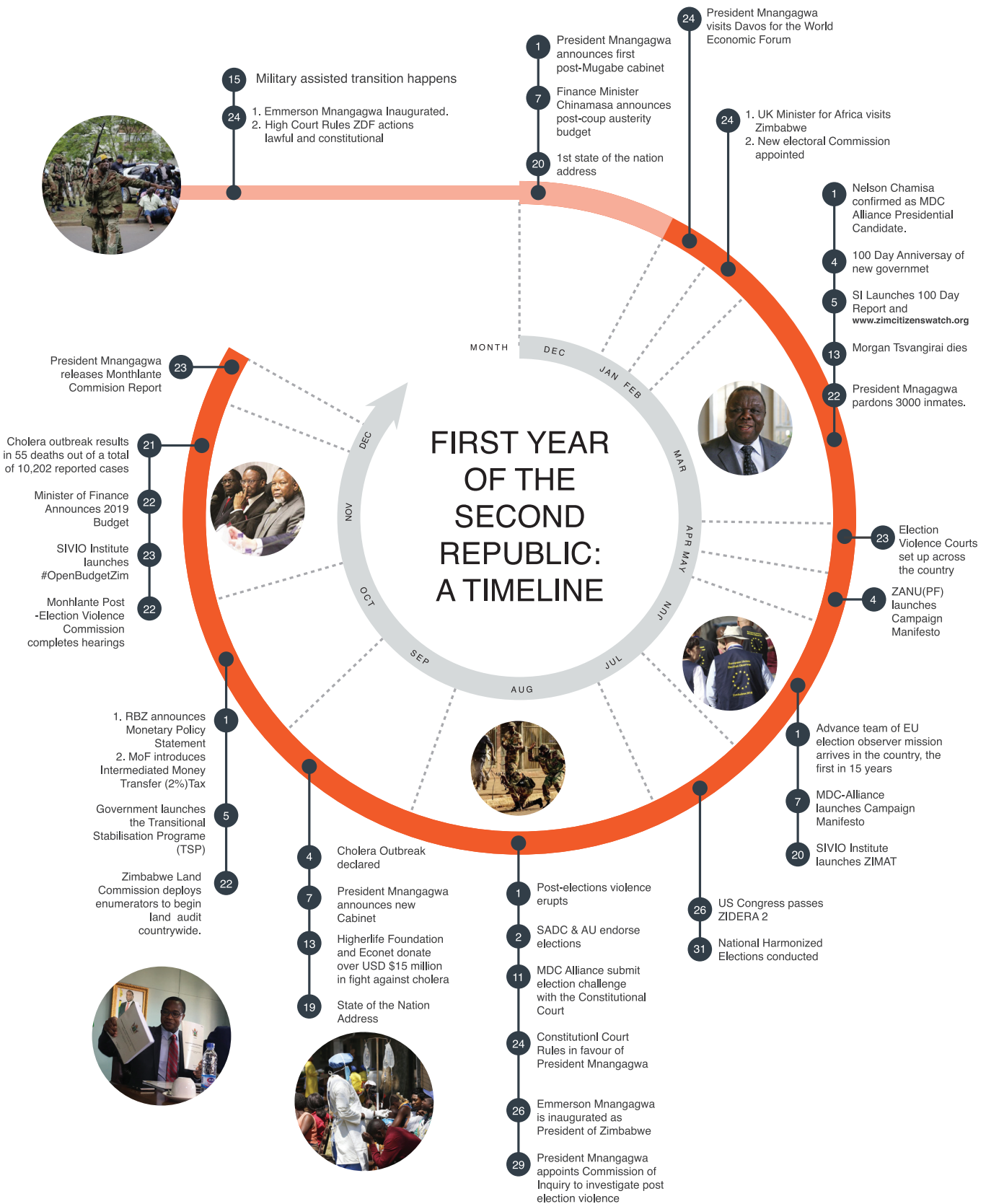


# FIRST YEAR OF THE SECOND REPUBLIC: A TIMELINE



# About SIVIO Institute

SIVIO Institute (SI) is an independent organisation focused on ensuring that citizens are at the centre of processes of political, economic, social and policy change. It aims to contribute towards Zimbabwe's inclusive socio-economic transformation. It is borne out of a desire to enhance agency as a stimulus/catalyst for inclusive political and socio-economic transformation. SIVIO's work entails multi-disciplinary, cutting-edge policy research, nurturing citizens' agency to be part of the change that they want to see, working with communities to mobilize their assets to resolve some of the immediate problems they face.

SIVIO Institute has three centres/programs of work focused on; (i) public policy analysis and advocacy (ii) philanthropy and (ii) building vibrant and engaged communities. In the process SI addresses the following problems:

- Inadequate performance of existing political and economic system
- Increasing poverty and inequality
- Limited coherence of policies across sectors
- Ineffectual participation in public processes by non-state actors
- Increased dependence on external resources and limited leveraging of local resources

SI's major products are interactive technology platforms that; enhance the analysis and tracking of implementation and effectiveness of public policy ([www.zimcitizenswatch.org](http://www.zimcitizenswatch.org)) and major policy statements such as comparison of political party manifestos, virtual philanthropy and democracy laboratories. We provide support to the Social Enterprise and Small to Medium and Micro Enterprises (SMME) sectors through advocacy for an improved operating environment.

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# Introduction

On the 5th of March 2018 we (SIVIO Institute) launched our online based tracker of government promises. The tracker; [www.zimcitizenswatch.org](http://www.zimcitizenswatch.org), is an integrated technology platform that tracks progress or regression on promises or pledges made by government. In this report we use the data generated by the platform to analyse the performance of the government from the day of inauguration in November 2017 up until the end of December 2018. We consider this period to mark the first year of the second republic.

The report is focused on analysing the actual performance of government based on tracking promises and actions taken. In the process, we are building upon our hypothesis which states that 'the new Government of Zimbabwe (GoZ) is long on promises and short on delivery.' We are also cognisant of the fact that polarization still plays a significant part in the political culture of Zimbabwe and have been challenged on why we are calling the post Mugabe regime the second republic, and why we refer to the November 2017 events as a coup. Ours is an attempt to navigate a path in the middle, where we try as much as possible to allow the data (evidence gathered through research) to speak for itself.

