



Vereinigung

Schweiz-Zimbabwe

Swiss-Zimbabwean Friendship Association

Rundbrief / Newsletter Nr. 57, Mai 2011

Editorial

Im letzten Editorial im November-Rundbrief schrieb ich, dass die Bevölkerung aufatme, weil die Gewalt weg sei - ein erfreuliches Resultat der gemeinsamen Regierung von Zanu-PF und MDC. Die relativ friedliche Phase dauerte leider nicht lange und heute ist die Gewalt wieder zurück. Friedliche Demonstranten werden von der Polizei auseinandergetrieben; Leute werden verhaftet und im Gefängnis gefoltert; Versammlungen werden von der Polizei gestört und die TeilnehmerInnen verhaftet.

Nach zwei Jahren gemeinsamer Regierung ist die Ernüchterung gross. MDC-Führer und Premierminister Morgan Tsvangirai sagte in einer Rede am 15. Februar, dass kein einziger der 23 Punkte der gemeinsamen Regierungserklärung bis jetzt umgesetzt wurde. Trotzdem sieht er auch positive Seiten der gemeinsamen Regierung. Diese habe Stabilität gebracht, die Wirtschaft sei angekurbelt worden, Schulen, Spitäler und Verwaltung hätten die Arbeit wieder aufgenommen und in die Infrastruktur sei wieder investiert worden. Ein grosses Problem ist nach Tsvangirai aber nach wie vor die Haltung von Armee, Polizei und Geheimdiensten, die sich immer klar für Mugabe und die Zanu-PF ausgesprochen haben und MDC jede Anerkennung und Respekt verweigern, sowie die vom Staat kontrollierten Medien, die ebenfalls nur für Mugabe arbeiten. Und heute gibt es eine zunehmende Polarisierung zwischen den Parteien in Regierung und Verwaltung, die alles lahm legt.

Zur Erinnerung

Jahresversammlung 2011:
Samstag, 25. Juni, in Luzern (s. Einladung)

Der Diskussionsprozess zur Erarbeitung einer neuen Verfassung, auf den die Bevölkerung so grosse Hoffnungen setzte, ist nie richtig in Gang gekommen und von Zanu-PF sogar aktiv behindert worden. Viele Organisationen der Zivilgesellschaft verlangen nun die Aufnahme dieses Prozesses. Und für alle ist klar, dass Wahlen erst nach Abschluss der Verfassungsreform durchgeführt werden dürfen, auch wenn Mugabe auf die rasche Durchführung von Wahlen drängt. Dieser Ansicht ist auch Südafrikas Präsident Jacob Zuma, von der SADC eingesetzter Vermittler zwischen MDC und Zanu-PF. Viele hoffen, dass SADC und Zuma einen Weg aus der verfahrenen Situation finden.

Vor allem auch kirchliche Kreise drängen darauf, dass trotz aller Schwierigkeiten die gemeinsame Regierung weiter geführt wird und dass alles daran gesetzt werden müsse, die 23 Punkte der Regierungserklärung umzusetzen. Sonst drohe wieder Gewalt und Chaos oder ein Militärputsch. Andere Kreise sind der Ansicht, dass schon heute Militär, Geheimdienste und Polizei die wirkliche Macht im Land ausüben. Und Mugabe von ihnen nur noch zur Beruhigung des Volkes vorgeschoben werde.

Zimbabwe ist reich an Diamanten, Gold und Platin. MDC-Finanzminister Biti versucht, zu verhindern, dass der ganze Erlös in die privaten Taschen von Ministern und Militärs fliesst, indem der Geldfluss nach dem Verkauf transparent gemacht werden soll. Eine bestechend einfache Lösung, die eigentlich schnell umgesetzt werden könnte.

Grosse Unruhe in die Wirtschaft bringt die Weisung von Mugabe, bis im September die Aktienmehrheit aller Unternehmen auf ZimbabweInnen zu übertragen. Alle fragen sich, wer diese Transaktionen bezahlen kann - es ist ja gar kein Geld vorhanden. Mugabe will dies durch Übertragung von Rechten an Minen abgetten.

In diesem Rundbrief bringen wir unter anderem neben den Berichten über das Leben, über die Wirtschaft und über die Zivilgesellschaft auch einen eindrücklichen Bericht über die Plünderung der Ressourcen von Harare und anderen Städten und über das neu erwachte Engagement der Kirchen gegen Gewalt und für die Einhaltung der Menschenrechte.

Gertrud Baud, Mitglied des Vorstandes

Inhalt

Editorial	1
Plünderung der Ressourcen von Harare usw.	2
Dafür haben wir unsere Jugend nicht hergegeben	4
SADC inspires hope - ZW on brink of calamity	6
Mugabe behind army action	8
ZW children: lost generation or future leaders?	9
Women: facts and general information	10
Who is accountable?	10
SADC ZW summit dead in the water	11
Wirtschaft: Platinum: new investors; diamond output up at Rio; Shabani and Mashaba mines; gold giant; miners appeal to Parliament	11
Beziehungen mit China: Chinese trade facility; China drives tobacco recovery; China-Zim ties	13
Kirche: Hirtenbrief der katholischen Bischofskonferenz; Ready to Lead? - Battle for the future of Zim	15
Woza: on new constitution; march for love in Byo; statement on constitutional reform	18
Gewerkschaften: stop political violence	20
Jahresbeitrag, Impressum, Unsere Quellen	20

Die Plünderung der Ressourcen von Harare und anderen Städten

In einer noch nie dagewesenen Orgie von Selbstbereicherung plünderten im Verlauf des vergangenen Jahrzehnts korrupte Stadträte, Kommissäre und Politiker in Zimbabwes Hauptstadt Harare und anderen Städten hunderte von Millionen Dollar öffentlicher Mittel, Land und andere Vermögenswerte, während gleichzeitig der öffentliche Dienst in den verschiedenen Gemeinwesen zusammenbrach.

Umfassende Nachforschungen und Untersuchungen durch ZimOnline, einschliesslich des Studiums von Ratsprotokollen und Prüfungsberichten lassen erkennen, dass nur schon Harare mit zwielichtigen Immobiliengeschäften und Verträgen um mehr als 100 Millionen Dollar betrogen worden sein könnte. Die Geschäfte wurden durch Kommissionen abgewickelt, welche der in der Zentralregierung für das „Local Government“ zuständige Minister, Ignatius Chombo, ein früherer Universitätsdozent, illegal eingesetzt hatte. Seit seinem Eintritt in die Regierung hat sich Chombos Vermögen vervielfacht. Das eindrucksvolle Portfolio an Liegenschaften in den städtischen Agglomerationen Zimbabwes, das er sich in dieser Zeit angeeignet hat, wirft viele Fragen zur Herkunft dieses Reichtums auf. Eine von Harares Stadtregierung eingesetzte Untersuchungskommission ist diesen Fragen nachgegangen. Sie bestätigte die schlimmsten Befürchtungen der Bewohner, nämlich, dass einflussreiche Politiker um Präsident Robert Mugabes ZANU PF Partei mit ausgesuchten Wohn- und Industrie Standorten bedacht wurden, für welche sie wenig oder gar nichts bezahlten.

In einem exemplarischen Fall hat Phillip Chiyangwa, ein Geschäftsmann und Mugabe Verwandter, der sich brüstet, mehr als einen Drittel Harares zu besitzen, 2008 mit der Stadt einen Landabtausch vorgenommen. Er tauschte seine sumpfigen 17 Hektaren Land in der Nähe von Chitungwiza gegen ein Grundstück der Stadt im feudalen Vorort Gun Hill. Doch anstelle der vereinbarten 10 Hektaren in Gun Hill erhielt Chiyangwa auf betrügerische Weise 17 Hektaren. Der Stadt Harare entstand dadurch ein Schaden von 525.000 Dollars. Bestrebungen der vom Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) geführten Stadtregierung, den betrügerischen Geschäftsmann festzunehmen, blieben ohne Erfolg. Stattdessen verhaftete die Polizei den Bürgermeister Muchadeyi Masunda und die Stadträte, welche die Untersuchung durchgeführt hatten, und klagten sie krimineller Verleumdung an.

Doch das umstrittenste Geschäft, mit dem das Rathaus bisher konfrontiert worden ist, betrifft die Vergabe des Auftrags für den Bau der Autobahn, welche das Zentrum der Stadt Harare mit dem Harare International Airport verbindet. Sie ging ohne Ausschreibung an die in der Ukraine domizillierte, aber in Estland registrierte „shelf company“ Augur Investments. Nachforschungen von ZimOnline haben ergeben, dass Augur das umstrittene Projekt, das 60 Millionen Dollar kosten soll, der Stadtregierung für 87 Millionen Dollars offeriert hat. Gemäss Quellen aus dem Rathaus dient die Differenz der Finanzierung von Bestechungsgeldern für höhere Regierungsmitglieder und Beamte der Stadtregierung, welche den Abschluss des Geschäftes gefördert hatten. Als Teil der Vereinbarung

erhält Augur zudem 733.9 Hektaren Industrieland in der Nähe von Harare zum Preis von 52.3 Millionen Dollar, obwohl unabhängige Schätzungen dem Land einen realen Wert von 76 Millionen Dollar zumessen. Der Differenzbetrag soll bar ausbezahlt werden. Gemäss Vereinbarung sollte Augur im Weiteren die gesamte für den Bau der Autobahn benötigte Maschinenausrüstung der Stadt Harare übereignen. Entgegen den vertraglichen Bestimmungen hat Augur indessen selber keinerlei Maschinen zur Verfügung gestellt, sondern die südafrikanische Power Construction als Unterakkordantin eingesetzt.

Verwaltung und Korruption

Die Spur korrupten Handelns in Harares Stadtregierung lässt sich zurückverfolgen bis zur Amtszeit des verstorbenen ersten Bürgermeisters Solomon Tawengwa. Wegen Bestechung und Betrug im Zusammenhang mit dem Bau einer Fussgängerbrücke und eines Bus Bahnhofs im Machipisa Einkaufszentrum im armen Vorort Highfield sollte dieser im März 1999 entlassen werden. An seine Stelle setzte Chombo, in seiner Eigenschaft als amtsältester Minister for Local Government, eine Kommission unter der Leitung von Elijah Chanakira. Nach Aussagen von Bewohnern und kritischen Beobachtern war dies der Beginn von Korruption und Veruntreuung öffentlicher Ressourcen und Vermögenswerten im grossen Stil. So ist die Chanakira Kommission unter anderem verantwortlich für Schulden von 8 Millionen Dollar in heutiger Währung sowie für die Einstellung von 600 ZANU-PF Anhängern für 600 gar nicht existierende Arbeitsstellen.

Aufgrund erfundener Anschuldigungen veranlasste Chombo im Jahre 2003 die Entlassung von MDC Bürgermeister Elias Mudzuri. Tatsache ist hingegen, dass Mudzuri entlassen wurde, weil er einen Vertrag aufhob, mit welchem die Chanakira Kommission den Harare Geschäftsmann und ZANU-PF Mitglied Macdonald Chapfika ermächtigte, aus Zambia Chemikalien zur Wasseraufbereitung zu importieren, obwohl die Chemikalien hätten lokal beschafft werden können. Mudzuri wurde anfänglich durch seinen Stellvertreter Sekesai Makwavarara ersetzt, der später zur ZANU-PF überlief und alsdann mit dem Vorsitz einer anderen Kommission betraut wurde. Diese Kommission vergab Wohnbau Parzellen an höhere Regierungsbeamte und ZANU-PF Mitglieder, oft zu reduzierten Preisen, obschon die Empfänger nicht auf den Wartelisten der städtischen Wohnbaubehörde standen. Harare hat mehr als eine Million Wohnungsanwärter.

