



# WCC/ AACC OBSERVER MISSION REPORT



## THE ELECTION IN ZIMBABWE

29<sup>TH</sup> MARCH 2008

Nairobi, 21<sup>st</sup> April 2008

## i: List of Abbreviations & Acronyms

AACC-	All Africa Conference of Churches
ACHPR	African Charter on Human and People's Rights
ANC	Africa National Congress
AU	African Union
CAZ	Conservative Alliance Zimbabwe
CCZ	Crisis Coalition of Zimbabwe
FOCCISA	Fellowship of Christian Councils and Churches in Southern Africa
GMB	Grain Marketing Board
MDC	Movement for Democratic Change
MMPZ	Media Monitoring Project in Zimbabwe
NCA-	National Constitution Assembly
NGO-	Non-Governmental Organization
SADC-	Southern Africa Development Community
UANC	United African National Council
UDHR	Universal Declaration of human Rights
UDI-	Unilateral Declaration of Independence
UN	United Nations
UPP-	United People's Party
WCC-	World Council of Churches
YWCA	Young Women Christian Association
ZACTU-	Zimbabwe Confederation of Trade unions
ZCTU-	Zimbabwe Democratic people's Party
ZANU	Zimbabwe African National Union
ZAPU	Zimbabwe African People's Union
ZCC-	Zimbabwe Council of Churches
ZESN	Zimbabwe Election Support Network
ZEC-	Zimbabwe Electoral Commission
ZDPP	Zimbabwe Democratic People's Party
ZUM-	Zimbabwe Unity Movement
ZDPP	Zimbabwe Democratic People's Party

## ii: Table of Contents

i: List of Abbreviations & Acronyms .....	2
ii: Table of Contents .....	3
Executive Summary .....	6
<b>PART ONE: INTRODUCTION .....</b>	<b>7</b>
1.0: BACKGROUND INFORMATION .....	7
1.1: History of Zimbabwe .....	7
1.2: Political Crisis in Zimbabwe .....	7
1.3: Socio-Economic Crisis .....	8
1.4: Human Rights .....	10
1.5: The Right of Association .....	10
1.7: Political Parties .....	11
1.8: The Period before Elections .....	13
1.8.1: ZANU PF .....	14
<b>PART TWO: ELECTIONS IN ZIMBABWE .....</b>	<b>16</b>
2.1: Legal Framework of the Electoral Process in Zimbabwe .....	16
• The Constitution of Zimbabwe .....	16
• The Electoral Act of 2004 .....	16
• The regulations the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission Act of 2004 .....	16
• The Constitution of Zimbabwe Amendment Number 18 of 2007 .....	16
2.2: Presidential Election .....	16
2.3: Dispute Resolution .....	16
2.4: Election Observation .....	17
2.5: The Zimbabwe Electoral Commission .....	17
2.6: Voter Register .....	17
2.7: Voter Education .....	18
2.8: The SADC Principles on Democratic Elections .....	18
2.9: The Role of the Church .....	19

2.10: The Role of the Media .....	20
2.11: Analysis of Media Coverage during the Campaign Period.....	21
2.12: Campaign Period.....	21
2.13: Food as a Political Tool .....	22
2.14: Women Participation.....	22
PART THREE .....	24
3.0: The WCC/AACC OBSERVER MISSION TEAM .....	24
3.1: Terms of Reference .....	24
3.2: Accreditation.....	24
3.3: Polling Day .....	25
3.4: Polling Stations Visited .....	25
3.5: Elections Observations.....	25
3.5.1: Voting Day .....	25
3.5.2: Poll Agents .....	26
3.5.3: Counting, Tallying and Release of Results .....	26
3.6: Election Malpractices .....	27
3.6.1: Campaign period.....	27
3.6.2: Polling day.....	27
3.7: Challenges of the Mission.....	27
3.7.1: Visa.....	27
3.7.2: Accreditation .....	27
4.1: CONCLUSIONS .....	28
5.0: RECOMMENDATIONS .....	29
5.1: Announcement of Results.....	29
5.2: Election Malpractices .....	30
5.3: Accreditation of Observers.....	30
5.4: Voter Education .....	30
5.5: Human Rights .....	31
5.6: The Media.....	31

5.7: Church .....	31
5.8: Polling Day .....	31
5.9: Security .....	31
6.0: Summary of Election Observation .....	32
15. List of Appendices .....	33
<i>Appendix I: AACC/WCC Preliminary Statement on</i> .....	33
Zimbabwe Harmonised Elections 2008 .....	33
Introduction.....	33
<i>Appendix II: AACC/WCC Statement to SADC</i> .....	36
<i>Appendix III: AACC and FOCCISA STATEMENT on election outcomes</i> .....	40
Appendix IV: 2008 HARMONISED ELECTIONS INITIAL OBSERVATIONS .....	41
Appendix V:.....	43
Appendix VI: ZIMBABWE ELECTION SUPPORT NETWORK (ZESN) .....	44
Appendix VII: AACC ECUMENICAL OBSERVER MISSION TO ZIMBABWE.....	46
Appendix IX: Consolidated Statistics (Numbers of Violations Reported) Per Year.....	48

## **Executive Summary**

This is the report of the Ecumenical Observer Team of the WCC/AACC Mission to the 29<sup>th</sup> March, 2008 Zimbabwe harmonised election, which included the Presidential, Senatorial, Parliamentary and Civic Authorities. This election was significant in that it was the first time the country was holding all the four elections at the same time. The elections were held after a constitutional amendment that introduced a new chamber - the senate, harmonised all the terms of office to five years and increased the number of representatives.

The Zimbabwean government did not allow observers from outside the African continent. The ruling party, ZANU PF was determined to limit observation of the elections by the international community. Observers from the AU and SADC were among the international observers accredited.

This report is therefore based on information the team gathered while in Harare from various sources and some limited observation of events in the electoral process during their one week stay in Zimbabwe.

The elections were held within the backdrop of the collapsed SADC mediation talks that to some extent had heralded hope for the Zimbabwean people. Failure of the talks therefore meant that the elections were held under an electoral system that has been greatly challenged by the opposition and the civil society, in particular failure to amend the current electoral regulations.

The people of Zimbabwe manifested immense maturity in the way they turned out in huge numbers to exercise their democratic rights. Despite the fact that the official results have not been announced by the ZEC, the Zimbabweans continue to display patience, albeit in an uneasy calm with pockets of violence being reported. Although the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) party was claiming victory from its unofficial tally, all the results had not been released and it is only ZEC that is mandated by law to announce the official results.

## **PART ONE: INTRODUCTION**

### **1.0: BACKGROUND INFORMATION**

#### **1.1: History of Zimbabwe**

Zimbabwe (formerly Rhodesia) was a colony of Britain until April, 1980. It is a landlocked country of Southern Africa with a total boundary length of 3,066 km (1,905 mi). The country lies between the River Zambezi on the North and the River Limpopo on the South. Zimbabwe shares boundaries with Mozambique in the North and East, the Republic of South Africa on the South, Botswana to the South West and Zambia to the North West.

The country is largely a high plateau. The higher central plateau is a mountain range that forms the eastern border. Zimbabwe is home to the Victoria Falls, the world's largest waterfall.

The population of Zimbabwe is diverse, the majority composing of Africans who make up 98% of the total population. They are related to the two major Bantu-speaking groups, the Shona with about 82% of the population and the Ndebele with about 14%. Whites make up 1% of the population. The sizeable population of the Europeans are almost entirely either immigrants from the UK or South Africa or descendants of the former settler community. Many of those from South Africa are of the Dutch (Afrikaner) decent. There are small groups of Portuguese, Italians, and other Europeans. Asians and peoples of mixed ancestry make up the remaining 1%.

#### **1.2: Political Crisis in Zimbabwe**

The ongoing crisis in Zimbabwe dates back to 1965 when Ian Smith, the leader of Southern Rhodesia, issued a Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) from Britain, imposing white-minority rule. This action prompted international sanctions and resulted in guerrilla war. By 1979, the war had claimed 36,000 lives and displaced 1.5 million Zimbabweans.