We have seen attempts being made by government in certain areas such as measures to stabilize the economy and the focus on ensuring economic recovery. In addition, the GoZ's Transitional Stabilisation Plan provides a comprehensive attempt at restoring stability within the economy. It is probably one of the few documents that is frank about government's lack of fiscal discipline. The task of restoring economic stability is captured very well by the Economist magazine, just before the elections they observed that:

*Whoever wins faces a huge task in putting back together a country shattered by a corrupt tyrant and his cronies, including Mr Mnangagwa. Once the breadbasket of southern Africa, this year up to 2.5m of Zimbabwe's citizens may need food parcels from international aid agencies. Five million Zimbabweans have emigrated over the past two decades or so. In many cases their remittances are the main source of income for the families that have remained. The economy is smaller than it was two decades ago and just 6% of the working-age population is in formal work. There is a severe liquidity crisis as a result of a lack of hard currency. The government is again effectively printing money to pay for a corrupt state which it cannot afford (Economist Magazine, July 30, 2018)*

We have also witnessed renewed efforts aimed at international re-engagement. Indeed, Zimbabwe for a while (November 2017 until July 30, 2018) dominated international headlines for the right reasons; **(i)** economic reforms, **(ii)** reassurances to international elections observers **(iii)** commitment to free and fair elections and **(iv)** a new commitment to opening the public space. The President even opened a social media account where he posted regularly about the progress they were making as government and, also interacted with citizens who raised questions as well as those who criticized some of the actions of government. The public romance between citizens and the state was short-lived. There were already murmurings of dissatisfaction by the end of the President's first 100 days in office, in March 2018. The failure to quickly respond to issues such as cash shortages, price increases and other economic challenges that citizens faced, led to a questioning of the sincerity of government. Furthermore, there was limited progress in implementation of electoral reforms. Respondents to an earlier survey which we administered identified the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission as a potential hindrance to free and fair elections <http://beyondthecrises.org/this-is-how-we-vote/>. The tipping point occurred on the 1st of August 2018, when some citizens feeling restive about the delay in the announcement of the elections, went on a violent protest which led to seven people being shot by the army. To date the relations between the state and the citizens remain stretched especially in the aftermath of the January 2019 protests.

# Methodology

The report is based on information gathered using our online tracker of promises/pledges made by those in government ([www.zimcitizenswatch.org](http://www.zimcitizenswatch.org)). It provides analysis of both the pre-elections and after elections period. The source documents that we used to come up with the promise tracker from November 2017 up until the elections include the following:

- Address made by the incoming President at ZANU-PF Head Office
- Inauguration Address
- State of the Nation Address

The July 30 elections created the necessity for all political parties to promote their set of ideas through election manifestos. We examined in detail political party manifestos (<https://bit.ly/2M37ZbJ>, <https://bit.ly/2SR8X2R>). We used the ZANU-PF elections manifesto entitled 'Unite, Fight Corruption, Develop, Re-engage, Create Jobs' as part of the basis for evaluating the government of the day. The current version of [www.zimcitizenswatch.org](http://www.zimcitizenswatch.org) is informed by

the manifesto and other public speeches made by the Head of State through mainstream media and various social media platforms and the pledge card which was launched just after the election date. We have grouped the promises into eight clusters (see Table 2.1 below). We then set out to do the cumbersome task of tracking all the actions that the GoZ embarked upon and, also grouped these into clusters. This is partly to test our hypothesis stated above and also to gauge if indeed Zimbabwe is on course to achieve the long-term goal of a just and inclusive society or as officeholders call it 'a middle-income country'. One year on, the effort looks more like scoring /matching actions and promises. Admittedly we may have missed out on some of the actions taken by government especially if they were not announced on mainstream media. Generally, most of the GoZ-related websites are not updated on time and we decided not to use them as reliable sources of data.

**Table 1: Summary of Promises As Captured on [www.zimcitizenswatch.org](http://www.zimcitizenswatch.org)**

Sector	Sub-Sector	Promises	Actions Taken	Status of Promises
Agriculture	Land and Agrarian Reform	10	2	2 in progress 8 not commenced
	Agriculture and Agri-business	18	5	5 in progress 13 not commenced
	Rural development	5	1	1 in progress 4 not commenced
Governance, Politics and Civil Rights	Governance	8	5	1 broken 2 in progress 4 not commenced
				1 implemented
Corruption	Corruption	4	8	1 in progress 1 implemented 2 not commenced

Sector	Sub-Sector	Promises	Actions Taken	Status of Promises	
Economy	Budgetary Accountability	5	6	4 in progress	1 not commenced
	Economic Model (focus on SOEs)	5	1	1 in progress	4 not commenced
	Employment	7	1	1 in progress	6 not commenced
	Financial Services	10	4	4 in progress	6 not commenced
	Informal Sector	4	0	0 in progress	4 not commenced
	Infrastructure	24	7	5 in progress	19 not commenced
	Investment Model	11	4	3 in progress	7 not commenced
	Manufacturing	12	2	3 in progress	9 not commenced
	Mining	14	5	5 in progress	9 not commenced
	SMMEs	14	1	1 in progress	13 not commenced
Tourism	11	2	2 in progress	9 not commenced	
Local Government	Service Delivery	2	0	0 in progress	2 not commenced
Social Service	Education	10	2	2 in progress 2 modified	8 not commenced
	Health	14	5	5 in progress	9 not commenced
	Housing	8	0	0 in progress	8 not commenced
	Pension Systems / Allocations - NSSA	9	0	0 in progress	9 not commenced
Trade and International Relations	Re-engagement with International Community	15	1	1 in progress	14 not commenced
Youth and Gender	Gender Equity	5	0	0 in progress	5 not commenced
	Youth	11	0	0 in progress	11 not commenced

# Overview of Promises and Actions

In our report entitled National Baseline Survey on Citizens' Perceptions and Expectations, we noted that citizens expect the government to focus on five specific issues areas; the economy, resolving corruption, improving social service delivery, re-engaging with the international community and improving conditions of governance. In the meantime, the President and senior leaders within the ruling party have continued making more promises to the electorate. The majority of the promises have focused on the economy, improved social service delivery (free education), re-engagement of the international community with a tacit goal for having sanctions removed and with that a better chance for attracting foreign direct investments.

The promises were mostly characterized by hyperbole such as 'mega-deals', injection of billions into the economy, discovery of new mineral reserves and securing of new investors. The announcement of these deals created a sense of a quick turn-around and as already mentioned by the time of the first 100 days anniversary some were already feeling let down by the government. The Table below provides a summary of what citizens expected government to resolve. It is based on our nationwide survey carried out in November 2018 and an analysis of the promises made by the ruling party. Ours is an attempt to determine if there is indeed an alignment between what citizens expect and the GoZ's priorities.

**Table 2: Issues vs Citizens' Expectations vs Promises vs Actions Taken**

Issue Area	Citizens' Expectations	Promises Made by ZANU (PF)	Actions Taken
Economy	Dealing with Cash Crisis (16% of respondents) <i>Ranked 3rd most important priority.</i>	117	32
	Creation of Jobs (37% of respondents) <i>Ranked Most important priority.</i>	7	1
	Resuscitating of Industry (6% of respondents) <i>Ranked 5th most important priority.</i>	12	2
	Improved Infrastructure (2% of respondents) <i>Ranked 7th most important priority.</i>	24	6
Corruption	(7% of respondents) <i>Ranked 4th most important priority.</i>	4	8
Social Service Delivery	Improved Delivery of Health Services (2% of respondents) <i>Ranked 6th most important priority.</i>	14	5
	Improved Provision of education (1% of the respondents) <i>Ranked 10th most important priority</i>	10	2
	Affordable Housing (0.6% of respondents) <i>Ranked 13th most important priority.</i>	8	0



Issue Area	Citizens' Expectations	Promises Made by ZANU (PF)	Actions Taken
Governance	Re-engaging with the international community (1.9% of respondents) Ranked 8th most important priority	15	1
	Improved relations with other political parties (0.7% of the respondents) Ranked 12th most important priority	0	1

The sub-sections below discuss in more detail the actions that have been taken by government within each issue area. We have decided to analyse these actions from November 2017 until end of December 2018, a period which is slightly more than a year. We believe that such an approach provides us with a basis to determine the extent to which the government is responding to citizens expectations. Our analysis also goes beyond issues raised by citizens and looks at other emerging issues which are central to the assessment of the government's performance.