Doch unter der Kommission, geleitet durch Michael Mahachi, die im Übrigen vom High Court als illegal erklärt worden ist, erreichte die Korruption neue Dimensionen. Mahachi, ein Rechtsanwalt, war Mitschüler Chombos im Kutama College. Die beiden sind Freunde bis zum heutigen Tag. Mahachi war der führende Kopf im Landabtausch mit Chiyangwa und einer anderen Transaktion in welcher Chiyangwa 17.6 Hektaren Land in Glen Lorne und Hatfield erhielt im Austausch gegen Fahrzeuge und Zimbabwes Dollar für Arbeiterlöhne im Jahre 2008. Dies zu einer Zeit grassierender Hyper-Inflation! Ein Untersuchungsbericht, veranlasst durch das City Council, hält diesbezüglich fest: „Man wundert sich, wie unsere gebil-

deten Beamten dazu kamen, Löhne gegen Land zu tauschen in einer inflationären Periode, in welcher der Zimbabwische Dollar an Wert verliert, während sich Land aufwertet.“

In einem krassen Fall von Interessenkonflikt und möglichem Betrug war Mahachi einerseits Projektleiter der Augur Investments und andererseits Vorsitzender der Harare Stadtkommission. Nach verschiedenen Quellen war er Chombos Vertrauensmann im City Council mit der Aufgabe, die Bewilligung des Geschäftes betreffend den Autobahnbau zum Flughafen voranzutreiben. Mahachi legte seine Interessen indes erst offen, als er sein Amt als Vorsitzender des City Councils niedergelegt und das Land bezeichnet hatte, das an Augur zu transferieren war. Die Mahachi Kommission wird auch genannt beim umstrittenen Verkauf von Baulandreserven der öffentlichen Hand in Glen Lorne an damalige Regierungsmitglieder. Oppah Muchinguri, zum Beispiel, erhielt 3'000 m² zu einem Zehntel des Kaufpreises und Rugare Gumbo im gleichen Zusammenhang 2'500 m². Auch hohen Beamten der Armee wurden in Glen Horne Wohnbau Parzellen zu Schleuderpreisen zugesprochen - kaum 200 Dollar für jeweils 2'000 m². Das alles war möglich, weil Mahachi die illegalen Anweisungen Chombos befolgte und Baulandreserven zur freien Verfügung an die Regierung übertrug. Dieses Land im Wert von 35'000 Dollar war reserviert für den Bau von Schulen, Spitälern und Polizeistationen.

Auch Gemeindebehörden ausserhalb der Hauptstadt blieben von der Korruption nicht verschont. Im Jahre 2008 kaufte der damalige Bürgermeister und heutige Gouverneur von Mashonaland Central, Martin Dinha, in Bindura den Amtssitz, den er bewohnt hatte, für mickrige 40 Dollars. Dieses Haus ist mindestens 70'000 Dollar wert. Der frühere Stellvertreter des Bürgermeisters von Chegutu, Phineas Mariyapera, ein ZANU-PF Funktionär, wird in einem Revisionsbericht der Regierung erwähnt wegen Unterschlagungen im heutigen Gegenwert von 4 Millionen Dollar. Er wurde nie angeklagt. Die frühere Stadt Red Cliff verkaufte an Chiyangwas Pinnacle Properties ein Wohngrundstück von 200 Hektaren zu 0.17 Dollar pro Quadratmeter, weit unter dem ordentlichen Preis von 3 Dollar - ein Schaden von 5.6 Millionen Dollar für Red Cliff.

Chombo, ein Mann mit vielen Eigenschaften
Analysten sagen, Chombo sitze zuoberst auf der Korruptionspyramide. Er habe immer rasch gehandelt, wenn es darum ging MDC Bürgermeister zu entlassen, die seinen Interessen hätten gefährlich werden können. Er setzte willkürlich Kommissionen ein und besetzte diese mit ihm ergebenen Mitgliedern. Durch solche Manipulationen habe er die Ratsgeschäfte in seinem Sinne beeinflussen können. Seine Kritiker sagen, der frühere Universitätsdozent habe sein Amt dazu missbraucht, durch Korruption Liegenschaften zu erwerben. Besonders in Harare war er dafür bekannt, sich solcher Machenschaften zu bedienen. 2008 kaufte Chombo im vornehmen Vorort Helensvale ein öffentliches, für ein Naturreservat bestimmtes Grundstück von 20 Hektaren. Um dies möglich zu machen, zwang er den Stadtrat bei ihm selbst den Antrag zu stellen, den Status der Parzelle zu ändern. Zwischen 1996 und 2006 hatten sich sechs verschiedene Personen für das Grundstück interessiert. Ihre Bewerbungen wurden jeweils mit der Begründung abgewiesen, es handle sich um ein zweckgebundenes öffentliches Grundstück. Doch

vier Tage vor den Wahlen im März 2008, die Mugabe beinahe die Macht gekostet hätten und eine neue Stadtregierung hervorbrachten, traf sich die Mahachi Kommission auf Geheiss Chombos zu einer dringenden Sitzung. Das Grundstück wurde im noch am selben Tag für 2400 Dollar verkauft und auf den Namen von Harvest-Net Investments eingetragen, einer von Dutzenden seiner Gesellschaften. Der tatsächliche Wert der Liegenschaft liegt bei 3 Millionen Dollar.

„Wenn ein hoher Beamter auf diese Weise handelt, wird er zu einer Bedrohung für die Bürger, zu deren Dienst und Schutz er bestellt ist“, sagt Precious Shumba, eine Koordinatorin beim Harare Residents Trust. Chombo benutzte sein Amt, um auch an Orten wie Epworth, Chirundu, Chishawasha, sogar im abgelegenen Binga, Victoria Falls und Chegutu Grundstücke für den Wohnungsbau zu kaufen. Er ist mit seinem Immobilienbesitz in ganz Zimbabwe präsent.

Kommissionsmitglieder oder Kartelle? Bewohner sind wütend darüber, dass Kommissionsmitglieder, die gewählte Ratsmitglieder verdrängt haben, ohne jede Rechtsgrundlage fette Zahlungen einstreichen. Mahachi erhielt von Chombo als Abgangsschädigung ein Wohnbau-

grundstück von 4'200 m² in Greystone Park. Der Besitz hat einen Marktwert von 63'000 Dollars. Bereits zuvor kaufte Mahachi über seine Mahachi Estates and Partners und Mahachi, Gwaze and Partners 10 Hektaren Wohnbaugrundstücke in Harares Nobelvororten zu einem Gesamtpreis von 110'000 Dollars während der tatsächliche Marktpreis mit 1.5 Millionen Dollars zu veranschlagen ist. Sashekati Jogi, Mitglied der früheren Harare Kommission, erhielt als Abgangsschädigung ein ausgesuchtes Wohnbaugrundstück von 4 Hektaren in Borrowdale. Jogi wurde von Chombo im MDC beherrschten Rat als Mitglied mit besonderen Aufgaben eingesetzt.

Ein MDC Sprecher meinte: „Es ist allgemein bekannt, dass Chombo während beinahe eines halben Jahrzehnts de facto als Regierender Bürgermeister Harares fungierte, als er und die ZANU-PF die demokratisch gewählte Stadtregierung mit Elias Mudzuri an der Spitze entliess und diese mit illegal eingesetzten Kommissionen ersetzte. In dieser Zeit versank die Stadt in einem Abgrund, verlor allen Glanz und wurde zu einem Selbstbedienungsladen



für ZANU-PF Plünderer.“ Kritiker klagen Chombo an, er herrsche über Stadtteile als wären sie sein persönlicher Besitz. Als Mitglied des ZANU-PF Politbüros sorgt er weiterhin für Kontroversen, so mit der kürzlichen Forderung 100'000 Dollar bereitzustellen, damit eine Untersuchungskommission die letztjährigen Amtsmissbräuche durch MDC Regierungsmitglieder untersuchen könne.

Die Muchadeyi Masunda Behörde hat Chombos Ansinnen mit dem Argument zurückgewiesen, es seien bereits 37'000 Dollar an eine andere von Chombo eingesetzte Untersuchungskommission mit derselben Zweckbestimmung ausbezahlt worden. In Mutare hat die von der MDC geführte Exekutive zwei Anträge Chombos zurückgewiesen. Mit diesen wollte er frühere Behördenmitglieder mit Pauschalbeträgen für die interimistische Geschäftsführung entschädigen, nachdem der damalige Bürgermeister Misheck Kagurabadza vom Minister for Local Government entlassen worden war. Chombo verlangt von der Stadt Mutare die Zahlung von 30'000 Dollar an den früheren Kommissionspräsidenten Fungayi Chayeruka, zusätzlich zu einem Fahrzeug, einem Haus, Grundstücken für Gewerbe und Wohnungsbau sowie 100 Liter Treibstoff zu Regierungspreisen während dreier Monate. Im Weiteren soll Chayeruka, ein höherer ZANU-PF Funktionär, während acht Monaten von Steuern befreit werden.

Behördenkorruption ein Lebensstil?

Bewohner machen sich Sorgen, dass Korruption zum Lebensstil städtischer Behörden geworden sei. Als die MDC nach den Wahlen 2008 in verschiedenen Städten die Regierungsverantwortung übernahm, frohlockten die Bewohner und hofften auf einen Bruch mit der bisherigen Korruption durch die Chombo Kommissionen. Doch sie wurden enttäuscht, als MDC Behördenmitglieder in verschiedenen Fällen der Korruption und Inkorrektheit bezichtigt wurden. In Harare wurden mindestens sieben Behördenmitglieder angeklagt, weil sie sich städtische Häuser aneigneten, obwohl diese für die langjährigen Mieter der Liegenschaften bestimmt waren. Die Angeklagten bestreiten ihre Schuld.

Premier Minister Morgan Tsvangirais MDC Partei musste alle ihre Behördenmitglieder in der Stadt Chitungwiza

entlassen, weil sie, wie eine Untersuchung zeigte, Wohnbauparzellen zusammenrafften und diese mit hohem Gewinn weiterverkauften oder gegen Fahrzeuge tauschten. Die Stadträte verkauften auch Land, das für Schulen und Spitäler reserviert war. Ein Ratsherr wurde angezeigt, weil er 30 Wohnbauparzellen im Werte von 150'000 Dollars für nur 15'000 Dollars verkauft hatte.

Von der Korruption sind auch kleinere Städte nicht ausgenommen, einschliesslich der Grenzstadt Beitbridge, wo gegen fünf der sechs Stadträte ermittelt wird, weil sie in korrupter Weise Wohnbauparzellen an Verwandte und Freunde verschenkt hatten. Stadtbehörden wurden zu Schmelzriegeln der Korruption. „Es ist ein Skandal, wenn sich sogar Behördenmitglieder der MDC mit Eifer an der Korruption beteiligen, trotz ihres Anspruchs, dem üblen Treiben ein Ende setzen,“ meinte John Makumbe, ein altgedienter politischer Kommentator. Während die Behörden sich die Taschen füllen, bleiben die Bewohner während Tagen ohne Wasser, Wasserreservoir werden nicht gefüllt, die Abwassersysteme bersten unter dem Gewicht einer ächzenden Infrastruktur und einer wachsenden Bevölkerung.

Hier einige von Chombos Firmen

Epworth, Commercial, Hutmat Investments / Chirundu, Commercial, Growfin Investments / Kariba X2, Commercial, Hutmat Investments / Ruwa, Commercial, Teamrange Investment / Chinhoyi, Commercial, Nedbourne Inve / Mutare, Commercial, Hutmat Investments / Chegutu, Commercial, Hutmat Investments / Binga Lakeshore, Commercial, Teamrange Investment / Victoria Falls, Commercial, Hutmat investments / Zvimba, Commercial, Brockfield Waywick Investments / Harare, Commercial, Harvest-Net Investments / Chitungwiza, Commercial, Hutmat Investments / Beitbridge town, Residential, Waywick Investments / Harare, Avondale, Residential, Waywick investments / Harare, Crowhill, Residential, Waycorn Investments / Harare, Avondale, Residential, Waywick investments / Harare, Beverly, Residential, Nedbourne Investments / Bulawayo, Matsheumhlope, Residential, Aixland Investments

(ZimOnline, Harare, 3. Februar 2011; Übersetzung Walter Huwyler)

Für das haben wir unsere Jugend nicht hergegeben

Gertrud Scheu

Das ganze Leben in Zimbabwe ist von Angst bestimmt. Mugabes Anhänger haben Angst um Mugabe, der sehr krank ist. Er wurde im Dezember, Januar, Februar und zweimal im April notfallmässig nach Singapur geflogen, trotz den streikenden Piloten. Dem Land kostet das jeweils mindestens 3 Mio US\$. Im April hiess es, dass diesmal seine Frau Grace krank sei. Aber viele Leute vermuteten, dass das nur eine Ablenkung ist und es wieder um Mugabe geht. Ende April ging Mugabe wieder unter dem Vorwand, seine Frau abzuholen. Die wenigen aktuellen Bilder zeigen ihn als einen kranken Mann, der auf beiden Seiten gestützt werden muss. Die ZANU drängte daher auf möglichst baldige Wahlen. Sie brauchen ihn als „Aushängeschild“ und wissen, dass sie nur mit ihm eine

kleine Chance haben. Dabei hat Mugabe schon einige Zeit nicht mehr alles unter Kontrolle. Tsvangirai sagte, dass schon vor einiger Zeit ein interner Coup gegen Mugabe stattgefunden habe. Da sind heute ganz Andere an der Macht, die das Land regieren, und die wecken berechnete Angst.

