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Further Electoral Commission Reforms Required

In any critical political transition relative to the management of credible elections it is important to address both the institutional and personnel inadequacies of the systems governing the process. Elections in Zimbabwe should not be reduced to a simple issue of free and fair because it has been argued that it does not do justice to the process which is far more complex than that.

In this regard, the personnel of the Zimbabwe Election Commission (ZEC) and the Registrar General's office should be subjected to public scrutiny with a view of increasing public accountability and transparency in the administration of the country's political systems relative to the administration of elections.

These two institutions and the individuals running them have been part of the crisis the country is faced with not forgetting the political players, the repressive or coercive apparatus and other institutions of consensual political hegemony such as the media, churches, compromised and Zanunised intellectuals and the arts sector.

Ms. Joyce Kazembe has been with ZEC since its predecessor the Electoral Supervisory Commission (ESC) as vice-chairperson of the Zamchiya-led ESC since 1996. Ms. Kazembe was involved in the 1996 presidential election in which Robert Mugabe was uncontested after the late nationalist Ndabaningi Sithole pulled out alleging electoral malpractices. Tobaiwa Mudede was also part of the electoral team as the Registrar of elections.

Kazembe was part of the 2000, 2002, 2005 and the 2008 violent, hotly disputed and sham presidential election run-off deemed not credible by Zimbabweans, the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and the African Union (AU) leading to the signing of the Global Political Agreement (GPA) that year and consequently the consummation of the Inclusive Government in February 2009.

During the last election, she was vice chairperson of ZEC, deputizing Brigadier George Chiweshe now, High Court Judge President. Chiweshe got promoted to the current post after running the sham polls in 2008.

In 2002 and 2005 elections



when Major-General Douglas Nyikayaramba promoted recently by Mugabe was the electoral Supervisory Commission chief executive officer, Kazembe was the deputy chair to Sobuza Gula-Ndebele.

It was during that period that Nyikayaramba recruited intelligence officers, soldiers and ZANU PF supporters into the secretariat of ESC now ZEC. Kazembe and Gula-Ndebele did not raise issues with a serving army general running an election in which his commander-in-chief, Mugabe, was a candidate. The 2002 presidential elections process and out comes were disputed on account of violence, arson and political murders as well as the involvement of the security apparatus outside the provisions of the Defense and Electoral Acts. It was a controversial victory for Mugabe that Kazembe and her colleagues presided over and declared free and fair. Why does she think that the public should trust her role in elections management under such circumstances?

What now boggles the mind are purely arrogant and misguided comments and outburst by Kazembe that ZEC secretariat was professional and there was no infiltration by the

security forces. Such kind of arrogance cannot be taken lying down.

The June elections were marked by everything that the Electoral Act forbids; political violence, abductions, enforced disappearances, deaths, arsons not to mention the delays involved in releasing the results of the presidential elections in March 2008.

ZEC under Chiweshe and Kazembe did not see everything that the majority of political players, ordinary citizens, SADC and the AU saw; that the elections were not credible. They went ahead to announce that the sole candidate, President Mugabe won but the victory was shameful and unacceptable hence the inclusive government.

I would now take further my argument and postulate that it is not only ZEC staff that cannot administer credible elections but some of the commissioners like Joyce Kazembe should be excused totally from running elections not because we have hard evidence of wrong doing but her continuous association with a failed body, failed intuition casts doubt about her suitability as a public electoral management figure.

Maybe it would be im-

portant for Kazembe to tell Zimbabweans what motivates her to remain in such a discredited institution for this long? Is she not bothered that her name is now associated with electoral intransigence, manipulation? Has she not had enough of the job having been there for more than a decade now? Why and what motivates you Joyce to remain in ZEC, is it the love of your country? Answering such questions could help fellow citizens to appreciate your love for the job.

These same questions should equally be asked to Tobaiwa Mudede, the Registrar who has been there for a longer period. Apart from the 1980 elections Mudede has been involved in the administration of elections since 1985.

I argue for democratizing the electoral management bodies and the removal of personnel associated with blocking democratic transition by failing to administer electoral process in a credible manner. When dealing with political transitions, it is important to learn something from the theory of elite continuity so that there are no face powder changes that fail to produce desired institutional re-

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Zimbabwe Needs Strong, Democratic Institutions

Coordinator's Note



Dewa Mavhinga



If the Zimbabwe Republic Police and Military political leadership are willing and committed, they have the capacity to investigate and apprehend perpetrators of political violence and bring justice to victims.

