyce Mujuru's favour. General Mujuru a veteran of the liberation struggle, who is from Chikomba district, was viewed as a voice of reason within ZANU-PF who had close ties with business as well as perceived close ties with the MDC.

Mujuru's death puts the spotlight on the role of the military in Zimbabwe's political and civilian affairs once more. During his tenure as army commander, Mujuru refrained from

political interference although upon retirement he represented ZANU-PF in parliament for Chikomba constituency.

At the time of his death president Mugabe had not left Zimbabwe for Angola to attend the SADC Summit. It remains unclear whether Mugabe will cancel his trip to Angola to attend Mujuru's funeral which is most likely to be a state function with Mujuru being accorded national hero status to be buried with full military honours.

By Dewa Mavhinga, Regional Coordinator, Crisis in Zimbabwe Coalition



Zimbabwe Civil Society Position Paper to SADC on the Elections Roadmap

We publish below the position paper by Zimbabwe civils ahead of the SADC Summit in Luanda, Angola.

Date: 15 August 2011

Zimbabwe civil society groups under the Crisis in Zimbabwe Coalition banner make the following five submissions to SADC leaders on critical steps to prepare Zimbabwe to hold genuinely free and fair elections under conditions of free political activity without violence or intimidation:

1. Within the scope of its mediation mandate, SADC must ensure that there is security sector re-alignment and that there are guarantees that security forces will uphold the Constitution of Zimbabwe and uphold the rule of law or otherwise act impartially in the discharge of their duties without interfering in political and electoral affairs. Additionally, SADC must independently monitor and

satisfy itself that all soldiers unlawfully deployed across the country have been sent back to their barracks where they should be confined for the entire elections period.

2. SADC must push strongly for the full implementation of the Global Political Agreement (GPA) and the elections roadmap and ensure that key milestones such as constitutional review and a referendum are achieved before SADC pronounces Zimbabwe ready for elections.

3. In addition to deployment SADC Organ Troika representatives to participate in the Joint Monitoring and Implementation Committee (JOMIC), SADC and the African Union must provide for robust monitoring of Zimbabwe elections by monitors deployed at least six months ahead of elections and at least three months after elections are held to prevent state-sponsored violence and ensure peace.

4. On the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (ZEC) SADC must: □ Ensure that the Inclusive Government

of Zimbabwe has reviewed ZEC staffing to ensure non-partisanship, independence and professionalism in the discharge of their mandate

□ Ensure that, in terms of the law, ZEC is fully and exclusively empowered to invite, accredit and register both domestic and external election monitors and observers

□ Ensure that, through the SADC Secretariat, ZEC is adequately resourced to be able to discharge its mandate

5. State publicly that conditions for free and fair elections are currently absent in Zimbabwe and as such the country cannot hold elections in 2011 or before conditions for free and fair elections have been created and the environment has become conducive.

For More Information please contact: coordinator@crisiszimbabwe.org or mlewanika@gmail.com

The SADC season is upon us, again

A few days before the 31st Ordinary SADC Summit of heads of state and government in Luanda, Angola on 16 August 2011, Zimbabwe and its government leaders are preparing themselves for their almost quarterly slanging match in another country which is not theirs. Now there are assumedly many pragmatic reasons for why this is so. SADC being the guarantor of what is known as the 2008 Global Political Agreement (GPA) has a mandate to review progress of the same, even though it has stressed that being 'guarantor' does not imply ownership of the agreement. The GPA is in fact owned by the political parties that now comprise the inclusive government.

The general impression given by party statements and media reports is that at this latest scheduled summit, when it comes to Zimbabwe, matters relating to the electoral roadmap, media reform, sanctions, security services reform and constitutional reform will be tabled by the three principals. Once again SADC will look to the facilitator, President Zuma for a collective way forward on these matters. And once again, we will be told to 'finalise' all outstanding issues before the next SADC Troika meeting. This is not before Zanu Pf tries to get summit to replace President Zuma as facilitator on the basis that he is the incoming SADC Troika Chairperson, who if precedence is considered is the ini-



tial port of call for any complainants about the facilitation of the GPA. It is highly unlikely that this will be successful, save for causing an increase in political tension between the ANC and Zanu Pf parties.