Überraschend hat kurz vor Ostern ein Komitee der drei Parteien, unter Druck von Südafrika und SADC erklärt, dass es erst im kommenden Jahr Wahlen gebe. Zuerst müsse die neue Verfassung vor das Volk gebracht werden. Für die Leute ist das eine grosse Erleichterung, denn sie haben Angst vor Wahlen, da diese wieder zu Verhaftungen und Gräueltaten führen werden. Teilweise haben

sie schon begonnen. Schlimm sind die sogenannten Kriegsveteranen, die das Volk terrorisieren. Es werden immer mehr, sie sterben nicht aus. Ihr gegenwärtiger Führer war am Ende des Krieges neun Jahre alt. Bei 80% Arbeitslosigkeit fehlt es nicht an jungen Leuten, die ihnen folgen.

Von 188 000 Leuten die von der Regierung angestellt sind, sind 75 000 sog. „Ghost worker“, sie beziehen ein Salär ohne zu arbeiten. Es ist klar, dass das Anhänger der Partei sind, vor allem Kriegsveteranen. Diese Leute widersetzen sich jeglicher Änderung. Auch sie haben Angst ihre privilegierte Stellung zu verlieren.

Mugabe hat beschlossen 2 Millionen Unterschriften gegen die Sanktionen zu sammeln und die dann an die OAU und die UNO zu schicken. Zuerst gab es eine Grossdemonstration in Harare, wo Leute aus allen Landesgegenden, mit Bussen und Lastwagen, geholt wurden. Eine Oppositionszeitung berichtete, dass bei diesem Anlass nur 30 Unterschriften gesammelt wurden. Wie dem auch sei, genug waren es sicher nicht. So wurde das Gleiche in allen Provinzen wiederholt, auch hier in Gweru. Bekannte kamen früh am morgen zu uns, aus über 300 km. Entfernung. Sie wurden um Mitternacht in Lastwagen der Armee verfrachtet. Der lokale MDC Repräsentativ, der sich weigerte, wurde verhaftet. So wagten es die Leute nicht sich zu weigern. „Wir müssen zu den Sanktionen kommen“ war die allgemeine Erklärung. Gefragt, um was es bei den Sanktionen geht, hatten die meisten Leute keine Antwort. Hier in Gweru mussten alle Geschäfte geschlos-



sen bleiben. In Masvingo hatte ein Lastwagen, der Leute zu der Kundgebung brachte, einen schweren Unfall. Über 100 Leute mussten ins Spital gebracht werden. In höheren Schulen mussten die Studenten während dem Unterricht unterschreiben. Armee, Polizei und sonstige Staatsangestellte hatten keine Wahl. Oppositionspolitiker, die sich weigerten, wurden verhaftet. Sie hätten Mugabe beleidigt, war die offizielle Anklage. Eine Bekannte von mir ist öfters beruflich unterwegs. Sie wurde schon dreimal gezwungen zu unterschreiben. Das gibt einen Vorgesmack für zukünftige Wahlen.

Es ist klar, dass die Geschehnisse in Lybien der Regierung Angst machen. In Harare kamen 500 Leute zusammen, um für Frieden zu beten. 2 Bischöfe und 46 Pastoren aus

dem ganzen Land waren unter ihnen. Die Gruppe nennt sich „Save Zimbabwe“ und vereinigt Leute aus dem ganzen Land. Eine Gruppe der sog. „Riot Police“, bewaffnet mit AK-Gewehren, hat die Kirche gestürmt, Tränengas wurde in und um die Kirche eingesetzt, mehrere Leute wurden verletzt und 14 verhaftet. Sie wurden mehrere Tage festgehalten und misshandelt, ohne dass ihre Rechtsanwälte, „Zimbabwe Lawyers for Human rights“, sie besuchen konnten. Unter den Verhafteten waren Verletzte, denen medizinische Hilfe verweigert wurde. In Lupani wurde ein Priester verhaftet, weil er bei einer ähnlichen Zusammenkunft gegen Gewalt predigte. Beim der gleichen Gelegenheit wurde auch Zimbabwes „Minister of Healing“ verhaftet. Ich erinnere mich, wir uns vor 30 Jahren als kleine Gruppe von Freunden, im gleichen Sinn trafen. Auch Smith passte das damals nicht, und zwei der Männer wurden verhaftet.

Eine Gruppe, die sich „Fallen Heroes of Zimbabwe Trust“ nennt, haben Minenschächte ausgegraben. In einem Schacht haben sie 630 Tote gefunden. Schulkinder und Dorfbewohner mussten die Toten besichtigen. Durch Radio und TV wurden Leute aufgefordert hinzugehen um zu sehen, wie die Weissen vor 30 Jahren Leute ermordet und in Minenschächte geworfen haben. Der Hass gegen die Weissen und gegen England soll neu geschürt werden. Es ist wohl bekannt, dass während dem Bürgerkrieg alte Minenschächte als Massengräber benutzt wurden, aber die Journalisten, die hingingen, stellten fest, dass einige der Skelette unmöglich 30 Jahre alt sein können. Es wurde immer vermutet, dass auch die Regierung Mugabe die Minenschächte benützte für ihre Opponenten.

Die Korruption von Polizei und Beamten kennt keine Grenzen. Obwohl Tsvangirai erklärte, dass weitere Landbesetzungen verboten sind, musste ein altes Ehepaar, das ausserhalb Gweru wohnt, ihre kleine Farm verlassen. Die grössere wurde schon vor Jahren konfisziert. Schlimm ist besonders, dass der neue „Besitzer“ von einem Polizisten und einem „Landofficer“ unterstützt wurde und sie keine Möglichkeit hatten sich zu wehren.

Am schlimmsten ist die sogenannte „Riot Police“, eine spezielle Abteilung der Polizei. Sie zeichnen sich aus durch ihre Brutalität und Einschüchterungsmassnahmen. Wenn sie demonstrativ, mit gezückten Gewehren, durch die Stadt marschieren, ist das noch fast zum Lachen. Wenn jedoch die Panzerautos Leute aus den ländlichen Gegenden zur Polizei bringen, ist das viel alarmierender.

Von überall hört man von Verhaftungen und Foltern in den Gefängnissen.

Wir haben zum 31. Mal Unabhängigkeit gefeiert. Die wenigen Flugzeuge und Helikopter, die die Armee noch besitzt, überflogen die Städte im Tiefflug, Armee und Polizei waren an allen Ecken. Ich habe ein befreundetes Ehepaar eingeladen, frühere Guerillas. Wir haben von den Hoffnungen geredet, die wir vor 30 Jahren hatten. Die beiden sahen ihre Jugendträume zerschmettert. „Für das haben wir unsere jungen Jahre nicht eingesetzt.“

(Gweru, 27. April 2011; Gertrud Scheu lebt seit 1961 in Zimbabwe, arbeitete als Sozialarbeiterin und engagiert sich seit der Pensionierung für das Rosedale-Kinderheim.)

SADC Inspires Hope as Zimbabwe Teeters On The Brink of Calamity

Dewa Mavhinga

This article is a short commentary on Zimbabwe's political situation in the context of on-going stop-start efforts led by the Southern African Development Community (SADC) to resolve the festering political conflict that pits the former sole ruling party – Zimbabwe African National Union – Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) led by president Robert Mugabe and the Movement for Democratic Change led by prime minister Morgan Tsvangirai. It also considers the balance of forces and various factors at play in the Zimbabwe peace process.

President Mugabe's ZANU-PF and the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), led by the late Joshua Nkomo, were the main protagonists in Zimbabwe's 14-year armed liberation struggle that led to the attainment of independence from colonial rule in April 1980. Significantly, faced with certain defeat in the battle-field, the colonial Ian Smith regime agreed to negotiations at Lancaster House in Britain in 1979 to end the war, conclude a transitional constitution and prepare for national elections in which all adults from 18 years of age had the right to vote. ZANU-PF won those elections.

Despite the fact that it was victory at the polls in 1980 that bestowed on ZANU-PF the right to form a new government, president Mugabe and ZANU-PF never truly credited democratic elections as the source of their authority and legitimacy. Instead, the prevailing view within ZANU-PF, which remains to this day, was that the right to form a new government proceeded from the barrel of the gun, and not from the ballot. Ahead of the 1980 elections, Robert Mugabe, as leader of ZANU-PF had said, "... our votes must go together with our guns; after all any vote get shall have been the product of the gun. The gun, which provides the votes, should remain its security officer, its guarantor." Thus began ZANU-PF's legendary lip-service to democratic processes and obsession with military might, the twin evils that confront Zimbabwe today.

Between 1983 and 1987 president Mugabe used the Fifth Brigade of the national army to crush the opposition ZAPU party amid horrific atrocities against the minority Ndebele people under an operation code-named Gukurahundi – the wind that sweeps away the chaff. ZAPU was forced to join ZANU-PF in 1987 effectively ensuring that ZANU-PF became the de-facto one-party state. The role and influence of the military in civilian and political affairs also increased, although for the most part they remained in the background. Mugabe rewarded the commander of the notorious Fifth Brigade, Air-Marshall Perence Shiri, with the leadership of the country's Air-Force section of the military, a post he holds to this day.

Amid increased authoritarianism, corruption, kleptocracy and gross mismanagement of the economy on the back of ill-advised and poorly implemented International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank economic structural adjustment policies, a new political force – the MDC - emerged in September 1999 under the leadership of veteran trade-unionist Morgan Tsvangirai. With the emergence of the MDC, ZANU-PF's hypocritical, pharisaic com-

mitment to democracy and sound electoral practices was exposed. At the same time, the previously covert military role in political and civilian affairs became overt.

Several military commanders between 2000 and 2008 issued various statements openly backing ZANU-PF and president Mugabe and threatening war in the event that the workings of democracy resulted in a defeat of ZANU-PF at the polls. In March 2008 Zimbabwe held national elections in which ZANU-PF was defeated by the MDC. With the electoral management body under ZANU-PF control, the party conceded defeat in legislature and local government elections but withheld results of the presidential election for six-weeks before eventually announcing that although Tsvangirai of the MDC had more votes than Mugabe, he had not secured at least 50% plus one vote and therefore a presidential run-off election was necessary between Tsvangirai and Mugabe.

At this point president Mugabe turned to his trusted source of power for salvation in his hour of need – the military. In their electoral campaign for Mugabe, the military unleashed widespread violence that resulted, between April and June 27, in the killing of at least 200 mainly MDC supporters. There were no attempts to mask the overt military operation. Several senior military commanders competed eagerly with each other to make the most groveling and extremely partisan statements in support of Mugabe and ZANU-PF.

For instance, in May 2008, while addressing villagers at a political rally in Masvingo, Major-General Engelbert Rugeje said, "This country came through the bullet, not the pencil. Therefore, it will not go by your X [vote] of the pencil." Addressing soldiers ahead of the presidential run-off election, the commander of Zimbabwe's Defence Forces – General Constantine Chiwenga said, "Our comrade, Defence Forces Chief, our leader president Mugabe and comrade-in-arms will romp to victory. We say so because we have no apology to make to any house nigger and puppets."

Again in May 2008, Army Chief of Staff, Major-General Martin Chedondo, while addressing soldiers, said, "The Constitution says the country should be protected by voting in the 27 June presidential election run-off pitting our Defence Chief, comrade Robert Mugabe, and Morgan Tsvangirai of the MDC-T, we should, therefore, stand behind our Commander-in-Chief. Soldiers are not apolitical. Only mercenaries are apolitical. We have signed and agreed to fight and protect the ruling party's principles of defending the revolution. If you have other thoughts, then you should remove that uniform."