Britain brokered a peace deal later in 1979. It involved Smith's government, Robert Mugabe's Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), and Joshua Nkomo's Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), which culminated in the Lancaster House Agreement.

In August 1979 the Commonwealth of Nations committed itself to seeking a settlement of the problem. Constitutional negotiations began at Lancaster House in England.

On 10<sup>th</sup> December, the Zimbabwe-Rhodesia Parliament was dissolved, and the country reverted to formal colonial status. This would persist during the transition period before independence. In the same month, sanctions were lifted and a cease-fire declared.

Finally, elections were held in February 1980. Mugabe became the first Prime Minister and formed a coalition government that included Joshua Nkomo. Zimbabwe was proclaimed independent on 18<sup>th</sup> April 1980. A new parliament was put in place on 14<sup>th</sup> May 1980.

Mugabe became Zimbabwe's Prime Minister and Africa's most feted leader following the 1980 elections. In 1988, ZANU and ZAPU merged, creating ZANU- PF and paved way for constitutional change that gave Mugabe executive presidential powers. The country also became a de facto one-party state.

What followed in the socio-economic scene was disastrous. The government initiated forcible seizure of land mostly owned by white settlers. The land was issued to veterans of the liberation struggle. From 2000, the economy started a downturn; the country started experiencing chronic shortage of basic commodities and services.

Following the seriously flawed 2002 presidential election, Mugabe resorted to using state machinery, war veterans and youth militias to intimidate and suppress dissenting Zimbabweans, gagging the media and blatantly violating human rights.

### **1.3: Socio-Economic Crisis**

Many factors have contributed to the socio-economic decline of Zimbabwe:



**Land Reforms:** It is the most well known factor in Zimbabwe's current situation.

Many analysts have argued that the idea behind the Land Reform was noble (redistribution of land), and had good historical justification. However, the process of implementation has been criticised as poorly done and its results counter-productive. Importantly, the reaction of the Western governments to the land reforms has contributed to the current situation.

**Operation Murambatsvina (restore order)** in 2005 could be said to rank alongside the land reforms in terms of the negative impact it has had on Zimbabwe and its international image. While the land reforms were said to be aimed at benefiting the rural poor, the clean-up operation was seen to target the urban poor. The UN has claimed that about 700,000 people were left without homes or livelihoods. The government explained this as a politically neutral clean-up operation to rid the city of unplanned settlements. However, others have argued that the aim was to punish and expel opposition supporters in the urban centres. One major impact of the operation was to forcefully usher in the UN, with its very critical report of the operation. The critical stance of the UN has strained the relationship between it and President Mugabe.

**Economic Crisis:** The current economic crisis, with a hyper inflation rate above 200000%, has been attributed to two main factors. The first is the effect of the land reform process on the *agricultural sector*. This has been linked to claims that those who now occupy the land can not sustain the same levels of production due to lack of capital and inferior methods of farming and management. Drought also contributed to the problems facing the agricultural sector. The second factor is the imposition of *economic sanctions* by the West in reaction to the land reform process.

The crisis in Zimbabwe represents much of what can go wrong in many of our African countries. There is a sense is that both the land redistribution challenge and that of respect for human rights and human dignity should never be treated as polar opposites. Rather, they are two sides of the same coin. When the church in Zimbabwe begins to embrace this truth it has the potential to heal the fragmentation of the nation.

#### **1.4: Human Rights**

The independence struggle and war in Zimbabwe was predominantly against racism and colonial domination. After securing independence, Zimbabwe observed a period of democratic freedoms and protection of basic and universal human rights. By 1980s, Zimbabwe was a model country in promoting all forms of human development.

However, in the 1990s, the country's fortunes started changing dramatically. The government became insensitive to the plight of Zimbabweans. Dissenting views were cracked with unprecedented force. Though obliged to respect all human life, the government resorted to overt activities, mainly forms of abductions, unlawful detentions, violence, and silencing critics, violent break up of public assembly and restrictions of association.

The freedom space for exercise of basic rights in Zimbabwe is restricted. The ruling party is openly hard-line, portraying a radical alienation, abuse and disrespect for human rights and freedoms. The incumbent often state in public his displeasure and swift, read ruthless, reaction to dissenting viewpoint.

The spates of abuses, violence, open ridicule and confrontational politics reported especially in the run up to the March 29<sup>th</sup> 2008 harmonised elections was very disturbing. Many of the incidences were perpetrated by the government. It blatantly disregarded international instruments that promote human rights and dignity. Despite being a signatory to the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) and the Africa Charter on Human and Peoples Rights (1981), Zimbabwe is continuously performing poorly in those critical areas.

#### **1.5: The Right of Association**

Reports of victimization of leaders who oppose the reigning regime, especially opposition parties and politicians are widespread in Zimbabwe. During the campaign period, the situation got worse. The opposition was encroached upon, even within their strongholds by bands of organized hooligans. Administrators were not spared; they either instigated this or were culprits of government machinations.

For example traditional leader of Chipinge District was stripped of his post for vying on an opposition ticket. In some cases some of the utterances were made in the presence of the president. One official was quoted to have made the following statement in the presence of President Mugabe, “*we cannot just fold our hands as a traditional leader joins the enemy*” (SW Radio).

### **1.6: Incidences of Violence**

Violence and intimidation are perhaps the hallmark of Mugabe’s mechanism to enforce dominance and submission of the opposition. Although much of the incidences emanated from the supporters of the ruling party, pockets of similar incidences were instigated by the opposition. However, the following incidences were noted:

- There were reports that Intelligence Service (CIO) and the ZANU-PF militia groups smashed and damaged automobiles belonging to an opposition candidate during the campaign period.
- More violence was reported in Mbare high-density suburb of Harare where five supporters of the opposition were injured and hospitalized.
- Hundreds of supporters of the opposition were arrested and beaten up around the country; some were released while others were arraigned in court with fictitious counts in 2007 (*Zimonline.com*).
- ZANU-PF aspirant was spotted with the local militia ‘*chipangano militia*’ minutes before MDC officials were brutally attacked and seriously wounded.
- Police interrupted the celebrations to mark International Women’s Day and stripped a woman naked.

### **1.7: Political Parties**

The principal parties in Zimbabwean politics were mainly formed during the struggle for independence from Britain. Many of them were subsequently grounded along ethnic lines. The independence party called Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) was formed in December 1961 led by Joshua Nkomo. This split in July 1963 in two. The splinter was Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) led by the Reverend Ndabaningi Sithole. It was later to be led by Robert Mugabe.

ZAPU's constituency was reduced to the Ndebele minority, while ZANU gained wide support among the Shona ethnic group. Both ZAPU and ZANU took up arms against the government and in 1976 allied themselves to the Zimbabwe Patriotic Front (PF).

President Mugabe made Zimbabwe a one-party state in 1990. The same year the country held elections. With Mugabe's influence reigning, Zimbabwe Unity Movement (ZUM) led by Tekere contested the 1990 elections with dismal success. The victory of Mugabe's party in the elections translated to the mandate for Mugabe to proceed with his plans, mainly to establish ZANU-PF as the only legal party.

However, pressure from the international community and opposition from within ZANU-PF compelled Mugabe to agree with the introduction of multiparty democracy. New parties began to emerge in the late 1980s and early 1990s in preparation for the elections expected in 1995. The United African National Council (UANC) led by Muzorewa eventually merged with ZUM in January 1994.

In the 1996 elections for President, Robert Mugabe won 93% of the vote, while his party, the Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU PF) won 98% of the parliamentary seats.

Two new political parties were formed in 2000 to challenge Mugabe's ZANU-PF. Though seemingly strong, their influence could not match political and propaganda mechanization of Mugabe. These were:

- The United Democratic Front (UDF)

This is the party launched by Lupi Mushayakarara, with former Rhodesian leaders, Ian Smith, Abel Muzorewa, and Ndabaningi.

- The Movement for Democratic Change (MDC)

This is the party led by Morgan Tsvangirai that led the opposition parties towards winning nearly half of the seats in the House of Assembly in the June 2000 elections.

