



Vereinigung

Schweiz-Zimbabwe

Swiss-Zimbabwean Friendship Association

Rundbrief / Newsletter Nr. 67, Mai 2016

Editorial

Zimbabwes ökonomische Situation verschlechtert sich weiter. Sogar den Banken geht langsam das Geld aus. Alle sprechen von Korruption und Nepotismus. Fälle werden benannt und belegt, doch dann passiert nichts mehr.

Was macht die Opposition? Die grösste Oppositionspartei MDC ist in mehrere Flügel gespalten. Ihr Ansehen hat durch die Regierungsbeteiligung sehr gelitten, nicht zuletzt, weil sich viele ihrer Exponenten genauso bereicherten wie die Mitglieder der Regierungspartei. Nun scheint es, dass Präsident Tsvangirai wieder an Ansehen gewonnen hat. Im April gelang es MDC, in Harare eine grosse Demonstration mit über 10'000 TeilnehmerInnen durchzuführen. Die Demonstration richtete sich gegen die schlechte Wirtschaftslage und verlangte den Rücktritt von Präsident Mugabe.

In der Zwischenzeit hat auch die letztes Jahr aus der Zanu-PF ausgeschlossene Joice Mujuru eine Partei gegründet, die People First Party. Für was sie einsteht und wie gross ihre Gefolgschaft sein wird, ist noch nicht klar.

Eine klare Ansage haben einige kleinere Parteien, darunter auch Mavambo/Kusile/Dawn mit Präsident Simba Makoni, gemacht. Sie streben auf die Wahlen 2018 eine stärkere Zusammenarbeit an.

Im vorliegenden Rundbrief fasst Ruth Weiss die Ereignisse des letzten halben Jahres zusammen. Daneben

beleuchtet unter anderem Eddie Cross den Zustand der Nation und Dewa Mavhinga macht sich Gedanken zum Zustand der Opposition.

Gertrud Baud, Mitglied des Vorstandes

Nur flackerndes Licht am Ende des Tunnels

Ruth Weiss

„Ein Führer hört auf die Volksstimme und denkt erst an das Volk, nicht an sich“, sagte Zimbabwes Präsident Robert Mugabe im März 2016. Mugabe sollte seine eigenen Worte befolgen: Im April forderten mehrere tausend Personen sowie Kirchen, einige War Vets (Kriegsveteranen) und sein Freund Cephas Msipa seinen Rücktritt. Die ZimbabwerInnen fliehen vor dem Wirtschaftstief, dem El-Nino-Effekt und den Machtkämpfen in Zanu PF.

Mugabe leidet an Realitätsverlust. Er erklärte im April, die Wirtschaft sei im Aufschwung und versprach Beamtenlöhne in Höhe der Armutsgrenze, trotz einer Arbeitslosigkeit von 90 %, Firmenschliessungen und der Halbierung des monatlichen Durchschnittseinkommens von US\$ 500 auf US\$ 224. Ohne Quellenangabe redete er von einem Diamantendiebstahl von US\$ 15 Mrd., wobei seine Frau eventuell auf der Liste möglicher Verdächtiger steht.

Die erste Familie

Trotz Hungersnot feierte Mugabe seinen 92. Geburtstag mit einer grossen Party für US\$ 1,92 Mio. Er gönnnte sich wie früher Auszeiten von vielen Wochen. 2015 kosteten Mugabes Auslandsreisen US\$ 50 Mio. Auch 2016 reiste er wieder in den Fernen Osten. Dabei konsultierte der Präsident in Singapur auch Ärzte. Mugabe wirkt gebrechlich und macht bei öffentlichen Anlässen ab und zu ein Nickerchen.

Als Vorsitzender der SADC und African Union erreichte er wenig. Trotzdem wurde seine Abschiedsrede vor der AU, die mehr Demokratie in der UNO forderte mit tosendem Applaus belohnt.

Seine Tochter gebar ihr Kind im Ausland. Zu Hause fehlen Medikamente, selbst für Blut und Sauerstoff muss bezahlt werden.

Grace Mugabe, verantwortlich für Mujurus Abgang 2014, wurde zur wichtigsten Politikerin. Beim Parteikongress letzten Dezember sprachen die Redner Grace Mugabe mit „Amai Mugabe“ (Mutter Mugabe) an, außer der Vizepräsident Emmerson Mnangagwa. Einmal erklärte Grace, sie habe stets das Sagen. Ab Februar

Inhalt

Editorial	1
Nur flackerndes Licht am Ende des Tunnels	1
Zustand der Nation	4
Abduction	6
<i>Opposition</i>	7
Will Opposition Coalition Bring Change to ZW?	
ZAPU Open to ZPF Coalition; Thousands March	9
<i>Diamanten</i>	10
„Wenn Diebe sich entzweien ...“	
Army Kicked out of Chiadzwa	11
<i>Wirtschaft</i>	12
Mugabe Ruins Telecel to Punish Makamba	
Human and Wildlife Conflict; Govt to Sell Gold	13f.
<i>China</i>	14
China ZW's Largest Investor	
China to Construct New Party Building	15
<i>Landverteilung</i>	15
Tokwe-Mukosi Victims' Relocation; Farm Eviction	
<i>Zivilgesellschaft</i>	16
WOZA – Save Education; 5 Brigade Atrocities	
Driefontein Mission Children's Home	19
Jahresbeitrag, Impressum, Unsere Quellen	20

unternahm sie wieder schrille Auftritte und verteilte als Geschenke landwirtschaftliche Güter, die sie von einem brasilianischen Entwicklungsprogramm erhalten hatte. Eine Anhängerin von Grace beschuldigte vor Mugabe und Mnangagwa der Letztere plane, den Präsidenten abzulösen. Auch Grace selber griff den Vizepräsidenten sowie das Militär an und behauptete, das Militär wolle ihren jüngsten Sohn ermorden. Gegen vier Angeklagte mit Beziehungen zur Armee lief ein Verfahren wegen eines geplanten Überfalls auf Mugabes Alpha Omega Dairy. Die Firma wird als Erfolgsgeschichte gepriesen, hat aber finanzielle Schwierigkeiten.

Die Familie Mugabe soll 10-14 Farmen und Luxuswohnungen in Singapur, Hong Kong, Dubai und Südafrika besitzen.

Nach Kritik an Grace trat Mugabe an ihrer Veranstaltung in Mashonaland Zentral auf, zog jedoch nur 5 000 Zuhörer an.

Zanu-PF

Erstmals gab der Präsident im April zu, die Armee habe bei den Wahlsiegen Unterstützung geleistet. Zanu-PF Parlamentsabgeordnete dürfen Minister nicht unter Druck setzen und Minister dürfen kein Thema ansprechen, worüber Mugabe schon gesprochen hat.

Die Partei, auch die Jugend- und die Frauenliga und die War Vets (Kriegsveteranen), ist hoffnungslos zerstört und zerfleischt sich in Nachfolgekämpfen. Verfeindete Fraktionen um Mnangagwa und die sogenannte Generation40 um Grace versuchen, sich gegenseitig auszutricksen. Eine kleine Gruppe, die keine Basis ohne Mugabe hat, möchte ihn um jeden Preis an der Macht halten.

Heftige Auseinandersetzungen, selbst die Zerstörung von Häusern, offene Anschuldigungen, gegenseitige Absetzung aus Parteiposten oder Resolutionen über Vertrauensverlust gehören zur Tagesordnung. Kommissar Kasukuwere feuerte Funktionäre gegen den Willen anderer, sodass parallele Strukturen entstanden. Im April forderte Mnangagwa die Rückkehr zur Parteiverfassung, worauf Mugabe eine Untersuchung der Partei-Ausschlüsse seit 2014 befahl. Dabei sollen auch entlassene/suspendierte Mujuru-Anhänger einbezogen werden.

Mugabe versuchte mehrmals vergeblich, die Kontrolle wieder herzustellen. In beiden Fraktionen hat er wichtige Anhänger. Er ist der Grund für den langjährigen Kampf, da er keinen Nachfolger benennt. Der Parteikongress 2015 beschloss keine Kursänderung und wählte Mugabe wieder zum Präsidentschaftskandidaten für 2018.

Die Spaltung zieht sich auch durch die War Vets. Eine Gruppe von War Vets, Anhänger Mnangagwas, griff an einer von War Vets Minister Christopher Mutsvangwa im Februar einberufenen Versammlung Grace und die Gruppe G40 an, worauf Tränengas eingesetzt wurde. Mutsvangwa verlor den Ministerposten, blieb aber Führer der War Vets. Die War Vets erreichten wenig bei einem Treffen mit Mugabe im April, da der Präsident geschickt mit Hilfe des Sicherheitsapparats heikle Fragen ausklammerte. Er beschränkte sich auf das Wohlergehen der War Vets und zahlte ihnen US\$ 6.4

Mio. als Schulgeld. Eine andere Gruppe von War Vets unterstützt die Partei Mujurus.

Im Mai planen Anhänger von Mnangagwa einen „Marsch der Millionen für Mugabe.“

Die Partei hat bereits die Wahlkampagne für 2018 begonnen: Sie verspricht städtische Wohnungen, versucht, MDC-T - Stadträte auszuschalten und setzt wie immer Hungerhilfe als politische Waffe ein.

Opposition

Harare erlebte im April die grösste Demonstration von MDC-T seit einem Jahrzehnt mit mehreren Tausend Teilnehmern. Die von der Polizei verbotene, aber vom Gericht zugelassene Demonstration forderte Mugabes Rücktritt und prangerte die schlechte Wirtschaftslage an. An der Demonstration redete Morgan Tsvangirai.

Mujuru und ihre Gefolgsleute gründeten im Februar die Partei „Zimbabwe People First“ (ZPF), zur grossen Verstörung von Zanu-PF. Wie gross Mujurus Beliebtheit wirklich ist, ist noch unklar, auch wenn sie bereits in Zanu-PF-Gebieten unzufriedene Zanu-PF-Führer, Mitglieder und War Vets. anzog. Wie jede Opposition wurde ZPF durch Zanu-PF angegriffen. Im Januar wurde das Haus der Politikerin Margret Dongo angegriffen. Zanu-PF-Jugendliche überfielen ZPF Versammlungen und attackierten ZPF Anhänger. Im Februar wurde eine Demonstration gegen Korruption verboten. Ein US-Bericht wirft Zimbabwe weiter Menschenrechtsverletzungen vor.

Einige Oppositionsparteien führen im Hinblick auf die Wahlen 2018 Koalitionsgespräche, die schleppend vorangehen. Sie veröffentlichten eine gemeinsame Erklärung. Die Ausarbeitung eines politischen Programms ist nötig, nur die Ablösung von Mugabe zu verlangen reicht nicht. ZPF ist bei den Gesprächen nicht dabei.

Wirtschaft

Zimbabwe will wieder Kontakt zum IWF aufnehmen. Und Finanzminister Patrick Chinamasa erwartet, dass der IWF im Mai seine Schuldenzahlungsstrategie annimmt. Er spricht von wirtschaftlichem Aufstieg, von einer positiven Wirtschaftsentwicklung und von einem Wachstum im Jahr 2016 von 3.7%. Die Weltbank geht nur von 1.5 % aus, mit einer Deflation von 1.2%.

Russland ist an besseren Wirtschaftsbeziehungen interessiert, was auch seine Teilnahme an der Internationalen Handelsausstellung im April beweist.

Der Wall Street Economic Index erklärte Zimbabwe im März wegen Korruption und Regierungs-Missmanagement zu einer der am repressivsten Wirtschaften der letzten Dekade. Der Economist Intelligence Unit erwartet ein Wachstum von 3.4 % für 2016–2020. Wegen schlechter Infrastruktur, schlechtem Geschäfts-klima, Agrarproblemen und fehlenden Reformen liegt ein solches Wachstum weit unter dem Potential der zimbabwischen Wirtschaft.