On 22 June, 2008, Morgan Tsvangirai withdrew from the presidential run-off election citing widespread violence against MDC supporters leaving Mugabe to push ahead with a one-man race where he was pronounced winner. Mugabe's victory was widely rejected, including by SADC and the wider international community on account of the widespread violence, thereby triggering a governance and

legitimacy crisis. SADC then led negotiations between ZANU-PF and MDC which resulted in the signing of the Global Political Agreement (GPA) on 15 September 2008 for the formation of an inclusive government with Mugabe continuing as president and Tsvangirai prime minister. SADC and the AU guaranteed the GPA.

For Mugabe and ZANU-PF, the GPA and the inclusive government was important because it solved the legitimacy crisis and would, hopefully, help re-align relations with the international community to unlock resources vital to resuscitate an economy that had all but crumbled. Around the time of the signing of the GPA Zimbabwe faced acute fuel and food shortages in the context of a hyper-inflationary environment leading to unrest and unprecedented public protests including looting of shops by groups of low-ranking soldiers.

For the MDC the GPA and the nominal power-sharing government created an important opportunity to put a foot in the door of government in order to reduce violence against citizens and to turn around the country's economic fortunes. The hope was that, even though ZANU-PF wielded real power, people on the ground would credit the MDC with positive improvements in government leading to a resounding electoral victory after the life of the transitional coalition government. Additionally, critical democratization reforms agreed to under the GPA would lead to the weakening of ZANU-PF, a party that had come to thrive on authoritarianism.

For SADC, the GPA and the coalition government was important for political stability in Zimbabwe and therefore in the region. The belief was that although MDC had popular support, it lacked the backing of the military, and could not provide the much-needed stability as the military had openly backed Mugabe and ZANU-PF who lacked popular support. The short-term stability interests would be saved best by a hybrid arrangement with ZANU-PF as senior partner to the MDC in government. Current developments on the ground, over two years since the formation of the coalition government in February 2011, show that many of the expectations of ZANU-PF, of the MDC and of SADC regarding the unity government have not been met. Things have turned out differently.

Although the GPA sanitized president Mugabe and ZANU-PF and gave them a modicum of legitimacy, that has not been enough to restore sound relations with the international community. For instance, despite numerous global tours by senior members of the inclusive government including Tsvangirai, and more recently in May 2011, a delegation from SADC, calling for the lifting of targeted sanctions against Mugabe and some 200 members of his inner circle, the sanctions remain. It is the correct position for the international community to take, that in the absence of fundamental, irreversible legislative and institutional democratization reforms, targeted sanctions should remain.

Much to the MDC's frustration, ZANU-PF has used its dominant power in government and its control of various partisan and politicized state institutions to resist and block reforms and to continue with rights abuses and repression. Despite the coalition government's existence,

Zimbabwe's political environment remains poisoned with extreme polarization and militarization of civilian affairs. The negative attitude of the military leadership towards Tsvangirai and the MDC has not changed under the inclusive government.

It appears the SADC appointed facilitator for the Zimbabwe peace process, president Jacob Zuma of South Africa and members of the SADC Organ Troika on Defence, Politics and Security have come to a realization that Zimbabwe and SADC stability can no longer be guaranteed by president Mugabe and ZANU-PF. Recent uprisings against dictatorship in North Africa have shown that the aspirations of citizens cannot be taken for granted and that presumed military might does not guarantee perpetual subjugation. President Mugabe, who turned 87 last February, is now succumbing to old age, and is widely rumored to be sick and to be losing his grip on ZANU-PF and the military. Despite this, ZANU-PF unanimously endorsed Mugabe as the party's presidential candidate for the next election. There is no clear succession plan in place or planning for life after Mugabe within ZANU-PF.

Given Mugabe's sole control of a fragmented and factional party and military apparatus, there is a real risk that, should a vacuum be created by his sudden demise, Zimbabwe could be plunged into chaos with various factions of the military and ZANU-PF vying for control of the country. It is partly fear of this very likely scenario that has led to a change of tact on the part of SADC.

On 31 March 2011, the SADC Organ Troika on Defence, Politics and Security met in the resort town of Livingstone, Zambia to discuss the conflict in Zimbabwe and came up with stern, hope-inspiring resolutions including a call for an immediate end to all violence, intimidation, hate speech and all other things that violate the letter and spirit of the GPA. The SADC Troika resolved that the inclusive government in Zimbabwe must complete all the steps necessary for the holding of an election including the finalization of constitutional reform and a referendum and that SADC should assist Zimbabwe to formulate guidelines that will assist the country to hold peaceful, free and fair elections in accordance with the SADC principles and guidelines governing democratic elections.

Further, in direct contradiction to ZANU-PF and president Mugabe, SADC insisted that Zimbabwe is not ready for elections and that no elections will be held in 2011 given the number of reforms that remain outstanding. Among the critical reforms that are on the table for discussion in the SADC facilitated talks is the issue of dealing with an extremely partisan and politicized military that persistently interferes in political and electoral affairs in favour of ZANU-PF. ZANU-PF is strongly opposed to any attempts at reform the military for the obvious reason that the military is the only power-base that ZANU-PF has left.

Taking a cue from SADC's current positive position which must be maintained, it is essential to build international consensus regarding the need to reform Zimbabwe's security sector and other state institutions to

make them professional, non-partisan, and independent in preparation of democratic elections that are transparent, free and fair and where violence or intimidation play no part. SADC, assisted by the AU and the wider international community, must have mechanisms in place to ensure a smooth transfer of power to the winner following democratic elections. Such intervention is justified on the grounds that SADC and the AU are fully within their mandate as guarantors of the GPA and the resultant inclusive government to directly intervene to assist the people of Zimbabwe to find a lasting solution to the festering political conflict. Under the international doctrine of the responsibility to protect, SADC has a right to intervene in the affairs of member states in the interests of human security.

SADC and the AU should closely monitor events in Zimbabwe in order to anticipate and prevent conflict. All indicators are pointing to a political cataclysm if proactive action is not taken to guide Zimbabwe through the implementation of critical reforms necessary for democratic elections where the military is completely removed and separated from political and civilian affairs. If Zimbabwe is left to its own devices, it is most likely to go over the precipice, plunging the entire southern Africa region into crisis. Failure by SADC and the AU to act timely to anticipate and prevent conflict in Zimbabwe exposes the entire southern Africa region to conflict. Compared to the other four regions of Africa, southern Africa had done relatively well in terms of conflict management, a failure to deal decisively with Zimbabwe will undo much of that progress. Regional bodies and the wider international community should not wait for rivers of blood on the streets for them to act.

Zimbabwe presents a perfect opportunity for the AU to demonstrate its commitment to human rights respect and for the United Nations (UN) Security Council to show that even where there is no oil or other significant economic interest, gross human rights abuses are enough to trigger international intervention. The international community must intervene impartially in all situations of gross human rights abuses in exercise of their obligation and responsibility to protect. Zimbabweans still have faith in the power of democratic elections to bring about peaceful political change, but are fully aware of the many obstacles to holding democratic elections in the country. Significant obstacles that the AU and the UN should tackle include an infrastructure of violence comprising sections of the partisan security forces and youth militia who enjoy longstanding impunity for human rights abuses.

Mugabe behind Army Action

James Mombe

President Robert Mugabe is aware of the security forces' resistance to the unity government and its change programme, Zimbabwean Prime Minister Morgan Tsvangirai has said, virtually holding the veteran leader responsible for the forces' relentless effort to block democratic reform. In one of his most forthright assessments of the two-year old coalition government and the obstacles it faces, Tsvangirai said Mugabe – who is supreme commander of the armed forces and appoints the country's

To ensure that Zimbabwe removes all obstacles to holding free and fair elections, particularly through the restoration of the rule of law and the demilitarization of all civilian affairs, the AU and the UN must not leave the monitoring of implementation and progress to SADC alone. Instead,



they must dispatch technical teams on the ground in Zimbabwe to independently assess human rights conditions and the elections environment and then work alongside the government of Zimbabwe to implement a credible roadmap to elections. Such a roadmap must directly address the persistent challenge of transfer of power to the eventual winner following a free and fair election. Recent violent conflicts across Africa have been triggered by failure of transfer of power – this was the case in Kenya in December 2007, in Zimbabwe in June 2008 and more recently in Ivory Coast.

When sufficient reforms have been implemented and the environment is conducive, SADC and the AU should certify that Zimbabwe is ready for elections and give the green light to the political leadership in Zimbabwe to set a suitable date for elections. The same regional institutions should then give technical and political support before, during and after the holding of elections to ensure that Zimbabwe's elections meet international standards.

(14 May 2011; Dewa Mavhinga is Regional Coordinator for Crisis in Zimbabwe Coalition, based in Johannesburg, South Africa. He is a human rights activist with a law degree from the University of Zimbabwe and a Masters in international human rights law degree from Essex University in the UK.)

police, secret and prison service chiefs -- was in the know or if he wasn't, then a third force has illegally seized control of Zimbabwe. "They (security forces) have deliberately defied the civilian authority in the country, even those that are under the direct control of the Commander-In-Chief," Tsvangirai said in a speech delivered in Harare late Tuesday night. "Either the Commander-In-Chief is aware of this or there is now a Third Force that has assumed control in this country without the mandate of the people."

Zimbabwe's security commanders are hardliner supporters of Mugabe who are credited with keeping the President in power after waging a ruthless campaign of violence in 2008 to force then opposition leader Tsvangirai to withdraw from a second round presidential poll that analysts had strongly tipped the former trade unionist to win. Tsvangirai had beaten Mugabe in the first round ballot but failed to achieve outright victory to avoid the second round run-off poll. Mugabe and Tsvangirai eventually bowed to pressure from southern African leaders to agree to form a unity government to end a debilitating political impasse following the disputed presidential election. But the security commanders have remained resolute in their opposition to Tsvangirai refusing to recognise his authority or salute him and vowing not to let him take power even if he wins a democratic election.

And resurgent violence in many parts of the country as well as deployment of soldiers in some rural areas is seen as part of a grand strategy by the security establishment to forestall a possible Tsvangirai victory in elections that Mugabe has said must take place this year. Tsvangirai's MDC party has accused the police of complicity in the recent spate of violence that has gripped some suburbs of

Harare, while it has also accused soldiers of stepping up violence and intimidation against the former opposition party's supporters in Masvingo, Mashonaland East and West provinces. Police and army commanders deny that their many have either aided or committed violence and have instead accused the MDC of fomenting the political disturbances.

Tsvangirai vowed to ensure political and democratic reforms are carried out despite resistance from security forces and Mugabe's ZANU PF party, warning that the MDC would agree to take part in new elections only when conditions for the polls are free and fair. He said: "Only when we have achieved the necessary conditions for a free, fair, credible and legitimate election will the MDC consider giving its blessing and participating in such a poll." Under the power-sharing agreement Mugabe must consult Tsvangirai before calling elections, however in the event of mutual disagreement between the two rivals and their unity deal collapsing the President can revert to his old powers and cause an election to be held.

(ZimOnline, Harare, 17 February 2011)

Zimbabwe Children/Youth: Lost Generation or Future Leaders of Nation?

Patricia Walsh

In a recent study by an NGO Family Aids Caring Trust (FACT) the findings showed that almost 60% of children and youth living in communal and commercial farms in Zimbabwe are being exploited as cheap labour. There is an alarming rise in the abuse of minors which stems from the collapse of traditional, economic and social service structures.

The report goes on to say that the concept of helping one another in times of need and the idea that any child in the village is everyone's responsibility has died. Older people are exploiting the plight of these children, especially the orphaned and vulnerable by offering them a portion of food for a day's work.

At one of our "safe houses" for abused and vulnerable children we recently admitted a 12 year old boy called Gift, he only attended two years of primary schooling as his father had died some years ago and his mother died last year. Since the death of his mother, Gift has worked from morning until night wherever he could in order to get some bit of food for himself and his two younger siblings. When his youngest sister died some months ago of an opportunistic infection Gift decided to take his 8 year old brother and travel to Harare to beg on the streets. These children are now at an age when we cannot get them into any formal schooling system and in an attempt to get them to the required standard for their age we have employed a school teacher who will coach them and other such children on a daily basis. In the beginning they were not too keen on learning but after two months they have settled down and are happy to have some sense of "normality" in their young lives.