I could try and predict further developments at the summit but that would be stretching it, and in any event, there shall be numerous other colleagues, analysts who shall be quoted in the media

as to the likely outcome of the summit. So the purpose of this article is instead, to place into context the what can only be described as the embarrassing quarterly event of having the Zimbabwean government explaining itself, not to its citizens but to the leaders of other people. Because our leaders in the inclusive government, though they may not be our individually preferred ones, have to be made

to account to us before they 'jet' off to try and outwit each other before their own peers it is necessary to place into perspective what issues they have not fully explained to us, the people of Zimbabwe.

In the first instance, the inclusive government has not publicly explained to us the full functions of the not so new National Security Council (NSC) and why the latter does not meet regularly let alone why it does not publicly explain its role. Neither has the President nor the Prime Minister indicated what structural issues must be addressed by the NSC. Instead what we have had via press reports are slanging matches either in defense or reprimand of individual army personnel. It is rather mysterious as to why a mere general can cause either the President to begin to speak on behalf of the entirety of the defence forces or the Prime Minister to address him directly, when there is the NSC and the Ministry of Defence. But these are issues that the inclusive government has decided to take to SADC.

In the second instance, the inclusive government has been politicizing the COPAC process which is supposed to effectively become the electoral road map. The current narrative of COPAC is fundamentally about money for various processes that the public has little knowledge

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SADC: Continue Push to Transform Political Power in Zimbabwe

A colleague recently remarked that the problem with Zimbabwe's political terrain is that remnants of the old, repressive region are power-drunk, and, unlike alcohol-induced stupor, this kind of drunkenness is a permanent condition that does not wear off after one night. Only concerted efforts to radically transform political power can loosen a dictator's death-grip on the nation. SADC leaders must now realize that a power-drunk regime will not transform political power on account of diplomacy or niceties, but only when confronted by a greater, combined force of SADC and the people of Zimbabwe.

I write this article from Luanda, the capital of Angola where I have joined a dozen civil society colleagues from Zimbabwe to lobby SADC leaders who have gathered here for their annual summit this week where the expectation is that SADC leaders will continue to build consensus around credible elections preceded by genuine, fundamental reforms. Our experience entering Angola has reminded us that it is no easy task to build regional consensus around human rights respect and democracy norms. Four Zimbabwe civil society leaders, namely myself, Crisis Coalition spokesperson Phillip Pasirayi, Elections Resource Centre Director Tawanda Chimhini and Zimbabwe Lawyers for Human Rights Manager Dzimbabwe Chimbga were detained at the Luanda airport for over five hours while officials went through our bags.

We were only let into Angola after state security and immigration officials confiscated over 300 reports on the political situation in Zimbabwe, on making a case against political violence and on the partisan role of the military in our political and electoral affairs that we had translated into Portuguese for advocacy at the Luanda SADC Summit. No reasons were given for the crackdown. We remain undeterred with an unshaken hope that a fully thriving democratic culture will soon be a reality in southern Africa.

For the umpteenth time Zimbabwe is on the SADC Agenda, with expectations that at least three reports will be delivered in matters related to it, namely, a report from the Zimbabwe Facilitator – president Jacob Zuma of South Africa, a report from the out-going SADC Organ Troika for Defence, Politics and Security and a report on the SADC Tribunal. Where many now feel fatigued and frustrated over little progress on Zimbabwe, we continue to painstakingly campaign for political change for the sake of the millions of ordinary Zimbabweans who yearn to return to normal life.

Staunch defenders of the fallen regime, which is now on its last legs, deliberately misunderstand the basis of our activism for justice, democracy and accountability. A case in point is a recent long-winding and largely senseless opinion in the Sunday Mail, ZANU-PF apologist and media hangman Tafatona Mahoso insinuated that when I met him in June in South Africa for another SADC Summit I had been 'embarrassed' about my role in advocating for reforms within our diamond industry with a particular focus on human rights abuses in Marange diamond fields.

