

# ZIMBABWE BRIEFING

a crisis in zimbabwe coalition regional office weekly report

11 - 18 July 2012

ISSUE 82



## What About Us?

Over the past few months all focus has been on political developments in Zimbabwe and the decisions and actions of senior political leaders. Even now the focus is back on the indigenisation programme led by ZANU PF and hotly contested by the MDC parties and the revolting Reserve Bank Governor Gideon Gono. The issue of the stalled constitutional process and the debate on the next election date seem to have sucked all the energy from political parties who appear struggling to identify their next agenda. What about us is the question that ordinary Zimbabwe's would ask under these circumstances as fundamental economic issues remain unresolved, hunger and food shortages persist, shortages of schools and deteriorating educational standards persist, shortages of water, electricity and basic service delivery are getting worse.

It is profound that even as the Government of National Unity parties talk about diamonds revenue, this discourse is not taking place in the realm of what is due to the people of Zimbabwe, service delivery, health etc, but simply a political contestation of who gets what and how. It is equally sad that the GNU has failed to deal with pathetic salaries paid to civil servants hence undermining government business and efficiently through absenteeism, unprofessional conduct and negative approach to government business. At the same time those connected to the system are living large on diamond, gold and tender monies all ill-gotten and all benefiting a few.

The ordinary Zimbabwean is struggling in understanding and mapping out the future. There is no sense of hope that the political impasse will be resolved soon more importantly that the economy would improve any time soon. On the contrary the few remaining companies are either closing or scaling down throwing many people into the streets. The hustling that is going on at almost every corner in the city centre tells a sad story



*A nurse mixing salt and sugar solution for Budiro suburb residents in Harare 2009 during the cholera outbreak.*

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*A car stuck in a pothole in Simon Mazorodze street of Harare*

of desperation on the part ordinary citizens, many people are living by and for the day and cannot afford to send their children to school nor meet medical

costs. Thanks to the Ministry of Health for doing away with maternity fees in all government hospitals, yet the question remains, is there enough medi-

cines, are there enough hospital beds and medical staff?. In this respect many people are dying needlessly from treatable illnesses because hospitals and clinics do not have medicines.

The what about us question is more critical now as Zimbabweans are now hostage to the political elite that fails to focus beyond its own interests. The long drawn struggle on the new constitution and election timetable and reforms is an indicator of the deterioration in our politics that goes to the heart of the matter that is egoistic and selfish political leadership.

Politics in Zimbabwe has descended to having nothing to do with citizens to everything to do with politicians and their personal concerns. As many go without electricity, transport, schools, healthcare, food, you name it, all these are provided for politicians. Politics has since ceased to be about our issues but simply about power. This brings in the question on the role of CSOs under this situation and what needs to be done. Again the question is not so much simply piling information on citizens but mobilisation, networking and building sustainable relations with communities

It is time that CSOs and citizens define and create their own agenda on the impasse in Zimbabwe and mobilise citizens to address these issues. What are the implications of urban residents organising to collect garbage on their own and directing rates paid to the city council towards that effort?

What are the platforms that we can create to make demands on education, the hunger stalking millions, deteriorating roads and police corruption? This period, when politicians are in an unholy pact to take care of themselves, is the right moment for CSOs to organise citizens to equally take care of themselves.

*David Mutomba, a Zimbabwean Journalist and Activist*



# Indigenization Policy a Euphemism for National Asset-Stripping

Indigenization of at least 51% of ownership of businesses has, through General Notice 280 of 2012 been extended to cover all important sectors beyond mining to include finance, tourism, entertainment, energy ser-

set politics that a change of government is imminent, and as such, there should be a looting spree now, before change comes. The next government will inherit a shell of a country.

where those in power now want to loot everything and leave nothing behind. For the sake of posterity this must be resisted in this transitional period. As a colleague recently explained, it is not that Zanu PF is so strong that

proach, just as the bulk of the army is opposed to a partisan and politicized military leadership. It is crucial that this observation be publicized, so that the world knows that it is not a formidable, united force that we are fighting, but a disjointed, fractured force driven largely by greed and kleptomania.

To illustrate the depth of fault lines among Zanu PF allies, a representative of the Affirmative Action Group, Keith Guzha, recently condemned the indigenization policy and pointed out that it was not benefiting ordinary Zimbabweans. It would be interesting to establish the identity of those individuals benefiting from the indigenization policy. A quick look at the diamond industry reveals that diamonds are for those closely connected to the military and to Zanu PF, and not ordinary citizens. Repeatedly, finance minister Tendai Biti has complained that there is absolutely no accountability for diamond revenue which is not getting to treasury.