Die De-Industrialisierung ging weiter. Einige Firmen erholten sich zwar, aber zu Jahresbeginn mussten 400 Firmen schliessen. Das Handelsdefizit des ersten Quartals beträgt US\$ 2.5 Mio. Das Land ist weiter von Importen abhängig. Der Handel mit der EU erhöht sich. Er betrug 2013 US\$ 50 Mio. und wird 2016 etwa US\$ 60 Mio. betragen.

Die Börse verlor von Januar bis März 14% an Kapitalwert. Das Finanzsystem leidet unter Liquiditätsproblemen und Geldknappheit. Zahlungsprobleme sind die Folgen: Die Firmen können ihre Rechnungen nicht bezahlen und Geld kommt nicht mehr rein. Viele haben kein Vertrauen in die Banken. Dank des informellen Sektors, der etwa 80% der Wirtschaft ausmacht, und nicht vom Steueramt erfasst ist, hat sich ein Schattenbanksystem ohne Sicherheit entwickelt.

Eine wichtige Rolle spielt die Diaspora. Sie rettete die Kasse mit Überweisungen im Betrag von US\$ 1 Mrd.

Der Geldmangel hat katastrophale Auswirkungen. Die Gehälter einiger staatlicher Unternehmen wie Grain Marketing Board oder Eisenbahn sind seit Monaten nicht bezahlt.

Die Eisenbahnangestellten streikten im März, weil der Lohn seit 15 Monaten nicht bezahlt ist.

Im April entschuldigte sich Mugabe für verspätet bezahlte Beamtengehälter, Boni und Renten. Noch vor einem Jahr widersetzte er sich Chinamasa, der keine Boni zahlen wollte. Beamtengehälter wuchsen 2014 um 16.5% – das BSP um 16.6%. Dabei sind 10% der Beamten immer noch ohne wirklichen Job oder „Ghost-worker“. Aber bei den Gehältern der Beamten, die 75% des Budgets ausmachen, ist eine Sparrunde wegen des Patronage-Systems, auf das sich Mugabes Macht stützt, praktisch unmöglich.

Zehn Botschaften wurden die Residenz gekündet, weil die Miete nicht bezahlt wurde. Einer Botschaft wurde die Telefonleitung gekappt.

Indigenisierung

Im April gab Mugabe zu, das Gesetz über die Indigenisierung, das verlangt, dass 51 % der Firmenanteile an Einheimische übertragen werden (ohne Angaben über die Entschädigung zu machen), würde Investoren „verwirren“. Er versprach Änderungen. Das Gesetz wurde allerdings bis jetzt nicht geändert. Aber Mugabe pfiff den Indigenisierungsminister Patrick Zhuwao, der sein Neffe ist, zurück. Dieser drohte ausländischen Firmen mit der Schließung, wenn sie nicht bis am 31. März Pläne zur Abgabe von 51% der Firmenanteile an Einheimische vorlegten. Etwa 50 Firmen kamen der Anordnung nach.

Mugabe verlängerte die Frist und führte für jeden Wirtschaftssektor unterschiedliche Quoten für die Indigenisierung ein. Zhuwas Rolle beschränkte er auf die Umsetzung der Beschlüsse der zuständigen Minister. Kritiker befürchten, dass das kein U-Turn bedeutet, sondern dass damit nur die Verhandlungen mit dem



IWF erleichtert werden sollen. Die jüngere Generation befürwortet die Indigenisierung. Sie erwartet höhere Gewinne und lehnt ausländische Direktinvestitionen ab.

Sonderzonen für wirtschaftliche Entwicklung, in denen Firmen spezielle Privilegien wie Steuerbefreiung und Befreiung von der Indigenisierung zugestanden werden, sollen bald ausgeschieden werden, um ausländische Investitionen anzuziehen. Zum Vergleich: Zambia und Mosambik erhielten US\$ 2 Mrd. und US\$ 5 Mrd. an Direktinvestitionen, Zimbabwe nur US\$ 400 Mio. Aliko Dangote, Afrikas reichster Mann, begann nun im Bergbau zu investieren.

Hungrisnot / Landwirtschaft

Seit 2 Jahren erleidet das Land wegen El Nino eine Hungrisnot. Im März fiel zwar viel Regen, aber zu spät. 2.4 Mio. Menschen sind auf Hilfe angewiesen. Die Regierung bat erst im Februar - viel zu spät - um US\$ 1.5 Mrd. Hungerhilfe. Bis im Februar verendeten bereits etwa 500'000 Zuchttiere, auch das Wild leidet. Wasserbestände in den Dämmen trockneten aus. Der Kariba-Staudamm war im Januar etwa zu einem Viertel gefüllt. Wasser ist in einigen Provinzen rationiert. Das Trinkwasser in Harare ist ungenießbar und Flaschenwasser sehr begehrt. Die Regenfälle im März lockerten die Situation etwas, die Stauseen füllen sich wieder.

Für 2016/2017 wird 1.1-2 Mio. Tonnen Korn benötigt, aber nur etwa 200'000 werden produziert. 2016 wurde nur auf der Hälfte der Fläche angepflanzt, die letztes

Jahr bebaut wurde. Die Farmer wurden ermutigt, kleinere, durreresistenter Kornsorten anzubauen. Einige Kleinbauern stiegen in die Tabakproduktion ein. Erwartet wird ein Ertrag von US\$ 7 Mio.

Erneut wurden im Februar 90 weisse Farmer enteignet, obwohl schon letztes Jahr Parteiexponenten vor weiteren Enteignungen gewarnt hatten. Der Grund: Zanu-PF suchte Land für die Jugendlichen, die mitgeholfen hatten, die Anhänger von Mujuru von den Parteiposten zu entfernen. Dies, obwohl ganz viel Land brachliegt.

Und ebenfalls im Februar erklärte der Land-Umsiedlungsminister Dr. Douglas Mombeshore, die Landübernahme sei ein Fehler gewesen. Die Landreform sei mit der Verteilung von 14.5 Mio. Hektar Land abgeschlossen. Es gebe ungenutzte Flächen, die für Umsiedlungen geeignet seien.

Ironie der Geschichte: Mugabe sagte, Zambia könne Zimbabwe Mais liefern, weil es ehemaligen zimbabwischen Farmern Land gegeben habe! Mugabe stimmte zwar einem Plan zu, 6'000 Farmer zu entschädigen, aber die Bewertung und die Zahlungsmodalitäten sind noch offen.

Diamanten

Mugabe hatte kritisiert, dass der Staat aus den Marange Diamanten-Minen viel zu wenig Geld erhalten habe und dass dem Staat so US\$ 15 Mrd. gestohlen worden seien. Er löste damit einen Sturm der Entrüstung aus. Mit dieser enormen Summe, die etwa fünfmal so hoch wie das Budget ist, hätten die Schulden von US\$10 Mrd. bezahlt und die Infrastruktur saniert werden können.

Die Enthüllungen waren vielleicht auf Mnangagwa gemünzt, der angeblich vom Diamantengeschäft profitiert.

Sieben Marange-Minen, die den von der Regierung verordneten Zusammenschluss ablehnten, wurden geschlossen, sechs Lizenzen waren zudem abgelaufen.

Zustand der Nation

Eddie Cross

Die Regenzeit neigt sich dem Ende zu. Ich meine, dies sei eine gute Gelegenheit, sich zu überlegen, wo Zimbabwe heute steht und was während der Trockenzeit – bis November – zu erwarten ist.

Der Auftakt der Regenzeit, die normalerweise in den Monaten Oktober/November beginnt, war schrecklich. Auf verfrühte Regenfälle im September folgten extreme Hitze und alsdann nur sehr wenig Regen bis im Februar. Zu diesem Zeitpunkt standen wir bereits mitten in einem harten Winter. Die Rinderherden fanden kaum Gras, überall herrschte Mangel an Oberflächenwasser.

Dann, im März, kam der Regen. Heftige weitverbreitete Niederschläge liessen die Flüsse über ihre Ufer treten. Im Süden des Landes erholten sich die Weidegebiete in erstaunlicher Weise. Und es sah tatsächlich danach aus, dass die jüngste Aussaat erfolgreich sein würde. Das gab Anlass, die geschätzten Ernteerträge für Mais vorsichtig von 200 000 auf 350 000 Tonnen anzuheben. Das ist allerdings nur ein Bruchteil des jährlichen Bedarfs von 1.8 Millionen Tonnen. Die meisten Oberflä-

Die chinesische Anjin Mine, an der der Staat mit 10% beteiligt ist, legte nie Rechnung ab. Eine Firma ist wieder aktiv. Diverse Gerichtsverfahren sind hängig.

Durch die Schliessung der Minen wurde ein kurzer Diamantenrausch mit vielen privaten Schürfern erzeugt, ehe eine neue staatliche Firma zusammen mit der Armee das Diamantengebiet wieder unter Kontrolle brachte. Der MDC-Parlamentarier Eddie Cross forderte eine formelle Aufarbeitung der Vorkommnisse, eine öffentliche Ausschreibung für die Bewirtschaftung der Minen und eine Vergabe an eine kompetente Firma. Als Vorbild nannte Cross Botswana, das seine Diamantenminen erfolgreich bewirtschaftet. Diese Minenfelder weisen dieselbe schwierige Geologie auf wie in Zimbabwe. Aber mit einem Joint Venture zu 50 % mit De Beers erhält der Staat 70% der Einnahmen.

Militär

Mugabe bedankte sich bei der Armee für die Wahlunterstützung. Dies bestätigt die seit längerem bestehende Vermutung über die wichtige Rolle der Armee. Politische Aussagen des Armeechefs Constantine Chiwanga im April erzeugten erneut Bedenken über die Rolle der Sicherheitskräfte nach Mugabes Abgang.

In letzter Zeit wurden neue Chiefs ernannt, was weitere Kontrollen über die Dorfbewohner bedeutet. Schulkinder sollen ab Mai täglich der Flagge und dem Befreiungskrieg die Treue erklären. Die neue Verfassung ist abgeschwächt. So kann die Menschenrechts-Kommission keinen Vorfall vor 2009 untersuchen. Das vorgeschlagene Versöhnungsgesetz wird in öffentlichen Sitzungen beraten.

(Skorping, 24. April 2016. Ruth Weiss lebte lange im südlichen Afrika und arbeitete als Wirtschaftsjournalistin u.a. für den Guardian und die Financial Times. Sie schreibt regelmässig für den Rundbrief.)

chengewässer haben sich weitgehend erholt. Für eine Vielzahl von Staubecken im Land gilt dies noch nicht. Immerhin, die wichtigsten Stauseen zeigen einen gesunden Pegelstand – ausser Lake Kyle, dessen Wasserstand weit unter dem normalen Niveau liegt.

Wer sich für mögliche Auswirkungen des Klimawandels interessiert, erhält im Gebiet des Kariba Stausees spannenden Anschauungsunterricht. Wenn die weltweiten Wettersysteme so reagieren, wie es die Fachleute erwarten, wird sich die Innertropische Konvergenzzone (oder auf Englisch Inter-Tropical Convergence Zone ITCZ) nach Norden verschieben. In einem solchen Fall sollten die Gebiete im südlichen Afrika, wo bereits in der Vergangenheit mehr Regenfälle verzeichnet wurden, noch feuchter werden. Und genau das ist im laufenden Jahr geschehen. Im Einzugsgebiet des oberen Sambesi fielen grosse Regenmengen, welche das Wasser in den Überschwemmungsgebieten von West Sambia auf Rekordwerte anschwellen liessen. Entsprechend gross, das heisst 60% über dem Normalwert, sind die Abflussmengen im oberen Sambesi.