The March 29, 2008 Elections were held in an atmosphere of unease that seemed often to degenerate into political tension and violence. The long standing political, social and

economic problems have remained unresolved since the controversial presidential elections of March 2002 and the parliamentary elections of 2005. Both were won and largely skewed in favour the incumbent Robert Mugabe.

The same scenario is replicated in the political parties' strength and influence. The two dominant parties in Zimbabwe are the ZANU PF (the ruling party) led by Robert Mugabe and the MDC led by Morgan Tsvangirai. Others were led by a third force fronted by Dr. Simba Makoni. He was an independent candidate who broke away from ZANU PF and was considered a latecomer; hence his national influence was minimal. Other contenders were a faction of MDC led by Mutambara, United Peoples Party and a faction of ZANU called ZANU Ndonga and Zimbabwe Democratic Peoples Party.

Nominations for Presidential, Parliamentary, Senate and Civic Authorities were carried out on Feb 15<sup>th</sup> 2008. At the time of the March 29<sup>th</sup> 2008 harmonised elections, there were 17 registered political parties but only seven took part in the elections, namely,

- Zimbabwe African National Union (Patriotic Front) (ZANU PF)
- Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) (Tsavangarayi)
- Movement for Democratic Change (MDC Mutambara)
- United People's Party (UPP)
- Zimbabwe African National Union ZANU Ndonga
- Zimbabwe Democratic People's Party (ZDPP)
- United Democratic Front (UDF)

The 2008 election was primarily at four levels, Presidential, Senate and House of Representatives and Civic Authorities. The contest was reduced to two allies, Robert Mugabe of ZANU PF and Morgan Tsvangirai of the MDC party.

### **1.8: The Period before Elections**

The period just before the 2008 elections in Zimbabwe was tumultuous. There were numerous cases of election violence, intimidation and outright confrontations between the two main sides. The political and administrative situation however favoured the incumbent.

The opposition was largely presented by the ruling party as a stooge of the Western and European imperialists and neo-colonialists bent on disparaging the Zimbabwean independence and integrity. In their part, the opposition presented the ruling class as corrupt, citing inflation at over 100,000% and unemployment at over 75% as a case of utter neglect and ruin of one of the promising countries of Africa in the 1980s. The Mugabe regime was bent on maintaining the status quo, dominating and sustaining the rich elite while suppressing fellow poverty stricken Zimbabweans.

The protagonists however conducted election campaigns maturely, in spite of the recurrent skirmishes. They also presented themselves and their agenda for the country responsibly, pampering voters with messages of hope, which promised a new dawn for Zimbabwe with a future where Zimbabweans would have significant say in the management of economic and political aspects of the country.

### **1.8.1: ZANU PF**

The ZANU PF message to voters was mainly conservative, stressing that the opposition were mainly stooges of the Western powers. Voting for opposition would lead to re-enslavement of Zimbabweans by the western powers. It would also lead to repossession of the land restored through the ZANU PF- led land redistribution policy. The party presented their Presidential candidate Robert Mugabe as the most fearless, confident and visionary leader who could confront neo-colonialists and imperialists threatening the sovereignty of Zimbabwe.

### **1.8.2: MDC**

The MDC Party led by Morgan Tsvangirai presented themselves to voters as the only hope of the people and future of Zimbabwe. Through their document entitled, “Our Covenant With our People” they pledged to bring about fundamental changes in areas considered critical to the well being of the Zimbabwean people. The party would:

- Restore freedom,
- End corruption and plunder;

- Transform the economy and create jobs;
- End inflation and shortages;
- Restore the national currency;
- Give land to the people,
- Restore the hospitals; schools, buses and social services,
- Restore electricity and communication networks;
- Unite the people, and
- End the isolation of Zimbabwe.

### **1.8.3: Independent Candidate**

Dr. Simba Makoni was the frontrunner independent candidate. A former Minister for Finance in the Mugabe reign, he offered prudent economic management to the voters. He stressed that by being better off economically and socially was the only ticket to prosperity and emancipation of the Zimbabweans. It would as well relieve them from the present crisis that was largely created for political expediency.

## PART TWO: ELECTIONS IN ZIMBABWE

### **2.1: Legal Framework of the Electoral Process in Zimbabwe**

The legal frame work for the elections is provided under the following:

- The Constitution of Zimbabwe
- The Electoral Act of 2004
- The regulations the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission Act of 2004
- The Constitution of Zimbabwe Amendment Number 18 of 2007

Previously, the elections, principally the Parliamentary and the Presidential levels were held on separate dates. Pursuant to the Constitution of Zimbabwe Amendment act No. 18 of 2007 parliamentary, senatorial, presidential and local authority elections are to be held every five years on the same day commencing with the harmonised polls of March 29<sup>th</sup> 2008.

### **2.2: Presidential Election**

In the event that no candidate garners a majority of the total number of valid votes cast (50 plus 1), the law provides as follows

- A run-off election shall be held within 21 days after the previous election in accordance with Electoral Laws Act involving only the 2 candidates who received the highest and the next highest numbers of valid votes cast.
- In the event that the office is declared vacant, occasioned by death or resignation, an election shall be held within 90 days.
- The Senate and the House of Assembly members will form an electoral college, which shall elect a successor president.

### **2.3: Dispute Resolution**

The Zimbabwean Electoral Commission Act establishes the Electoral Commission and provides for its function in detail. It also establishes the Electoral Court and provides for its function, which includes the hearing and determination of election petitions.



## **2.4: Election Observation**

Under the new provision of the Electoral Laws Amendment Act 2008, the Electoral Commission and observation accreditation committee is expected to accredit all observers. However, the committee cannot accredit a person if the Foreign Minister has objection. The law thus gives the Minister the powers to veto election observers.

## **2.5: The Zimbabwe Electoral Commission**

The enactment of the Constitution of Zimbabwe Act (No 17) in 2005 and the Zimbabwean Electoral Commission Act of No 22 of 2004 stipulates that the management and supervision of elections in Zimbabwe is under the mandate of Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (ZEC).

The following are the functions of ZEC:

- To prepare, conduct and supervise all elections, referendums, and to ensure that such elections are conducted freely, fairly, transparently in accordance with the law.
- To oversee the registration of voters, conducted by the registrar of voters.
- To compile voters rolls and registers
- To ensure safe custody and maintenance of voter's roll and registers
- To design, print and distribute ballot papers, approve the form and procure ballot boxes and establish and operate polling centers
- To oversee voter education
- To oversee accreditation of observers of elections and referenda
- Delimitation of electoral boundaries

## **2.6: Voter Register**

The Voter register closed on 14<sup>th</sup> February, 2008. According to ZEC, the number of eligible voters in Zimbabwe as at the close of registration period was 5,934,768. The following are details of voter registration by regions:

- Bulawayo 320,772
- Harare 784,598
- Manicaland 774,482
- Mashonaland Central 522,107
- Mashonaland east 658,123

- Mashonaland West            625,729
- Masvingo                        740, 969
- Matebeleland North        366,271
- Matebeleland South        355,480
- Midlands                        786,237

According to the process of registration, a voter is expected to register as a voter. The voter would later collect a registration slip from ZEC head office. This provision was inhibitive since many of the registered voters could not do so due to financial constraints, especially transportation expenses. This is likely to have prevented them from voting on polling day.

## **2.7: Voter Education**

Zimbabwe Electoral Commission is mandated to conduct voter education. However, civic education and voter education was not adequately conducted prior to the elections. The abrupt announcement of election dates and the reluctance of ZEC to share out this responsibility with other civil society organizations hampered the voter education process.

## **2.8: The SADC Principles on Democratic Elections**

Zimbabwe as a member of SADC is expected to adhere to the principles and guidelines governing elections as envisaged in the Protocol of Politics Defence and Security Cooperation. These principles provide *inter-alia*:

- Provide equal access to the public media for all contesting parties.
- Set up an independent and non-partisan electoral commission to administer elections. (The current ZEC headed by a former advocate general of the National Army and former high court judge. The commissioners are close allies of R. Mugabe
- Allow citizens to exercise freedom of association, expression and assembly, and prohibit discrimination or victimization on political grounds.
- Provide voter education.