### Economy: Zimbabwe is Open for Business

Out of 235 promises made by government, 117 (49.78%) were focused on economic recovery. However, if we add promises made to reviving agriculture, which are part and parcel of economic recovery, the total adds up to around 63.82% of the promises made (see [www.zimcitizenswatch.org](http://www.zimcitizenswatch.org)). Context does matter. The promises were being made in an environment characterised by economic turmoil; initial signs of hyperinflation, widespread company closures and an acute shortage of cash. In our March 2018 report we observed that, 'Zimbabwe has since the turn of the century been in the midst of a multi-dimensional crisis characterized by isolation from international financial circuits, economic meltdown, runaway inflation, a poorly managed land redistribution exercise which led to the collapse of production and also the agribusiness sector that supported agriculture'. In our earlier survey carried out in March of 2018, citizens had identified economic recovery as an urgent agenda. Respondents specifically cited the need for jobs, improved availability of cash and stabilisation of prices as indicators of

economic progress. At that time, we also saw possibilities of a crisis of expectations which Joe Mutizwa, a respected retired industrialist in his submission to the US Foreign Relations Committee makes reference to. He argued that...

*...the ordinary person expected a very quick turn-around of the economy following the July 2018 elections. These expectations are misplaced. Zimbabwe has been in the grip of misrule for 37 years and the damage done to the economy, to the country's reputation and its institutions will take many years, if not, decades to repair.*

Our findings from the field survey of March 2018 indicate that the crisis of expectations mentioned above was already a factor by the time of 100 days anniversary. The ordinary citizen had been mobilized in a historic event to oust the former President. However, when the promised jobs, improvements to the economy that were made after the ouster did not take place, they had no other choice except to be despondent.

The new mantra that the government promoted locally and internationally was 'Zimbabwe is Open for Business'. The newspaper headlines especially in state-owned media at least once every week made references to mega-investment deals. However, economic conditions for ordinary citizens continued to worsen. The local currency (RTGS and Bond Note) significantly lost value to the real United States Dollar (USD) and at one point reached a peak of 500% before stabilizing at around 340% devaluation against the USD. The economy as a whole was characterized

by a significant shortage of foreign currency which negatively affected the availability of raw materials, fuel and medical drugs. A number of mining and manufacturing concerns announced their intentions to either shut down operations or sell their goods in foreign currency only for government through the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe (RBZ) to intervene and provide some support.

In the meantime, GoZ narrowly framed economic recovery as focused on attracting foreign direct investment (FDI). Most of the foreign trips that the President embarked upon were about re-engaging with the international community and securing foreign direct investment (FDI). The official government narrative radically shifted from indigenisation and local ownership to what Paul Collier has termed 'the race to the bottom'. Zimbabwe all of a sudden joined other African countries in competing for elusive foreign direct investments. Indigenisation laws, such as the 51% threshold of local ownership in mining

were modified. The President and the Minister of Foreign Affairs spent considerable time assuring would be investors that the country is ready to re-engage. The President even made an appearance at the World Economic Forum in Davos as part of an attempt to lure investors. The Government also made attempt at reforms focused on resuscitating the economy. Even before the election season the government had already committed itself to the following economic reforms:

- Amendments to the indigenization laws
- An aggressive campaign to attract investors into the country
- Re-opening of mines
- Recommitments to Bilateral Investment Promotion and Protection Agreement (BIPPA)

The Table below provides a summary of the policy measures that were adopted by government as part of attempts to resuscitate the economy.

**Table 3: Highlights of Reforms Focused on the Economy**

<b>Policy Measure</b>	<b>Intended Effect</b>
Revisiting the indigenisation policy	Encouraging FDI and security of Investment.
Developed a list of State-Owned Enterprises (SOEs) to be disposed of	Ease burden on fiscus and kick start profitability of the SOEs.
Acceleration of the completion of the Victoria Falls Special Economic Zone (SEZ) Plan	Boost tourism.
Taking over US\$500million Zimbabwe Iron and Steel Company (ZISCO) Debt	Facilitate the resuscitation of ZISCO following its closure in 2008.
Introduction of the 2% electronic transaction tax.	Raise \$700 million annually for fiscus; funds set to be used in the roads, health and education sectors.
Setting up a US\$85,3 million enhanced facility for lending to small-scale tobacco farmers.	Enhance exports through tobacco production.
Distributing free inputs to 324,517 cotton growers under the government's Free Input Scheme.	Enhance exports through cotton production.

Some of the more significant reforms have taken place in agriculture and they include:

- Making the 99-year lease bankable
- Promises to compensate former large-scale farmers who lost their farms through the fast-track land reform. The previous regime's failure to resolve the compensation of white farmers contributed to Zimbabwe's continued isolation from international financial circuits.
- Allocating approximately 12.5% of the budget towards agriculture
- The different Command Agriculture initiatives.

The recommitment to provide compensation to former white farmers and also to honour BIPPA agreements is critical for reengagement with the international financial community. Many would be creditors or investors were either still smarting from the losses incurred during the fast track land reform period or follow their countries' foreign policy on where to invest. Whilst the overarching trajectory in the whole economy is around re-engagement with international financial circuits and attracting foreign investors, we also saw attempts of including locals through subsidies such as Command Agriculture and incentives that have been offered to small scale miners. The resolution of the compensation for farms expropriated during fast track land reform, will probably contribute towards the resolution of the land tenure problem.

In the October 2018 Monetary Policy Statement, the Governor of the Reserve Bank reported that they had finalised putting in place a facility of US\$500 million to cater for importation of strategic requirements that include fuel, electricity, cooking oil, wheat, packaging, etc, as well as addressing the liquidity crisis. The facilities are from Gemcorp US\$250 million, Afreximbank US\$150 million and Afrigrain US\$100 million. These facilities are over and above the US\$100 million from CDC/Standard Chartered Bank, US\$100 million from Ecobank, US\$30 million from IDC of South Africa to Agribank and US\$25 million from the African Development Bank (AfDB) to CABS Building Society (RBZ, Monetary Policy Statement,

October, 2018). However, the majority of would be investors seem to have adopted a wait and see approach. At that time they were mostly waiting for elections to pass.