Die Victoria-Fälle, die von den einheimischen Mosi-oa-Tunya (donnernder Rauch) genannt werden, machen ihrem Namen alle Ehre. Die Gischt-Säule ist höher, das Donnern lauter. Wildwasser-Rafting unterhalb der Fälle ist nur noch eingeschränkt möglich. Dafür steigt der Kariba Stausee rapide. In den Monaten April/Mai werden Rekordzuflüsse erwartet.

Trotz einer Atempause für die Viehwirtschaft und einer gewissen Verbesserung der Maisernte stehen wir vor einer sehr schwierigen Trockenzeit. Vielleicht 4 Millionen Menschen in den ländlichen Gebieten werden auf Nahrungsmittelhilfe oder finanzielle Unterstützung angewiesen sein. Dazu kommen wohl an die 2 Millionen Bewohner der Agglomerationen, die meiner Meinung nach der Hilfe bedürfen, um den Winter zu überstehen. Alles in allem sind 40% der Bevölkerung betroffen.

Doch die schwerwiegenderen Probleme des Landes sind wirtschaftlicher Natur, zurückzuführen auf das Resultat der Wahlen im Juli 2013. Unmittelbar nach diesen Wahlen fiel das Land buchstäblich in einen Schockzustand. Doch, was damals niemand vorausah, war, wie hart die Wirtschaft auf den Sieg von Zanu PF reagieren würde. Innerhalb von Tagen begann der Einbruch der Wertpapier-Börse. Sie verlor im Verlauf von nur drei Wochen 30% ihres Wertes. Darauf folgten die massiven Bargeldbezüge bei den Banken. Beides hat sich seit 2013 verstärkt. Die Börse, die mittlerweile um 60 – 70% gesunken ist, verliert weiterhin an Wert und die Bankkunden ziehen weiterhin ihre Guthaben ab – Tendenz steigend.

Der allgemeine Vertrauensverlust führte zu einem Rückgang der Geschäftstätigkeit. Unternehmensschliessungen häuften sich und die Liquidität der Banken verschlechterte sich zunehmend. Der Versuch der Regierung, das Hirngespinst „Indigenisierung der Wirtschaft“ wieder voranzutreiben, wirkte als Akzelerator der Bargeldkrise. Diese hat heute ein beängstigendes Mass angenommen und schwächt die Wirtschaftstätigkeit weiter. Es gibt verschiedene Gründe für die Bargeldkrise. Doch die Grundursache liegt darin, dass der Staat Geld ausgibt, das er nicht hat, das heisst, dass er seine Ausgaben nicht an die sinkenden Steuereinnahmen anpasst.

Die Regierung der Nationalen Einheit (GNU = Government of National Unity), die vor den letzten Wahlen die Regierungsverantwortung innehatte, erzielte während 4 Jahren trotz vielerlei Forderungen Budgetüberschüsse. Doch kaum hatte Zanu PF wieder die alleinige Kontrolle übernommen, kehrten die alten Gewohnheiten zurück. Das Defizit von 2014 belief sich bereits auf ein Milliarde Dollar, erhöhte sich im Folgejahr und wie es 2016 aussehen wird, wissen wir nicht. Zur Finanzierung der Fehlbeträge hat die Regierung Schatzscheine ausgegeben und zudem Gelder aus allen möglichen Quellen zusammengekratzt. Das hat den Bargeldmangel weiter verschärft mit dem Resultat, dass es zunehmend schwierig ist, bei den Banken Bargeldbezüge zu tätigen – eine weitere Verschlimmerung der Krise.

Besonders beunruhigend ist die plötzliche Unfähigkeit der Banken, Geld zu transferieren. Clearing Zahlungen (RTCS Real Time Cross Settlement) werden verzögert, sodass Geldüberweisungen manchmal bis zu einem Monat in Anspruch nehmen können. Das hat gravierende Auswirkungen. Es erschwert nicht nur die Bezahlung all

der Güter und Dienstleistungen, die wir vom Ausland beziehen müssen, es setzt auch die Zahlungssysteme im Inland unter Duck. Viele Firmen sind diesen schwierigen Rahmenbedingungen nicht mehr gewachsen. Es droht eine Flut von Unternehmensschliessungen.

Der letzte Tropfen, der das Fass zum Überlaufen bringen könnte, sind die Streitereien innerhalb von Zanu PF, die inzwischen gefährliche Ausmasse erreicht haben. Nach dem Parteiausschluss von Joice Mujuru und der meisten ihrer Anhänger sind es im Wesentlichen noch drei Fraktionen, die am Machtkampf beteiligt sind. Da ist einmal die Gruppe ehrgeiziger jüngerer Parteikader aus der Generation nach dem Befreiungskrieg. Gefördert werden sie von der Präsidentengattin, die aber ihrerseits politische Ziele verfolgt. Die zweite Gruppe hat sich um den Vizepräsidenten, Emerson Mnangagwa, formiert und eine weitere Gruppe hält weiterhin zum Präsidenten selber.

Die Gruppe, die von Grace Mugabe gefördert wird, verfügt über beträchtlichen Einfluss auf das Fussvolk in der Partei. In ideologischer Hinsicht vertreten sie eine radikalere Richtung, ähnlich wie die EFF (Economic Freedom Fighters) in Südafrika, die für ihre linksradikalen, panafrikanischen und antikapitalistischen Tendenzen bekannt sind. Es gibt in der Tat eine ganze Menge Beweise für Verbindungen zwischen den beiden Gruppierungen. Die Anhänger des Vizepräsidenten kontrollieren eindeutig den Staatsapparat und die Sicherheitsbehörden. Obwohl sie heute noch alle Schalthebel in ihren Händen halten, haben sie Schwierigkeiten mit der Partei. Eine ernsthafte Schwäche ist dies nicht, weil Zanu PF als Massenbewegung kaum mehr existiert.

Die kleine Schar, die noch zum Präsidenten hält, hat nur ein Ziel – sich an die Macht klammern und den alten Mann am Leben erhalten. Sollte er, aus was für Gründen immer, seinen Posten verlassen, würden sie und die jungen Radikalen auf dem Müllhaufen der Politik landen und alles verlieren.

Und so stehen wir vor einem Kampf, bei dem bis zum Schluss mit harten Bandagen gekämpft wird. Eine der Fraktionen muss gewinnen. Es geht um Leben oder Tod für alle. Das jüngste Treffen der Kriegsveteranen war nur eine weitere Schlacht in diesem Krieg. Zunächst sah es aus, als handle es sich lediglich um Gespräche betreffend die Sozialhilfe für die Veteranen. Bei näherem Hinsehen wurde indessen klar, dass es um etwas ganz Anderes ging. Es war ein weiteres Warnsignal an den alten Mann Zimbabwes, dass er die Unterstützung seiner Freunde aus dem Befreiungskampf verloren hat. Es war auch ein klarer Machtbeweis der Fraktion um den Vizepräsidenten Mnangagwa.

Wo stehen wir nun am Anfang dieses Winters? Die Nachfolge ist nach wie vor nicht geregelt. Dennoch scheint sich zu bestätigen, dass es am Ende die Fraktion um Mnangagwa sein wird, welche die Macht übernimmt, denn de facto steht diese schon heute in der Verantwortung. Dagegen wird der Clown im Zirkus der G40 (Generation der jungen radikalen Parteikader), Patrick Zwazo, „Minister of Indigenisation“, wohl im Abseits landen.

Als Vorbedingung für die Wiedereingliederung Zimbabwes in die internationale Gemeinschaft wird die neue

Regierung als Erstes die längst fälligen Reformen einleiten müssen. Dies allein wird das wichtigste Problem, das auf allen Ebenen verloren gegangene Vertrauen, indessen nicht lösen. Es wird erst wieder zurückkehren, wenn nicht nur Zimbabwes Status in der Weltgemeinschaft wiederhergestellt ist, sondern Zimbabwes Geschäftsleute auch davon überzeugt sind, dass sie vom Staat in Zukunft berechenbares Handeln im Rahmen der Gesetze erwarten können. Mnangagwa könnte der Wegbereiter auf diesem Weg sein, wobei dieser Weg zwingend zu offenen und fairen Neuwahlen führen

Abduction

Eddie Cross

A week ago I wrote of the tragedy of the disappeared and the abduction of Itayi Dzamara in March 2015. Since then I have received the attached report which, to put it mildly, is completely shocking. Even to me who has been in the trenches for a long time, I had no idea



that abductions were being used on such a scale to intimidate the opposition in Zimbabwe. Couple this report by a respected NGO to the genocide of Ghukurahundi and Murambatsvina and then the vicious campaigns since 2000 and you establish a regime of terror and cruelty beyond belief.

Today we in the MDC proposed a urgent motion in Parliament calling for the State to investigate the disappearance of Itayi and to prosecute those responsible. The Speaker asked those in favour of a debate on the motion to stand and when all MDC Members stood, not a single Zanu PF member stood with us – what do these people think I asked myself. By behaving like this they are associated with his abduction and probable death. The TV cameras were recording this shameful display with the whole country watching.

muss, die von niemandem, nicht einmal von der Armee, in Frage gestellt werden dürfen.

(Harare, 8 April 2016. Eddie Cross, studierter Landwirt und Ökonom, bezeichnet sich als „weissen Afrikaner“, weil er in dritter Generation in Zimbabwe lebt. Seit 1999 ist er Mitglied von MDC und vertritt MDC im Parlament. Übersetzung Walter Huwyler)

Read this report – 5894 recorded abductions since 2000 – more than one a day for 16 years. 10 per cent severe injuries due to torture, 70 per cent moderate to severe injuries. 81 deaths confirmed and over 300 disappeared – probably dead. Not a single conviction even

though many victims identified their abductors – showing a complete system of immunity for any who conduct such operations on behalf of the State. Read the verbatim accounts of victims, just imagine what this means in the communities who have stood up to

this tyranny for the past 16 years and have not retaliated in any way. Brave democrats who have given their lives in defense of their hard won freedoms gained in 1980 after a savage guerilla war for Independence.

I defy anyone not to be moved by this report and challenge all of us to keep up the struggle until we can achieve what we all want for ourselves and our children.

(Harare, 16 March 2016)

Opposition

Will an Opposition Coalition Bring Change to Zimbabwe?

Dewa Mavhinga

Since Zimbabwe attained independence from British colonial rule in 1980, it has had just one leader, 92-year old president Robert Mugabe. This year the country's ruling party, the Zimbabwe African Nationalist Union – Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) endorsed Mugabe as its presidential candidate for elections scheduled for 2018. Numerous opposition parties appear too weak, and too divided to successfully loosen Mugabe and ZANU-PF's grip on power.

Some observers and analysts have suggested the only way to succeed is for opposition parties to form a coalition to confront ZANU-PF in the 2018 elections. In April 2016, Simba Makoni (former senior ZANU-PF official and finance minister in Mugabe's government), leader of opposition party Mavambo, Kusile, Dawn (MKD), called for a coalition of progressive opposition forces to challenge Mugabe and ZANU-PF in the 2018 elections. This paper examines the current status of opposition parties in Zimbabwe as well as the necessity, and feasibility of an opposition coalition. The paper will also consider the coalition's chances of success against Mugabe and ZANU-PF in the 2018 elections.

Relentless factional fights in ZANU-PF over who takes over from Mugabe as head of party and government have severely weakened the ruling party. There is mounting resistance from the ZANU-PF rank and file to the idea, which now seems likely, that Mugabe wants his 50-year old wife, Grace, to take over from him. It was Grace who in December 2014 orchestrated the expulsion from ZANU-PF of Mugabe's deputy for ten years, Joyce Mujuru, together with several senior party officials, on spurious allegations of plotting to assassinate Mugabe. Since December 2014, Grace Mugabe heads ZANU-PF's powerful Women's League and is now widely regarded as the power behind Mugabe's throne. But Zimbabwe's opposition political parties may fail to seize the opportunity to strategize and win elections in 2018 because the opposition parties are splintered and equally weak.