The struggle to establish and nurture multi-party democracy in Zimbabwe has at its core focus on building strong, democratic institutions with capacity to meet the needs of the people of Zimbabwe. The need for democratic institutions is dire given the total failure of the political system that has been in place over the last thirty years which have led to genuinely democratic institutions becoming almost extinct in Zimbabwe.

Instead of running the country through democratic institutions, governance was based on partisan and compromised individuals elevated above the institutions that are supposed to serve the interests of the people. Where there should be a competent, professional and non-partisan judiciary over the years, particularly since the year 2000, we saw a compromised or cowed judiciary unable to stand up to the executive that trampled on the basic rights of Zimbabwe during elections, during the chaotic land grab process and during the destruction of shelters and sources of livelihoods under the operation *Murambatsvina*. Instead of establishing a genuine public media that defends the interests of Zimbabweans, government inherited a partisan and pro-ruling party media from the Rhodesian Front and used it to serve the partisan Zanu PF interests. Today, state-owned media behaves like a Zanu PF mouth piece while denying other political parties equal access to it. ZBC TV and radios frequently play

Zanu PF jingles that border on hate speech and other propaganda while refusing to receive and air paid-for adverts from other political parties like the MDC or ZAPU. Our struggle is for equality in a multi-party environment, not to pursue a rejected and discredited one-party-state ideology.

The Zimbabwe Electoral Commission, despite having new commissioners agreed to by the political parties in the coalition government, is still staffed at the administrative level by individuals whose independence and non-partisanship has been

Through the overuse of the phrase the anatomy, meaning and true nature of the Zimbabwe crisis has been lost. I will attempt here to reveal by separation of parts and constituent elements, what lies at the heart of the Zimbabwe crisis. Partisan national institutions are responsible for the miscarriage of justice and the breakdown of the rule of law or the subversion of it in the country.

I say subversion of national institutions is at the heart of the Zimbabwe crisis because it is not a failure to uphold the rule of law that is the problem in our country, but a clear unwillingness, on

their duties." If the political leadership is able to translate this article into practice then Zimbabwe's democratic transition will be successful.

Without the full restoration of the impartiality and independence of national institutions, any attempts to find common ground and forge a national identity will be futile. Focus should now be on forging a national vision and identity that transcends ZANU-PF or other political party affiliation. Prime Minister Morgan Tsvangirai was right to challenge senior military officials not to engage in partisan politics while in uniform and in telling them to take off the uniforms before getting into the politics arena. Vice President Joyce Mujuru was also correct to call for the depoliticization of all national institutions.

Whether one belongs to this party or that party should not matter at all and should not, above all, be a cause for conflict. I belong to the Methodist Church in Zimbabwe, for instance, but I do not go about asking what church colleagues belong to before engaging them. It matters not whether it is Family of God, ZAOGA, Makandikwa's flock or Guta Ra Jehovah; many churches, but one faith. We should learn to celebrate our diversity and to leave in peace and harmony with our different political parties and churches.

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“State organs and institutions do not belong to any political party and should be impartial in their duties.”

brought into question. It is not enough to have professional commissioners with a compromised staff implementing their policy decisions. Unless the staff serving ZEC becomes professional and non-partisan, then the Electoral Commission cannot be viewed as an independent and non-partisan commission. For an extended period of time Zimbabwe has experienced a multiplicity of challenges that have received intense attention and analysis to levels where the phrase 'Zimbabwe crisis' has virtually been reduced to a cliché.

political grounds, to do so. If the Zimbabwe Republic Police political leadership was willing and committed, they have the capacity and resources to investigate and apprehend perpetrators of political violence and bring justice to victims. Unfortunately respect for the rule of law is one of the victims of subverting national institutions.