For the record, it is with a sense of national duty, pride and patriotism that I and many other activists stand to advocate for human rights respect in Zimbabwe. If anything, it should be Mahoso who should hang his head in shame for defending the loot and plunder of Marange diamonds and lack of accountability for horrific human rights abuses that have, and continue to take place there. In service to country and to posterity we continue to plead with SADC leaders to help us achieve complete and thorough political reforms to ensure the freedom that enables every Zimbabwean to thrive to the best of their ability in their area of focus. It is a fact known by all, including those in ZANU-PF, that no

one believes the cheap propaganda about the so-called sanctions being the cause of our suffering or about a so-called righteous struggle against imperialist forces. Our struggle is simply about the freedom to choose a better future, a freedom denied us through a coterie of repressive laws administered selectively by partisan individuals masquerading as custodians of state institutions.

Ahead of the Luanda SADC Summit – from 16 to 18 August – Zimbabwe civil society leaders last week embarked on an extensive regional lobby initiative that included meeting president Zuma's Facilitation Team and the South Africa Ambassador to Zimbabwe. Representatives from Crisis

commitment to consult all stakeholders on the basis that the issues at stake, particularly elections, affect every Zimbabwean. However, they noted that the powers of the Facilitation team were limited to monitoring the GPA and to making recommendations on what can be done to restore normalcy to Zimbabwe. Other civil society leaders were simultaneously deployed to Mozambique and Botswana to meet with senior ministry of foreign affairs officials and to South Africa to brief civil society allies.

We are aware that ZANU-PF has been on a regional lobby mission ahead of the Luanda summit to solicit support for what appears to be its three-pronged offensive namely, to call for president Zuma to step down as Facilitator, to frustrate efforts to finalize an elections roadmap and to divert SADC attention by focusing on the tired and irrelevant sanctions issue. State media reports indicate that 'former liberation movements in SADC' meeting in Namibia where president Mugabe was last week, have endorsed the call for the immediate lifting of targeted sanctions slapped on president Mugabe and members of his inner circle. It appears ZANU-PF is prepared to go for broke by breaking consensus among SADC leaders, abandoning critical reforms and forcing an early sham election, possibly later this year.

The lame excuse for calling for president Zuma to step down as Facilitator is presumably because at the Luanda summit South Africa will become chair of the SADC Organ Troika with the effect that president Zuma will simultaneously wear two hats of Facilitator and Troika chair. This is a non-issue, president Mbeki was exactly in the same situation when he was appointed Facilitator for Zimbabwe and this did not affect his role. Also, there is in place an able Facilitation team, soon to be expanded to include representatives from SADC Organ Troika countries, which will report to Zuma.

ZANU-PF's three-pronged approach is primarily designed to divert attention from the very urgent issues of finalizing an elections roadmap that gives Zimbabwe the only real chance to transform political power to enable Zimbabweans to take their minds off political conflict and focus on innovation, economic development and prosperity. To replace the Facilitator now would effectively undo much of the progress made by SADC which culminated in the forthright Livingstone Organ Troika Summit resolutions of March 31. For this reason, Zimbabwe civil society leaders are strongly opposed to the replacement of president Zuma as Facilitator, particularly at this delicate stage of negotiations.

Our key message to SADC leaders meeting here in Luanda is that they should remain steadfast in their call for free and fair elections in Zimbabwe that take place under conditions of free political activity and in the absence of violence or intimidation. To achieve such an environment, it is necessary that the elections roadmap spells out measures to re-align the security sector, to return all soldiers currently deployed across the country back to their barracks, to finalize constitutional reforms and the referendum and to recruit afresh ZEC staff to ensure their independence, impartiality and professionalism.

Instead of entertaining frivolous arguments for the replacement of the Facilitator, SADC should endorse president Zuma's work on Zimbabwe and urge Zimbabwe's political leaders to speedily implement reforms that will take the country in a different political direction. The bottom line remains that, whether or not president Zuma remains Facilitator for Zimbabwe, given its economic and political clout in the region, South Africa will remain instrumental to achieving political reforms in Zimbabwe.

As they say here in Angola, it is Aluta Continua!