- Acceptance and respect of the elections results by political parties proclaimed to have been free and fair by the competent National Electoral Authority in accordance with the law of the land.

## 2.9: The Role of the Church

The church has been vocal in the struggle for a democratic Zimbabwe. It has been outspoken in promoting and entrenching a transparent governance structure that is sensitive to the plight of the Zimbabwean populace. Incidentally, the churches have not spoken with one voice and neither do they seem to read from the same script over the years.

Encouragingly, the three main bodies, namely the Zimbabwe Catholic Bishops Conference (ZCBC), the Evangelical Fellowship of Zimbabwe (EFZ) and the Zimbabwe Council of Churches (ZCC) initiated the New Vision Document in 2006 that encouraged discussions on desirable changes towards a national Vision for Zimbabwe. Through the *Zimbabwe We Want* discussion document, the process culminated in discussions by basically all sectors in Zimbabwe for peaceful transition on the following issues that were considered so critical in Zimbabwe:

- New constitution
- Land reforms
- Economic recovery and growth
- Process of reconciliation and forgiveness
- Zimbabwe inclusion into the world affairs

The process integrated various stakeholders in Zimbabwe towards responsibly steering the country towards ideals of justice, inclusiveness and reform of the constitution as well as addressing fundamental changes in running the economy that would curb the huge brain drain that has been witnessed in Zimbabwe.

However, they have made their position known through the discussion document. The document stresses the need to initiate discussions and collaborate with the civil society organizations in mobilizing and educating voters towards peaceful elections.

To achieve this momentous task, the church seeks to undertake constructive engagement by explaining and entrenching the mandate of the church, especially its: -

- Theological mandate
- Historical mandate
- The church as the conscience of society
- The church in Zimbabwe as part of the world wide body of Christ
- The church as a sign of hope

The Zimbabwe Church has to contend with the way it is divided along political lines. Naturally, some churches are pro-government while others are pro-opposition. The glaring differences are not on the reform principles but in the practical implementation of the reform process.

Altogether, the Zimbabwe church has stood with the people as they clamoured for: -

- Peace and justice for all
- Reconciliation and forgiveness in Zimbabwe
- Resolving of the sensitive land issue
- The reforms of the constitution
- Party politics and the vision of the state/nation
- Equity and justice against the discriminative policies, including *Murambatsvina* (operation clean-up) or the retributive land redistribution activities
- Freedom of the media and of expression

## **2.10: The Role of the Media**

The media, like all institutions in Zimbabwe, operates under a very hostile and suppressive environment. The same was replicated during elections. The media was limited and inhibited from informing the nation effectively on developments in the electoral process. Only the state-owned Zimbabwe Broadcasting Cooperation (ZBC) had exclusive advantage, but was glaringly biased toward the ruling party ZANU PF in its coverage.

Save for the few advertisements it carried for the opposition candidates, most of its air time was dedicated to activities of the ruling party and President Mugabe. The same partiality was evident within the print media.

### **2.11: Analysis of Media Coverage during the Campaign Period**

According to The Media Monitoring Project in Zimbabwe (MMPZ) report that appeared in the Standard newspaper of 30<sup>th</sup> of March, 2008, the Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation (ZBC) had a total of 51 articles in their news bulletin; 38 were on party campaigns, 3 on poll administration and 10 on political violence. The government-controlled Herald and the Chronicle published 24 reports on the elections. Eleven were on the party campaigns and 8 on election administration. Politically motivated violence received three reports while the remaining 2 were on ZANU PF candidates' donations of goods and services to the electorate at rallies.

The private electronic media carried 27 stories; with 6 being party campaign, 9-poll management and 12 were political violence materials. These figures fall short of what is expected of impartial media coverage during an election period.

Analysis by civil society organizations showed that most of the media outfits were skewed in favour of ZANU PF. It is widely acknowledged that the opposition parties gained adequate coverage only after the intervention of the SADC election observation team, a few weeks to the polling day. Therefore, there is still a lot to be done to ensure that the struggle for the consolidation of democracy in Zimbabwe is also part and parcel of the struggle for the freedom and independence of the media.

### **2.12: Campaign Period**

The following are highlights of the 2008 campaign period in Zimbabwe

- The campaign period was relatively peaceful compared to previous ones. Candidates from all political parties except in a few isolated cases were able to access the electorate.

- A few cases of interference by the authorities were reported. They included one in Mazowe West where the ruling party denied the opposition permission to use a community hall for fear of victimization.
- Harassment. This was witnessed at Nyanga where Chief Mezani was physically intimidated and threatened with loss of his welfare benefits for allowing MDC Tsvangirai to hold a rally in that village.
- There were also reports of MDC vigilante groups tearing the posters and public advertisements of candidate allied to ZANU PF.
- On Election Day, a house belonging to a ZANU PF candidate in Bulawayo was bombed and extensively damaged. The incidence is alleged to have been stage-managed by ZANU PF to discredit MDC because Bulawayo is considered a strong hold of the opposition.
- Police Chief Augustine Chihuri was quoted as warning opposition supporters that they risked being shot if they staged a 'Kenya like' aftermath if the opposition won the polls. The police chief was believed to be a ZANU-PF supporter.

### **2.13: Food as a Political Tool**

The situation in Zimbabwe is pathetic. The government understood this during the elections and had in its sleeves several tricks to attract votes from desperate Zimbabweans. By sustaining corruption and mismanagement, the government resorted to luring voters with basic commodities, which are scarce and expensive as propelled by hyper inflation. Food was a political tool used by the Mugabe regime, in total disregard of access to basic needs as well as respect for human rights.

Rural communities that solely rely on grain from state-run Grain Marketing Board (GMB) were intimidated to submission and offering support the ruling party in order to get grain rations. For instance, the GMB officials campaigned openly for ZANU PF and issued grains through the supervision of traditional leaders, to supporters of the party.

### **2.14: Women Participation**

A total of 2258 women were trained to contest for various positions nationwide. Their participation according to regions is as indicated below:

- 919 contested at the following levels:
- 740 or 80.52% as councillors,
- 118 or 12.84% as MP's,
- 61 or 6.63% as senators

Significantly, in 2008 a total of 118 women contested as opposed to 58 for the House of Assembly (MP's) in 2005.

The gender profile for the 2008 elections is as follows:

- **Councillors**  
There were **1958** seats nationwide; a total of 740 women contested.
- **House of Assembly**  
There were **210** seats nationwide with **710** candidates contesting; a total of 118 women contested
- **Senators**  
There were **60** senate seats nationwide with **196** candidates contesting; a total of 61 women contested.

## PART THREE

### **3.0: The WCC/AACC OBSERVER MISSION TEAM**

#### **3.1: Terms of Reference**

The WCC/AACC observers were deployed to observe Presidential, Senatorial, Parliamentary and Civic Authority elections in Zimbabwe.

The following were their Terms of Reference (ToR):

- To witness in an impartial manner the conduct of the electoral process and to certify to the legality of the same by:
  - Assessing the impartiality, credibility and integrity of the elections
  - Analyzing the organization and conduct of the presidential, senatorial, parliamentary and the local authority elections
  - Assessing the factors that impinge on the elections
  
- To contribute to the consolidation and reinforcement of democracy by:
  - Determining conditions that influence the expression of the will and freedom of the elections
  - Supporting decisions and actions of the election authorities, for instance the detection of irregularities and measures taken to correct such anomalies
  
- To contribute to the acceptance of results through:
  - Sound conclusions and avoidance of alarmists sentiments
  - Promotion and confirmation of the legitimacy of electoral process and election results

#### **3.2: Accreditation**

The accreditation process for both the international and domestic observers was slow and strenuous. The regime outright asserted their intention not to allow international observers to take part. This restriction affected WCC/AACC observer team. More over, there were unnecessary delays and selective scrutiny. Many of the *lucky* observers received their accreditation on the eve of polling day. This development adversely affected the



deployment plan. Several observer teams, including organizations like FOCCISA and the AACCC/WCC were denied accreditation.