Since its formation in 1999, Zimbabwe's largest opposition party, the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) led by Morgan Tsvangirai, has splintered and lost several senior officials who went off to form rival political parties including the Movement for Democratic Change led by professor Welshman Ncube (2006), the People's Democratic Party led by Tendai Biti (2014), and the Renewal Democrats of Zimbabwe led by Elton Mangoma (2014). In addition to the MDC formations, there are several small political parties including Simba Makoni's MKD (formed in 2007), the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) led by Dumiso Dabengwa, Transform Zimbabwe led by Jacob Ngarivhume, the National Constitutional Assembly led by professor Lovemore Madhuku, the Democratic Assembly for Restoration and Empowerment (DARE) led by Gilbert Dzikiti, and the newly formed splinter from ZANU-PF, the Zimbabwe People

First party (formed in 2016) led by Joyce Mujuru.

Looking back, many view Zimbabwe's 2008 elections as a missed opportunity when the opposition could have formed an effective coalition against Mugabe and ZANU-PF. In the first round of the 2008 presidential elections which observers and opposition groups dismissed as neither free nor fair, Tsvangirai won with 47.9%, leading Mugabe with 43.2% and Simba Makoni (contesting as an independent candidate) with 8.3%, and little known Towungana with 0.6% of the votes. However, because Tsvangirai did not win an absolute majority as required by law (50% plus one vote), a run-off election was held. During the run-off election state-security forces unleashed widespread violence that led Tsvangirai to pull out of the race with Mugabe winning in a one-man race. If opposition parties had rallied behind one presidential candidate to challenge Mugabe then the opposition would have had an absolute majority.

The main challenge with Zimbabwe politics today, however, is not just about a weak opposition that is in disarray, it is more about an uneven electoral field that is under Mugabe and ZANU-PF's absolute control. Some observers have argued that Tsvangirai in fact won the 2008 first round presidential elections with an absolute majority but results were rigged to necessitate a run-off election in which Mugabe then unleashed the state machinery of violence against MDC supporters. Therefore, the main focus of an opposition coalition in Zimbabwe, unlike elsewhere, is not just for numerical advantage, but mainly to press for electoral reforms. Mugabe and ZANU-PF have remained in power not because of popular support, but because of an uneven electoral field, and the use of state machinery to strike fear in the hearts of voters.

The primary focus for the opposition, either as a coalition or as individual entities, is to push the ZANU-PF government to implement meaningful electoral reforms that create a conducive environment for the holding of credible, free and fair elections and that inspire confidence in the people of Zimbabwe that they can freely choose their leaders. Key to such reforms would be a full implementation of Zimbabwe's new and progressive constitution that was signed into law in May 2013.

But more importantly, Zimbabwe's security forces, including soldiers, the police, and state intelligence agents, must have nothing to do with the elections managements or partisan political campaigns. All state security leaders must restrict their activities to their constitutional mandate and totally separate themselves from politics and from interference in political and electoral affairs. The government must remove the climate of fear that covers the country and dismantle state-sponsored structures of violence. The country's elections management body, the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission and its secretariat, must be completely demilitarized, independent, professional, and adequately resourced to enable it to

impartially discharge its mandate to deliver free and fair elections.

It is on the basis of a common understanding on these important pillars for free and fair elections that an opposition coalition should be formed. But, for various reasons, opposition parties may be reluctant to come together to challenge ZANU-PF from a common platform. There is general agreement that an opposition coalition is necessary, even unavoidable, to mount a significant challenge to the ruling party. However, there is no agreement on how such a coalition would be constituted, nor is there agreement on who should lead it.

Of all the opposition parties, only the two MDCs led by Tsvangirai and Ncube are currently represented in Parliament where ZANU-PF has an overwhelming majority. Because many of the opposition parties are not represented in Parliament, it is difficult to measure their size and strength with any degree of accuracy. This may lead the 'bigger' opposition parties like Tsvangirai's MDC to be dismissive of the significance of partnering with small parties who 'have nothing to bring to the table.' In March 2014, Professor Lovemore Madhuku of the NCA party dismissed Tsvangirai's calls for a coalition, he said, "As NCA, we're a full political party. We'll never join other political parties. When we decided to become a political party, both Zanu-PF and MDC-T already existed."

In mid- April 2016, Tsvangirai's MDC party organized a protest march in Harare over unemployment and worsening economic conditions in the country. Thousands of people came to the march, demonstrating that Tsvangirai's MDC remains popular among ordinary Zimbabweans. The good turn out of supporters for the protest march may also have emboldened Tsvangirai and his party to believe that they do not need an opposition coalition for the 2018 elections. After the protest march, Tsvangirai who had previously supported the idea of an opposition coalition appeared to backtrack when he told the media, "...we would rather get legitimately elected and be given the mandate by the people to rule. If you don't have shared vision, you can't have partnership and you waste a lot of time tearing each other apart, pursuing different agendas."

Those that left Tsvangirai to form their own political parties have accused Tsvangirai of being a dictator, vowing never to work with him again. Tendai Biti, leader of the People's Democratic Party once accused Tsvangirai of being a "pseudo democrat" and a dictator in the mood of Mugabe. Personality clashes, egos, and power struggles over who would lead the opposition coalition, are all obstacles that may prevent the coalition from becoming a reality. Some opposition leaders, particularly those that came out of the Tsvangirai's MDC, insist that they are open to an opposition coalition only if that coalition is not led by Tsvangirai. On the other hand, Tsvangirai's supporters claim that it is Tsvangirai who commands the largest following among opposition parties and as such he should lead any opposition coalition.

It is possible that several smaller political parties may wish to form an opposition coalition led by Joyce Mujuru and exclude Tsvangirai's MDC. Many MDC supporters are reluctant to join forces with Joyce Mujuru, accusing her of having been part of ZANU-PF when it carried out

horrendous human rights violations. A youth leader in Tsvangirai's MDC, Happymore Chidziva, went as far as to say, with reference to working with Mujuru's party, "it would be a great betrayal of those who died for the democratic struggle if we are to be seen to work together with people who presided over the abuse and killings of our people..." But of course the reality is that between 2009 and 2013, the MDC was in a coalition government with ZANU-PF with Mugabe as president and Tsvangirai as prime minister.

Joyce Mujuru is a decorated fighter of Zimbabwe's liberation struggle, and her husband, the late General Solomon Mujuru, was the first commander of the armed forces in independent Zimbabwe. Mujuru is widely viewed as a reformist and a national leader, and she describes her Zimbabwe People First party as a party of 'national democrats who are guided by values of the liberation struggle.' Despite her strong liberation struggle credentials, Mujuru is viewed with mistrust by some who see her as a ZANU-PF Trojan horse. But relentless harassment and persecution by state agents continues to win her sympathisers and supporters.

Among the smaller opposition groups Mujuru is well-respected. One of Mujuru's daughters is married to a member of Simba Makoni's family. So it will be easy for Makoni and others to work with Mujuru in a coalition. Chances of a coalition of small political parties rallying behind Mujuru are high, but it is unclear if Mujuru's group will join hands with Tsvangirai's party. A major sticking point is likely to be: who leads the coalition and runs as the coalition's presidential candidate in 2018 elections?

If the opposition parties can commit to a restoration of the 2009 structure of government where, in theory, executive power was shared between the prime minister and president, then it will be easy to form an opposition coalition to win 2018 elections and then institute amendments to restore the post of prime minister. That way, if Joyce Mujuru is president, Tsvangirai will be prime minister, or vice versa.

Once leaders of opposition parties overcome personal egos and the pre-occupation with positions, a coalition will become feasible. But it should be clear that such a coalition can only be effective if its role is to press for key electoral reforms to enable Zimbabweans to vote freely in the 2018 elections. The opposition coalition must not be a joint platform for electoral campaigns in the absence of key reforms that include the demilitarization and professionalization of an independent electoral management body. Without an opposition coalition that is focused on leveling the electoral field, then even a ZANU-PF that is at its weakest, with a then 94-year old Mugabe as its presidential candidate, may still continue in power beyond 2018 elections.

(29 April 2016. Dewa Mavhinga (LLM, Essex) is a human rights expert and researcher on Zimbabwe/Southern Africa.)

ZAPU Open to ZPF Coalition

Jeffrey Muvundusi

Dumiso Dabengwa's Zapu has said the entrance of Joice Mujuru's Zimbabwe People First (ZPF) in the political fray would spur the setup of the highly-anticipated opposition coalition seeking to unseat President Robert Mugabe's government. Dabengwa is on record saying he will only consider serious engagement for a possible coalition as soon as ZPF is formally launched. Zapu's regional spokesperson Iphithule Maphosa told the Daily News yesterday that the coalition initiative between the two parties would now resume. "Zapu is on record advising the ZPF leadership to launch their party for our coalition talks to continue as there was need for ZPF to

be identifiable first," Maphosa said. "Zapu welcomes the newest kid on the opposition bloc in Zimbabwean politics. Since they have finally launched their party, we reaffirm our commitment to our coalition initiatives which were underway before their launch," he said.

He said what made their coalition initiative distinctive was that the two parties shared a common background both in the liberation struggle and Zanu PF. "The experiences we both underwent under both the colonial regime times and under Mugabe's Zanu PF, coupled

with commonality of our wishes for our liberated country and nation binds us together as we follow democratic processes to achieve our goal of a free, fair and democratic state nation," Maphosa said. He said Zapu was



fully convinced that a grand coalition of all like-minded democratic forces will remove the Zanu PF government come 2018. The Zapu spokesperson however, said all political parties who subscribed to the coalition notion should come to the table as equal partners. "We do not subscribe to the big brother mentality that has often been shown by some leaders where they would want to come into this initiative as leaders of the coalition."

(Bulawayo, 17 March 2016, Daily News)

Thousands March, Tsvangirai Urges Bob to Resign

Close to 10 000 people turned up Thursday as MDC-T leader Morgan Tsvangirai and his wife Elizabeth led a peaceful march against corruption and poverty. MDC-T supporters braved heavy police presence and gathered at Freedom Square in front of the Harare Magistrate Courts before they marched to Africa Unity Square, where Tsvangirai addressed them. Some of the marchers sang: "*Asi Mugabe tiudze kwawakaendesa mari.*" (Tell us Mugabe, where is our money?) This was in reference to the \$15 billion which Mugabe recently said was stolen from the Marange diamond sales.

In a brief speech, the MDC-T leader told his supporters that Mugabe had no solution to the problems faced by the nation and called on him to step down immediately. He said, "We are calling on Mugabe to step down from power as he is too old to continue holding the office of

the president in the country, we are not going to force him to resign but we are going to defeat him in the elections." The former Prime Minister mourned the collapse of the country's industries, saying Zimbabwe has been turned into a vending nation. "Mugabe promised to provide 2 million jobs to the people but, instead, he has created 2 million vendors and this is why we are asking him to resign because he has failed to run the country," he added.

Tsvangirai also expressed gratitude to the people for demonstrating peacefully to voice their concerns. "What you did today – demonstrating for your rights to have jobs, better education and access to health and medicine – is a testimony to Zimbabwe that we have a failed leadership which should go. "This demonstration today is a new chapter in the country as the constitution is

clear that it is our right to demonstrate, we are going to be holding many more demonstrations in every province ending with a big national demonstration," said Tsvangirai.

The march was given a last minute green light as police had denied MDC-T the right hold the demonstration. On Wednesday, High Court granted an order for the march

to proceed as planned. There was heavy police presence throughout central Harare with cops reportedly tear-gassing people at Harvest House. No injuries have been reported yet.