What is the future for the tens of thousands of young people who are unable to complete their formal education and with no hope of future employment? Do we allow them to be condemned to beggars on the streets? Prostitutes? Criminals? Illegal immigrants in neighbouring

countries where they are again abused in every way. In the hope of assisting some of these children and young people to get some formal education and further training we have established skills training programmes which include gardening, sewing, carpentry and computer literacy. Recently two groups of young people completed training in carpentry and dressmaking. We have provided them with some basic carpentry tools and sewing machines in order to set up little co-operatives where they can produce and sell the goods they have made. It was a humbling experience to see the joy on the faces of these young people when they recently "graduated". They even brought a coffin which they had made from plywood as a sample to the "graduation ceremony" We will continue to work with these young people and see where further training might be needed. This programme is only a drop in the ocean but we cannot stand aside and leave these young people with no hope for the future. No doubt some will succeed and some will slip back into the old way of waiting for hand outs and begging – time will tell. Zimbabwe through its youth is a country with great hope providing these young people are given a chance.

(Harare, 29 April 2011: Patricia Walsh OP is a Dominican Missionary Sister living in Harare.)

Women: Facts and General Information

Sokwanele

- Life expectancy is just 33.5 years for Zimbabwean women – the lowest in the world.
 - At least 18% of the population lives with HIV and AIDS?? Of the 1,6-million Zimbabweans with HIV, 55% of are women.
 - The rate of women dying in childbirth is estimated at 880 per 100,000 live births (UK: 13 per 100,000).
 - With little access to healthcare, almost 30% of births take place without a skilled attendant.
 - 12% of Zimbabwean children die before their fifth birthday.
 - Women are poorly represented at cabinet, parliamentary and local-government level — limiting their capacity to make decisions on issues affecting them.
 - Female representation in parliament 9%.
 - An estimated 80% of marriages in Zimbabwe are 'customary marriages', in which a woman's right to inherit property upon the death of her husband can be severely compromised.
 - Around 18% of women are in polygamous marriages, which further limit a wife's property rights.
 - Childless widows are often evicted, as are those who refuse to be physically 'inherited' by a male relative of their late husband.
 - Child marriage is common in Zimbabwe, and 21% of children (mostly girls) are married before the age of 18.
 - This increases the risk of contracting HIV and AIDS, and makes it less likely that girls will continue into higher education.
 - 38% of women had been victims of some form of physical, sexual, or psychological abuse.
 - The media increasingly reports incidents of rape, incest, and sexual abuse of women.
 - Domestic violence against women, especially wife beating, is common and crosses all racial and economic lines.
 - In Zimbabwe, domestic violence accounts for more than 60% of murder cases that go through the High Court. (ZWRNCN).
 - 54 percent of the women counseled for domestic violence have sexually transmitted diseases, including many with HIV/AIDS.
 - Over 80% of the Zimbabwean population lives in poverty.
 - Unemployment is estimated at 93%.
 - One in three working women at all levels are reported to be subjected to sexual harassment in the workplace, as defined by Zimbabwean legal experts.
 - Although labour legislation prohibits discrimination in employment on the basis of gender, women are concentrated in the lower echelons of the work force and commonly face sexual harassment in the workplace.
 - The literacy rate in Zimbabwe is high, with a total adult literacy rate of 90%, and 86% among women. This is a 10% increase in women's literacy since 1990, although this improvement is gravely threatened by the rise in poverty and internal political upheaval.
 - Female genital mutilation (FGM), which is widely condemned by international health experts as damaging to both physical and psychological health, rarely is performed in Zimbabwe. However, according to press reports, the initiation rites practiced by the small Remba ethnic group in Midlands Province include infibulation, the most extreme form of FGM.
- Given the current crisis in Zimbabwe, many of the statistics have deteriorated since they were compiled.

(ZimOnline, 10 March 2011; Sokwanele is an underground pro-democracy movement campaigning for a new political dispensation in Zimbabwe in which democracy, rule of law and human rights are upheld.)

Who Is Accountable

Oskar Wermter

Risk of Cholera

Again and again Mbare is for several days without water. The City says necessary repairs are being made, we can't help it. But to leave a so densely populated area like Mbare without water means risking a cholera outbreak. It is an offence against public health. More and more houses have large water tanks installed in their yards to catch the rain water from the roof, under the circumstances a very good thing. There is also a hand pump along Madzima Road where women and girls are pumping water up from a depth of 45 m. As we are let down by the City we must be grateful to charities and developmental agencies for these initiatives. Our church roof is very large and floods of water cascade down to the ground during rain storms only to disappear in drain pipes. Can we collect all this wasted water in tanks to be used by those women who roam the street with their buckets looking for water?

And during sunny days solar panels could produce electricity. Maybe then we could light the church when ZESA is playing ricks on us and starves us of power, as they did

during our Ash Wednesday evening service: the lights went out just when we started and came back just before the final hymn two hours later. Having that big church full of people, well over a thousand, without any lighting is not exactly safe.

We need to talk about that at our next parish council meeting. Who can help us? Who would be willing so support such a project? If ordinary citizens do not adhere to safety regulations they are in trouble, may have heavy fines imposed on them. But when the City authorities neglect public health and safety, are they held accountable? No. For instance: if traffic lights do not function properly what happens to the responsible engineer? If there is an accident who pays and provides compensation to the injured?

Blind Justice

"Peace – Peace – Peace - NO to Violence" says a poster of the "ruling party". Ironically the destroyed local office building of the "not ruling party", or rather the remaining empty shell of it which remained after it was ran-

sacked by party hooligans, is now plastered with such posters, proof that the poster is a lie. Talking to local party leaders, I find they are all against violence, verbally. But physically violence continues: a married couple were systematically beaten in a nearby hostel; she is back home, he is still very ill in hospital. Will the criminal offenders

who did this ever be brought to court and punished? Or will the police and justice system turn a blind eye because the crime was "political"?

(Oskar Wermter SJ, aus In Touch with Church and Faith, No. 159, 14 March 2011)

SADC Zimbabwe Summit Dead in the Water

Makusha Mugabe

The make-or-break extra-ordinary SADC Summit on May 20th is unlikely to produce a roadmap to election as expected, because the facilitator is only now starting to open discussions with the military who have all along been identified as the real power behind Zanu (PF)'s intransigence. Nobody knows what demands the generals are going to make, and it is already clear that they do not accept that they are supposed to be a neutral force supporting the government of the day, but consider themselves protectors of a Zanu (PF) revolution. . . . Negotiating directly with the military is also a dangerous strategy in that it reinforces that feeling of control by the the military, yet the military is supposed to be subjected to elected civil authority – the President, the Prime Minister and the Minister of Defense. Another bad omen for the umpteenth SADC meeting on Zimbabwe is what was reported yesterday, that the Zanu PF party spokesman, Rugare Gumbo, dismissed negotiator, Patrick Chinamasa's acceptance that elections should only be held next year, which Gumbo said the negotiator had no mandate to make. Gumbo was quoted saying this was only Chinamasa's personal opinion, but the official Zanu (PF) position was still the Mutare Zanu (PF) People's Conference resolution that elections will be held this year.

This is at complete odds with the facilitator Jacob Zuma's clear position as expressed by Lindiwe Zulu that "elections this year are out." She was quoted as saying, "We need to create a conducive environment and strengthen institutions," and that there was a clear

acceptance by all three parties that they needed time for doing all the work that needed to be done. Her optimism that the wheel is moving very fast and that what is happening in Zimbabwe now cannot go on forever does not seem justified, particularly since they have not resolved



the issue of sanctions on which Zanu PF has now hung its objections. Zulu said SADC had now taken over the negotiations with the West for the removal of sanctions in order to remove the Zanu (PF)'s excuse for not going forward, but there is no confirmation that the West has accepted the SADC's proposals to remove sanction now.

(10 May 2011, changezimbabwe)

Wirtschaft

New investors for platinum sector

Tobias Manyuchi

Two firms, one of them partly owned by Chinese investors, are set to begin mining platinum in Zimbabwe following completion of exploration activities, a senior government official said. Deputy Mines Minister Gift Chimankire said entry of Humboi and Amari Resources into Zimbabwe's platinum sector – boasting the world's second largest known deposits of the key mineral – was expected to jolt production levels beyond the 230 000 tonnes realised last year.

Humboi is part owned by a Chinese firm and a consortium of local business people while Amari Resources is partly owned by the Zimbabwe Mining and Development Corporation (ZMDC). "Humboi has completed exploration that it has been carrying out for the past four years in the

Chegututu area; they will soon be starting operations this year," Chimankire said Tuesday. "Amari has also completed exploration in the Ngezi area and will start operating this year." Platinum mining in the country is envisaged to continue climbing, stimulated by the emergence of new players and expansionist projects currently being pursued by key players in the sector.

Zimbabwe's expected output growth is however in stark contrast with global production which has been forecast to remain flat on the back of receding production by Russia and South Africa, according to the Johnson Matthey's "Platinum 2010" report. In the report, JM predicts that 2011 would be characterised by a global deficit for the white metal owing to the quick recovery of the automobile sector in Europe, Asia and the US and stagnant production levels by two of the world's leading producers- South Africa and Russia.

The global insatiable hunger for platinum and palladium may trigger prices beyond the current benchmark of US \$1 600 per ounce to US\$2 000 per ounce during the first half of this year. With Zimplats poised to increase output to one million tonnes annually and the resuscitation of platinum projects by Anglo Platinum and London Listed ENRC well on course, Zimbabwe's earnings from the mineral can only shoot up. Zimbabwe is the third largest producer of platinum in the world after South Africa and Russia.

Diamond output up at Rio's Zim operation

Tobias Manyuchi

Rio Tinto's Zimbabwean arm on Thursday said diamond output at its Murowa mine increased by 43 percent in 2010. RioZim, 78 percent owned by Rio Tinto, said gem output during the period under review increased to 178,126 carats from 124,422 carats in 2009. "Only 141,000 carats were sold at higher average prices than the 162,000 carats sold in 2009," RioZim said.

RioZim is planning a \$300 million expansion to lift production to 1.8 million carats but has put the project on hold because of concerns over Zimbabwe's controversial empowerment law that seeks to force foreign-owned firms, including mines, to cede 51 percent stake to local blacks by 2015. Murowa resumed diamond exports in August last year after a six-month government ban, which analysts say was meant to pressure world gem regulator Kimberly Process to allow Harare to sell its diamonds from Marange, in the east of the country.

Shabani and Mashaba Mines changing hands: no solution

Wellington Chibebe

The Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU) cautiously welcomes steps that are being taken to resuscitate Shabani and Mashaba Mines especially the booting out of controversial Arafas Gwaradzimba. However, the slow pace with which the revival efforts are moving, are a cause for concern, more so given the fact that production has totally been halted at the mines and workers sent home without any benefits or pay. Handing over control to the Ministry of Mines and Mining Development might just be 'rescuing' a sheep from one wolf and handing it to another. The Shabani and Mashaba mines saga has dragged on since 2005 and it is the ordinary workers and

Gold giant in production surge

Edward Jones

Gold output surged at Freda Rebecca to 8,577 ounces during the first quarter of the year, surpassing the mine's target after improved mine maintenance and power supplies, parent company Mwana Africa said yesterday. Mwana restarted operations at Freda Rebecca in 2009 following the formation of a unity government between bitter rivals President Robert Mugabe and Prime Minister Morgan Tsvangirai and completed the first phase of the mine's operation which targeted output of 30,000 ounces a year in March. Gold miners were hit by the country's economic crisis, which saw inflation soaring to

Last year, global demand for platinum by the automobile sector stood at 2.985 million ounces, largely fuelled by China's rising needs. Platinum and its sister metal palladium are mostly used in motor vehicle catalytic converters and jewellery manufacturing among other purposes.

(ZimOnline, Harare, 26 January 2011)

There are two kimberlite diamond mines in Zimbabwe -- Murowa and privately owned River Ranch -- and at least four alluvial diamond firms at Marange, where human rights groups have accused the army of rights abuses when evicting illegal miners in 2008.

Under the government's empowerment plan locals should own 51 percent of all mining firms while those exploiting the country's rich alluvial diamond deposits should be 100 percent black-owned. But analysts say neither the cash-strapped government nor impoverished blacks will be able to raise money to buy shares in large foreign-owned mines or factories.