To take advantage of the situation, the groups teamed up with other local and like-minded ecumenical organizations to observe the elections. The AACCC/WCC teamed up with YWCA of Zimbabwe and FOCCISA to capitalize on the opportunity to observe the elections. The manner in which the accreditation exercise was conducted contravened the SADC principles and the international requirements for election observation.

### **3.3: Polling Day**

The AACCC/WCC team together with FOCCISA and other local faith-based organizations formed several groups considered convenient in the elections observation process.

### **3.4: Polling Stations Visited**

The team visited several polling stations including:

- Mashonaland West Province (Kadoma Central Constituency)
- Kuredaz: Government Primary School Polling Station Ward
- Midland Region
- Mbizo Constituency (Zaonga Polling Station Ward 10)
- Kwekwe Constituency (St. Mary's Primary Polling Station Ward 9 Amaveni Residential Area)
- Redcliff Constituency (Drakes Primary Ward 2)
- Red cliff Primary School (Ward 7)

### **3.5: Elections Observations**

#### **3.5.1: Voting Day**

Voting day started without major events. The voters were ecstatic, calm but determined, expressing confidence to make own choice in a peaceful environment. There were files of voters waiting patiently for a chance. They proceeded in a disciplined manner.

### **3.5.2: Poll Agents**

There were different agents representing different agencies interested in the process. Some of the agents identified were from political parties, local and African international observer missions.

Others were the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (ZEC) officials who were present in all polling stations visited. The security agents deployed by the government were stationed in all polling centres. There was adequate security in each polling station. Generally:

- All polling stations visited indicated prior adequate preparations for the exercise
- The voters therein were peaceful and orderly
- Turnout was remarkable. The number of women voters was encouraging in most of the stations, an indication of awareness and assertiveness of democratic rights.
- The voting process appeared to be transparent and uninterrupted unnecessarily.

### **3.5.3: Counting, Tallying and Release of Results**

The team did not observe the actual counting due to lack of access and restrictive bureaucracy. The agreement and assurance from the accredited observers indicated that the counting process was done as required by law. Also, the electoral officials at the polling stations were efficient. The votes were counted at the centre and a copy of the results at each level posted at the polling station. It was therefore easy to tally respective results from each polling centre. However, only ZEC can announce official results and declare the winner in the four levels vied for in the elections.

The process of verifying results was elaborate involving electoral officials, candidates or their representatives and was transparent. The tallying and announcement of the national results of the parliamentary results is legally mandated to ZEC.

The final announcement of the presidential tally and the subsequent winner is still withheld. The debate and counter accusations are still dragging weeks after the voting process. The repercussions have caused unnecessary anxiety and suspicion among Zimbabweans, undermining the efficiency and integrity of the ZEC as well as undermining the outcome and credibility of future polls.

### **3.6: Election Malpractices**

#### **3.6.1: Campaign period**

During the campaign period, the presidential candidate for ZANU PF lured the civil servants, including the police by increasing their salaries and benefits. This had an impact on the elections. The ruling party also distributed agricultural and medical implements and computers to lure voters, especially in the agricultural predominant areas.

#### **3.6.2: Polling day**

On polling day, there were scanty reports of widespread electoral malpractices. There were however unconfirmed claims of voter bribing, vote buying, voter transportation to centres where they were not registered with the aim of rigging the elections. Some election triggered activities, such as implied threats and intimidation outside the polling centres were also reported, intended to influence the voters in favour of both parties.

### **3.7: Challenges of the Mission**

#### **3.7.1: Visa**

The WCC/AACC team anticipated to have about 30 observers from Nigeria, Cameroon, Gambia, Sierra Leon, Burundi and Togo. However the members were not able to obtain visas to travel to Zimbabwe.

The only members of the team assured visas upon arrival were Ugandans. The rest of the teams comprising of Kenyans and Ghanaians did not require visas to enter Zimbabwe. The team subsequently reduced to 15 members from Ghana, Uganda, Liberia and Kenya.

A number of observers were finally given a less than 24- hour visa. Immigration officials were under instruction to issue a limited time of stay in Zimbabwe for visitors entering Zimbabwe as observers. The extension of the time was to be done only after receiving accreditation. This caused a lot of inconveniences for the observers.

#### **3.7.2: Accreditation**

AACC/WCC had difficulty getting information from ZCC from January, on the entire election process and accreditation in the country, despite frequent contacts and reminders. They submitted their requests/application for accreditation through ZCC to

ZEC and the Ministry for Foreign affairs. The same were delivered personally to the General Secretary of the ZCC during the preparatory visit by the Director of Advocacy in mid March. He confirmed approval for accreditation for the AACC/WCC teams. Other copies were sent via email in early February.

This is a requirement for all observers during an election. The AACC mission, like other church-based organizations, were denied accreditation without clear reasons despite the fact that our letters had gone to ZEC and the Foreign Minister through the ZCC. This affected the observation process.

Efforts to get accreditation were hampered by instructions from government to the effect that accreditation, especially for international observers, was to be approved by the cabinet and the president himself. It was a clear indication of lack of commitment by government to accredit observers and to promote transparency in the elections.

#### **4.1: CONCLUSIONS**

By the time the WCC/AACC Team left Zimbabwe on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of April 2008, only the Parliamentary and Civic results had been released. The results indicated that the 2008 elections were very competitive election.

From the preliminary unofficial results, neither of the two leading candidates was likely to garner the required 50% (plus 1 vote) of the total vote. A run-off was most likely.

Subsequently, new challenges are emerging, among them:

- The Zimbabwe Church has to seriously consider the best approach to the impasse, especially how to handle the post election period. There is a growing need for the church to speak and be heard, and to give leadership to the people of Zimbabwe.
- The process of healing the nation and bridging the division among the Zimbabweans no matter who wins the presidency. The divisions to be addressed are essentially political and ethnic in nature.
- In the midst of the current economic and social crisis, the daunting task for churches is how to reconcile a hurting, near hopeless populace; without basic

needs, with biting poverty and with disillusioned patriotism, eagerness for political change that contrasts with the apathy towards any call for violence, unrest or simmering discontent.

- The lack of clarity about the next course of action to be taken by the incumbent considering that there has been a flagrant disrespect of the law. Without the declared results, there cannot be a run-off as demanded by law.
- The scenario creates a dangerous vacuum that could lead to total disintegration of the nation as well as threaten the unity of the church.
- The current situation can lead to greater apathy in the whole electoral process and invalidate or undermine the promotion of good governance and democratic principles.

The WCC/AACC team calls on the Ecumenical family to continue to uphold the people of Zimbabwe in their prayer and to remain in solidarity with them in the post electoral period.

There continues to be anxiety about the final outcome of these elections. The over cautious release of the election results by ZEC has intensified apprehension of possible tampering especially with the Presidential results. However, it is the opinion of the Ecumenical Observers that the Zimbabwean people expressed their will on polling day.

Given the great expectation generated by the elections, it is incumbent upon all political players to ensure that the will of the people prevails and that the stability of the country and the welfare of the Zimbabwean people take precedence over all other interests.

## **5.0: RECOMMENDATIONS**

### **5.1: Announcement of Results**

The team recommends and supports the following:

- Immediate and unconditional release of the results to pacify and unite the country
- The constitution of Zimbabwe and other electoral instruments that Zimbabwe is signatory to be upheld
- ZEC be allowed to exercise its mandate without undue influence or interference

- The will of the citizenry be upheld and respected, however undesirable the ruling elite. This would subsequently entrench democracy and participatory election processes.

## **5.2: Election Malpractices**

- Introduce legal means to effectively address issues of voter manipulation in forms of vote buying, food-for-votes, voter intimidation or violence in polls. Moreover, government agencies should be made accountable, and barred from using state resources to influence elections or campaign for the incumbent.
- There should be a level playing field for all political parties and due recognition of the role played by international and domestic observers in any elections.
- Respect and adherence to the principles and instruments that govern democratic elections, including the SADC principles. The role of independent non-partisan international and domestic observers is a recognised aspect of elections globally.
- Establishment of an independent electoral body totally de-linked from the ruling party or elite and that has the confidence and commands respect of all political players. Moreover other arms of the government, including the judiciary and parliament should have clearly defined roles that incumbent politicians cannot manipulate.