(Harare, 14 April 2016, New Zimbabwe)

Diamanten

„Wenn Diebe sich entzweien ...“

Eddie Cross

Am Montag, 1. Februar 2016, hat der Minister für Bergbau alle CEOs der sechs Bergbaufirmen, die in Marange nach Diamanten schürfen, zu sich gerufen. Noch während er zu ihnen sprach, rückten Polizeikräfte in das Minengelände ein, befahlen dem Personal aller Firmen, ihre Werkzeuge niederzulegen und den Ort zu verlassen. Maschinen und Einrichtungen im Wert von mehreren hundert Millionen Dollar wurden sich selbst überlassen, Büros und Lagerhäuser blieben ohne Aufsicht. Die Reaktion der lokalen Bevölkerung folgte auf dem Fuss. Sie schwärmen über das ganze Gelände, begannen auf eigene Rechnung zu schürfen und plünderten alles, was ihnen unter die Hände kam. Am folgenden Donnerstag erklärte der Präsident, der Staat habe die gesamte Diamanten-Minenindustrie nationalisiert.

Es war der Höhepunkt jahrzehntelanger Streitigkeiten über die enormen Vorkommen von alluvialen Diamanten mit geschätzten 10 Milliarden Karat an Rohdiamanten. Vermutlich handelt es sich um die bedeutendste Entdeckung der vergangenen 100 Jahre.

Ursprünglich entdeckt wurden die Felder von De Beers, der weltweit grössten Firma, die Diamanten abbaut und vermarktet. 2006, nach knapp zehn Jahren, liess sie ihre Schürfrechte indes verfallen. Unmittelbare Nachfolgerin wurde eine kleine in London ansässige Firma mit Namen African Consolidated Resources (ACR), die sogleich mit Schürfen begann. Schon nach sechs Wochen zeigte sich, was De Beers während vielen Jahren gehütet hatte – grosse Mengen an Diamanten in alluvialen Sanden rund um eine Rippe, in welcher der wesentliche Teil der Diamanten noch im harten Agglomerat enthalten war. Von dort wurden und werden sie allmählich in den umliegenden Schwemmsand freigesetzt.

Nachdem ACR die Entdeckung gemäss den Regeln der Londoner Börse öffentlich bekannt gemacht hatte, wurde auch das Bergbauministerium in Harare darauf aufmerksam. Dieses leitete unmittelbar die notwenigen Schritte ein, um der Firma ihre Rechte zu entziehen und erlaubte danach individuellen Schatzsuchern (schliesslich etwa 40 000 an der Zahl) auf dem Gelände oberflächennah nach Diamanten zu suchen. 2008 wurde sich der Staat des Reichtums bewusst, der in den Feldern lagerte. Unter Einsatz von Kampfhelikoptern und Inkaufnahme von 200 Toten vertrieb die Armee die vielen Tausend Diamantensammler kurzerhand vom Gelände.

Die Schürfrechte wurden alsdann an sechs Gesellschaften verliehen, die alle auf irgendeine Weise mit staatlichen Sicherheitsorganen und der vom Staat

kontrollierten Zimbabwe Mining Development Corporation (ZMDC) verbunden waren. Trotz eines jeweils hälftigen Kapitalanteils blieben diese praktisch ohne Einfluss und Kontrolle. Der bedeutendsten dieser Gesellschaften wurde die Lizenz durch den Staatspräsidenten höchst persönlich verliehen. Es handelt sich um die Firma Anjin, die von der chinesischen Roten Armee kontrolliert wird. An zweiter Stelle steht die Firma Mbada, die von engen Vertrauten des Präsidenten und anderen kriminellen Elementen in Südafrika kontrolliert wird. Eine andere Firma mit Namen Marange Resources wird vom Bergbauminister kontrolliert.

Die ACR erhielt keinerlei Entschädigung für die abgekauften Schürfrechte – auch dann nicht, als die Gerichte zu ihren Gunsten entschieden hatten. Das Ganze war offensichtlich ein politischer Schachzug des Regimes in Harare, um so die Ausbeutung der Diamantenfelder unter seine Kontrolle zu bringen. Ich schätze den Ertrag während der darauffolgenden acht Jahre auf zirka 120 Millionen Karat. Gerechnet mit einem durchschnittlichen Wert von 120 Dollar pro Karat ergibt das 14.4 Milliarden Dollar. Im Jahre 2012 erreichte die Produktion mit etwa 35 Millionen Karat ihren Höhepunkt. Seither sinkt sie: Auf 14 Millionen 2013, 12 Millionen 2014, 4.7 Millionen 2015 und vielleicht 3 Millionen 2016.

Der Rückgang ist hauptsächlich darauf zurückzuführen, dass die technischen Probleme, die mit der Diamantengewinnung aus hartem Agglomerat verbunden sind, nicht gelöst werden konnten. In diesen Formationen lagert jedoch der wesentliche Teil der Rohdiamanten. Nach Meinung von Experten besitzen nur zwei Minengesellschaften dieses Fachwissen – Rio Tinto und De Beers. Beide Firmen sind nicht im Geringsten daran interessiert, sich auf dieses sprichwörtliche Minenfeld zu wagen.

Weniger als 0,05% der Einnahmen dieser Gesellschaften haben den Weg ins Finanzministerium gefunden. Erst nach jahrelangem Drängen des Finanzministers wachte der Staat plötzlich auf. Mit nicht zu überbietender Heuchelei beklagte Robert Mugabe diese Woche die fehlende Transparenz in Marange und die Tatsache, dass die Minengesellschaften keine Gelder an die Staatskasse abgelieferten und stattdessen die Verkaufserlöse externalisiert worden sind. Tatsache ist, dass der Präsident und seine Familie in erster Linie vom System profitierten, das sie selbst errichtet hatten.

Die Frage, die wir uns alle stellen ist: „Weshalb gerade jetzt?“ Die einzige Erklärung ist wohl die, dass der

Präsident die Kontrolle über die Diamantenfelder ganz übernehmen möchte, nun, da die Erträge drastisch gesunken sind. Der Bergbauminister ist sein Neffe und der Präsident befürchtet vermutlich, Gelder aus den Minen könnten bei Elementen landen, die im Sicherheitsapparat und im politischen Machtgefüge des Regimes vernetzt sind und zum wachsenden Lager jener gehören, die verlangen, dass er zurücktrete und einem Nachfolger Platz mache.

Die traurige Geschichte illustriert, was in vielen afrikanischen Staaten falsch läuft. Im Gegensatz dazu Botswana: Dort führten die bedeutenden Diamantenfunde zur Gründung eines „Joint Ventures“ mit De Beers. Die damit geschaffene gesunde Grundlage erlaubte eine in allen Belangen transparente Entwicklung der Ressourcen. Es stärkte auch die internationale Vermarktung und die Teilnahme an den Stabilisierungsmechanismen. Heute deckt Botswana einen Dritteln der weltweiten Nachfrage. Es ist ein entscheidendes Zentrum für die Verarbeitung und Vermarktung von Diamanten geworden. Dank regelmässig fliessender Staatseinnahmen erfreut sich Botswana heute nicht nur des zweithöchsten Lebensstandards in Afrika, das Land verfügt auch über solide Bildungs- und Gesundheitssysteme.

In weiten Teilen Afrikas führte die Entdeckung alluvialer Diamantenvorkommen indes zu Bürgerkriegen und bewaffneten Konflikten – daher der Begriff „Blutdiamanten“. Dies deshalb, weil diese Diamanten leicht abzubauen und zu verarbeiten sind. Zudem verkörpern sie bei geringem Volumen einen hohen Wert. Beim Abbau von Diamanten, die im Gestein eingebettet sind, ist dies völlig anders. Hier sind hohe Investitionen und ausgereifte Technologien gefordert und damit die Kontrolle und das „Management Knowhow“ spezialisierter Bergbaufirmen. Dies erklärt teilweise die Dominanz von De Beers auf diesem Gebiet. Über die Jahre hinweg hat die Firma erfahren, wie wenig flexibel die Nachfrage nach Diamanten ist und dass ihr Marktwert nur durch Steuerung des Angebots erhalten werden kann. Sie erreichten dieses Ziel mit einem System, welches den

überwiegenden Teil der geförderten Rohdiamanten über die Weltmärkte verteilt.

Bei den Entdeckungen in Zimbabwe wurden all diese Prinzipien verletzt – es gab weder Kontrolle noch Steuerung auf dem Weg der Rohdiamanten zu den Märkten. Dies setzte die Preise weltweit unter Druck und schmälerte die Erträge auch jener Staaten, welche ihre Diamante-Industrie in geeigneter Form reguliert hatten. Der Diamantenabbau in Zimbabwe war Nährboden für kriminelle Machenschaften. Er hat die Demokratie, die Einhaltung der Menschenrechte und die Gewährleistung der politischen Freiheiten untergraben. Die Funde leisteten keinerlei Beitrag zur Behebung der sozioökonomischen Krise im Land. Sie halfen auch nicht die hohen Staatsschulden zu reduzieren.

Was nun geschehen sollte, ist die Anerkennung gemachter Fehler durch den Staat und deren Aufarbeitung. Dann könnte man – vielleicht – De Beers einladen, die Felder zu übernehmen und sie ähnlich wie in Botswana auszubeuten. Das würde auch das System in Botswana stärken und beiden Ländern einen erheblichen Einfluss auf den Weltmärkten ermöglichen. Doch wie bei Vielem, das heute passiert, bezweifle ich, dass sich die Vernunft durchsetzen wird.

(Harare, 4. Februar 2016. Eddie Cross, studierter Landwirt und Ökonom, bezeichnet sich als „weissen Afrikaner“, weil er in dritter Generation in Zimbabwe lebt. Seit 1999 ist er Mitglied von MDC und vertritt MDC im Parlament. Übersetzung Walter Huwyler)

Anmerkung des Übersetzers: Gemäss Ken Yamamoto, wissenschaftlicher Institutsmitarbeiter in Tokyo mit Schwerpunkt Afrika, hat sich Robert Mugabe in einer Ansprache vom 3. März 2016 in Harare bitter darüber beklagt, dass aus den Diamantenfeldern über die vergangenen sieben Jahre – also während der Zeit, als diese von Firmen ausgebeutet wurden, an denen auch der Staat beteiligt war, 15 Milliarden Dollar verschwunden seien. Zum Vergleich: Heutige Staatsschuld 10 Milliarden, Staatsbudget 3 Milliarden!!

Army Kicked out of Chiadzwa

Richard Chidza

State security units, including the Zimbabwe National Army, have been ordered to stop their diamond mining operations alongside other mining firms that have been operating in the Chiadzwa area. Mines and Mining Development minister Walter Chidakwa told journalists in Harare on Wednesday that the military had also been affected by the blanket ban on all firms operating in the area.

“There is nothing wrong with the military going into business in any particular sector. However, as far as diamond mining is concerned, we have one song now and that is ZCDC (Zimbabwe Consolidated Diamond Company). We have concluded discussion and consultations, nobody else will be operating except this company wholly-owned by government on behalf of Zimbabweans. They (military) will not be operating here,” Chidakwa said in response to a question on the role of the army.

Chidakwa intimated there had been underhand dealings and looting by mining firms at Chiadzwa. “One gets

the sense that someone was sitting there selecting the quality gems and stocking them away, while revealing the poor quality stuff for sale and then claiming they have been making a loss all along,” he said. Chidakwa warned there would a forensic audit and “whoever was responsible for any impropriety should take responsibility”.

Diamond mining activist Farai Maguwu last year dared Chidakwa to “remove the army” from the Marange diamond fields, saying the country’s service chiefs were involved “in plunder”. “Minister Chidakwa has no muscle whatsoever to tell the army generals that they have looted enough. Would he survive? Would he be able to go back to his wife and children? If he cannot stop the generals, then this merger issue will suffer a stillbirth,” Maguwu said. Chidakwa seemed to confirm Maguwu’s theory disclosing Chinese companies that had been operating in Chiadzwa had not been forthcoming to discuss the merger when government announced it.