- coordinator@crisiszimbabwe.org

Coordinator's Note



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ZANU-PF has been on a regional lobby mission ahead of the Luanda summit

in Zimbabwe Coalition, the National Association of NGOs, Zimbabwe Election Support Network and the Women's Coalition briefed the Facilitation team on the volatile political situation that continues to prevail in Zimbabwe as characterized by arrests and harassment of civil society activists – notably seven Restoration of Human Rights activists arrested while protesting outside the High Court, ZANU-PF supporters' violent disruption of parliamentary hearings on the Human Rights Commission Bill and stalled Global Political Agreement (GPA) reforms.

The civil society representatives presented several documents with facts, figures and analysis of the situation and raised concern regarding the elections roadmap which so far does not address the need for security sector realignment, fresh recruitment of Zimbabwe Election Commission staff to ensure their independence and non-partisanship and the immediate end of all state-sponsored violence.

In turn the Facilitation team assured civil society leaders of its open-door policy and its

UPCOMING ACTIVITIES:

- > SADC Summit; Luanda, Angola (14-19 August)
- > Press Briefing: Zimbabwe Political Situation Update & CSOs SADC Summit Report Back; Jo'burg, South Africa (19 Aug - 11:00hrs)

Nora Tapiwa: warrior for peace and justice

When I made an appointment to interview Nora Tapiwa, I thought it would be just be one of those interviews you have to do during Women’s Month in order to fulfil your job quota. Yet, as I researched more about this phenomenal woman, I realised I was about to be in the presence of a great leader, albeit one who is not so famous. What inspired me the most was how she still manages to keep hope alive – against all odds. You may not have heard about Nora Tapiwa. That is because she is not a diva activist, she has nothing on her physical appearance that reveals the larger-than-life activist within her. When this shy-looking woman begins to speak, she transforms into a warrior of peace and social justice.

Nora is a family-oriented person who describes herself as a mother, grandmother, widow, banker by profession and lastly but not least an activist by passion. Actually on the day of the interview, she came with her two-year old grandson, Duncan. But she is evidently passionate about the work she does, working tirelessly with an unrelenting enthusiasm and all this without drawing a salary.

“I survive by God’s grace and handouts”, she says when I asked her about her lifestyle. Many people may not understand what she means when she says she survives by grace. She was widowed and left to raise two children on her own.

“It’s tough living as a parent in a foreign country, with no salary and with school fees for your children,” she says. I’m startled to realise that her voice does not have a single trace of pity in it. She is not looking for people to throw her pity parties. Rather, she is looking, continuously I must say, for more honest and sincere ways of resolving the crisis in Zimbabwe.

“I get value from making a difference to other people’s lives, especially those people at grassroots levels,” she says. If that value had a price tag, it would really be difficult to name that price considering the work Norah has done. Perhaps it would be appropriate to ask why women like her have not received widespread recognition in Zimbabwe and say South Africa where she now lives. She is one of the many unsung heroes in the struggle for a democratic Zimbabwe. Quite significantly however, Norah is not looking for any particular recognition for the work she has done.

“Recognition for what? I think it depends on who is supposed to recognise you. But we are not in this for the recognition. I don’t blow my own trumpet,” she says.

Far away from newspaper headlines and television appearances, Norah Tapiwa has led the fight for exiled Zimbabwean teachers, she was hugely involved in discussions with the South African government which have culminated in the documentation programme run by the Department of Home Affairs. A banker herself, she is reluctant to answer a question of whether she feels robbed that she has fought the struggles of other professions but no one seems to be fighting for her.

FAMILY WOMAN:
Nora Tapiwa is pictured with her grandson, Duncan.-
Levi Kabwato



“We have a leadership vacuum in Zimbabwe which must not be exported to the diaspora. Teachers were being deprofessionalised in the diaspora and we could not just sit by and watch so we engaged the South African government and they were allowed to teach at some schools. Teachers are the backbone of society,” she says.

This kind of activism did not spring to life in South Africa for Nora. “I was part of the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Union (ZCTU), and whenever we led a strike action, we would not get paid but I did it anyway because it was a small price to pay to improve our working conditions,” she reveals.