## **5.3: Accreditation of Observers**

- In keeping with the principles of SADC, the team recommends that the government adheres to the principles of SADC with regard to the accreditation and role of both international and domestic observers.

## **5.4: Voter Education**

- In order to facilitate the electorate to make informed choices, the team recommends that both civic and voter education be given adequate attention and funding.
- The current provision that ZEC must approve those who undertake civic education need to be changed to allow civil societies and churches to educate the population as well as guide the process.

- To reduce acrimony among stakeholders, ZEC should facilitate consultative forums to promote independence of the electoral process

### **5.5: Human Rights**

- Encourage the Human Rights Commission of Zimbabwe to be independent and to act proactively on the issues of human rights abuse. There should be deterrent mechanisms to hold those responsible for electoral crimes as well as preventing the prevalence of a culture of impunity

### **5.6: The Media**

- The government should promote and grant freedom of expression and allow the media to thrive, without intimidation or restrictive legislation. they need to operate within free atmosphere, but with a sense of responsibility

### **5.7: Church**

- The church should uphold her mandate, witness and service. Above all, impartially promote the dignity of all citizenry.
- The church should speak, be heard and provide leadership in national issues, among them elections and promotion of peaceful coexistence. it should also be an example for other interested agencies and groups in the country in entrenching unity and peace, in accordance with the Gospel.

### **5.8: Polling Day**

- There should be prior arrangements to facilitate easy vote casting. agencies and voters need to feel secure, effectively play their roles and duties and above all feel appreciated
- Clear guidelines and directions must be issued to all intending to be or visit the polling centre.

### **5.9: Security**

- The role and effectiveness of the security agencies during an electoral process should be defined clearly. They should remain impartial, responsible, and sensitive to the plight of the electorate/voter and agents within the polling premises.

## 6.0: Summary of Election Observation

The process of voter registration, access to the media, freedom to campaign by the opposition were somehow encumbered, to some extent, by the incumbent and agents of the ruling party, ZANU PF. uniformed forces openly intimidated the voter population in the days preceding the poll. All these events are indicators that the electoral process was skewed in favour of the incumbent who openly utilised state resources to his advantage. Thus the 2008 elections were far from being free and fair.

However, Zimbabweans must be commended for displaying maturity on polling day as very few incidences of violence were witnessed or reported. The actual polling on the 29<sup>th</sup> of March, 2008 was conducted within a peaceful atmosphere that allowed the voters to exercise their democratic rights as well as express their choice through the vote.

*Prepared By*

Advocacy, Research and Communication Team

All Africa Conference of Churches

Bishop Kibira House

TEL: 254-020-4441339

EMAIL: [infodesk@aacc-ceta.org](mailto:infodesk@aacc-ceta.org)

NAIROBI, 21 April 2008

KENYA



## 15. List of Appendices

### Appendix I: AACCC/WCC Preliminary Statement on Zimbabwe Harmonised Elections 2008

#### **Introduction**

The All Africa Conference of Churches and the World Council of Churches deployed a team of 14 Ecumenical Observers to the Harmonized Elections held on the 29<sup>th</sup> March 2008 in Zimbabwe.

#### **Peaceful Election**

The Observers noted that despite immense difficulties due to the social, economic and political crisis that has existed in Zimbabwe, there were only few isolated cases of violence. The polling process on 29<sup>th</sup> March was peaceful and enabled the Zimbabwean people to express their will freely. This election was fairly peaceful in comparison to the previous elections.

#### **Voter Turn-Out**

It was observed that the voter turn out was commendable. Long and orderly queues of enthusiastic people were noted. It was observed that the turn-out for the voting was estimated at about 53 - 60%. The presence of women and youth on the queues was encouraging.

#### **Voting process**

Some of the common problems observed were: -

- Missing names from the voters' register
- Lack of voters' card
- Controversy over eligibility of Zimbabweans of European extraction to

#### **Vote**

However, despite these problems, the voting process proceeded without interference.

#### **Pre-Polling Conditions**

Conditions obtaining before the poll were skewed in favour of ZANU-PF. The opposition did not have equal access to the media compared to the ruling party. It was reported in the media that ZANU-PF encroached on public resources to the disadvantage of the opposition. Public statements from heads of security forces targeting the opposition created an atmosphere of unease and tension on the eve of the elections.

### **Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (ZEC)**

The Commission did not enjoy sufficient confidence from all stake holders and this was publicly expressed. The general perception was that the commissioners were close allies of ZANU-PF therefore the ZEC's independence was in question.

These were the first harmonised elections that included the Presidential, Senatorial, Parliamentary and Civic to be held on the same day, ZEC should be commended for managing the polling day activities with minimum hitches and providing all materials in good time.

### **Media**

The media in Zimbabwe is forced to constrain itself due to the difficult environment created by the Government of ZANU-PF. Despite this, the media endeavoured to keep the Zimbabwean population updated on the developments during the electoral process. However, the team was informed that after the SADC observer mission arrived in Harare, there was a notable improvement in the coverage of the opposition by the media as a whole.

### **Church and Civil Society**

The civil society organisations including the Church played an important role in the electoral process especially in relation to civic education, observation and advocating for fair, transparent and peaceful elections. These social institutions still have a key role to play toward the healing of the nation in the Post Election period.

## **Women Participation**

Civic society organisations invested heavily in promotion of participation of women in the electoral process. A total of 2258 women were trained to contest for various seats nationwide. It is significant to note that while in 2005 elections only 58 women contested for the parliament (House of Assembly) 118 contested in this election.

## **Delayed Results**

By the time the team left Zimbabwe on 3<sup>rd</sup> April 2008, only the Parliamentary and Civic results had been released. These results indicated a very competitive election and that neither of the two leading candidates is likely to garner the required 51% of the total vote and therefore a run-off is likely.

## **Ecumenical Call**

The team calls on the Ecumenical family to continue to uphold Zimbabwe in their prayer and to remain in solidarity with them in the post electoral period.

## **Conclusion**

There continues to be anxiety about the final outcome of these elections. The over cautious release of the election results by ZEC has intensified apprehension of possible tampering with especially the Presidential results. However, it is the opinion of the Ecumenical Observers that the Zimbabwean people expressed their will freely on polling day.

Given the great expectation generated by the elections, it is incumbent upon all political players to ensure that the will of the people is not subverted, that the stability of the country and welfare of the Zimbabwean people will take precedence over all other interests.

Appendix II: AACCC/WCC Statement to SADC

URGENT PETITION TO SADC HEADS OF STATE ON ZIMBABWE  
ELECTIONS:  
INORDINATE DELAY IN ANNOUNCING RESULTS IS OF GRAVE CONCERN TO  
CIVIL SOCIETY

We the undersigned Civil Society groups whose names are listed below have found it necessary to send this urgent petition to your Excellences in order to save our country from potentially sinking into complete anarchy if election results are manipulated.

On 29<sup>th</sup> March, 2008 the people of Zimbabwe voted for the national president, members of parliament and councillors.

The elections took place against the background of a serious political and economic crisis in the country, which has lasted for a decade. After brazen use of organized violence and torture of political opponents as Zimbabwe approached the 2008 election year, the Southern African Development Community (SADC) facilitated negotiations between the government and the opposition to end Zimbabwe's crisis so that Zimbabweans can once again live in dignity.

President Thabo Mbeki of South Africa, who was mandated by SADC to lead the dialogue, stated clearly that his aspiration was that the March 2008 elections needed to be held in circumstances where the outcome of such elections would not be contestable. Even though the negotiations collapsed before reaching their final conclusion, there were some changes in the electoral laws that resulted in visible changes on the ground in terms of the election management process as follows:

The accreditation of observers was smoother and earlier than in previous elections even though the government erred in being selective on whom it invited to observe.

There were fewer queues at polling stations and it looked like the majority of those who wanted to vote and whose names were on the voter's roll managed to vote without undue delays or major hassles.

The general environment inside the polling station and around the polling station was not hostile unlike in previous elections where cases of harassment of local observers were reported. In this election there have been few reports of intimidation or harassment of human rights defenders during and immediately after the Election Day.