Besides Rio Tinto, other large multinational corporations targeted by Zimbabwe's empowerment laws are cigarette manufacturer BAT Zimbabwe, which is 80 percent British-owned; UK-controlled financial institutions Barclays Bank and Standard Chartered Bank, food group Nestlé Zimbabwe, mining giants Zimplats and AON Insurance.

(ZimOnline, Harare, 25 February 2011)

the communities of the towns that have been adversely affected because political interests have superseded the interests of thousands of workers and their families.

The ZCTU demands a lasting and speedy solution to the SMM saga so that workers can return to work and avert further suffering on the workers and their families. Workers would also welcome being informed of the outcomes of the public hearings conducted by the Parliamentary Portfolio Committee on Mines in Zvishavane and Mashava. Arafas Gwaradzimba fast tracked the mines to closure and we believe he should be taken to task for that because he gambled with thousands of people's lives.

(ZCTU, Harare, 4 April 2011; Wellington Chibebe is the Secretary-General.)

500 billion percent and while the price of the yellow metal was soaring on the international market, Zimbabwe's miners were being given 40 percent of their earnings in a worthless currency. Freda Rebecca's production of 8,577 ounces exceeding the Phase 1 target of 7,500 ounces and was 10.7 percent above the first quarter of 2010.

"As a result of implementing the planned maintenance programme, involving significant upgrade work on the processing plant, plant availability has improved and has been sustained ahead of targets," Mwana said in a statement. "The site has benefitted from full power with no incidents of load shedding or power disturbance being recorded." Mwana Africa said it was on track to achieve

its Phase II target to expand production to 50,000 ounces a year by the end of the third quarter.

The company resumed operations at Freda Rebecca in October 2009, after the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe allowed firms for the first time to sell bullion and keep all the proceeds. Gold was last year eclipsed by platinum as the single largest foreign currency earner and industry officials say the country has the potential to produce

Miners appeal to Parliament

Thulani Munda

Zimbabwe's mining firms have called on Parliament to intervene to block a government economic empowerment drive that they say has morphed into a programme to nationalise foreign owned mines rather than an exercise to empower locals. The government has given foreign owned mining firms until June 2 to submit details of how they plan to sell majority stake to local blacks by September, under a programme that President Robert Mugabe and Indigenisation Minister Saviour Kasukuwere says is necessary to ensure blacks benefit from the country's lucrative mineral resources.

But the Chamber of Mines in a letter to Parliament says the empowerment programme must be stopped because it is fraught with irregularities, adding that Kasukuwere had virtually converted the indigenisation programme into an exercise for the state to seize majority stake in privately owned mines in contravention of Zimbabwe's laws and Constitution. The chamber wrote: "Minister (Kasukuwere), contrary to all expectations and contrary to the advice given by the sectoral committee on mining and indeed contrary to the evidence collected from this sector announced in a notice (in March) a virtual conversion of the indigenous empowerment legislation for the mining sector to state acquisition of a controlling stake interest in all non-indigenous mining companies."

The mining body, which says it will support an indigenisation programme that seeks to ensure growth and development of the industry and the economy while achieving broad-based economic empowerment, said the present scheme sought to impose partners on private investors in violation of "fundamental principals of justice". Both parliamentary Speaker Lovemore Moyo and the House's

Beziehungen mit China

Chinese Trade facility for Zimbabwe

Tobias Manyuchi

China has extended an 80 million yuan (approximately US \$12 million) facility to Zimbabwe to boost trade and economic cooperation between the struggling southern African economy and the world's second largest economy. Zimbabwean Industry Minister Welshman Ncube told journalists that the facility would be extended under three broad based economic agreements that representatives of the two countries signed on Monday. Visiting Chinese commerce deputy minister Zhong Shan signed

50,000kg of the mineral but would need up to \$5 billion to revamp the mining sector over a period of five years.

The mining sector has been subdued this year after the government gave miners up to next Monday to submit proposals of how they intend to surrender at least 51 percent of their shares to blacks by 30 September.

(ZimOnline, Harare, 5 May 2011)

clerk, Austin Zvoma, could not be reached last night to establish how Parliament will respond to the miners' plea.

Under the empowerment programme, foreign-owned mining companies have until September 30 to surrender 51 percent of their local shares to blacks. Analysts say neither the cash-strapped government nor impoverished blacks will be able to raise money to buy shares in large foreign-owned mines or factories. Kasukuwere was quoted last week saying Harare would not pay any money for the mining stakes but would base any payment negotiations on the state's ownership of the southern African country's untapped mineral wealth.

Rio Tinto, which owns Murowa diamond mine, Mwana Africa, which owns Bindura Nickel Mine and Freda Rebecca gold mine and Zimbabwe's largest gold miner Metallon Gold Zimbabwe are some of the companies being targeted by the empowerment drive. Most mines have adopted a wait and see attitude putting expansion as well as retooling plans on hold until there is clarity on how the empowerment plan will be executed. Firms that fail to disclose their share-transfer plans within the stipulated period face prosecution, according to the empowerment regulations that have thrown the lucrative mining sector into turmoil.

The Chamber of Mines has proposed trimming the indigenisation quota to a minimum of 26 percent with the balance of 25 percent made up of credits arising from corporate social investments such as roads, schools, dams and hospitals that most major mining firms have over the years built for local communities. The government has not indicated it will consider the chamber's proposals made nearly a month ago.

(ZimOnline, Harare, 14 May 2011)

on behalf of his government while Finance Minister Tendai Biti signed for Zimbabwe.

"We had a bilateral meeting with the Chinese deputy minister of commerce in the morning," Ncube said. "We signed three broad based agreements through the Minister of Finance, we received an 80 million yen grant and China has agreed to second agricultural experts to the country." Ncube told journalists that the three areas of interest covered by the agreements included increasing trade volumes between Beijing and Zimbabwe, deepening economic and technical cooperation and agricultural

exchange programmes. Last year, cumulative trade volumes between Zimbabwe and China stood at US\$520 million. He added that the two countries also resolved to increase trade volumes. "Our trade with China last year amounted to US\$520 million. Our objective is to push trade to a billion dollars."

Ncube said the Chinese delegation also expressed keen interest towards investing in the local diamond sector. It is estimated that Zimbabwe has potential to satisfy about 25 percent of the world diamond demand. "We also discussed the possibility of Chinese investment in our diamond sector," Ncube said, noting that investment would be centred on value addition and new mining projects.



China has emerged as one of Zimbabwe's most important political allies and trading partners since 2000 when President Robert Mugabe adopted his 'Look East' policy. The policy is premised on the need to find new trading partners and markets after traditional investors from Western

China drives tobacco recovery

Tobias Manyuchi

Cash-rich Chinese merchants will snap up nearly half of Zimbabwe's 2011 tobacco crop helping to drive up prices, while breaking the stranglehold of mostly European buyers accused of keeping prices down in past years, Harare tobacco authorities said. Tobacco Industry and Marketing Board (TIMB) chief executive officer Andrew Matibiri told a special parliamentary committee that the entry of the Chinese had been a boon to Zimbabwean growers with prices now averaging US\$ 0.58 more per kilogramme than before arrival of buyers from the Asian giant. "Of the tobacco sold 40 percent is going to China, the other 40 to Europe and the remainder to other parts of the world," Matibiri told Parliament's portfolio committee on agriculture, water, lands and resettlement earlier this week. "Before the arrival of the Chinese US\$ 2.99 per kilogramme was the ceiling," he said, adding that tobacco prices have averaged US\$ 3.57 per kg since the tobacco auctioning season began last week. According to Matibiri, who spoke to the parliamentary committee on Wednesday, prices were expected to continue firming up on the back of growing Chinese demand.

nations turned against Harare in protest over Mugabe's human rights abuses, repression against political opponents and violent land-grab programme. The "Look East" policy specifically targets investors from Muslim and Asian nations and in exchange Zimbabwe has

promised minerals – including diamonds and gold – and prime land to the investors, resulting in Harare penning several agreements mainly with China, Russia and Iran.

But critics say there have been little results

because the policy failed to attract serious and meaningful investments to shore up Zimbabwe's struggling economy chiefly because the crisis-hit nation had failed to meet its side of the deal.

(ZimOnline, Harare, 18 January 2011)

Tobacco's earnings potential has fallen behind that of mining in recent years chiefly because of President Robert Mugabe's controversial land reform programme that saw large-scale white commercial growers expelled from the land and replaced by black villagers without experience or capacity to maintain production. Before land reforms, a few hundred white commercial farmers produced on average more than 200 million kilogrammes of tobacco per year that earned Zimbabwe around \$ 400 million annually, making the crop the country's single largest foreign currency earner. But the tobacco sector is on the road to recovery with 60 000 mostly black farmers -- or 35 000 more farmers than were recorded last year -- expected to deliver 170 million kilogrammes of tobacco by close of the selling season at the end of September. Zimbabwe produced 123 million kilogrammes last year that earned the country US\$ 384 million.

The Chinese companies have in recent years targeted cash-strapped Zimbabwean small-scale tobacco farmers whose production they finance in return for preferential access to the crop. China purchases the crop through the China Tobacco Company represented in Zimbabwe by Tian Ze. "Farmers are responding posi-

tively and the prices have been favourable mostly attributable to the presence of the Chinese," Matibiri said. Since the marketing season opened last week, tobacco worth more than US\$175 million has been exported.

China has emerged as one of Zimbabwe's most important political allies and trading partners since 2000 when Mugabe adopted his 'Look East' policy. The policy is premised on the need to find new trading partners and markets after traditional investors from Western nations turned against Harare in protest over Mugabe's

China and Zim strengthen ties

Tobias Manyuchi

China's Vice Prime Minister Wang Qishan arrived in Zimbabwe on Sunday on a two-day official visit during which Beijing and Harare are expected to conclude several cooperation agreements. Wang's visit comes weeks after Chinese Foreign Minister Yang Jiechi's visit to Zimbabwe during which he called on Western nations to lift sanctions against President Robert Mugabe and his top officials. During the visit, Yang and his Zimbabwean counterpart Samuel Mumbengegwi signed a US\$7 million grant deal. Wang is expected to hold talks with Vice-President Joice Mujuru, Prime Minister Morgan Tsvangirai, and would also pay a courtesy call on President Robert Mugabe.

He will also tour the China-Zimbabwe Friendship Brightness Project in Harare's dormitory Chitungwiza, about 25 km south-east of the capital. Under the project Chinese doctors are scheduled to perform for free

human rights abuses, repression against political opponents and his violent land reform programme. The "Look East" policy specifically targets investors from Muslim and Asian nations and in exchange Zimbabwe has promised minerals – including diamonds and gold – and prime land to the investors, resulting in Harare penning several agreements mainly with China, Russia and Iran.

(ZimOnline, Harare, 24 February 2011)

operations to remove eye cataracts on some 500 patients.

China has emerged as one of Zimbabwe's most important political allies and trading partners since 2000 when Mugabe adopted his 'Look East' policy. The policy is premised on the need to find new trading partners and markets after traditional investors from Western nations turned against Harare in protest over Mugabe's human rights abuses, repression against political opponents and his violent land reform programme. The "Look East" policy specifically targets investors from Muslim and Asian nations and in exchange Zimbabwe has promised minerals – including diamonds and gold – and prime land to the investors, resulting in Harare penning several agreements mainly with China, Russia and Iran.

(ZimOnline, Harare, 21 March 2011)

Kirche

Hirtenbrief der Katholischen Bischofskonferenz von Simbabwe vom 14. Januar 2011

Die katholische Bischofskonferenz wandte sich erstmals sehr dezidiert gegen die herrschende Klasse und forderte Rechtsstaatlichkeit und solidarisches Handeln ein. Wir bringen aus dem Dokument auszugsweise die Kapitel 5 bis 7.1.

5. Unsere Bedenken

Wir sind beunruhigt, dass nicht alle Vereinbarungen des GPA umgesetzt wurden und dass dies zu einer andauernden Isolation des Landes durch einen Großteil der internationalen Gemeinschaft führt und dass der nationale Heilungsprozess, die Erholung, die Wiederherstellung und die Rechtsfähigkeit aller dadurch aufgeschoben wurden. Vor dem Hintergrund unserer Situation ist es wichtig, offen und nachdrücklich unsere Bedenken zu äußern und jede politische Partei aufzufordern, sich an ernsthaften Diskussionen über das Gemeinwohl zu beteiligen. Ohne ein solches aufrichtiges Engagement werden wir weiterhin von Gewalt, politischer Intoleranz, Hetzsprache in den öffentlichen Medien, Ungerechtigkeit, manipulierten Wahlen, Angst, Betrug etc. begleitet.