Maguwu last year accused "criminals who gave Central Intelligence Organisation operatives luxury vehicles in exchange for diamonds. The story of Marange is corruption from beginning to end. The Marange deal is about who is who in ruling circles and powerful military

generals. That is the reason why two Finance ministers, one from the dying opposition and one from (a) decaying ruling party, sang from the same hymn book".

(Johannesburg, 26 February, IANRA)

Wirtschaft

Mugabe Ruins Telecel to Punish Makamba?

Eddie Cross

Madness has gripped the government of Zimbabwe. It has once again demonstrated its malevolence and callous disregard for the welfare of its people. The decision by a bankrupt government to acquire a 60 percent stake in mobile telephone company Telecel is the latest example of how destructive the government of Robert Gabriel Mugabe is.

Here are the facts. In 1980 when Zanu PF got into power it inherited a number of parastatals which, despite 15 years of comprehensive sanctions against Rhodesia, were fully functional. These included the National Railways of Zimbabwe, Air Zimbabwe and the Zimbabwe Iron and Steel Company (ZISCO).

The first two are bankrupt while ZISCO to all intents and purposes no longer exists. In 1980 ZISCO had the capacity to produce a million tons of liquid steel yielding 850 000 tons of long steel products. It supplied all of Zimbabwe's long steel product requirements with excess capacity to export. The company employed 6,500 people with many others employed at its subsidiaries Lancashire Steel and Buchwa Mine. All that is gone with disastrous consequences for people in Redcliff and Kwekwe.

The National Railways of Zimbabwe no longer offers a reliable passenger and cargo service. Air Zimbabwe ranks as one of the most unreliable airlines in the world kept arterially afloat to feed Mugabe's vanity. These examples are only a microcosm of the damage the Zanu PF government has inflicted on the country's economy and resultant welfare of its people.

This begs the question why a bankrupt government with such a disastrous record in the management of state entities should acquire a stake in a privately owned company. The answer inadvertently was provided by Telecommunications Minister Super Mandiwanzira. He said this insane decision was made at the behest of his principal.

Who is his principal? Robert Mugabe. And why would Mugabe against all economic sense and logic want to take over Telecel without the resources and expertise to run it? The answer lies in his personal vendetta against the Chairman of Telecel Zimbabwe and head of the Empowerment Corporation that has a 40 percent stake in Telecel Zimbabwe, James Makamba.

Before an elaboration of this point it is necessary to highlight the insanity of government's takeover of Telecel. The National Social Security Authority (NSSA) will provide the financial guarantee on behalf of ZARNET a bankrupt state owned internet service provider.

A source close to ZARNET had this to say about the deal: "Asking ZARNET to acquire Telecel is ridiculous. ZARNET has been in financial trouble since its formation in 1997 so it simply lacks the capacity and financial resources to take over Telecel. It is a scandal on its own to even begin to think like that. Of course it is clear that ZARNET is being used as cover for some murky deal."

When NSSA was asked to underwrite this deal its chairman Robin Vela has this to say: "As promised I met with investment committee yesterday to discuss NSSA's support for the project to acquire Vimplecom's shareholding. I understand Vimplecom's interest to be 60 percent equity and 80 million US dollars shareholders' loan; I can disclose that NSSA's investment team and management has formally declined to participate in the transaction based on the assertion that NSSA was just funder providing an unsecured loan. This is fundamentally against what NSSA's mandate is given NSSA is the custodian of Pensioners' funds on which securing the capital and gaining a return on the same is a critical requirement. NSSA does not lend funds directly to any company. It lends to banks under strict and limited conditions. The Telecel transaction would not qualify as such."

The lengthy quotation is absolutely critical as it conclusively proves the unethical and illegal nature of the deal. NSSA has a fiduciary duty to secure Pensioners' funds and has no business to invest in risky commercial ventures. There are also wider implications on the investment climate in a country where capricious politicians make self-service decisions.

Back to Makamba. It's common knowledge that Mugabe suspected that Makamba had an affair with his wife. The businessman was jailed for seven months ostensibly for foreign currency violations. He was repeatedly denied bail on charges whose penalty was only a financial one. Due legal process was denied to him. Today Makamba lives in exile because his freedom in his homeland is not guaranteed.

But these Zimbabweans like Makamba and others in enforced exile are not the real victims. The people who lost employment as a result of their exile bare the real victims. The country suffers because it has lost some of its most enterprising citizens. Telecel will not survive a government takeover. The same government could not profitably run the first mobile telephone operator TelONE. Given the malicious intent behind the Telecel takeover it is doubtful that the company will continue to exist. The livelihoods of thousands of Zimbabweans will be ruined.

It will also be further confirmation that the regime in Harare has no regard for property rights. The downward economic spiral will continue with resultant poverty for the majority of the country's citizens. At a time when Telecel's licence was under threat Vimplecom's chief business development and portfolio officer Anton Kudryashov said: "We don't feel welcome in Zimbabwe and it is not good. We want to feel appreciated for what we are doing and we would like to see our licence fully restored."

A country that drives away its most enterprising citizens and adopts a hostile posture to potential investors is destined to fail. The Telecel takeover by government is

the latest body blow to an economy that has spread and deepened poverty in Zimbabwe and driven millions of its citizens to foreign lands.

In the case of Telecel, a vindictive head of state condemns thousands of his citizens to destitution to settle a personal score. It is this malicious vindictiveness that drives the decision to acquire Telecel by a government that will run it to the ground. This is how low Mugabe's government has sunk. It has become insensitive to the welfare of its people in its pursuit of unbridled power and selfish accumulation of wealth for a few individual.

(Harare, 25 November 2015)

Human and Wildlife Conflict Escalates in Chipinge as Three Lions Are Poisoned to Death

National Parks and Wildlife has been pushed to act following the poisoning to death of three lions belonging to Save Valley Conservancy by Chibuwe villagers in an alleged act of revenge following years of losing livestock and crops to wildlife. National Parks and Wildlife from Chipangayi Safaris organized an awareness campaign to avert the potential danger caused by the poisoning of the lions. A team led by Evans Mhosira warned the community that the poison on the lions may lead to human death if not handled with caution.

"Animals like dogs and birds who feed on the bodies of the lions can spread diseases that will eventually harm the ecosystem," said Mhosira. National Parks and Wildlife said experts were going to conduct forensic processes on the corpses to establish the type of poison that was used.

Despite warnings on the dangers of such actions by National Parks officials, villagers said they were not bothered but celebrating the reality that the marauding lions were finally dead.

Catherine Vhutuza, a villager from Chibuwe said the death of these lions were relief to villagers who had endured years of losing livestock and crops. "Mwari watizwa kuti mhondoro dzafa tanga tamaashungurudzika munharaunda yeshe," said Catherine Vhutuza. Area councilor, Charles Mugidho called for a deeper approach to end the wildlife and human conflict along the Save Valley conservancy. "The major challenge is the failure by government to resolve disputes around ownership of the Conservancy and Save Valley Conservancy is not sure of their fate, hence their reluc-

tance to invest in repairing the boundary fence. So our call is for government to settle its ownership dispute to save people from further losses," said Mugidho.

The human and wildlife conflict between Chipinge villagers and Save Valley Conservancy is not new in Chibuwe but a challenge that has been ongoing for more than five years. The conservancy boundary covers two constituencies namely Musikavanhu and



Chipinge West. The issue is now before Parliament of Zimbabwe which is expected to visit the areas to conduct hearings sessions before the end of this month.

Platform for Youth Development which has been at the forefront in engaging parliament over the conflict is hopeful that an amicable solution will be reached should both parties be sincere and commit to ending the conflict.

The communities bordering Save Valley Conservancy have to date lost an estimated 450 livestocks with crops worth over US\$ 300'000 destroyed in the process.

(Checheche, 18 March 2016, Platform for Youth Development Trust)

Government to Sell Seized Gold

Cyril Zenda

The Ministry of Mines and Mining Development has given a two-month notice for anyone who claims to be the legal owner of the more than six kilogrammes of processed gold worth over US\$300 000 seized from South African citizen, Gert Johanness Drederek Erasmus, more than three years ago, the last chance to claim the loot before it is sold. Erasmus was arrested at a tollgate at Esigodini in February of 2013 with 38 gold buttons weighing a total of 6,1213 kg which he was in the process of smuggling out of the country. (. . .)

Zimbabwe, which is hoping for a comeback to the London Bullion Market Associations (LBMA), says it is working on increasing its annual gold output to 30 tonnes by 2018. Mines and Mining Development Minister, Walter Chidhakwa, last year said concerted efforts were already underway to ensure that national gold output continues to increase as the country pursues an annual target of 30 tonnes. The measures being put in place by government mainly revolve around plugging loopholes through which the metal leaks to the black market under the "Gold Production and Surveillance Project" — a carrot and stick approach that would ensure that all gold produced in the country is sold through the official channels. The project involves the provision of financial support to viable mining ventures as well as buying gold from miners, especially small-scale, at competitive prices. It also involves dealing heavy-handedly with gold smugglers.

"In 2014, we embarked on an exercise for gold mobilisation and surveillance with the sole objective of increasing gold production and gold deliveries to Fidelity Printers and Refineries (the arm of the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe with the sole mandate to buy gold)," Chidhakwa told delegates to the Annual General Meeting of the Chamber of Mines held in June last year. "In order

to achieve this objective, measures like the establishment of Provincial Advisory Boards, capacitating of artisanal miners, technical capacity building, establishment of gold service centres, establishment of mobile gold buying units, amongst others, have been put in place to increase gold production. These efforts have already started bearing fruits with gold production increasing by 25 percent in the first quarter compared to the same period in 2014 with most production coming from small-scale miners," he said then.

Some government teams on compliance have been visiting milling plants as well as gold mines thoroughly inspecting them and this resulted in 218 gold firms being prosecuted and heavily fined (and even closed down) for feeding gold to the black market. This resulted in a sharp jump in gold deliveries to Fidelity. In 2014, the country's national gold output stood at 13 tonnes. This is a far cry from the peak of 27 tonnes that the country last achieved in 1999. An increase in gold output would allow the country to be readmitted to the LBMA where it was expelled in 2008 when its annual production plummeted to just three tonnes, way below the required minimum of 10 tonnes.

This was at a time when the smuggling of the precious mineral was rampant as artisanal miners and big mining houses were reluctant to sell their produce to the State for the then worthless Zimbabwean dollar. The local currency has since been demonetized after the country resorted to the use of a multi-currency system that is primarily based on the United States dollar. Following its expulsion from the LBMA, Zimbabwe has been sending its gold for refinery and marketing to Rand Refinery of South Africa.

(28 April 2016, The Financial Gazette)

China

China Is Zimbabwe's Largest Investor

China has become the largest foreign investor in Zimbabwe after the emerging Asian giant poured more than \$200 million into the country in 2014, latest figures show.

This comes as the southern African country attracted a total of \$545 million last year in foreign direct investments — a 36 percent surge from \$400 million registered in 2013 — according to United Nations Conference on Trade and Development report on Zimbabwe. Industry minister Mike Bimha yesterday told delegates attending the ongoing Zimbabwe-China Business Conference in the capital that China was looking at surpassing the \$200 million figure this year. "China is now our biggest source of foreign direct investment (FDI) with a total sum of \$238 874 520 having been invested in 2014 in agriculture, construction, manufacturing, services, transport and tourism sectors" Bimha said.