The counting and posting of results at the polling stations for all to see was very well received and ordinary people could be seen in numbers studying the results posted at the polling stations.

There were however some areas of concern as well. These will be enumerated in due course as various organizations do their individual and collective election reports as necessary. However, the biggest concern that has emerged is the inordinate delay in the announcing of the election results. The counting was done immediately after the polls were shut around 7 pm on 29 March 2008 at the polling stations.

The results were posted at the polling stations immediately and there is significant concern at the failure of the Zimbabwe Election Commission (ZEC) to announce these results more than 36 hours after the voting stopped. There seems to be absolutely no justification for this delay and the tokenistic announcement of results for 109 contested positions by 8am on 1 April 2008 is wholly inadequate.

We as Civil Society are concerned by the failure to announce the results timeously. This creates a founded suspicion in the minds of Zimbabweans that the authorities are trying to manipulate the results in order to get their preferred party candidates to win. This is especially so given that the opposition has already been expressing

public concern at what they saw as measures that were being taken to manipulate the vote and rig the elections.

This delay, if it persists will result in the real likelihood of the outcome of the elections being contested and in the process undermining whatever small gains which may have arisen from the SADC *efforts*. We are naturally gravely concerned that any contestation of the outcome of the elections is also likely to lead to escalation of conflict. With the weak rule of law environment that has been well documented before, the elections may trigger serious and potentially widespread violations of human rights in Zimbabwe.

We are aware that the Zimbabwean government has already deployed police, army and intelligence units in the major cities in anticipation of potential trouble. Of significant concern are the unconfirmed rumours that allegedly emanate from the security branches of government that the incumbent is preparing to declare a state of emergency after announcing inaccurate results. This is consistent with the threats made by security chiefs before the elections that they are not prepared to accept the election results if President Mugabe and ZANU PF lose the elections.

We the Civil Society Organisations from Zimbabwe therefore implore the SADC and AU heads of State and Government to urgently

Exert the necessary diplomatic pressure to force President Mugabe to ensure that the elections are as free and fair as possible.

Demand that President Mugabe and his government should allow the election results to be released immediately without being tampered with.

Exert the necessary diplomatic pressure on President Mugabe not to declare a state of emergency.

Apply pressure on the military and intelligence in Zimbabwe not to manipulate the election results and to accept the people's verdict in the elections

CALL for SADC in conjunction with other international and domestic observers to investigate allegations of fraud, so that the ZEC announced results may be correlated with independent tabulation processes.

THAT SADC together with the African Union should be prepared to urgently engage in a process to assist in resolving any dispute that may arise if the results of the elections are seriously contested particularly since the domestic electoral courts process is itself not seen as legitimate by all but the ruling party.

Dated this pt of April 2008 by the undersigned Civil Society Organisations

- 0. CRISIS IN ZIMBABWE COALITION
- 0. ZIMBABWE LAWYERS FOR HUMAN RIGHTS
- 0. ZIMBABWE NATIONAL STUDENTS UNION
- 0. ZIMRIGHTS
- 0. MANICALAND LEGAL PRACTITIONERS ASSOCIATION
- 0. CHURCHES IN MANICALAND
- 0. ZIMBABWE HUMAN RIGHTS NGO FORUM
- 0. ZIMBABWE CONGRESS OF TRADE UNIONS
- 0. NATIONAL CONSTITUTIONAL ASSEMBLY
- 0. THE SAVE ZIMBABWE CAMPAIGN
- 0. PROGRESSIVE TEACHERS UNION OF ZIMBABWE
- 0. STUDENTS SOLIDARITY TRUST
- 0. COMBINED HARARE RESIDENTS ASSOCIATION
- 0. ZIMBABWE STUDENTS CHRISTIAN MOVEMENT IS.
- 0. ZIMBABWE COALITION ON DEBT AND DEVELOPMENT
- 0. MEDIA INSTITUTE OF SOUTHERN AFRICA (ZIMBABWE CHAPTER)
- 0. MEDIA MONITORING PROJECT ZIMBABWE
- 0. YOUTH INITIATIVE FOR DEMOCRACY IN ZIMBABWE
- 0. WORLD ORGANISATION AGAINST TORTURE
- 0. GENERAL AGRICULTURAL AND PLANTATION WORKERS UNION OF ZIMBABWE
- 0. INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

**Appendix III: AACC and FOCCISA STATEMENT on election outcomes**



**PRESS STATEMENT FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE**

Statement calling for peace as stakeholders receives and digests the election results By AACC and FOCCISA

On behalf of the' Ecumenical Family in Africa, we representatives of 'All Africa Conference of Churches (AACC) and Fellowship of Christian Councils in Southern Africa (FOCCISA) congratulate our Zimbabwean brothers and sisters, for exercising their democratic right in a peaceful and responsible manner exhibited in the recently held harmonized elections of 29<sup>th</sup> March 2008. We believe the people of Zimbabwe have through this election expressed their will.

As all stakeholders anxiously wait for the announcement of all the election results, we urge the citizenry to remain calm. We expect that the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (ZEC) will manage the process of tallying, verification and will release the results expeditiously with a sense of integrity and accountability to the people of Zimbabwe.

We would like to appeal to all the political parties in particular and all other stakeholders in general to refrain from actions that might breach the peace and calm that has characterized the day of polling.

We also call upon the citizens to remain prayerful: (1 Thessalonians 5: 17) and to place the future of this great nation into the hands of God, believing that all things work for good to those that love God (Romans 8:28).

Signed by:

Rev. Canon Grace Kaiso  
AACC Team Leader

Mrs. Catherine Ramokhele  
FOCCISA Chairperson

Dated: 31<sup>st</sup> March 2008



## Appendix IV: 2008 HARMONISED ELECTIONS INITIAL OBSERVATIONS

By Zimbabwe Election Support Network (ZESN)



PRESS RELEASE

### 2008 HARMONISED ELECTIONS INITIAL OBSERVATIONS

29 March 2008 - Harare - As of 15h00 on Election Day the Zimbabwe Electoral Support Network (ZESN) had received reports on a number of incidents. ZESN is concerned about any incidents of violence and intimidation and urges all Zimbabweans to remain calm.

Although the presence of police officers at polling stations is to maintain order, ZESN remains concerned that the deployment of large numbers of security forces as reported in Makoni Central constituency could lead to voter intimidation. ZESN is continuing to observe the process across Zimbabwe and as appropriate provide additional update. Once the process of voting and counting is complete ZESN will issue a preliminary statement on the pre-election and Election Day period.

ZESN has received a disturbing report from Insiza North Constituency involving a shooting incident after an altercation between the opposition and ruling party supporters during an MDC Mutambara rally held on the eve of the elections. The altercation resulted in the death of a passerby who was hit by an MDC vehicle which had been allegedly shot at by ZANU PF supporters.

ZESN also received another disturbing incident from Bulawayo that the home of ZANU PF candidate for Emakhandeni-Entumbani was bombed in the early hours of this morning.

Incidents of intimidation were recorded in Chegutu West Constituency at Lowood Farm Polling Station where a ZANU PF polling agent was advising people on how to vote. Similar reports were recorded in Mudzi Constituency at Nyemanyora Polling Station.

ZESN has received reports which show that a number of people were turned away for reasons including wrong wards, wrong identification particulars like drivers' licences or photocopied IDs, or, in the case of some polling stations, failure to produce renunciation certificates for those foreign born.

Inconsistencies in the voters' roll were also noted. For example, one couple previously registered under Mt Pleasant discovered that one of the spouses' names was moved to Harare West. However, she managed to get help from the ZEC Command Centre in Mt Pleasant. Parents and their children were

**4/7/2008**

## Appendix V:



### **Post Election Statement**

**30<sup>th</sup> March 2008**

The Save Zimbabwe Campaign, a network of civil society, church based and political parties, notes with great concern the anxiety that has been caused to the people of Zimbabwe as a result of the Zimbabwe Election Commission's non announcement of the results of the 2008 harmonised elections. The failure by ZEC to announce the results gives reason to Zimbabweans to suspect that the electoral process is being manipulated by the incumbent and ZANU PF. It also puts the elections results into dispute, a situation that we all want to avoid.