Es ist entmutigend, dass die staatlichen Medien sich nie auf das parlamentarische Komitee für eine neue Verfassung (Parliamentary Select Committee on the

Constitution COPAC) eingelassen haben und deren Streben nach einem basisdemokratischen Verfassungsprozess nicht mittragen. So sind nationale Heilung, Versöhnung und Integration zwar unerlässlich für das nationale Wohl, aber es gibt keine seriöse Berichterstattung in den Medien.

Wir sind über das Auftreten politisch motivierter Gewalt in manchen Provinzen beunruhigt. Die Befreiung Simbawwes wurde mit Hilfe von internen (sowohl bewaffnet als auch unbewaffnet) und externen Akteuren und der internationalen Gemeinschaft erreicht. Daher ist es falsch, wenn eine einzelne Partei oder ein Teil davon für sich das Monopol des Befreiungskampfes beansprucht. Dies führt unweigerlich zu Menschenrechtsverletzungen und der Aushöhlung der Souveränität der Einwohner von Simbabwe.

6. Eine spirituelle und moralische Krise

In unserem Hirtenbrief zu Ostern 2007 betonten wir, dass „die Krise (in unserem Land) nicht lediglich eine politische und wirtschaftliche, sondern zuerst eine spirituelle und moralische Krise ist. So wie die junge unabhängige Nation darum rang, ihren gemeinsamen nationalen Geist

zu finden, so kämpfen die Menschen in Simbabwe gegen die „Strukturen der Sünde“ in unserer Gesellschaft. Papst Paul II sagte, dass diese „Strukturen der Sünde“ in persönlichen Sünden verwurzelt und auf diese Weise an das konkrete Handeln von Individuen gekoppelt sind, die diese Strukturen erschaffen, sie verfestigen und die sich dann schwer beseitigen lassen.

Dadurch werden sie stärker, breiten sich aus, werden die Quelle für weitere Sünden und beeinflussen dadurch das Verhalten von Menschen. Der Heilige Vater betonte, dass wir „den Teufeln, die uns plagen einen Namen geben müssen“, um die Realität, mit der wir konfrontiert sind, zu verstehen.

7. Rettet unsere Nation: Unsere Empfehlungen [. .]

7.1 Wir ermahnen unsere Politiker dazu:

- i) der Ausrottung der Armut Priorität einzuräumen, indem Einkünfte aus natürlichen Ressourcen wie Diamanten, Land, etc für die Entwicklung der ganzen Nationen und aller Staatsbürger verwendet werden. Die zweite Afrikasynode hielt in ihrem Abschlussbericht fest, dass Afrika zwar reich an menschlichen und natürlichen Ressourcen ist, viele Menschen aber trotzdem noch in Armut und Elend, Kriegen und Konflikte, Krisen und Chaos leben. Dies wird sehr selten durch natürliche Katastrophen hervorgerufen. Es entsteht auf Grund menschlicher Entscheidungen und Handlungen von Personen, die dem Gemeinwohl keine Achtung schenken.
- ii) die aktive und stillschweigende betrügerische Abspra-

che derer zu stoppen, die den Kampf gegen die Korruption unterminieren. Korruption ist ein Krebs, der unsere Nation zerstört.

iii) Straftäter vor Gericht zu bringen und jegliche disziplinarische Handlung bekannt zu machen, sodass keiner ein Verbrechen in Straflosigkeit begehen kann.

iv) es zu unterlassen Mitglieder der Öffentlichkeit, der Medien, bürgerlicher Gemeinschaften etc. einzuschüchtern oder schlecht zu behandeln. Die Menschenrechte sollen aufrechterhalten werden.

v) uniformierte Einheiten sollen unparteiisch Frieden und Sicherheit für alle Menschen zu jeder Zeit garantieren, und das vor allem vor, während und nach Wahlen.

vi) Wir flehen unsere Politiker der Koalitionsregierung an, über den Zeitpunkt der Wahlen nochmals nachzudenken, besonders vor dem Hintergrund des nicht abgeschlossenen nationalen Heilungsprozesses und der fragilen wirtschaftlichen Situation. Auf ihnen lastet die Verantwortung, Simbabwe zu dienen und es zu retten. Sie müssen im Einklang mit dem Wohl der Gesellschaft denken und handeln. Bei den Wahlen müssen die SADC Leitsätze vollständig in die Tat umgesetzt werden.

vii) Wir erwarten von den Mitgliedern des Parlaments, dass sie sich anstrengen die dringenden Bedürfnisse der Menschen, die sie repräsentieren, zu befriedigen. Darüber hinaus sollten sie es unterlassen, sich ausschließlich mit ihrer eigenen Bereicherung zu beschäftigen.

(Übersetzung durch kirchliche Arbeitsstelle südliches Afrika KASA, Heidelberg)

Ready to Lead? – The Church and the Battle for the Future of Zimbabwe

Marlon Zakeyo

After a two year stay away from my country of birth, I finally had an opportunity to return to Zimbabwe, with a brief but productive stop-over in South Africa. This opportunity came in March 2011 when the Ecumenical Zimbabwe Network (EZN) organized its first ever meeting on African soil in partnership with Zimbabwe's main church bodies. The EZN, a network of international Catholic, Protestant and Evangelical advocacy and development organizations, was formed in 2007 as a platform to promote solidarity, advocacy and support for the social justice work of Zimbabwean churches. Having begun as an informal information exchange and support initiative in Brussels, the network has now developed its working methods and strengthened relationships and consultations with the Zimbabwe's main church bodies. Though much work still remains to be done there are early signs that the collaboration between the EZN and the Church in Zimbabwe may yet bear more fruit for the common good of the people of Zimbabwe.

The Johannesburg meeting was a direct follow up to a previous meeting organized by EZN in Geneva in October 2010 with representatives of Zimbabwean churches taking time to analyze the political situation in the country, reflect on the future of Zimbabwe and formulating strategies that could strengthen the voice of the church as a moral authority in the nation and also help to facilitate national healing, restoration of peace, justice and respect for the will of the people. Top leaders and staff from or-

ganizations such as the Zimbabwe Catholic Bishops' Conference, Zimbabwe Council of Churches, Evangelical Fellowship of Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe Christian Alliance and Ecumenical Church Leaders' Forum travelled for the meeting. The Zimbabwean church leaders were joined by their regional counterparts from the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference and the Inter-Regional Meeting of the Bishops of Southern Africa.

During the course of the meeting Zimbabwe's church leaders emphasized their discontent with the resurgence of political violence and suffering in the country and pledged to reclaim their prophetic voice and role as the moral authority of the country, exercising their power to censure corrupt and violent politicians and their supporters. Having faced severe criticism for disunity and lack of courage in the past the Church had recently demonstrated her renewed courage and energy through several public actions rebuking repression and misrule in Zimbabwe. In early January, the Zimbabwe Catholic Bishops' Conference issued a strong pastoral entitled 'Let us Work for the Common Good; Let us Save our Nation' in which the bishops said, '...we are concerned about politically-motivated violence ... we urge our political leaders to desist from intimidating and mistreating members of the public, the media and civic communities and uphold human rights.' The bishops further declared that, 'one cannot be a true Christian and a perpetrator of violence at the same time.' The Zimbabwe Council of Churches,

under a new leadership, also released a Pastoral Letter on the State of the Nation which was followed by a Press Statement from the Heads of Christian Denominations and later by Southern African Bishops, all reinforcing the Church's strong opposition to political violence, abuse of state machinery and obstruction of electoral reforms by ZANU PF.

However the Church has not always displayed such clear leadership.

Since the onset of the Zimbabwean crisis in 2000, the church in Zimbabwe has been heavily criticized at home and abroad for losing its prophetic voice and remaining silent and cowardly in the face of grave human rights violations and repressive rule committed by President Mugabe's ZANU PF party. Critics have bemoaned how church leaders have either kept silent following series of violent elections and attacks on opposition and civil society activists or instead of sending firm messages, release lukewarm messages clearly lacking the courage to rebuke ZANU PF and military excesses. Since the 'silencing' of Archbishop Pius Ncube of Bulawayo the church has largely lacked a public face, a situation that has led to the opening of a vacuum that has at times been occupied by bogus church leaders aligned to ZANU PF. In recent months Zimbabweans have been swept away by the growing phenomenon of a young and charismatic Pentecostal evangelist known as Prophet Emmanuel Makandiwa. Formerly with the Apostolic Faith Mission, Makandiwa broke away to form his United Family International Church (www.ufiministries.org) where desperate Zimbabweans have been flocking in search miracle healings and prosperity. Prophet Makandiwa has however been accused of being a ZANU PF pawn after he took part in the party's Anti-Sanctions Campaign during which thousands of ordinary citizens were forced to sign petitions denouncing targeted sanctions imposed on members of the regime by the European Union and United States.

On the other hand some church leaders have openly sided with ZANU PF and abused their offices to mobilize support for the regime. The most notable cleric with strong links to Mugabe and ZANU PF is Bishop Norbert Kunonga who broke away from the Anglican Church in Zimbabwe, and has since been leading a faction persecuting Anglican members across the country. Kunonga's followers have driven priests and their parishioners out of their churches, schools and other properties with the support of the police. Thousands of parishioners who are led by internationally recognized Bishop Chad Gandiya have been locked out of their churches and now resort to worshipping in the open or private homes while some are taken in by other denominations. Kunonga has also used police support to block Anglicans from accessing the famous Bernard Mizeki shrine in Marondera which is one of the most sacred shrines for the church's members in Zimbabwe.

Another pro-Mugabe churchman is African Apostolic Sect leader Madzibaba Godfrey Nzira who was convicted of rape and sentenced to 32 years in prison, in 2003. Before his arrest Godfrey Nzira had gained notoriety during the 2002 presidential election campaign by proclaiming that 'Mugabe was divinely appointed king of Zimbabwe and

no man should dare challenge his office.' In January 2011, President Mugabe awarded Nzira a special presidential pardon meaning the rapist cleric only served a tiny fraction of his sentence. The presidential pardon awarded to Nzira was no random act. President Mugabe and ZANU PF have been actively courting the support of mass-based churches ahead of landmark elections that will end the tenure of the Government of National Unity. During the late 1990s and early 2000s ZANU PF used farms and other material benefits as rewards for pliant church leaders and other supporters. With elections looming the regime is reverting to similar tactics as well as attacking churches and individual leaders that stand up to repression.

In March 2011 police fired teargas and beat up pastors and members of the Zimbabwe Christian Alliance who had gathered for a prayer service in the working township



of Glen Norah in Harare. Church leaders who were present were arrested, falsely charged with assaulting police officers, denied access to their lawyers and some forced to pay admission of guilt fines. The following month Father Mnkandla, a Bulawayo-based Catholic priest, was arrested whilst participating in a mass to foster national healing and commemorate the Gukurahundi massacres that wrecked Matebeleland and Midlands provinces in the early 1980s. In the same month President Mugabe launched an astonishing verbal attack on the Zimbabwe Catholic Bishops' Conference whilst addressing members of the Zion Christian Church for their stance on calling for respect for human rights.

The reported attacks are a grim reminder of the extent to which members of the ZANU PF regime and their supporters will go to silence progressive voices. Pressure is now mounting against hardliners obstructing democratic reform in Zimbabwe and this means even the Church will have to prepare to handle any backlash. In Johannesburg, Zimbabwe's church leaders were clear in their analysis of the possible scenarios that may face Zimbabwe in the months to come. The collapse of the Global Political Agreement will almost definitely plunge the country back into deep crisis and anarchy, with the real possibility of a full military take-over in the event of the president's death or resignation. With this in mind, the churches therefore commit themselves to advocating for the full implementation of the GPA especially supporting the writing of a

new, democratic and pro-people constitution. Elections held on the basis of a democratic constitution supported by an independent electoral commission, non-partisan security forces, judiciary and a free media will give Zimbabwe a strong foundation for national healing, recovery and progress.

The churches further committed themselves to leading a national campaign for peace through which they will conduct pastoral visits in political violence hotspots and engage the national and local political and security chiefs. Plans were also made to engage the heads of Southern African governments who are leading the mediation efforts and ensure that the voice of the church is also relayed and considered in the critical processes that may shape the future of Zimbabwe.