"As we speak right now, it is no secret that the majority of investment delegations that came into Zimbabwe were from China. We project that last year's figure may

very likely be overtaken by the amount of investment the Chinese are bringing in this year," he added. Some of the Chinese companies at the conference included Sinosteel Corporation, currently negotiating for investments in the ferrochrome sector, China Hi-Tech Corporation, negotiating in the textiles sector and China Volant Industry, also in ferrochrome negotiations and others. Speaking at the same event, Investment Promotion minister Obert Mpofu said the move by both countries to broker private sector deals was a sign that trade figures between the two countries were going to surge. "Most of Zimbabwe's FDI comes from China after the Look East Policy, however, after recommendations from our One Stop Investment Centre Committee we are looking at ensuring that the investment terrain is smooth for all investors," he said.

This comes as United Nations Economic Commission for Africa Executive Secretary Carlos Lopez said African leaders had to confront the reality that Chinese investment

in Africa was not enough for the “mineral sacrifices” it was warranting. The hard-pressed southern African nation last year brokered infrastructure and platinum deals with China and Russia respectively, but government has come under fire from various quarters as the deals are yet to materialise.

China's investments abroad are massive, amounting to \$870 billion at the end of last year, according to data released by the Heritage Foundation, an American research institute. The United States leads the way, having received a little more than \$72 billion. Of the total, China pledged investments of \$20 billion to Africa

with countries like Chad and Niger now owing to China about 15 times what they receive from the International Monetary Fund.

However, Mpofu told delegates that Zimbabwe was in the process of tapping into China's massive FDI policy through investment law reform. “China certainly can do more, but at the moment as a ministry we are working towards ensuring that investment processes in the country are smooth so that more investment comes,” he said.

(Harare, 26 November 2015, Daily News)

China Ready to Construct New Party Building

Veneranda Langa

Chinese contractors are waiting for the servicing of the new Parliament building site in Mt Hampden before they could start construction work, Chinese ambassador to Zimbabwe Huang Ping said yesterday. Ping, together with Pan Yunhe, the chairperson of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, made the pledge during a courtesy call to Senate President Edna Madzongwe and Foreign Affairs Parliamentary Portfolio Committee chairperson Kindness Paradza's offices.

The Chinese delegation was also comprised of members of China's Foreign Affairs Parliamentary Committee, which Yunhe chairs. “The new Parliament design is very beautiful, but we are still awaiting construction of roads and installation of water and electricity for our contractors to begin construction,” Ping said. “I have been trying to push Local Government minister Saviour Kasukuwere to complete those soon so that we begin construction.”

Yunhe said China was willing to invest more in Africa and the rest of the world through enterprises as long as the business environment of that particular country was favourable. “Our investigations show that in the next five years, Chinese companies will invest more than

\$120 billion in other countries, and those investments will be solely driven by markets and local conditions in that country. The enterprise will decide whether the local conditions are suitable for their businesses and then they will go there,” Yunhe said. He said over the past decade, China managed to attract large amounts of foreign direct investment because of favourable investment policies by the Chinese government.

“The Chinese Foreign Affairs Committee encourages Chinese businesses to invest globally and have win-win situations between them and the host country. Zimbabwe is still growing and we hope Chinese companies that go global will see the opportunity brought by China and Zimbabwe co-operation, and promote the national development of Zimbabwe,” Yunhe said. Madzongwe hailed the China-Zimbabwe relations, saying President Robert Mugabe has been to China 13 times, the most recent visit being in 2014. “We have a lot of Chinese companies operating in Zimbabwe in brick moulding, motor spare parts and mining and I would like to say we are improving on policies on our foreign direct investment so that they are practical and friendly and get more Chinese companies coming to invest in Zimbabwe,” Madzongwe said.

Landverteilung

Second Tokwe-Mukosi Victims' Relocation Begins

Government has started the second relocation of Tokwe-Mukosi flood victims with over 1'000 families set to be moved in the next two weeks from Nuanetsi Ranch in Mwenezi to alternative bigger plots that were identified for permanent resettlement. The move follows a recent visit to the Nuanetsi Ranch by a Cabinet committee led by Local Government, Public Works and National Housing Minister Saviour Kasukuwere, which ordered that the flood victims be moved to bigger plots. This was after the flood victims had complained that their 0,5 hectare plots at Nuanetsi Ranch were too small to carry out meaningful farming activities as the area was condemned as unfit for human habitation owing to extreme aridity and disease prevalence.

Government identified seven farms in Mwenezi and Chiredzi districts to resettle all the 3'000 families who

had initially been allocated plots at Nuanetsi Ranch. Masvingo Provincial Affairs Minister Senator Shuvai Mahofa yesterday confirmed that an initial 1'000 families were being moved from Nuanetsi Ranch. She said they will be relocated next year. “We have started relocating the first group of about 1'000 Tokwe-Mukosi families who are being moved from Nuanetsi Ranch to farms that have been pegged for them in Mwenezi and Chiredzi. We hope to complete this exercise in the next two weeks because we want them to have adequate time to prepare for the rainy season,” she said. “The exercise was delayed because our officials were still compiling the list of the first group of families, who wanted to be moved after we gave them the option to choose where they wanted to be resettled. We were not forcing anyone to go where they did not want to,” she added.

Senator Mahofa downplayed fears that the families being relocated from Nuanetsi Ranch would struggle to access critical services such as schools and hospitals in the new areas. "We made sure that the farms where the first batch of families are being moved already have facilities such as schools and clinics because we do not want people to suffer," added Senator Mahofa. Each of the families being relocated will be allocated 20 hectares compared to the small plots they had at Nuanetsi Ranch.

About 300 families will be resettled at Masangula Ranch where Government is clearing land that will be developed for irrigation upon completion of Tokwe-

Mukosi Dam. Others are being resettled in the Mutirikwi Section of the Nuanetsi Ranch which is close to the perennially flowing Mutirikwi River.

Tokwe-Mukosi flood victims were resettled at Nuanetsi Ranch after their removal from Chingwizi transit camp as fears mounted of diseases outbreak because of overcrowding. However, the families continued to rely on Government food assistance as they could not embark on any meaningful agricultural activities because of the small plot sizes and scanty rains.

(Harare 12 November 2015, The Herald)

6300 Families Face Eviction from Chiredzi Farm

Walter Mswazie

About 300 families settled at Samba Ranch Farm in Chiredzi are facing eviction to pave way for businessman Mr Moses Chingwena who was reportedly granted a High Court order to evict the families. The national land inspectorate has reportedly set a taskforce to oversee the evictions of the illegal settlers who have been at the farm for the past 15 years. Minister of State for Provincial Affairs for Masvingo Cde Shuvai Mahofa said the national lands committee was seized with the matter and a verdict to move or not to move the families will be known in a few weeks' time. She said the provincial leadership had a meeting with the committee led by Police Deputy Commissioner- General Godwin Matanga recently and they deliberated over the Samba Ranch issue after which Mr Chingwena was asked to provide the team with all his papers showing that he was the rightful owner of the farm.

"It is true that there are issues of that nature but for now we are waiting for a ruling from the lands committee. However, according to the papers from the High Court Mr Chingwena won the right to the farm and the families have to be evicted. What the lands committee wants is only to verify if the businessman's papers bear testimony to his claims after which a way forward will be found," said Cde Mahofa.

She said while an alternative could be found, no vacant farm has been identified for the families in case the evictions are effected. "We have to look for alternatives but for now as a province, we have not yet identified any vacant land where these families can be settled. However, for now we are waiting for the national land inspectorate to give us their verdict after getting the necessary papers from Mr Chingwena," she said.

Last year Cde Mahofa was quoted arguing that the families could not be moved from Samba Ranch as their stay was regulated by the Government in 2000 when the farm was legally acquired at the height of the land reform programme. Villagers at the farm are resisting eviction arguing that they were legally settled by the Government and Mr Chingwena should be allocated another farm in Chiredzi. Mr Chingwena is reported to have approached the Ministry of Lands and Resettlement with a plan to expand his sugarcane plantation and install a sugarcane mill at the farm. Efforts to get a comment from him were fruitless.

(Masvingo, 17 April 2016, Sunday News)

Zivilgesellschaft

WOZA – Save Education, Save Our Children

Introduction

In later 2015, Women of Zimbabwe Arise (WOZA) conducted a survey to determine the state of education and the impact on the lives of members and their children. Members of WOZA, like all Zimbabweans are very concerned about the deterioration in educational provision by government and its employees, the teachers, which means that most children are failing to access their constitutional right to a meaningful education. The failure in the education system has many negative consequences for individuals, for families and for the nation as a whole. WOZA member's number over 100'000 but the survey focused on organised structure of urban and rural adults and urban children. They were asked to

provide their views on what problems they are experiencing in educating their children, to identify the specific rights abuses involved, and to try to develop a strategy on the way forward to make a contribution towards resolving these problems.

This report presents the findings; these are not quantitative, but qualitative, describing the abuses but not attempting to indicate the extent of each or the numbers of communities in which they exist. Responses to the survey have been categorised according to social groups; there are responses from urban adults, urban children, and rural adults. Thus they provide a snapshot picture of the situation that prevails in our schools from three different perspectives.

Participation Tables: Female 10'332, Male 4'292, Workshops 747.

Abuses/violations

The most pressing abuse is the high cost of education, mainly caused by levies and other arbitrarily imposed costs. In violation of government policy, many headmasters are chasing away children from schools when they have not paid fees, and this appears to be most prevalent in rural areas.

Some members reported that parents in rural areas are forced to undertake manual work in the community if they have not paid fees, the most common tasks assigned being moulding of bricks for construction of teachers' houses. Additionally, some schools



have requested that parents pay the annual total sum of school fees for the year 2016 at the beginning of the year. The reason given is that small amounts being paid over a period are being stolen by corrupt school officials. The inclusion of the unfunded Early Childhood Development (ECD) programme into primary level has also strained the pockets of parents who are already failing to pay for primary level fees. The Basic Education Assistance Module (BEAM) programme funded mainly by foreign aid conceptualised as a support for school fees for vulnerable children is no longer functioning in most places; where it is, the payments are not transparently allocated and corruption prevails.

Due to the high cost of education most parents are constantly indebted to the schools. Headmasters' response to debt collection is to further abuse the rights of children by withholding children's original birth certificates, performance reports, and exam results and refusing to supply registration forms for the next level of education. In many reported instances debt collectors visit schools and interview children about the property they have in their homes that could be collected to offset the debt. The inability of parents to settle with schools then places the stress squarely on children who fail to continue with their education.

In spite of the high cost, facilities and learning resources are not available. In many schools there are not enough classrooms, and children must learn outside or

share rooms through hot seating. There are not enough desks and chairs; books and stationery are in short supply. Secondary level students revealed the lack of library facilities within their communities; and the lack of reading material where libraries exist.

For some, accessibility is a problem. Children in rural areas walk long distances at school late and tired but the school response is to immediately punish the late comers further denying them the right to participate in

any schooling for that day. Many children have been denied entry to school because they do not have a birth certificate, a document which can be difficult to obtain for some, depending on their family circumstances.

Behaviour of teachers is a major problem. Aside from the fact that there are many unqualified people teaching in schools, the attitude displayed by many is unacceptable. They are said to insult and intimidate children and subject them to beating. Some come to class drunk while others harass children sexually. They are not committed to their teaching, missing lessons, spending time in class on their mobile phones or concentrating on offering extra lessons for a fee. In some schools there is little discipline. In rural schools children are exploited to perform household chores such as fetching water for the teachers.

The low quality of teaching, absence of commitment from teachers, lack of resources and teachers failing to speak the mother tongue of pupils, failure frequently to set exams and tests, as well as poor attendance rates from those constantly being chased away to find fees, lead to poor achievement and very low pass rates.

While some may become discouraged and drop out of school, even those who complete school do not acquire either certificates or skills which can lead to employment, thus children will also experience poverty as adults. A significant percentage of children never learn to read well enough to be functionally literate, thus compromising their life chances even more.