Perhaps it is high time the pro-democracy movement gets its act together and rallies around a common call for accountability in the interests of current and future generations. A national, peaceful march in protest against the loot and plunder of national resources would be a good starting point to pressure the political elite to act in the genuine interest of all Zimbabweans. *Dewa Mavhinga, Regional Coordinator, Crisis in Zimbabwe Coalition*

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Mike Campbell Left, Ben Freeth (right) and their homeless workers on their farm in Chegutu, Zimbabwe after their farm was forcibly and violently taken.

vices, transport, communications and education.

This euphemism for national asset-grabbing driven by Zanu PF minister Saviour Kasukuwere is designed to enrich a few in a way that will trigger the collapse of the economy. This policy has been fiercely resisted not only by the pro-democracy movement, but, interestingly enough, by staunch Zanu PF allies including Reserve Bank Governor Gideon Gono. Referring to the banking sector, Gono recently accused Kasukuwere of seeking to interfere with the sector when he had presided over bank that collapsed due to mismanagement. There is a sense, among certain elements within Zanu PF engaged in sun-

A similar approach was used regarding to so-called land reform program the led to a collapse of the agriculture industry when the political elite grabbed for themselves multiple farms which were not properly utilized. Despite the SADC-brokered Global Political

it is able to get away with such damaging policies, but the pro-democracy movement is weak. And, as another colleague pointed out, this transition will be as strong as the pro-democracy movement. There is need now to raise the stakes to challenge the loot and plunder

***There is a sense, among certain elements within Zanu PF engaged in sunset politics that a change of government is imminent, and as such, there should be a looting spree now, before change comes. The next government will inherit a shell of a country.***

Agreement directing that there be a comprehensive land audit to expose these multiple farm owners, such moves have been fiercely resisted. It a scorched earth policy –

approach that is taking place in the name of the people of Zimbabwe.

A number of individuals in Zanu PF are opposed to loot and plunder ap-

## UPCOMING EVENTS

The Southern Africa Development Community Council of Non-Governmental organizations (SADC-CNGO) in collaboration with the Fellowship for Christian Councils in Southern Africa (FOCCISA) and the Southern Africa Trade Unions Coordination Council (SATUCC) is pleased to confirm the dates of the 8th Southern Africa Civil Society Forum that will take place on the 6th to the 9th of August 2012 in Maputo at Pestana Rovuma hotel. The Forum will start at 1600hours on the 6th of August 2012 and conclude at 1100 hours on the 9th of August 2012.

Ethiopia, Addis Ababa is hosting the 19<sup>th</sup> Africa Union summit. The Summit is running under the theme Boosting Intra-Africa Trade and the summit will be running from the 9<sup>th</sup> to the 16<sup>th</sup> of July 2012.

The National Assembly of the Republic of Mozambique will be hosting the SADC Parliamentary Forum's (SADC PF) 31st Plenary Assembly of the Forum from 09 to 16 July 2012 at Hotel Polana in Maputo.

Mozambique will be hosting the SADC Summit in Maputo on the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> of August 2012. This will be preceded by the Council of Ministers Meeting on the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> of August.



## Inbrief Around Zimbabwe

### Parliamentary Debate on The Human Rights Bill and Amendments to the Electoral Act

The minister of justice, Patrick Chinamasa (Zanu PF) is expected to steer through parliament this and next week the Electoral Act Amendment Bill (EAAB) and the Zimbabwe Human Rights Commission Bill (ZHRCB). Both bills were introduced in parliament last year.

The Human Rights Commission Bill seeks to operationalize the Zimbabwe Human Rights Commission and to define its mandate and powers to investigate human rights abuses from 13 February 2009 going forward while past abuses to another institution that will need to be established on the recommendation of the Organ on National Healing, Reconciliation and Integration, like a Truth, Justice, Peace and Reconciliation Commission. The UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, Ms, Navi Pillay, following her visit to Zimbabwe last May warned that there should be no impunity for past abuses but agreed that an institution separate from the Human Rights Commission should be set up to deal with past abuses.

### Zimbabwe Speaker of Assembly in Mozambique for SADC Plenary Session of National Parliaments



*The Speaker of House of Assembly, MDC-T National Chairperson, Hon Lovemore Moyo*

MDC- T National Chairperson and the Speaker of the House of Assembly, Hon. Lovemore Moyo is in Mozambique for the 31st plenary session of the SADC Parliamentary Forum. The session will be running from the 9<sup>th</sup> to the 16<sup>th</sup> of July 2012. The Plenary Assembly meets twice a year for decision making with a representation of 6 members of parliaments from the member countries.