Article 13 of the Global Political Agreement stated notes that: "State organs and institutions do not belong to any political party and should be impartial in

Culture, democracy and good governance: Relooking the African Leadership Paradigm

Have you ever paused to think of how the traditional African Culture may be affecting the African continent issues around democracy and good governance? Well, last week I had an interesting time reflecting on this and I thought it would be a fascinating reflection to share. The way the African people are socialized to view leadership, leadership succession and terms of office is one that is deeply rooted in chieftainship and it seems as though despite the acculturation over many years, we still hold dear to the values we have on the aforementioned issues. Not that it is a bad thing to hold onto principles and values that belong to a people but it is also an essential bit of existence that we learn from some cultures and take with us into our very own culture that which we think will enhance our being. Let us see what this might mean for us!

The African mind is taught that leadership should be distant and that leaders should be strict, “uncommon” and tough. This has resulted in a high level distance kind of interaction with our leaders in government and thus the lack of relationship. This also has meant that we get to “interact” with the so called honourable when he or she is electioneering (at least in the Zimbabwean con-

text). What this simply means is that for most of the people, they do not get to understand what exactly it means to hold leaders accountable who they have elected into office - after all, they are high and mighty, way up there for the ordinary person

the term of office and succession in as far as the African Traditional culture is concerned. In this aspect, leadership is in light of family lineage and also has to do with targeted and defined structures that are privy to the respective family. Moreover, if

psychology is then transferred to any office that an individual will hold and when looking at democracy and good governance, this presents many challenges. What does this mean?

Firstly, this means that people of this mind set - the traditional African context - will hold onto power no matter what it takes so as to ensure they “protect” what they deem to be rightfully theirs. This has resulted in many African nations suffering from poverty and many other mishaps because leaders are being selfish at the expense of a whole country and its people. Moreover, it means that many leaders in Africa will seek many terms of office because at the back of their heads, once one is a leader; only death can be the way out. Moreover, they do not have clear succession plans because all that will be figured out when they die! If Africa is going to be transformed, there needs to be a fusion of the traditional culture and the global trends so that we achieve true democracy and good governance....just think about it in your very own context and start making that small difference!

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Grace Chirenje-Nachipo

to comprehend. This has in the need resulted in many of these “honourables” becoming a little less honourable and people failing to hold them accountable in as far as their office and community development is concerned (in this regards, community means even a whole nation). Two other key issues to note here are

one is not of that family lineage then the chances of inheritance, succession and leadership are almost always taboo. After all if they include any one else that is not within the lineage, then the wealth they have worked so hard to amass will be a benefit to misfits! This being said, the same

Joyce Kazembe, the Five Elections and Mudede

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newal. As reforms take place at the institutional level, it is also important to make sure that the elites that give oxygen to repression and electoral malpractices also pack their bags if they are not willing to reform, have a new political culture of transparency and democratic accountability.

In these state institutions such as ZBC and state-run newspapers, ZANU PF like the Rhodesia Front staffed them with party surrogates who do hatchet and shameless work in support of a dysfunctional and illegitimate political elite singing for its political super. The party workers in these institutions and their ideologues who masquerade as commentators in newspapers, radio and television are so shameless to the extent that they have failed to show their distinction from the operations of colonial institutions that some of



them claim they fought against. These

At the centre of the storm: Tobaiwa Mudede and Joyce Kazembe



continuities pointed above also replicates themselves in ZEC and

the Registrar-General’s Office. What the other elements do at ZBC, Broadcasting Services Authority of Zimbabwe (BAZ) where Tafataona Mahoso is conducting sham and partisan license adjudication and awarding ZANU PF aligned personalities and institutions such as Zimpapers who work hand and in gloves with ZEC when it comes to making sure that the political elite of ZANU PF continue holding illegitimate power. These are well crafted and thought out processes by the ZANU PF intellectuals to entrench themselves in power bar the will of the people.

By Pedzisai Ruhanya (PhD Candidate, Media and Democracy, University of Westminster, London)



I have been reading a historical account of Zimbabwe's liberation struggle and the rise of Mugabe by one of Zimbabwe's most decorated war heroes, Wilfred Mhanda in his book Dzino: Memories of a Freedom Fighter. On page 25 is the following interesting revelation about Zanu PF spin-doctor, professor Jonathan Moyo: " Jonathan Moyo, for example, made two escape attempts from Mgagao [a ZANLA military training camp based in Tanzania], of which the second was successful and took him back to Rhodesia from where he made his way to the United States in 1976-77."

please email comments on this revelation to Dewa - coordinator@crisiszimbabwe.org

This month on the 21st president Mugabe turns 88. Last December Zanu PF at its annual conference endorsed him as its presidential candidate in the next elections which they are pushing to be held in 2012 with or without adequate electoral reforms.