Whilst there remains some skepticism on the readiness of the Church in Zimbabwe to tackle the country's political hardliners, the new crop of leaders continues to work diligently to restore hope in the power of the church to help transform the nation. On May 25, 2011 the Zimbabwe Catholic Bishops' Conference, Zimbabwe Council of Churches and Evangelical Fellowship of Zimbabwe will together lead Zimbabweans in a National Day of Prayer dedicated to promoting peace, restoration, reconciliation, healing and revival of the nation. Back in the 1960s and 70s during the liberation struggle the Church showed that at its best it can use its power to transform the lives of a nation in the midst of hopelessness. In the mid 1980s

Woza

WOZA and MOZA deliver views on constitution to Parliament in peaceful march in Harare

At noon today, approximately 600 members of Women and Men of Zimbabwe Arise, including representatives from Bulawayo and rural Matabeleland, delivered their views on the constitution to Parliament with a peaceful procession through the streets of Harare. No arrests have been reported as yet but this may change as community leadership are still verifying the safe return of members.

Three processions began at different locations in the city centre, converging on Parliament where a copy of a report containing WOZA's views on the constitution was handed over. The report is entitled 'the rising of women means the rising of the nation – no more poverty and starvation, many sweating for a few to benefit'. The peaceful group sang as they marched, handing out abbreviated copies of the report, much to the delight of bystanders, several of whom joined in the procession. Their songs included, "ukaona madzimai – when you see women they are rising in unity".

Whilst members waited at Parliament for the arrival of the third group, police arrived in full riot gear, causing

One thousand eight hundred members march for love in Bulawayo

At 10am, five simultaneous protests began in different locations in downtown Bulawayo. One thousand eight hundred women and men, members of Women and Men of Zimbabwe Arise (WOZA) turned out for the ninth edi-

the Catholic Commission on Justice and Peace played an extraordinarily courageous role in helping to expose the massacre of over 25'000 civilians in Matabeleland and Midlands in a ZANU PF crackdown on alleged PF ZAPU dissidents. In the late 1990s the churches and the Zimbabwe Council of Churches in particular played a pivotal role in the enhancement of civil society development and pro-human rights action. The initiative that led to the formation of the National Constitutional Assembly (NCA) and the struggle for a new home grown constitution was conceived within the framework of the ZCC and now remains a central part of the reform agenda for Zimbabwe. The churches were also in the lead role in the monitoring of elections and documentation of political violence, paving the way for the formation of the Zimbabwe Election Support Network (ZESN) which has grown to occupy a key space in the management and observation of elections in the country.

A great part of the church is stirring once again in realization of the great potential it has always had. With continued commitment, focus, solidarity and action the church will once again take its rightful place in helping restore Zimbabwe back to the rule of law, democracy, justice and prosperity.

(16 May 2011; Marlon Zakeyo is a Zimbabwean lawyer based in Geneva. He coordinates the work of the Zimbabwe Advocacy Office and the Ecumenical Zimbabwe Network.)

people to disperse. When the third procession arrived however, members regrouped to sing, "tirinhome takatumwa kunora bumbiro - we are messengers sent to write a constitution." Jenni Williams, WOZA's National Coordinator, then handed over a copy of the report to a parliamentary official who accepted it whilst asking why WOZA is always demonstrating outside Parliament. Williams addressed the peaceful crowd during which time a police officer politely tapped Williams on the shoulder, asking to please have a word with her. Ignoring him, Williams instructed members to peacefully disperse, which the police officers present were happy to allow.

Members were happy and excited that they were able to deliver their views on the constitution in a peaceful manner and passed by the offices of The Herald, wanting to test media freedom in Zimbabwe by leaving them a copy of the report as well. WOZA would like to commend the Zimbabwe Republic Police for their restraint and professionalism in allowing our members to practice their right to peaceful demonstration.

(Woza, 2 December 2010)

tion of the Valentines Day protests, the biggest protest since WOZA these protests began in 2003. The target of the peaceful protest, the offices of The Chronicle newspaper with the objective of testing if there is free media or state propaganda remains entrenched. The huge mass of singing protestors completely closed off 9th avenue for over 30 minutes.

The men and women aged from 17 to 93 years old, sang songs as they marched and handed out hundreds of red roses, specially prepared Valentine Cards and the Woza Moya (Come healing wind) Newsletter bearing the top ten point on constitutional reform and on the Inclusive Government. Although different songs were sung by the marching formations, one song was featured at The Chronicle offices - 'Why are Zimbabweans populating other countries - why is that?' The chorus answers was mentioning the instances of political violence in which people have died forcing people to flee to other countries for their better survival.

A police vehicle arrived on the scene and three plain clothed officers (in striped dresscode, so easily recognisable) went into the protest demanding cards and newsletters. They then started to make their way to the front of the protest making for leaders Williams and Mahlangu but fortunately it was at that point that the protest dispersal slogan was being shouted and people were turning

WOZA Statement - Constitutional Reform and the inclusive Government

Zimbabweans, its time to sweat for a Love that's the real deal. Demand your rose; Demand a dignified constitution written with love so that it mends our broken hearts. Today we march to the theme: The RISING of the women means the RISING of the nation; No more poverty and starvation, many sweating for a few to benefit! . . .

We were encouraged by the formation of COPAC and the beginning of implementation of the constitutional article points in article 6 (VI) and the setting up of the Select Committee of Parliament (COPAC) despite their slow and painful conducting of public outreach. We are waiting for the draft Constitution to be presented to the 2nd All Stakeholders Conference and referendum but COPAC you are living on borrowed time! If we follow the timeframes set out in the GPA, we should be having the referendum now. Anyway as you are now writing the constitution draft, we expect to see our views respected and included. We wait to see our top ten views featuring, these are:

1. National values, aspirations and founding principles of the constitution - We require a constitution that allows for: value and respect the sanctity of human life, with dignity and respect; for democratically elected leaders at all levels who consult people; separation of powers between the executive, legislature and judiciary complete with checks and balances to prevent corruption and misuse of office and right of recall;
2. The state should allow everyone born in Zimbabwe to be a citizen automatically and the constitution must disallow the arbitrary deprivation of citizenship.
3. We require an expanded Bill of Rights with rights guaranteed and fully protected (justiciable) with clear protection provisions and remedies for violations provided in the courts.
4. Special emphasis on the full enjoyment of the Political Rights free and fair and regular elections; vote in secrecy; right to form political parties and participate in political activities; right to stand for public office and to campaign freely.
5. Right to personal security and fair treatment when in lawful custody; protection from arbitrary displacement

away to go home. Williams and Mahlangu were swept along with the dispersing masses. All that was left was for the three officers to gather up the placards, cards and red roses left for them. A police BMW vehicle attempted to disperse another protest just after they began by dangerously driving through the protest. Police Officers of the Riot squad came upon some dispersing members at Jason Moyo Avenue and jumped from their vehicle to try to quicken the dispersing activists. A vehicle full of Riot police was also seen at the bus terminus after the protest monitoring the movement of commuters.

The singing of songs was so well coordinated that several bystanders thought WOZA should form a choir. Another bystander commented 'please can they say their message well so maybe things can change in Zimbabwe'. Many cars hooted and stopped to get their copies of cards and roses.

(Woza, 12 February 2011)

from their homes; Protection from public and domestic violence; Right to liberty, and freedom from arbitrary arrest and detention.

6. We demand full enjoyment of all Social, Economic and Cultural rights. Social rights must include, but not be limited to the right to affordable and decent basic living needs-shelter, water, food and health delivery systems. Special emphasis on the full enjoyment of and the right to free compulsory and quality primary education, affordable secondary and tertiary education.

7. We demand full enjoyment of all Women and gender rights. Women have the right to affirmative action to correct past injustices and promote women's participation and gender in all spheres of life.

8. We demand democratic Systems of government: Devolution of power, that allow for local controls over all resources and local councils. There must be sharing of power at provincial and local levels.

9. We demand a constitution that limits executive power, which has long been abused. The Arms of state points should include an Executive President who is elected directly by all voters in the first past the post system, 2 terms of office of no more than 5years, age limit should be between 40-65year. Such a President must not be above the law-no special privileges and be able to be prosecuted, sued and recalled.

10. We require a Public finance system that includes public hearings to determine priorities and the presentation of local, provincial and national budgets for public approval. Government must be transparent and accountable and present a gendered analysis of any budget presented to parliament.

The principals said they were signing the agreement to form the Inclusive Government in the name of the 'suffering masses of Zimbabwe' but in reality, the IG was imposed on us by SADC. Our suffering continues and violence is increasing. It is clear from the timeframes of the constitution reform process that Zimbabwe should now be having a referendum, which would be followed by an election. As we analyse the current situation, we realize that the Inclusive government is living on borrowed time. Time borrowed from COPAC delays and the people's

Jahresbeitrag 2011 *

Wir danken den Mitgliedern der Vereinigung Schweiz-Zimbabwe, die ihren Jahresbeitrag bereits bezahlt haben. Wir bitten jene, die noch keine Möglichkeit dazu gehabt haben, vom beiliegenden Einzahlungsschein Gebrauch zu machen. Besten Dank im Voraus.

- 30 Fr. für Einzelpersonen
- 50 Fr. für Familien
- 100 Fr. für Organisationen

Mit ihrem Beitrag ermöglichen sie es der Vereinigung, ihre Aktivitäten weiterzuführen und den Kontakt und Austausch zwischen SchweizerInnen und ZimbabweerInnen zu fördern.

* All jene, die den Jahresbeitrag schon einbezahlt haben, können diese Aufforderung ignorieren.
If you have paid your annual fee, please ignore this request.

Annual Membership Fee 2011 *

We thank the members of the Swiss-Zimbabwean Friendship Association who have paid their annual membership fee. We kindly ask those who have not yet had an opportunity to do so to make use of the enclosed paying-in slip.

- 30 Swiss francs for individuals
- 50 Swiss francs for families
- 100 Swiss francs for collective members

With your contribution you enable the Association to continue with its activities and to enhance contacts and exchange between Swiss and Zimbabwean nationals.

good nature. Politicians are now taking advantage of our good nature and our patience is wearing thin. We demand the dismantling of militia bases and prosecution of all perpetrators of violence; that government leaders begin to put Zimbabwe first and give us a genuine chance of rebuilding and reconstructing our livelihoods. We demand the right to trade needed to end poverty and star-

vation; We also demand the lifting of sanctions on the people's peaceful existence imposed by a politicized police force and their handlers in Zanu PF. We demand a real deal - a real love that can mend our broken hearts!

(Woza, 12 February 2011)

Gewerkschaften

ZCTU demands stop to politically sponsored violence

Wellington Chibebe

The Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions is disturbed by the wave of violence that swept the streets of Harare yesterday and resulted in some self-employed traders losing goods worth thousands of dollars. The press reports are that the violence erupted after a ZANU PF sponsored demonstration on the slow pace of indigenization 'went wrong'. We are tempted, however, to believe that this was a planned craze that ended in looting. There is nothing wrong with the ZANU PF youths expressing their views but there is everything wrong when that expression of views means violence and harming innocent citizens. The country least needs this kind of tomfoolery as it is the ordinary person who feels the pinch.

More worrying is the fact that this comes at a time when we have a fragile political climate presided over by an

equally fragile coalition government. In our view these are the symptoms that the political alliance is not working out and the country needs to come out of this and the only solution is to have a Presidential election to determine who is in charge of the country. The ZCTU demands that the political leaders of the country put an immediate stop to this irrational violence. The co-Ministers of Home Affairs should also be visible and bring to book the perpetrators of this violence.

(ZCTU, Harare, 8 February 2011; Wellington Chibebe is the Secretary-General.)

Impressum:

Vereinigung Schweiz-Zimbabwe / Swiss-Zimbabwean Friendship Association
c/o J. Brogli, Postfach 62, 6405 Immensee
PC 40-16370-6
Redaktion: Gertrud Baud, Joe Brogli
Fotos zum Thema Transport / Reisen: E. Matare: S. 3, 8, 11, 14, 17; E. Meier: S. 5
Layout: Joe Brogli, Gertrud Baud
Druck: Bethlehem Mission Immensee
Versand: Joe Brogli

Unsere Quellen sind u. a.:

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