The plenary session will be held under the theme “Strengthening Parliamentary Democracy” and it seeks to ensure greater parliamentary role in enhancing participatory democracy and good governance in SADC. The the most important objective of this session is to transform the Parliamentary Forum into a legislative authority.

### South Africa’s Dlamini Zuma Up to Challenge Jean Ping for AU Top Post

South African Home Affairs Minister Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma is set to once again challenge Gabon’s Jean Ping for the leadership of the African Union this week.

The Africa Union’s elections are to be undertaken at the 19<sup>th</sup> AU Summit currently underway in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. The last elections in January 2012 ended in a stalemate with neither Jean Ping, who has held chair since 2008 nor Dlamini able to garner the required two thirds majority despite several rounds of votes.

### State Security Mounts Crackdown on Activists

COTRAD and WOZA activists have been the latest target of a crackdown on activists by state security agents. Last week 13 CO-

TRAD activists and 9 WOZA activists were arrested for conducting demonstrations.

5 of the 13 COTRAD activists were granted bail by a Masvingo Magistrate. In a communication distributed yesterday COTRAD reported that offices have been raided and besieged by heavy handed police officers led by D.C Mauka and Chavanhu from the Masvingo Law and Order department.

In a desperate bid to build a case against the activists, the police in both cases embarked on a desperate attempt to press fresh charges never included in the initial allegations including accusing COTRAD activists of burning down a court building.

### Finance Ministry set for Mid-Term Financial Review

The Finance Minister, Tendai Biti is expected to deliver the country’s Mid-Term Financial Statement. Parliament’s sitting calendar has been extended to put in extra July sittings this week and next week to accommodate the Ministers statement and also discussions on legislative amendments.

The Financial statement is expected to reveal the ailing economy’s large budget deficit which analysts believe will most likely lead to a substantial cut in expenditure which will directly impact on the issue of civil service salary increases and the availability of funds by the government to purchase shares of companies under the intensely disputed indigenization drive.

### Zanu PF not Partaking in JOMIC Activities

Jomic co-chairperson Thabitha Khumalo (MDC-T) confirmed that Zanu PF has not been attending Joint Monitoring and Implementation Committee (JOMIC) meetings countrywide with Zanu PF citing disagreements the parties had in Mashonaland Central as the cause for the rift.

JOMIC is a product of the Global Political Agreement entered into by the three parties in government with the principal aim of implementing and monitoring implementation of the letter and spirit of the GPA.

### The Fear

“The most dominant force affecting the daily lives of Zimbabweans at the moment is fear. We live in fear of physical harm, material deprivation, discrimination and fear of exclusion in the community and national participation.

The irony of this is that even those responsible for dispensing this



*President of Mavambo, Dawn Kusile , Dr Simba Makoni*

fear on the whole nation are themselves living in fear. Living in fear of losing their power and privileges but more importantly the are living in fear of an uncertain future." Dr Simba Makoni, former Zanu PF Politburo member quoted in the Daily News, 11 July 2012

# Interrogating Zimbabwe's Indigenization and Empowerment Discourse

The indigenization and empowerment discourse has been characterised by policy discord and ambiguity within government. This is more glaring in the public spats between the Reserve Bank Governor, Gideon Gono and Minister of Youth Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment, Saviour Kasukuwere and of late Education Minister David Coltart. It is the contention of this paper that the nature, form and content of the transformation pushed Gono and Kasukuwere are too limited.

Chief among the weaknesses of the approaches of the models proposed by the two are

- (i) both approaches treat the question of transformation as an event/project,
- (ii) elite targeted and thus marginalizes the underprivileged classes,
- (iii) obsession with equity and ignore the aspect of empowerment and
- (iv) informed by plunder and greed.

Transformation is (i) a process and should be viewed as a package, (ii) should also target the underprivileged classes, (iii) should seek to harness entrepreneurship, and (iv) create more wealth and opportunities for the nation. The rationale of indigenisation and economic empowerment lies in historical justice issues and the need to create social cohesion, but the model pushed by Minister Kasukuwere has been more obsessed by equity and at the same time hollow on the mechanics of share transfer. The question it has failed to answer are who does it really target and how is it done? There policy discord and disillusionment in government. Obsession with equity/ownership negates the aspect of empowerment.