"To achieve meaningful political transformation and change in Zimbabwe it is necessary to have regime change first. Without regime change reforms will not come."

Do you agree? please send comments to Dewa - coordinator@crisiszimbabwe.org

Outstanding Democratic Reforms in Zimbabwe: an idea whose time and champions have come!



Tabani Nyoni

There has been curiously an intense (alternative) media and public debates in Zimbabwe around the expiry of contract terms of service chiefs and their eligibility for the contract renewal. This is more than a legal debate; it's a politically contested one too. Only the alternative (independent) media has covered this as a public interest issue. The latest on the issue is that the President Robert Mugabe and Prime Minister Morgan Tsvangirai met for a crunch meeting on Tuesday (February 6, 2012) to discuss several issues relating to the implementation of the GPA and the re-appointment of police commissioner general Augustine Chihuri. Only civil society and/or a section of the inclusive government (two MDCs) have been calling for service chiefs' ouster. ZANU PF section of the current government and its controlled state media has ignored this issue, a usual strategy for agenda denial. This debate is just but the tip of the iceberg in understanding the broader debates around the blocked democratic transition in Zimbabwe.

This debate comes barely a week after civic groups from Zimbabwe led by Crisis in Zimbabwe Coalition, sought audience with targeted AU leaders and offices in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia to lobby the AU on the need for "reforms before elections in Zimbabwe". The identified specific reforms were the media, electoral and legislative reforms as well as a new constitution. A look at all these reforms reveals that should they see the light of the day, they will in many ways drastically alter the role and influence of Zimbabwe's security sector in Zimbabwe's politics. Expected outcomes would also include depoliticiz-

ing the military and the police, realigning these institutions so that they are non-partisan and owe allegiance to the constitution of Zimbabwe. Consequently, this would mean citizens having greater access to a public sphere that regulates of associational life. It would expand and democratize this valuable space in the society where citizens should congregate freely to discuss issues of common interest (including political interest of regime change if they so wish). This is important, particularly because this space is institutionalized to regulate the state by influencing political, economic and social life.

The capacity of this space (through organized citizens and/or civil society) to monitor and criticize the current inclusive government's adherence to the democratic practices as expressed in the provisions of the Global Political Agreement has been diminished. There still exist in Zimbabwe today a number of structural, institutional and attitudinal arrangements that enhance the state's capacity to prevent its citizens from discussing moral and political issues, especially those that scrutinize the state's conduct or analyze the validity and effectiveness of its power distribution. One specific example of these is the notorious Public Order and Security Act (POSA), which has been criticized for being more of a re-enactment of Rhodesian Front's LOMA (1960), a legal instrument used by the colonial government to suppress organized citizens against colonialism and for independence.

Even in independence Zimbabwe, this Act has been inherited former freedom fighters to provide for significant restrictions in freedom

of expression, freedom of assembly and movement. Under this POSA, civic society groups and opposition political parties have suffered under the exceedingly wide and far-reaching powers given to the police to take any measures to suppress public meetings. This scenario has assisted or has been assisted by Zimbabwe's politically partisan police that often use this provision under the Act to restrict organizations considered to be critical of government from organizing meetings.

On many occasions, Bulawayo Agenda has been denied police clearance to hold its meetings and the excuse given has been that they are a "political organization". Just last week this organization took the Matabeleland North police, the Commissioner-General Augustine Chihuri and the Home Affairs co-ministers Kembo Mohadi and Theresa Makoni to court as respondents and were granted and interim order barring police from prohibiting the stated meetings. The order also declared that the "actions of the responsible authority do not depict any cogent grounds and therefore unlawfully prohibited the public meeting to applicant intended to convene." In a landmark statement worth noting, the magistrate further ordered "the police, its agents or anyone acting under police instruction, to stop disturbing or interfering with the civic body's workshop to be held at Matshabalala Hall on Saturday." Despite this order, the police further disrupted the proceedings of this meeting when it was finally held in total defiance of the court order!