One of the major investments to date has been the four hundred million dollars (\$400,000,000) National Railways of Zimbabwe recapitalisation deal secured through the Diaspora Investment Development Group (DIDG)/Transnet Consortium. The investment entails that DIDG/Transnet will hire out equipment for use by the NRZ while negotiations on the recapitalisation deal are finalised and to date there has been a slight improvement in the cargo carrying capacity of NRZ. In mining two Australian mining companies engaged in oil and gas exploration, and lithium mining were granted the right to set-up operations. There are also ongoing discussions for a major steel plant to be set up in the Midlands. Tourism recorded an increase of around 25-30% in the number of arrivals. It is also reported that the arrivals in the December 2017 period were as high as those last seen in the 1997-1998 period when tourism was at its peak.

The GoZ has made little or no progress at all in terms of addressing the problem of cash shortages. In fact, the cash crises has morphed into a real foreign currency shortage which reflects a deeper structural challenge that requires a broader response aimed at economic recovery. Government has not come up with a brand-new strategy to address cash shortages instead it seems to prefer the more long-term route of addressing what it calls the 'fundamental challenges within the economy which will enhance foreign currency earning capacity'. In the interim, the Government of Zimbabwe seems to prefer ensuring that the country increasingly resorts to electronic transactions. Vice President Chiwenga is on record encouraging citizens to use electronic platforms for transacting.

## Social Service Delivery

The government made several promises to improve social service delivery especially in

the areas of education, health, housing, water and energy supply. Annex 1 provides a detailed analysis of the promises made and the actions that have been taken to date. It is important to note that most of these promises were being made in a context of a real crisis of social policy delivery. The decline in social service delivery has been discussed in more detail in Murisa and Nyaguse (2015). The authors argue origins of the decline are to be found in the neoliberal turn in the 1990s when the GoZ adopted market-oriented policies in the delivery of social policy. Throughout Africa, social policy was not given adequate considerations as it was assumed that growth in domestic product (GDP) would automatically lead to improved social indicators on the basis of the trickle-down theory.

Whilst budget allocations towards the social sector have increased since 2009 from 35.9% of the total budget to 42% in 2009, there has not been a significant improvement in the actual delivery of social services. The majority of the funds allocated actually covers salaries. In the post 2000 period there was no significant increase in the number of schools or clinics built like we had experienced in the 1980s. The government made a total of 23 promises prior to the elections and 40 after the elections. Very little has been achieved so far. According to our tracker [www.zimcitizenswatch.org](http://www.zimcitizenswatch.org) the government is in the middle of implementing six measures that are meant to contribute towards improved social service delivery. The highlights of these actions are described below:

- Health- the GoZ is reported to have concluded a \$25million deal for medical equipment, medicines and surgical sundries with India to ease drug shortages and deal with price distortions.
- Health-introduction of e-network e-medicine platform to improve access and delivery of medical services to remote and rural areas.
- Health-Rehabilitation of public health care infrastructure. Provincial referral hospitals such as Mpilo Hospital are undergoing major facelifts and some rural hospitals and clinics have been equipped with solar energy.
- Education - enhancing the STEM program

by introducing e-learning kits.

- Education - Cabinet approved bill which ensures equitable access to learning opportunities and making primary education free.

However, given where the country is coming from, the achievements listed above (see also Annex 1) seem like a drop in the ocean for a country whose social services, especially in health delivery had literally collapsed. The typhoid outbreak in Gweru in August and the cholera outbreak of September 2018 in Harare serve to demonstrate the challenges in health and sanitation delivery. However, we also have to note that social service delivery is the responsibility of local authorities. Most urban councils are run by the MDC - Alliance. There is a need for central government and local authorities to identify ways in which they can collaborate. The blame shifting that took place during these outbreaks served to expose the fractured relationship between the two parties.

## Corruption

In the majority of cases, mainstream analysis of Zimbabwe's economic problems always ends-up with the conclusion that corruption is the biggest problem. The former head of state mentioned in public speeches that corruption was indeed the cancer that is destroying the economy. In his inauguration speech President Mnangagwa pledged to promote a culture of zero tolerance to corruption and to carry out swift justice against acts of corruption. A number of high-profile arrests were made but to date there are few cases of successful prosecution. The President also pledged to deal with those who had siphoned money out of the country. Besides these pledges very few significant actions have been taken and they include the establishment of two specialized anti-corruption courts in Bulawayo and Harare and also the establishment of the Anti-Corruption Prosecuting Agency that reports directly to the President. The National Land Commission launched a new land ownership audit. Zimbabweans often cite corruption in the following areas;

1. Land beneficiaries during fast track. There are allegations that many high-ranking

officials within government and in the ruling party received multiple farms.

2. Mining deals, especially in the diamond sector where there's common reference to the missing \$15 billion.
3. State based tenders to supply goods. Parastatals such as Zimbabwe Electricity Supply Authority (ZESA), Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation (ZBC), Air

Zimbabwe have often been cited as the beds of corruption deals.

4. Another less cited area is the manner in which senior management in local authorities award themselves incentives/packages that eventually cripple the capacity of those entities.

The Table below provides an overview of actions that the GoZ has taken to curb corruption.

**Table 4: Government's Action on Corruption**

<b>Promise</b>	<b>Action</b>
<p>Ensure a corruption free environment in the private and public sectors.</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Parliamentarians in Zimbabwe were obliged to declare their assets by Friday 5 October 2018.</li> <li>2. An audit of Zimbabwe National Road Administration by Grant Thornton unearthed massive looting of public funds and financial leakages.</li> <li>3. The government gazetted the Presidential Powers Statutory Instrument which empowers government to seize assets of people who fail to disclose the source their wealth.</li> </ol>

## International Relations

It is crucial to understand that policy is about connecting dots that may sometimes seem unrelated. Zimbabwe's multiple-crises are partly a result of the previous government's attempts at moving against the tide of the basic tenets of a neoliberal framework of economic organisation. However in the absence of solidarity from the sub-region and provision of strategic support, Zimbabwe would have to reconsider its anti-West stance. The Mnangagwa led government seems to have realized the weaknesses of a foreign policy which is antagonistic to the former coloniser and the rest of the Western world. President Mugabe's foreign policy was beyond doubt more progressive from a Pan African or Global South perspective. It exposed the imperial nature of relations between the Global North and the South. President Mugabe

challenged imperialism in a more direct way than any of his compatriots in the twenty first century. The President's presentations at the United National General Assembly had become part of the highlights to look out for. Fast track land reform had a broader significance, it was about correcting a colonial injustice but it also touched the nerve of one of the most internationally connected and influential business communities, the Caucasian large-scale commercial farmers. Zimbabwe was made to pay a huge price for such manoeuvres; it was economically isolated, international aid dried up and no one would lend to the country. Perhaps it is important to mention that Zimbabwe has a unique history of isolation from the international community. It has gone through two rounds of sanctions within a space of 50 years. The first

round of sanctions imposed by United Nations in 1966 was imposed against the then colonial regime under Ian Douglas Smith when they had declared their independence from Britain on the 11th of November in 1965. These sanctions lasted up until 1980 when the country transitioned into a widely accepted political independence through universal suffrage. While they were imposed by the UN, there was little enforcement and British, Portuguese, American and South African companies all sought to help keep the Rhodesian Government afloat. The second round of sanctions was imposed by the United States government against the country in 2003 through the Zimbabwe Democracy Economic Recovery Act (ZIDERA) and were renewed in 2018. The EU also maintains sanctions although they are more targeted in effect. The GoZ, unlike others in the region does not receive Direct Budgetary Support except from the Global Fund (for HIV/Aids, TB and Malaria). The country misses out on other funding mechanisms and aid.