She also believes that activism is a calling and that it’s not for everyone, but insists that every Zimbabwe has a part to play in its liberation. “We are all like a bicycle wheel, one spoke cannot sustain the whole tyre so each Zimbabwean has a role to play in the fight for our restorations,” she says. Her stance is that Zimbabwe was liberated by people in the diaspora in 1980 and it still stands that Zimbabweans in the diaspora have the power to liberate their country again.

Nora left Zimbabwe in 2003 because she feared for her life and that of her two children. As she describes the situation that drove her from her house, tears well up in her eyes.

“I was not part of any political organisation but black-suited man came to my house and threatened me,” she speaks quietly. We can only speculate that is was her work in the workers unions that gained her notoriety with the state. She hasn’t been back in Zimbabwe since she left in 2003.

Within spaces of activism, it is usually forgotten that there are lives that have to be lived, families to take care of and homes to nurse and build. Obviously these always suf-

fer the moment you give yourself to the struggle. But with the culture of activism seemingly changing with people putting more emphasis on travel and per diems at the expense of work that transforms lives, those who still stand on hope alone – or the grace of God – may feel a sense of betrayal.

Yet, women like Nora will always stand as beacons of inspiration to women who have lost everything and have been victims of politically motivated violence. That she can still wake up everyday and stand up for the rights of the oppressed is not only a testimony of her strength, but also a revelation of what is lacking in our discourse as a people.

On the occasion of Women’s Month in South Africa, Nora is disillusioned. Her hope for women is that they will come a day when there won’t be a need for Women’s Day or Women’s Month. She believes that women are more passionate, and if they are empowered then a nation will be better off because after all, it is the woman who makes any house turn into a home. She does not see the relevance of commemorating days like these because there just hasn’t been sufficient awareness to stop violence against women in all its ugly forms.

Rather, she argues for more sustained resource mobilisation targeted at women to help them start their own enterprises and thus elevate themselves from poverty. “Women should not wait for things to happen but should make things happen”, she concludes.

By Regina Pazvakavambwa, Media & Communications Assistant in the regional office. Additional reporting by Levi Kabwato.

The SADC season is upon us, again

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of, while at the same time others in the inclusive government are literally indicating that after all is said and done, a new constitution will be negotiated by the now four political parties in the inclusive government. And where all political principals to the GPA indicate that they are not happy with the pace of COPAC they have not demonstrated any urgency on resolving the time-costing disputes. All that is continually referred to is the vague process of ‘uploading’ one thing or the other to a disputed database. In the third instance, there is continued lack of clarity on the issues of media reform, the human rights commission, electoral reform, not for SADC, but to the people of Zimbabwe.

At first the arguments in all of the three mentioned reform areas were about personalities and their assumed political affiliation. Then the arguments were about which ministry controls what and now it is disputation around the contents of proposed bills particularly with regards to the Human Rights Bill. Indeed in most of the disagreements there is the argument of the old against the new, and normally this is personified in the two main protagonists, Zanu PF and MDC T. Either way, there has been no clear explanations from the Ministries responsible in each of these areas as to the nature of progress on the issues at hand and the meaning of that progress to the Zimbabwean public. Each party to the inclusive government is now increasingly seeking the easier alternative, which is partisan, competitive and characterized by waiting to fawn before SADC and get their way at the expense of the other.

In the final instance, in all of this, the much vaunted ‘government oversight and accountability role’ of the Parliament of Zimbabwe is nowhere near being people/

PEN TO PAPER:
President Robert Mugabe (pictured on front page) and Prime Minister Morgan Tsvangirai signed an agreement to form a coalition government with SADC acting as a guarantor. This, however, has not made SADC wash its hands off Zimbabwe.-www.zimbabweinpictures.com



constituency centered when it comes to critical national issues such as constitutional reform, the National Security Council, electoral reform and media reforms. Of course our Honorable Parliamentarians will inform us that they have held public hearings and public meetings under the auspices of either COPAC or another relevant portfolio committee. This is well and good, but is thoroughly inadequate if Parliament is to play its oversight role. It rarely sits for full sessions. Where it does, motions are couched in the partisan language of respective political parties and principals and not in the public interest.