Given the historic nature of this election, and the layout of the counting of the votes, there is definitely no need for the ZEC to keep people in suspense. The people of Zimbabwe have the right to know the results immediately.

As Save Zimbabwe Campaign, we will hold ZEC accountable for any disturbances that may occur as a result of this delay.

83 Central Avenue, Harare

Telephone: 042916161/2

E-mail: [savezimcamp@yahoo.co.uk](mailto:savezimcamp@yahoo.co.uk)

## Appendix VI: ZIMBABWE ELECTION SUPPORT NETWORK (ZESN)



### ZESN CALLS FOR TRANSPARENCY AND CALM DURING VOTE TABULATION AND ANNOUNCEMENT OF RESULTS

Harare - 30 March 2008 - The Zimbabwe Election Support Network (ZESN), a network of 38 independent, non-partisan nongovernmental organisations, is observing all aspects of the 2008 harmonized electoral process held yesterday. Based on the observations of the entire process to date and using the Southern African Development Community (SADC) *Principles and Guidelines Governing Democratic Elections* as minimum conditions for the conduct of elections, ZESN shares with the people of Zimbabwe its initial findings and conclusions on the 29 March 2008 Harmonized Elections. ZESN will continue to observe the process and issue updates as appropriate.

While there have been improvements from past elections (for example fewer incidents of overt violence), the pre-election and campaign environment continues to affect adherence to the SADC *Principles and Guidelines Governing Democratic Elections*. In particular, concern remains about the lack of political tolerance, limited access to state media, and use of state resources. Other issues of concern include restrictive proof of residence, status of the voters' roll, delayed and limited voter education and information, lack of transparency in postal voting and production and distribution of ballot papers. These problems have an impact on the conduct and outcome of the elections.

The following preliminary findings are based on reports from some of the 8000 ZESN accredited observers deployed across Zimbabwe. At this time, ZESN continues to receive reports from all over the country and a final statement will be issued upon receipt of all the reports.

Across Zimbabwe the opening of polling stations occurred largely without serious problems. From the reports received from polling stations, ZESN observers reported that 86% opened without any problem; 13% had minor problems and only 2% had major problems like shortage of voting materials that affected the rights of Zimbabweans to vote. Such shortages were observed at Gatche Gatche Polling station in Kariba which ran out of ballot papers twice. In Harare and some parts of the country some constituencies were affected by inadequate lighting.

The voting process generally took place without serious problems. However there were a number of polling stations where minor problems were reported, but these did not appear to affect the right of Zimbabweans to vote. ZESN observers also reported that at some polling stations eligible voters with identification documents were not permitted to vote. According to reports, voting at 71% polling stations went without any problems; at 26% minor problems occurred and at just 3% there were major problems. The major problems were voters going to the wrong ward, wrong identification documents, and the issue of renunciation of foreign citizenship. According to ZESN observers the closing of polling stations and the counting process largely took place without problems.

ZESN encourages the ZEC to conduct the tabulation of election results as quickly as possible. The announcement of results in a timely, transparent and accountable manner helps reduce tensions following any election. It is important to underline that this process is not over. ZESN will continue to observe this process and will issue additional statements and updates as appropriate. We urge ZEC to carry out its duties in an impartial, orderly and transparent manner.

We are confident that our approach is responsible. We urge all contestants in the process to remain calm and act responsibly in the best interests of Zimbabwe, peace and democracy.  
Ends//

*If you would like more information about this issue, or schedule an interview with Noel Kututwa*

*(ZESN Chairperson) please call on 0912233 640. You can also arrange for an interview with the ZESN National Director Rindai Chipfunde-Vava. To arrange for a meeting with her please call Rindai at 04-790934 / 799421, 011 415902 or e-mail [rindai@zesn.org.zw](mailto:rindai@zesn.org.zw) / [zesn@.africaonline.co.zw](mailto:zesn@.africaonline.co.zw)*

Zimbabwe Election Support Network (ZESN) *promoting democratic elections in Zimbabwe*

One of the most important objectives of ZESN are to effectively gather, disseminate and communicate objective information about elections and other democratic processes as well as to promote democratic free and fair electoral Processes through objectively and impartiality monitoring and observing elections.

## Appendix VII: AACC ECUMENICAL OBSERVER MISSION TO ZIMBABWE

This is to confirm that the following persons are in Zimbabwe as part of the AACC Ecumenical Team of Observers at the invitation of the Zimbabwe Council of Churches

	NAME	
1	REV. FREDERICK GOBAH	
2	MR. COFFIE FIAWOTOR	
3	MR. IGNACE KOFI KUDU	
4	MR. KIBACIA GATU	
5	MR. MARTIN OGEMBA	
6	PASTOR SYMON NDABA	
7	MR. PAUL GITAH	
8	MRS. RHOYDAH MOGOI MOMANYI	
9	MR. MICHEAL KIMATHI MUREITHI	
10	MRS. LYDIA ADAJAWAH	
11	REV. AGOLA ELIAS OTIENO	
12	CANON GRACE KAISO	
13	MR. JOHN MARY ODOY	
14	MS. HELENE YINDA	
15	MS. TOWEH ROSELINE KWITAA	

**Appendix VIII: Table of the Number of Polling Stations and Average Number of Registered Voters by Province**

No.	Province	Registered Voters	Polling Stations	Average No. of Voters per polling station	No. of Assembly Constituencies	Average No. Voters / constituency
0.	Bulawayo	313,459	207	1,514.3	12	26,121.6
0.	Harare	766,478	379	2,022.4	29	26,430.3
0.	Manicaland	709,664	1,150	617.1	26	27,294.8
0.	Mashonaland Central	448,477	774	579.4	18	24,915.4
0.	Mashonaland East	624,630	1,038	601.8	23	27,157.8
0.	Mashonaland West	582,989	1,100	530.0	22	26,499.5
0.	Masvingo	699,199	1,202	581.7	26	26,892.3
0.	Matebeleland North	345,264	545	633.5	13	26,558.8
0.	Matebeleland South	342,280	528	648.3	13	26,329.2
0.	Midlands	739,510	1,289	573.7	28	26,411.1
	<b>Total</b>	<b>5,571,950</b>	<b>8,212</b>		<b>210</b>	

**Appendix IX: Consolidated Statistics (Numbers of Violations Reported) Per Year**

No.		2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	Total	% of Total
1.	Abductions	116	223	52	62	18	11	19	501	1.7
1.	Arrest & Detention	670	274	627	389	1286	2611	2766	8623	29.4
1.	Assault	0	86	388	401	530	486	865	2756	9.4
1.	Attempted Murder	0	2	10	8	1	3	0	24	0.1
1.	Death threats	0	12	80	35	9	7	7	150	0.5
1.	Disappearance	0	28	4	0	0	0	0	32	0.1
1.	Displacement	0	11	208	189	609	55	6	1078	3.7
1.	Freedoms	12	39	809	760	1036	1866	3500	8022	27.3
1.	Murder	34	61	10	3	4	2	3	117	0.4
1.	Political discrimination	194	388	450	514	476	288	980	3290	11.2
1.	Property violation	356	807	153	132	61	55	16	1580	5.4
1.	Rape	0	7	6	3	4	1	0	21	0.1
1.	School closure	0	45	1	0	0	0	0	46	0.2
1.	Torture	903	1172	497	160	136	366	603	3837	13.1
	<b>Total</b>	<b>2285</b>	<b>3155</b>	<b>3295</b>	<b>2656</b>	<b>4170</b>	<b>5751</b>	<b>8036</b>	<b>29,348</b>	
	<b>Mean monthly</b>	<b>381</b>	<b>263</b>	<b>275</b>	<b>221</b>	<b>348</b>	<b>479</b>	<b>670</b>	<b>376</b>	

Zimbabwe did not adhere to these guidelines. Though ZEC is mandated to provide voter education, it did not offer adequate training contributing to increasing cases of human right abuses and violations.