Whilst equity maybe achieved, wisdom from nations that have successfully transformed their economies indicate that ownership without capacity is hollow. Dr Mahathir Mohammed (former Prime Minister of Malaysia) in a Foreword of Duma Gqubule's book *Making Mistakes, Righting Wrongs: Insights into Black Economic Empowerment*, in reference to South Africa warns that, "The New Economic Policy and affirmative action plan have provided the opportunities. However without the right value system, the training and consequent growth of self-confidence and



*Minister of Youth, Indigenization and Economic Empowerment, Saviour Kasukuwere [Zanu PF]*

even in the best of system and with the best of intentions will not empower the indigenous people". It therefore has to be understood that the question of indigenisation and economic empowerment are a package that needs to look beyond the question of just Africanising the corporate sector. There is also the question of value system, training and business culture that needs to be looked into if indigenisation is to be a success. This calls for an integrated ap-

proach that has to include academic and research institutions, business and civil society. government position says that diamond mining is a 50/50 venture. There is need to push for indigenisation that seeks to harness and nature entrepreneurial spirit of those that aspire to go into business.

Thabo Mbeki in his State of the Nation Address of February 2005, argued that; "South Africa's collective future depends on the ability of all our people to understand that the success of black South Africa is condition-

***Developing winning and transformative policies is process that requires heavy investment in thought, national cohesion, collaboration and coordinating.***

***Indigenisation should thus not be about cutting and dishing the cake, but creating more, bigger cakes.***

proach that has to include academic and research institutions, business and civil society.

Developing winning and transformative policies is process that requires heavy investment in thought, national cohesion, collaboration and coordinating. Indigenisation should thus not be about cutting and dishing the cake, but creating more, bigger cakes. Regrettably it seems like we are failing to learn from history and the malaise in Chiadzwa and Chimanimani where the Chinese and Russians now own most of the diamonds through various syndicates whilst the indigenous communities remain marginalized. For instance in Chiadzwa, the Chinese company Anjin owns close to 90% of the diamond operations despite that the official

al on the success of white South Africa, and that the success of white South Africa is conditional on the success of black South Africa". Similarly this has much semblance of truth for Zimbabwe that the success of economic reform is intricately and symbiotically linked to all the races in it. In a bid to transform the Malaysian economy and increase the stake of indigenes Dr Mohammed posed that, "Can indigenous Malaysians acquire the work ethics of the Koreans, Japanese and Chinese?" His answer was, "yes, they can if they are prepared to apply themselves diligently to whatever they are doing or wish to do." This was achieved through (i) putting a premium to education and skills training, with 25% of the national budget being allocated to education and training

(ii) skills training provided at all levels (iii) encouraging indigenous people to change their work culture through work camps and teaching of entrepreneurial values and skills. These lessons from Malaysia clearly show that transformation has to be a package that goes beyond just targeting equity.

Similarly Singapore offers similar lessons to Zimbabwe. According to Lee Kim Yuan its founding president, after gaining independence they had national dialogue and set a vision on how to transform their country from a third world to a developed nation. They identified a niche which they could tap into. One key niche was within the world financial system, where they discovered that there was an 8 hour gap where the world financial system did not operate. They worked around the cloak to harness this opportunity and occupied that gap. This was complemented by various systems of modernizing Singapore, heavy investment in education, courting foreign direct investment and promoting a new culture and dedicated leadership. Today Singapore is a developed nation and on of the key epicentres of the Global Financial System.

Indigenization and empowerment are complex matters that need crafty policy makers and must go beyond half-baked approaches. There is also need for national dialogue to set clear targets and goals with set time frames that may be evaluated and re-adjusted to stay in line with national priorities and objectives. More so the how part of it has to be spelt out clearly, and at the same time provide adequate support and incubation. Government needs to realise the value of civil society, private sector, university institutions and research institutions in crafting a comprehensive indigenisation process as well investing in new thought leadership. There is need for the government to revisit the question of transformation, learn from its past mistakes and invest in creative thinking that unlocks value and potential.

*Tamuka Charles Chirimambowa (Political Economist)*



# Zimbabweans Deserve Our Solidarity in Their Hour of Need

One of the perennial questions, which will loom large at this summit is the Zimbabwean crisis. This crisis, which goes back to the year 2000, will need a Promethean action from the heads of state and government. It is time to deliver now. In this regard, it was refreshing, during Botswana President's recent visit that President Hifikepunye Pohamba made the pertinent point that instability in one of the country's of the region affects the region as a whole. Here we must give our President full marks because this observation fits the Zimbabwean crisis like a glove.