Furthermore the GoZ and businesses operating out of Zimbabwe are isolated from international financial circuits. Zimbabwe cannot participate in opportunities presented within the African Growth Opportunities Act (AGOA). Since AGOA came into force in 2001, Zimbabwe has never been eligible for the market access offered under the legislation which has been extended until 2025 (<https://agoa.info/news/article/15362->

[us-to-consider-zimbabwe-s-eligibility-for-agoa-this-year.html](#) ).

The attempts by the current government to re-engage have to be understood from this historical perspective. The GoZ has spent a significant amount of time focusing on international re-engagement. A number of high-level meetings were held and payments for some of the debts to the International Monetary Fund and World Bank were also made at the expense of other pressing local needs but these did not change the country's ban from accessing multi-lateral support. For the first time in the history of the country the head of state participated at the World Economic Forum in 2018. Meetings have also been held with senior officials from Theresa May's government including the then Foreign Secretary, Boris Johnson. There is a significant departure from the former President's hard-line stance against Britain and the USA. The current President has been on record for even inviting President Trump to construct a golf resort in Victoria Falls. The government has made commitments to building a conducive business environment and to working in partnership with Zimbabweans in the diaspora. Recently the government of Zimbabwe applied to re-join the Commonwealth. Annex 3 provides a detailed analysis of the different actions that the government of Zimbabwe has taken as part of the efforts at international re-engagement.

# Governance Challenges: A New Round of Protests and Shrinking Public Space

Zimbabwe is coming out of a period of what one can call super charged politics characterized by deep divisions between and within political parties and also a closing down of the public space with very limited room for middle of the road approaches. On Saturday the 18th of November 2017, approximately more than one million Zimbabweans from all walks of life engaged in an unprecedented public march demanding for the resignation of the former President, Robert Mugabe. The action was largely peaceful. However, it was under the watchful eye of the military who had vested interests in the dynamics of any political change that was to take place in the country having triggered this process when they took over state institutions to 'cleanse' the system of corrupt government officials who were supposedly ill-advising the former president. Others have dismissed the significance of the march largely as stage managed by the war veterans and they argue that the people would not have marched in their numbers had it not been for the assurances that they would be safe.

The energy generated from the march reverberated across the country and, combined with the promises of a quick turn-around peddled by the political class led to what one can call a 'crisis of expectations'. At the time of the 100-day anniversary in March 2018 many citizens were already expressing disappointment because the government had not 'fulfilled' its promise to the citizens<sup>1</sup>. The situation was also made worse by the fact that 2018 was an election year and the incumbent government kept on making promises of a quick recovery as part of its campaign strategy. There is yet to be a coherent explanation as to why citizens engaged in a violent/confrontational protest on the 1st of August soon after the casting of the ballot when the actual results had not yet been announced. In a survey that we carried

out to determine how Zimbabweans vote many (68.31%) of the respondents had noted their concerns about the impartiality of the Zimbabwe Elections Commission (ZEC).

The violence that ensued led to destruction of property and also harm to others who were not part of the protest. However, within three hours of the protest the army intervened. It is alleged that six lives were lost during the ensuing clampdown and many others were injured. The images of the army shooting unarmed civilians dominated local and international media. The government responded by blaming the protesters but eventually made a climbdown and set up a commission of inquiry that was headed by the former President of South Africa, Kgalema Motlante. The Motlante led Commission of Inquiry into the post-election violence and killings that occurred on the 1st of August 2018 in Zimbabwe, came up with cross-cutting recommendations (see Annex 3).

However, whilst the above steps taken by government were meant to help quell the culture of protest that had developed and strengthened during the Mugabe era there is little evidence to suggest that the strategy has been a success. Instead the post-election period has been characterized by the worsening of economic conditions characterized by the return of inflation (see Murisa et al, 2018). The austerity measures adopted by government such as introduction of a 2% tax on transactions and shortages of goods on supermarket shelves helped to contribute towards a new round of dissatisfaction with government programs. A number of professionals including doctors, teachers and nurses at some point embarked on industrial action requesting for an increase in their salaries and also the improvement of working conditions. The increase in fuel prices that was announced in January 2019 proved to be the tipping point in an otherwise already tense

<sup>1</sup> See SIVIO Institute 100 Day Report, 05 March 2018

socio-economic and political environment. The January 2019 protests were probably the most violent ever since independence characterized by the looting and burning down of shops. Bulawayo was the worst affected. The response of the state was reminiscent of the previous government's tactics of high handedness, the difference being the unleashing of the army instead of riot police as was the case in the past. However, the President has on several occasions disputed this. There are several images of the army beating up or torturing citizens. There have also been a number of people who have been admitted in hospitals across the country with injuries sustained from beatings. The grievances behind the protests range from worsening economic conditions, concerns about weak macro-economic policies which seem to favor the status quo and have done little to alleviate poverty for many and also an ongoing questioning of the legitimacy of the government. However, there is no consensus on who was behind the organisation of the protests. Evan Mawarire's #thisflag and Zimbabwe Congress of

Trade Unions were the only formations that were visible in making demands for citizens to engage on what they called 'Shutdown Zimbabwe'. There is no evidence of the involvement of opposition political parties as suggested by the state. Perhaps these mobilisations suggest that there is a new politics at play, and it is citizen based rather than political party directed. The Zimbabwean political space is broader than ZANU (PF), MDC and all the other political parties.

It is also important that the response of the state before and after the military assisted transition has not necessarily been different. In the past the formula entailed deploying anti-riot police, arresting the leaders, torturing them, or keeping them incarcerated over a long period of time despite the fact that the charges will not stand in court. However, since the November 2017 transition the state has been a bit more brazen - deploying the army, using live ammunition against protesters, killing a few and deny official involvement seem to be part of the new strategy to deal with unrests.



# Concluding Remarks: What Must Be Done:

## Dialogue, Dialogue, Dialogue

There is no easy fix to the problems that Zimbabwe is going through, especially given the polarization along political party lines. There are currently some who are bent on proving that those in power do not deserve to be there and others yet prefer the status quo of crisis which creates opportunities for excessive profiteering and abuse of the system for the benefit of a few elites. The country is in need of dialogue. Not the kind that we have seen where experts come to us in a Messiah-like stance and proceed to tell us they have the fix for the problems we face. We are dealing with deep-seated structural problems that have multifaceted layers; you try to fix things here but by so doing you are actually creating a mess somewhere else. We are dealing with Wicked Problems. No, not the spiritual type of wicked). These are problems that are so deep-seated and there are no quick solutions to them. The expert-based blue prints so far produced create an impression of easy fixes and that is why probably people are fast losing confidence in the government.