There are many reasons for this. Sections 15 and 16 of POSA give the police authority to take away the citizen's right to freedom of speech and freedom of expression guaranteed by a number of international instruments. One specific example is Article 10 of the Human Rights Convention. POSA's provisions that criminalize the "publication/communication of statements, which may be prejudicial to very broadly defined state interests and the publication, or communication of information that may be deemed defamatory and/or cause the public to defame the president", violate this convention. Citizen victims of this provision include a Roman Catholic Priest Fr. Mnkandla whose case is still in the courts. He is being prosecuting for daring to hold a church memorial service in honor of the victims of the state sponsored Gukurahundi atrocities in Silwane village of Lupane. It appears this church gathering exposed some of the state sponsored 1983 bru-

tal killings of innocent citizens in Matabeleland that claimed 52 people from that said village, including 10 family members that were burnt to death in the same hut! It therefore does not become difficult to understand why the police and the whole security sector are essentially seen as both a hostage and a political institution. In one of the numerous incidents, in June 2011, a senior member of the Zimbabwe National Army, Brigadier – General Nyikayaramba declared that, "ZANU PF and state security were inseparable." Barely six months later, he was promoted to the rank of Major General!

Citizens must understand how much this state of affairs is detrimental to the common good of all citizens of this country. Free social, economic and political interaction helps individuals to develop socially, to shape their identities, to foster values suitable for democracy, and to learn to deal with conflict in productive ways. Moreover, civil society should be understood as training ground that "grooms" citizen, prepares them for civic participation and political engagement. Sociologists in social change theory advance the notion that ideas take the center stage and people remain the audience. In fact, the legendary Victor Hugo succinctly captures it when he notes "There is one thing stronger than all armies of the World, and that is an idea whose time has come." It is this idea of a democracy that gives citizens their space that has been resisted by ZANU PF and the security sector "with all the vigor of antibodies attacking and intruding virus." This is not surprising; this idea whose time has come threatens to make alterations to the "power, prestige, position and satisfaction with who they are, what they believe, and what they cherish." This explains why ZANU PF has created a siege mentality and this, to justify its perpetuation of the war agenda on a section of its citizenry that demands an accountable and legitimate government.

David Bornstein notes that "if ideas are to take root and spread, therefore, they need champions – obsessive people who have the skill, motivation, energy and a bullheadedness to do whatever is necessary to move forward: to persuade, to inspire, seduce, cajole, enlighten, touch hearts, alleviate fears, shift perceptions, articulate meanings and artfully maneuver them through the system." My observation is that in Zimbabwe today, the civic society leaders, community leaders, opposition political party leaders, church leaders, traditional leaders have chosen to be the champions of the idea of a better Zimbabwe. A better Zimbabwe is one where citizens are assured of surviving cholera, typhoid, and HIV and AIDS. A country where citizens enjoy the dignity of being born as a human being, a nation where the security of citizens is the prime existence of a political regime and its instruments of force, that is a glimpse of the idea of a better Zimbabwe, an idea whose time and champions have come!

Tabani Nyoni is an activist. He also serves as Spokesperson of the Crisis in Zimbabwe Coalition



One Continent, two 'African Unions'

The failure by the African Union to elect a new chairperson for its Commission on January 30 this year points to a seriously divided continental body. Had this been an election merely based on the popularity or campaign skills of the two candidates (Mr. Jean Ping and Ms. Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma) it would not warrant analysis beyond its own occurrence.

Unfortunately for us, as Africans, it has greater ramifications for the current and future context of the AU and other sub-regional bodies such as SADC, ECOWAS and EAC (East African Community). It is also a development that has had the added consequence of embarrassing Africa in the world by casting doubt on the ability of our African leaders to recognize the seriousness of the challenges the continent is facing.

Furthermore it indicates an unfortunate leadership deficit at the highest level due to the AU's failure to arrive at consensus on as basic an issue such as who should chair the Commission (a body which to all intents purposes is meant to be run by general consensus of member states)

So now, there shall have to be second round of voting in June 2012 at the Malawi AU Summit. While it is yet to be seen whether Jean Ping and Dlamini-Zuma will again be considered as candidates, it is almost certain that their camps will be the more mobilised to ensure that their proxies acquire the chairperson-ship.