In some schools the teachers do not speak the local language , in this case Ndebele, thus cannot perform their duties properly, particularly in the lower primary grades. Moreover, the employment of temporary teachers is affecting the quality of education in both primary and secondary schools. Children also pointed out the lack of consistency in their learning process as schools are randomly relocating teachers on a term by term basis.

Some schools did not set exams for grade six and below due to lack of payment of fees. Children feel their right to education has been violated as they failed to get an opportunity to evaluate their performance for the year of learning.

Corruption is said to exist in some schools, particularly practised by headmasters who are guilty of nepotism, do not account for funds and misuse them. The banning of charging for extra lessons and civvies day has led to some schools developing extra-curricular activities that are money-making schemes, for instance asking children to pay for culture day. Furthermore, schools are forcing parents to sign debt collection forms and sending debt collectors to confiscate property even from those parents who did not sign the debt collection forms. Corruption also exists in ZIMSEC, causing parents to lose confidence in the validity of the exam. This is also seen in the news headlines about O' Level exam papers that are leaked every year. Even Grade Seven exams have leaked regularly.

Accountability and transparency is lacking in most schools. There is a lack of parental consultation in decision making processes. The SDCs mobilise to meetings only those parents who are known to support their particular agenda therefore most parents hear about these meetings after decisions have been made. The SDC space is not a safe one for parents with alternative views to those of the 'favourite' committee members. Some parents who raise these views in the meeting find their children targeted with abuse by teachers for the 'outspokenness' during of their parents. Many headmasters will enforce decisions using 'power over' on the parents, many of whom are indebted and unable to make independent decisions.

Effects of the Abuses

Many social evils result from the failure to access quality education. Children whose parents are unable to pay fees usually end up dropping out of school. This has dire consequences for many. With nothing to occupy

them they loiter at shops and business centres, engage in early sexual activity including prostitution, and contract Sexually Transmitted Infections and pregnancies, leading to child marriage. Boys engage in petty criminal activities, and take drugs and alcohol. Some of both sexes fall victim to child traffickers, others become street children. Many migrate south as unaccompanied children, others become street children and most are victims of child abuse of one sort or another. In rural areas there is a massive exploitation of school dropouts whom teachers employ at low wage as housemaids or cattle shepherds.

Children who are being forced into relationships or asked for sexual favours by teachers are emotionally and psychologically affected as they fail to concentrate during lessons. They develop a constant fear of facing the consequences of rejecting the teachers' advances resulting in them getting into these relationships.

With low achievement rates, parents in turn wonder why they should work so hard to find funds for school fees if their children are not going to benefit meaningfully. They lose interest in making the effort to keep their children in school, thus feeding the drop-out phenomenon.

Teaching has become a pariah profession, a last resort for those who have no alternative avenue towards formal employment. Many qualified teachers have left the country, those who stay continue to teach with low motivation and lack of genuine interest. The old, pre-independence pride in being a teacher has turned to shame.

The Solutions

While much of the blame for this depressing situation may lie with government's failing to provide, and teachers' abrogation of their responsibilities because they are angry over their low reward, parents also are sometimes failing in their duty towards their children. A long-term solution to the problems must engage all these three players to urgently come together to address them and find solutions. This can happen at local level, in the community of each school, at district level and at national level. (. . .)

WOZA therefore calls for a "Save Zimbabwe Education" national dialogue by all relevant stakeholders to chart a collective way forward. It's time to ACT!

(Bulawayo, 13 January 2016, WOZA)

Private Citizens' Bill to Address 5 Brigade Atrocities

Gibbs Dube

Zimbabweans have been urged to push for a private citizens' bill, which will result in the tackling of the Gukurahundi atrocities of the 1980s that left an estimated 20'000 people dead, hundreds displaced and others maimed. Dr. Shepherd Mpfu of the University of Johannesburg told VOA Studio 7 some lawmakers can be used to introduce the bill in parliament. (. . .)

He said if Zimbabweans have to be united, they have to identify a specific entity such as a political party that would push such interests in parliament for the benefit

of relatives and victims of the massacres. Dr. Mpfu said the ruling party is not interested in addressing this matter. "... From where I am standing, Zanu PF will continue in power and they will continue to ignore this issue. They can only pretend to address it like the formation of a ministry of healing and reconciliation ... but was there any healing at that time ... there wasn't. And now we need to think beyond civic organizations because most of them have been around for a long time but they have neglected this issue of genocide.

One has to ask why it has been neglected." He further noted that Zimbabweans have been given a chance to address the issue, which has hogged the limelight after former Education Minister David Coltart, in his autobiography 'The Struggle Continues', made a reference to the Five Brigade massacres.

Coltart quoted The Chronicle newspaper, which once reported in the 1980s, that Vice President Emmerson Mnangagwa allegedly compared so-called dissidents and their supporters in Matabeleland and Midlands provinces as cockroaches that needed to be destroyed through the use of a pesticide called DDT (dichloro-diphenyl-trichloroethane). The vice president at that time was the Minister of Security under President Robert Mugabe's government. He has threatened to sue Coltart, who insists that he stands by what he wrote in the book. "This is a point of departure for Zimbabweans ... If we miss this point we might not get it in the near future," said Dr. Mpofu.

Reverend Ray Motsi of the Baptist Church, who is also a member of the National Transitional Justice Working Group, said there is need to urgently address this issue. "I really do believe that the best way to deal with it is to actually find a way in which we begin to help the victims who are struggling, who are not able to move forward even if there is no acceptance of wrong on the side of Zanu PF and those people who were responsible. "We also need to find some psycho-social approaches in terms of development, building more schools in Matabeleland (and Midlands) and providing some capital injection so that people of Matabeleland can start looking after themselves."

Rev. Motsi's PHD focused on the North Korean-trained Five Brigade atrocities, which were once described by President Mugabe as "a moment of madness". The Zimbabwean leader has never publicly apologized for the massacres. Mr. Mugabe once set up a team to

probe the atrocities, which was headed by lawyer Simplicious Chihambakwe. Results of the Chihambakwe Commission of Inquiry have never been made public. The government has not even released the number of people who were killed by the Five Brigade.

Various independent groups, including a report compiled by the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace titled 'Breaking the Silence: Building True Peace', put the figure of civilians who were killed at almost 20'000. The government has neither confirmed nor denied that state security agents and the national army unit killed such a large number of people.

President Mugabe's government deployed the Five Brigade in Matabeleland and Midlands regions to allegedly quell the dissident menace, which they linked to then rival, PF Zapu leader, Joshua Nkomo. The late Nkomo denied any links to the dissidents and had to flee Zimbabwe when armed men, believed to be Gukurahundi operatives, raided his home in Pelandaba suburb, Bulawayo, where they killed a bodyguard and several other people. In his book, *The Story of My Life*, Nkomo accused President Mugabe of attempting to kill him and exterminate his supporters. In 1987, his party merged with Mr. Mugabe's Zanu PF leading to the formation of a unity government, which over the years has experienced serious friction.

One of the key Zapu leaders, former ZIPRA military supremo Dumiso Dabengwa, pulled out of the unity accord, noting that Zapu officials were not being given due recognition in the government by President Mugabe. ZIPRA (Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army) was Zapu's armed wing, which fought alongside the African National Congress of South Africa's Umkhonto Wesizwe during the war of liberation of the 1970s.

(Washington, 27 March 2016, VOA Zimbabwe)

Driefontein Mission Children's Home

Evelyn Nhongonhema

Driefontein Children's Home is a project of the Diocese of Gweru, Zimbabwe. It was founded by Fr. Joseph Stocker SMB in 1960. Fr. J. Stocker's aim in founding this home was to care for the less privileged babies up to 5 years of age whose mothers would have died at childbirth. This was to spread the Good News through works of mercy. Fr. Stocker asked the congregation of the Sisters of the Child Jesus (SJI) for a nursing sister who could help in taking care of these babies who needed a mother to love and care for them. Sr. Assumpta Ribeiro was asked to take up this challenging task, and she did it lovingly and patiently for more than 30 years. Both Fr. J. Stocker and Sr. Assumpta have since died.

The Children's Home was extended and can take in children up to 22 years old. At present, we have 32 children aged 8 months to 21 years. They come from 8 districts of the country. Some children have been reintegrated into their families with the exception of those who have been dumped as babies and whose relatives cannot be traced. It is these children whom we have mostly

until they have completed their tertiary education to have a training skill course for self-independence for future life. We have 2 babies, 4 are doing Early Childhood Development (ECD), 11 are in primary, 5 in secondary school, 10 are in tertiary education and others have completed. One is a trained qualified nurse and is working; another is at Midlands State University, a third at Polytech college. Two are doing maths and then go for further education in tertiary colleges.

The children have duties to do such as cooking, taking care of the chickens, turkeys and guinea fowl (up to 340), taking care of small children, ironing their clothes, gardening, baking their own buns or bread for consumption, as well as planting and watering flowers and the orchard. In the other big garden, we plant maize and different vegetables. Thus all these children are active in the preparation for their future lives. This is their home, therefore they have to learn to take care of their own home. However, they do all these duties happily and joyfully because they know that this is their home and that all these things belong to them.

Jahresbeitrag 2016 *

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 ZimbabweInnen 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 2016 *

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.

We are a team of eight taking care of the children: One religious nun, two men and five women who are themselves mothers. The Children's Home faces challenges in running the Home. We have financial constraints since the Social Welfare is not doing much for the sustenance of these children. We are dependent on sponsors. The Gweru Diocese's main aim is that these children be brought up in a good Christian manner so that they can become Zimbabwean leaders of tomorrow who are self-reliant and God-fearing.

In the spirit of humility, we appeal to all those who can assist these less fortunate children so that we can run the Home smoothly. Here are the Children's Home's details: Gweru Diocese Driefontein Orphanage, account number: 8700260718201, Standard Chartered Bank, Gweru Branch, Zimbabwe. Your assistance is greatly appreciated.

(Driefontein, 24 April 2016. Sr. Evelyn Nhongonhema SJI is the Matron.)

Literatur

Women of Courage – Eight Life Stories

Durch Interviews erfahren wir die Biographien von acht Frauen, die während der 1970-er Jahre im damaligen Rhodesien als „community development workers“ auf dem Land mit Frauen arbeiteten, um die Lebensbedingungen zu verbessern. Es ist die Zeit der geschützten Dörfer: Der Befreiungskampf breitet sich aus und die Bauern werden gezwungen, zusammen in Wehrdörfern zu wohnen. So soll der Kontakt zu den Kämpfern unterbunden werden. Das Buch gibt einen guten Einblick in jene politisch schwierigen Zeiten. Gleichzeitig erfahren wir viel über die damaligen privaten Verhältnisse.

(Maia Chenaux-Repond, Women of Courage, Eight Life Stories, Earth Books, Harare, Zimbabwe, 2015)

Impressum:

Vereinigung Schweiz-Zimbabwe
Swiss-Zimbabwean Friendship Association
c/o J. Brogli, Bethlehemweg 10, 6405 Immensee
PC 40-16370-6
Redaktion: Gertrud Baud, Joe Brogli
Fotos: Eleonora Matare
Layout: Joe Brogli, Gertrud Baud
Druck: Missionshaus Bethlehem Immensee
Versand: Joe Brogli
Rundbrief im Internet: www.afrikakomitee.ch/vereinigung-schweiz-zimbabwe-2

Unsere Quellen sind u. a.:

- www.zimbabwesituation.com
- www.eddiecross.com
- www.wozazimbabwe.org
- www.daily-news.co.za
- www.allafrica.com/zimbabwe
- www.thezimbabwean.co.uk
- www.kubatana.net
- www.zimbabwenetzwerk.de