We need a sober discussion that starts off from; what shall we do about our economy? The names we give to the problem will help us have a better conversation. In our surveys, citizens have related how they are concerned about jobs, prices of goods, availability of cash and working hospitals. These are tangible problems and citizens express them in very straightforward language such as 'there is a shortage of morphine and other painkillers in hospitals'. 'We need jobs'. 'We need to be able to withdraw money from our bank accounts'. And this is how technocrats are responding 'we have secured a facility with Afreximbank to ensure that there is parity between the bond note and the USD'. That is not dialogue.

We need a new culture of dialogue in local halls, churches and other public places where those with anything to do about policy come to listen, not to grievances, but to learn of the solutions that citizens have to offer. The current mess in the economy was created by the same government's attitude of thinking that all solutions lie within government. They do not. An economy functions not only on the basis of policy measures but also based on the amount of trust that citizens have in institutions. The recent report on Zimbabwe by the Economist Magazine has demonstrated that the amounts being deposited into banks has been on the decline in the past three years- have we bothered to understand why people no longer save their money? Could it be that they have lost faith in the whole banking and financial services sector? You do not restore that faith/trust by being brash. It is important for one to engage in conversation and demonstrate sincerity and consistency in your behaviour. Currently we do not see that. The government needs to craft a new vision with citizens of 'the Zimbabwe we want' in a more open, consultative and transparent manner. Currently there is little or no space for considering how citizens can also be partners with government in resolving the economic challenges. The President of the Republic has already alluded to the fact that the envisaged transformation will come with pain. Isn't it only fair that citizens are included in the process of deciding which route to take and issues to prioritize? Democracy is not just about having been elected into office but also entails working for and with citizens throughout.

## Revamping the Economy for Shared Growth

The Zimbabwean economy has been losing more formal sector jobs than are being created. Productive sectors such as manufacturing have been shrinking thereby reducing contribution to GDP and the number of operating plants. The economy has been characterized by acute shortages of cash and increasing prices of goods for too long. There is an urgent need for a comprehensive turn-around strategy to resuscitate the economy. However, current thinking seems to be focused

on attracting FDI and there seems to be limited platforms for thinking through how to achieve inclusive growth and the much-touted middle-income status.

Zimbabwe, like many other African countries, is unfortunately lagging in terms of economic thinking and design of innovative processes and solutions to create opportunities for her citizens. Think-tanking capacity has mostly been limited to tracking budgets, debt and aid. The country is yet to create a comprehensive database of natural resource wealth and remains highly exposed to possibilities of illicit financial flows, especially within the mining and trophy hunting value chains. Trending issues such as innovations in financial inclusion, incubation of Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs), social entrepreneurship and blue ocean economies, remain weakly framed. There is scope for think-tanking innovations that can enhance prospects for an economic turnaround.

## **Resuscitating Social Service**

Resuscitation of social service delivery to pre-1990 standards will be a tall order, and this could be the arena for a pitched battle between government and CSOs. The processes that are unfolding suggest a re-engagement with the Washington Consensus era institutions (IMF and WB) and their lack of appreciation of the importance of a state driven social policy are well documented. Human development and security cannot be left in the hands of the market in a country where the majority do not have sufficient resources to pay market related prices for such services. However, there is reason to believe that if government carries out sufficient fiscal reforms it could generate some resources to ensure recovery in the sector. In our chapter entitled 'Policy Recommendations: Toward an Inclusive Socio-Economic Framework' we suggest that the GoZ should focus on the following:

- Establishment of new partnerships for a transformative social-economic development framework
- Respond to the crisis in education through (a) ensuring that tertiary institutions are economically viable/sustainable; (b) revitalize vocational training (c) re-orient education towards an entrepreneurial mindset
- Increase budget allocations towards social service delivery
- Revisit 1980s era planning for health which emphasised the creation of a balance between the curative and preventative approach
- Establish new partnerships with the private sector and increase investment towards the creation of local drug manufacturing capacity
- Revive low cost housing schemes

## **Creating Platforms for Robust Evidence Based/Informed Public Policy Dialogues**

The country's public policy making processes have been highly polarized. There is no evidence that the GoZ relies on the evidence produced by the thinly spread think-tanks in the country. Instead policy-making has been characterized by high levels of adhocism with very limited research. Besides there was a limited amount of trust between public officials and think-tanks that are seen mostly as foreign funded and agents of regime change. Civil society-based think-tanks will need to embark on a charm offensive of their own to court the new government functionaries and create partnership-based relationships.

The aspirations of the current government cannot be realized without sufficient buy-in from non-state actors. The GoZ must create an enabling environment for policy research and advocacy focused organisations to thrive. Policy think-tanks in countries such as China and the United States

of America play a huge role in producing relevant knowledge on gaps, opportunities and challenges within policy.

## **Domestic Resource Mobilisation: Leveraging Local Assets through Philanthropy**

Zimbabwe is currently seized with the question of how to achieve equitable socio-economic transformation. The most commonly preferred approaches include attracting foreign direct investment and where possible resuscitating industries. There is very limited discussion on how needs currently not funded by government or the market such as improved access to high quality education and health for the low-income groups will be funded. Furthermore, there is limited understanding of how resources mobilized from locals either within the country or the diaspora could be channeled towards addressing existing challenges and in the process foster a sense of agency/ownership amongst Zimbabweans. The prescribed formula may, if not adequately tampered with, continue the process of dependency on foreign support<sup>1</sup>. The current situation provides an opportunity to activate local agency and ownership over the problems that the country faces.

The role and place of Zimbabweans engaged in philanthropy whether horizontally or vertically has not been adequately understood or analysed. This is despite the fact that one of the emerging paradigms for Africa's development since the turn of the century is anchored on the possibilities of what indigenous forms of philanthropy can do. There is thinking that African based philanthropy could be the catalytic agent that has been missing in the past attempts at transformation. Over the last two decades we have seen a growth in high profile Africans giving to big causes across the continent. The Africa Rising narrative is probably more aptly captured when we consider that Africa has only been second to China in the growth of High Net Worth Individuals (HNWIs) and also a nascent middle class capable of earning savings and deploying some of its earnings towards charitable causes. Yet in Zimbabwe the potential of philanthropy in contributing towards equitable development remains unexplored. There is very limited information on how Zimbabweans are engaged in acts of philanthropy except for a few high-profile cases such as Higherlife Foundation. In other instances, the giving has been reduced to what corporates do as part of their social responsibilities. Philanthropy as a sector remains highly underdeveloped and the majority of the formal and traceable giving tends to be from external institutions.

Furthermore, there is no substantive government policy on giving. Lessons from regions where philanthropy has thrived, have shown that policy-based incentives for giving play an important role in nurturing the sector. There has been little investment in creating a community of practice in the country as there are very few actors involved. Some of the innovations around diaspora based giving to community focused projects as witnessed in places like India, Vietnam and the Philippines have not been tested in Zimbabwe.