The closeness of the vote, (29 for Ping, 23 for Dlamini-Zuma in the third round) indicates that a compromise candidate is well-nigh impossible for either camps, unless it is literally a statesman/woman of great respect on the continent (such leaders are becoming extinct). The reason for this is that it seems there are vested interests in either candidate that are informed by both a 'new scramble for Africa' [1]

and its attendant 'falsely universal liberal intervention' doctrine from the West. This is particularly true for the

the African Union even though this does not mean they did not exist before. It had to take the election of an



Ping camp which has been referred to as being dominated by former French colonies.

On the other hand, the Dlamini-Zuma camp, which is distinctly dominated by Southern and East African countries, is informed (surprisingly so) by the Mbekite African Renaissance project (though they won't admit it), which has as its dictum, 'African solutions for African problems'. This approach has been revived by what is now seen as the embarrassing ouster and murder of Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi with the direct assistance of NATO and the consent of the African Union. It is also an approach that has the backing of Russia and China who are involved in their own 'new scramble for Africa'.

So as it is, it appears as though there are now two versions of

AU Commission Chairperson for the divisions to become more apparent. In the process, Africa has now allowed itself to continue being a hapless battleground for the global powers, with either side of the AU playing to one superpower gallery or the other.

It is however the consequences of a sharply divided AU that are depressing. In the first instance, it means that for the next five months, Africa will not speak with one voice when it comes to addressing continental and global challenges such as the crisis of global capitalism, human rights, the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and climate change. Even if there was to be agreement on paper on issues such as the Somalia famine and war, there will be limited political will to put such plans into action.

As a result the five or so months until the next elective AU summit are going to be preoccupied by lobbying trips on the part of the 'two AU's' to try and get their new candidates endorsed by the majority votes required. This lobbying will also involve regular communication and currying of favours with (if not visits) either the West or the East.

The second negative effect of the divisions in the AU relates to the global impression that African leaders are incapable of doing things on their own and must therefore be 'assisted' to overcome their problems and challenges. The reinforcement of this perspective is reminiscent of the colonial narratives of the 'dark continent' which is there to be 'enlightened', can only learn from the West and simultaneously be exploited for its natural and human resources.

All of this will be couched in a language of 'universalism' that has as its base the false assumption that Africa's historical trajectory can only now follow the path of the West and as some western academics put it, arrive at the liberal democratic and free market 'end of history'.

But perhaps there is a silver lining to the cloud that is hovering over the continent at the moment. And this silver lining is premised on the possibility that after this recent AU summit, our leaders will reassess the damage they are doing to our continent and get their act together by the time they meet in Malawi in June this year. And we can only hope that at the Malawi AU summit, they will recall the words of the great Kwame Nkrumah, 'Africa Must Unite!'

By Takura Zhangazha, an independent political and social commentator. This article can also be accessed via: takura-zhangazha.blogspot.com

MMPZ condemns media commission's plan to ban foreign newspapers



The Media Monitoring Project Zimbabwe is shocked by the news that the Zimbabwe Media Commission intends to ban the importation and distribution of foreign newspapers not registered with the ZMC.

According to news reports, ZMC chairman, Godfrey Majonga, said the publishers of foreign newspapers circulating in Zimbabwe had been given notice more than a year ago of its intention to stop such newspapers from coming into the country if they had not registered with the commission in accordance

with the provisions of the Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act (AIPPA). Now Majonga says the ZMC will enlist the assistance of the police to enforce this gag on independent foreign media.

MMPZ is disappointed that instead of living up to its declared mandate to promote "a free and diverse media environment" in Zimbabwe by campaigning for the repeal of this archaic and repressive piece of legislation, it has instead, chosen to implement its suffocating and undemocratic provisions to stifle im-

portant alternative sources of information.

The ZMC's decision to deprive citizens of their constitutional right to freely choose their sources of information is a flagrant violation of Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which states that "Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression," including "the right to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontier."

Once again, the real purpose of establishing the Commission – to control all media activity and restrict the public's access to independent sources of news – has been exposed and underlines the urgency with which this inclusive government needs to implement media law reform, starting with the repeal of AIPPA. This notorious piece of legislation offends all the fundamental international and African protocols on the peoples' right to freedom of expression and their right to seek, receive and impart information without interference.

<http://www.mmpz.org/category/advocacy/submissions-presentations/mmpz-condemns-media-commission%E2%80%99s-plan-ban-foreign-newspapers>

MMPZ is a member of Crisis in Zimbabwe Coalition