We can state without any fear of contradiction that the long running crisis in our neighbouring country has not only caused a drastic decline in the economic fortunes of that country but also occasioned human insecurity and an incessant political paralysis. True, notionally there is a Government of National Unity (GNU) but this appears to brew more conflict than the business for which it was created in the first place which is to prepare the country for free, fair and credible elections. SADC is the guarantor of this process, which is intended to return the country to normalcy beyond the present "marriage of inconvenience". It is for these reasons that the August summit provides our leaders with yet another opportunity to grasp the nettle of difficult choices in the Zimbabwean drama.

This past week a delegation of Zimbabweans under the banner of "Crisis in Zimbabwe Coalition" visited our country to interact with a cross-section of Namibians on obstacles in the way of implementing the Global Political Agreement (GPA), which is SADC's roadmap to elections in that country. These interlocutors were from government, political parties and civil society. The purpose of their visit was to implore us all to exercise whatever influence we have over Harare to stop the haggling over the incomplete process of constitution drafting and move with deliberate speed so Zimbabweans can commence with the important business of elections. After all that is what the GPA is all about; and which GNU should be working towards single-mindedly.

For us in Namibia, Zimbabwe is not a distant problem. It is our important neighbour but also a



Secretary General of Congress of Democrats in Namibia, Tsudao Gurirab

country, which was there for us in our hour of need. Harare was a site of many key meetings from which emanated key declarations on the liberation struggle in southern Africa. Zimba-

It is for these reasons that the SADC summit of next month should not only take stock of the (slow) pace of the implementation of GPA in Zimbabwe but crucially bring the process

***We can therefore not afford to be consumed in our false self-importance to forget the important values of solidarity and the duty to care. Zimbabwe presents us with an African problem we cannot afford to wish away. As a matter of fact the numerous protocols we signed up under SADC commit us, as a region, to make it our business and require of all parties to play ball.***

bwe's plight is, therefore, our business. In this case we have no option but to be our brothers' keepers.

We can therefore not afford to be consumed in our false self-importance to forget the important values of solidarity and the duty to care. Zimbabwe presents us with an African problem we cannot afford to wish away. As a matter of fact the numerous protocols we signed up under SADC commit us, as a region, to make it our business and require of all parties to play ball. Our failure to act and act decisively provides room for others with ulterior motives to get involved and render outcomes which serve their rather than our best interests. We have witness so much of these on our continent recently that it will be foolish of our leaders to allow the unnecessary drift in Zimbabwe.

back on track so as to conclude the constitution making as soon as possible. It is therefore important that this summit brings all Zimbabwean principals of GPA to re-commit themselves to GPA's full and unfettered implementation. This will allow for early elections, hopefully, next year, which will give that country a government with a clear mandate of the electorate. This will put an end to consuming so much time on trivia and the government can begin to address the backlog of development and challenges of human insecurity, which have become the hallmarks since 2000.

It is for these reasons that the visit of the "Crisis in Zimbabwe Coalition" to our country was of benefit to us all. In the manifold crises popping up daily on the continent our leaders and our regional institu-

tions have a choice: either they can be relevant by genuinely helping to seek solutions for our problems or we can adopt the infantile position of forever being bystanders. The world is not going to stop waiting for us to rise from our slumber. They will impose their solutions and move on with the business of living. And it is perhaps for this reason that the putative election of Dlamini-Zuma to the head of the moribund AU must be a welcome development. Our own regional organisation – SADC- will also only survive and be of relevance to the extent that it is in tune with the demands of our citizens and able also to grasp the rapidly changing global environment. It cannot continue to be an old boys club (our apologies to President Banda) where they regale each other with latest chicanery to perpetuate their staying power in office. The upcoming SADC summit may be crucial for this and many other reasons to turn around the ship of Zimbabwe before it sinks faster than the Titanic. The visit by the "Crisis in Zimbabwe Coalition" group again makes the point that the leaders of the region will need to hear the many voices and actors interested in an immediate resolution of the Zimbabwean situation. And as they pack their bags for the summit, the leaders will do well to remember that SADC's intervention is not a life support system for one or the other political interest. The essence of the SADC Treaty signed here in Windhoek in 1992 is to mould common values for all in the region. These values, among others, include governments elected through free and fair elections. It is for this reasons that as citizens of SADC we are all guarantors of the Zimbabwean national indaba. We believe our leaders will therefore act in the best interest of our people. We are all Zimbabweans

By: Tsudao Gurirab

First Published in The Namibian Newspaper 10 July 2012