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<sup>1</sup> See SI Working Paper 'Philanthropy- A Potential Game Changer in Enhancing Equitable and Democratic Transformation

# Annexture

## Annex 1: Social Service Delivery

Area	Specific Commitments	Actions Taken
<b>Education</b>	Expansion and increase of Youth Vocational Training Centre	
	To give due attention to education	<p>Government commenced the data collection process to implement national skills audit</p> <p>Government acquired teaching and learning material worth \$9 million.</p> <p>Government partnered banks to provide \$1 billion loan facility..</p> <p>Government has approved the opening of four new State universities countrywide</p>
	To set up innovation hubs at universities	GoZ has set up innovation hubs at six (6) universities - The National University of Science and Technology Midlands State University; University of Zimbabwe; Harare Institute of Technology; Zimbabwe Defence University and Chinhoyi University of Technology
	Protecting learners from educators demanding sexual favours	
	National curriculum development. (Provision of learning material and textbooks for the new curriculum)	
	Capacity building project for teachers	
	Construction of 17 State of the Art Schools	
	Upgrading of satellite schools starting	
	Government to ensure that international scholarships are availed to students.	
	Support investment in peoples' skills development.	
	Ensure that there is no child from a disadvantaged family that should be deprived of an opportunity to attend school at whatever level.	Cabinet approved the Education Amendment Bill, which among other things, promotes equitable development of schools across all regions, the learning of local languages and guarantees the rights of people with disabilities.
	Continue to map out strategies in the education sector in order to have an education system that is responsive to the country's development needs.	

Area	Specific Commitments	Actions Taken
	Invest more in school's infrastructure development and proper resourcing of schools through building 2000 schools by 2023.	
	Adequately train and reorient the teaching profession in consultation with the teachers associations and unions in order to explore possible ways to improve the curricula.	
	Provide educational loans to students undertaking tertiary education in partnership with the private sector.	
	Enhance the Science, Tech, Engineering, Arts and Mathematics (STEAM) program.	Government launches e-learning kits
	Rehabilitate and establish at least one vocational training centre per administrative district.	
	Promote employer led training programs by introducing an appropriate recognition and incentive framework for companies to train apprentices.	
	Review the conditions of service for the teaching profession.	
<b>Health</b>	President committed to fixing problems of long queues of people waiting to be attended to at hospitals.	Ensured free health care for the elderly, infants and maternal care
	President committed to ensuring availability of prescribed drugs.	Government has set aside US\$165 million to improve availability of basic drugs and medical accessories
	To cut down on unnecessary expenditure to free up funds for essential public services	
	Committed to provision of free healthcare for vulnerable groups in state-run health institutions	
	Improving accessibility to public health centres: Working on the completion of four hospital projects. Reducing average walking distances to rural health centres	
	Government pledges to compulsory immunisation of children	
	Improve Health service delivery in line with the SDGs by year 2023.	Health budget increased by 73%
	Ensure the treasury allocates at least 15% of the national budget to health care in line with the Abuja declaration.	10.7% Budgetary allocation to health. (Broken promise)
	Support operational research by targeting possible solutions to NCDs.	
Review the remuneration structure for the medical professionals.		

Area	Specific Commitments	Actions Taken
<b>Housing</b>	Rehabilitate public healthcare infrastructure.	Four hundred and five (405) healthcare facilities have been equipped with solar systems across Zimbabwe's 10 provinces, in a partnership between the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and Zimbabwe's Ministry of Health and Child Care.
	Invest in new healthcare facilities in order to ensure access by all to health services particularly in rural and in resettlement areas.	Introduction of E-network-E-medicine platform to improve access and delivery of medical services to remote and rural areas.
	Resuscitate the country's pharmaceutical industry to increase the availability of drugs at affordable prices.	\$25 million deal for medical equipment, medicines and surgical sundries with India.
	Develop and implement a health service manpower skills development plan and build specialised high-tech health facilities in order to become a sub-regional health tourism hub.	
	Support training of medical professionals in advanced medical techniques and procedures in India, China, Cuba and Russia among others.	
	Build 78 new hospitals and establish at least one new hospital per administrative district by 2023 (modification from Pledge card).	
	Ensure proper coordination of reproductive, maternal, new born, child and adolescent health programs through a new national health strategy.	
	Promote universal health coverage.	
	Enhance access to basic health care and education for vulnerable groups.	Pre-and post-exposure prophylaxis will now be accessed by everyone.
	Establish a modern, affordable healthcare system for all. Reducing hospital fees by 50%, improving the supply of critical drugs, guaranteeing free health care to all cancer patients (Pledge Card).	
	Committed to attending to the housing needs of the population throughout the country	Government has constituted the Commission of Inquiry into the Sale of State Land in and around urban areas.
	Return to properly planned-for settlements	
	Government to relocate 500 families in Chivi and Mwenezi district affected by the Beitbridge-Harare highway dualization	
	Clear a huge housing backlog	
Restore sanity to unplanned urban land development while improving social amenities in the urban centres.		
Put an end to irregular allocations of land and development of shanty towns.		
Zero tolerance and prosecution for land barons.		

Area	Specific Commitments	Actions Taken
	Regularise all urban land allocations with title deeds being issued to beneficiaries.	
	Avail more land and houses for allocation to the youth, women, war veterans, people with disabilities and vulnerable members of society.	
	In collaboration with the private sector, deliver at least 1.5 million affordable housing units to the people in the next 5 years.	
	Non-destruction of houses and property on land that is pending regularisation unless designated for schools, clinics and roads.	
<b>Pension Systems / Allocations - NSSA</b>	Implement measures to eradicate poverty and inequalities in the country.	
	Create social safety nets.	
	Increase budgetary allocations from social welfare.	
	Incentivise responsive community programmes that will enhance community participation in their development.	
	Committed to upholding the provisions of the National Constitution regarding the welfare of the elderly.	
	Promote an all-inclusive society that encourages participation of people with disabilities in all socio-economic activities.	
	Ensure that people with disabilities can conveniently access public services and polling stations.	
<b>Water</b>	Rehabilitation and development of water and sanitation infrastructure	Harare City Council partners with VEI to reduce water losses.
	Government committed to provide clean water. Councils to ensure provision of water and sanitation	
<b>Energy</b>	Rehabilitation and development of energy infrastructure	
	Assured people that there is enough power supply	
<b>Disability</b>	Government to comprehensively provide for the rights and welfare of persons living with disabilities.	