So, as it is, the SADC season is upon us. Our leaders will go to Angola, make their cases and come back with an answer that, as in the aftermath of previous summits, encourages them to run their country, our country, Zimbabwe. Except that after Angola, I am certain, the people of Zimbabwe will tell them, ‘ask us first! It’s our country too!’

Takura Zhangazha is a political analyst based in Harare. This first appeared on: <http://takura-zhangazha.blogspot.com/2011/08/sadc-season-is-upon-us-again.html>

THE COALITION GOVERNMENT OF ZIMBABWE MUST URGENTLY INSTITUTE REFORMS AND ENSURE HUMAN RIGHTS RESPECT

ACTION SUPPORT CENTRE/ZIMBABWE SOLIDARITY FORUM, CRISIS IN ZIMBABWE COALITION-REGIONAL OFFICE, SOUTH AFRICAN COUNCIL OF CHURCHES, SOLIDARITY PEACE TRUST AND HUMAN RIGHTS INSTITUTE OF SOUTH AFRICA AND THE CENTRE FOR CIVIL SOCIETY

Submitted to the government of Zimbabwe before the summit of the Southern African Development Community Heads of States and Governments, to be held in Luanda, Angola (14 - 19 August 2011)

MANAGING TRANSITION SEMINAR ON ZIMBABWE, HELD ON 30th JULY 2011, AT THE UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU NATAL, DURBAN

We the undersigned South African Civil Society participants and the Zimbabwean Diaspora attending the above-mentioned event wish to highlight civil society's grave concern at the lack of progress in the implementation of fundamental democracy and human rights reforms outlined in the Global Political Agreement guaranteed by SADC. We are concerned that the SADC mediation process has made little difference in the peace talks between the ZANU-PF and the two MDC formations in the quest to find a lasting solution to the Zimbabwean crisis.

We are disturbed about, and condemn unreservedly, the unacceptable use of torture and excessive human rights abuses by the state and its security apparatus in the context of calls for elections. Freedom of expression and open parliamentary processes and civil society activities remain threatened by increasing levels of violence and sporadic arrests of human rights defenders. The severity of the political crisis in Zimbabwe has reached unacceptable levels which require urgent corrective action by the government of Zimbabwe.

Impunity and absolute lack of accountability is indicative of the breakdown of the rule of law in Zimbabwe which contribute negatively to participatory processes that work towards instilling a culture of human rights, democracy and good governance.

We urge the government of Zimbabwe to fast track human rights progress in Zimbabwe and to act urgently on the following:

- End torture and all forms of violence or harassment of political and human rights defender's and create a climate conducive for free and fair national elections
- Restore the human dignity of the people of Zimbabwe and enable an undisturbed open democratic process for Zimbabwean people to define and develop policies that are owned and driven by all in an atmosphere of free political activity and peace.
- Desist from undue interference with freedom of expression and exchange of information including the media and in the CSOs platforms and parliamentary dialogues that increase awareness and foster progressive legislative frameworks respected by all state institutions with accountable mechanisms to promote the rule of law and good governance
- Work with the people of Zimbabwe including engagement of the Diaspora in dialogue to pave way for free and fair elections based on open democratic process enabling all Zimbabweans to vote including those in the Diaspora.

Thus done and signed on 30th July, 2011, at the University of Kwazulu Natal, Durban

The statement is endorsed by the following organisations

ACTION Support Centre/Zimbabwe Solidarity Forum, HURISA, Solidarity Peace Trust, SACC, Centre for Civil Society, A.L.M.I, Zimbabwe Artists, MDC S.A, CAXREP, ACC, Crisis Coalition in Zimbabwe S.A, TAM-CC, KZNCC, Diakonia Council of Churches, Freedom of Expression Network, SANCO

For more information please contact;

Sipho Theys (+27 11 4822-453), Corlett Letlojane (+27 11 492-0568) OR Dewa Mavhinga (coordinator@crisiszimbabwe.org)