## Annex 2: Corruption

Area	Specific Commitments	Actions Taken
<p><b>To stop the cancer of corruption</b></p>	<p>A new culture of Zero tolerance to corruption</p>	
	<p>Government to use e-programme to fight corruption (SONA)</p>	
	<p>Swift justice will be served on perpetrators of crime and other acts of economic sabotage. Anyone found guilty of corruption will be immediately fired and punished accordingly- nobody is above the law. (Modification from pledge card):</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Several Former Ministers were arrested for corrupt practices (e.g. Ignatius Chombo, Walter Mzembi, Samuel Undenge).</li> <li>2. ZIMRA investigation of 46 cases of corruption and 11 cases were referred for prosecution whilst Board is fired.</li> <li>3. The ZESA Chief Executive Officer Joshua Chifamba was arrested over \$35 Million underhand deals involving an Indian company.</li> <li>4. Illegal foreign currency dealers were arrested countrywide.</li> <li>5. Former ZBC presenter Oscar Pambuka and ex-Zanu PF legislator Psychology Maziwisa convicted of fleecing power utility the Zimbabwe Power Company (ZPC) of about \$12,000.</li> </ol>
	<p>JSC to set up 10 provincial anti-corruption courts</p>	<p>The JSC opens anti-corruption courts in Harare and Bulawayo in March 2018</p>
	<p>Ensure a corruption free environment in the private and public sectors.</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Parliamentarians in Zimbabwe were obliged to declare their assets by Friday 5 October 2018.</li> <li>2. An audit of ZINARA was done by Grant Thornton and it unearthed massive looting of public funds and financial leakages.</li> <li>3. Government gazetted the Presidential Powers Statutory Instrument which empowers it to seize assets of people who fail to disclose the source their wealth.</li> </ol>
	<p>Initiate a broad-based campaign on the need to uphold sound ethical standards across all sectors.</p>	
<p><b>Public Service Corruption</b></p>	<p>To address cases of corruption in the urban land sector</p>	
	<p>To address corruption within the ruling party. ("We must deal with corruption within the party" The President of Zimbabwe. (New Zimbabwe 14.12.17).</p>	



Area	Specific Commitments	Actions Taken
	To address cases of extortion by inefficient and incompetent public servants	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Government announced that police roadblocks were reduced to one per 100km and spot fines scrapped at roadblocks.</li> <li>2. 54 VID Officers were fired.</li> </ol>
	To address corruption within councils	
	Government to act on multiple farm owners	Government established Commission of Inquiry on state owned land.
	Ensure Non-interference by the Executive in the operations of Constitutional Institutions that combat corruption.	
<b>Externalization of Funds</b>	Government to curb externalisation of cash	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. The President of Zimbabwe granted a three-month moratorium for the return of externalised funds and \$300million returned out of the \$1.3billion externalised.</li> <li>2. Government gazetted the Money Laundering Bill.</li> <li>3. The President releases the list of externalisers.</li> </ol>
<b>Enforcement Systems</b>	To strengthen border management systems	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Government partnered with VST Enterprises for technological border security.</li> <li>2. The State Procurement Board was transformed into the Procurement Regulation Authority of Zimbabwe</li> </ol>

## Annex 3: International Re-engagement

Area	Specific Commitments	Actions Taken
<b>Diaspora Engagement</b>	Committed to engaging Zimbabweans in the diaspora and willing to invest.	Various meetings held in Johannesburg, Addis Ababa, Maputo, Gaborone and Windhoek.
	Investment to be initiated by the diaspora.	Signed agreement with the DIDG to diversify operations in Zimbabwe.
<b>Foreign Policy Initiatives- Reengagement.</b>	Commitment to building a conducive business environment for investors.	Have established a one stop investment facility in Harare
	Commitment to re-engagement with international finance institutions	Used TSP and 2019 Budget statement as tools to engage potential lenders
	Re-engagement with international community.	The President attended various international meetings aimed at re-engagement including the 2018 Davos meeting.
	Government to clear international debt areas of \$1.75billion by September 2018.	GoZ paid off debt to IMF and has held several meetings with the Paris Club of Lenders and the Bretton Woods Institutions
<b>Re-engagement with International Community.</b>	Respecting international protocols through their ratification and domestication where necessary.	
	National rebranding and reducing country risk perception.	
	Protect and preserve the national interest and security.	
	Mend strained international relations, strengthen existing and create new friendships through re-engagement.	GoZ applied to join the Commonwealth and was invited to participate as an observer in the 2018 meeting
	Re-build local, regional and international partnerships.	
	Re-engage international creditors.	
	Commitment to international election observers	Invited the Commonwealth, the EU and other international bodies to observe elections
	Recover lost export markets.	
	Normalise the country's relations with the UK, USA, EU, and the white farmers including those who were protected under BIPPAs .	
	Strengthen bilateral relationships with China, India, Japan, South Korea, Russia and Brazil as well as countries in our regional trading blocs namely SADC, ECOWAS and COMESA.	Carried out official visits to Russia
Access to fairly priced long-term development finance that is greatly needed to sustain our development agenda.		

Area	Specific Commitments	Actions Taken
	Improved inflows of international investments that will complement local investments.	Secured CDC (UK) facility for private sector development
	Access to lucrative export markets that will help stimulate domestic production capacity.	
	Expedite and bring to finality the resolution of the country's external debt arrears, under the LIMA Plan.	
	Engage Zimbabwean diaspora to contribute towards the social and economic development of the country.	The government established an interactive platform with the diaspora (Trade and Diaspora Directorate) which is fully functional.

## Annex 4: The Kgalema Montlanthe led Commission of Inquiry on 1, August 2018 violence report recommendations

### Compensation Recommendations

The payment of compensation is recommended for all victims of the violence and dependents of the deceased. Where the deceased had young children, they should be urgently assisted with school fees and their general welfare.

The Government should put in place a special committee to assess and determine quantum of damages and compensation to be awarded to victims on a case by case basis.

The Government should set up a fund to assist those directly affected.

There is urgent need to avail medical support to all the injured such as Simeon Chipokosa who still has a bullet lodged in his leg and Adriane Munjere who requires physiotherapy for his hand.

### Political Parties Recommendations

There is a need for the registration of political parties so as to ensure accountability of party leaders. The enforcement of the ZEC Code of Conduct for political parties has been hampered due to the absence of institutional obligations on the part of political parties.

A nationwide campaign should be initiated to raise awareness and educate political parties and members of the public in general on the proper parameters for peaceful demonstrations and respect for national institutions.

Election candidates must abide by the ZEC Code of Conduct and there is need for strict enforcement of the Code of Conduct. Parliament should consider passing a law to empower ZEC to sanction candidates who breach the Code of Conduct.

A thorough review should be undertaken of all laws relating to hate speech, abuse of cyberspace and incitement to commit acts of violence.

Political parties should be encouraged at all times to preach unity for the benefit of all Zimbabweans in order for the people to be able to live together as citizens of one nation despite their political differences.

### Electoral Reforms

In order to enhance efficiency and transparency in the announcement of election results, the Commission recommends the development of ICT facilities for expeditious transmission of results to the Command Centre as soon as practicable.

The Commission recommends that Parliament should consider adopting legislation to shorten the time taken in the announcement of presidential results in future elections.

### Enforcement of Law and Order Recommendations

The Commission recommends that Parliament should give consideration to aligning the POSA with the provisions of the Constitution on the deployment of the Military internally.

Police should be equipped with the necessary skills and capacity for dealing with rioters.

Whilst the use of the Military to assist the Police for the control of public order, is recognised worldwide, this should only be resorted to as a last measure in extraordinary situations.

The Commission recommends in the interests of national cohesion and the protection of all citizens, that the Police should be further trained to be professional and non-partisan.

The Military should conduct an immediate and full audit of its standing orders and procedures for engagement in law and order enforcement operations, including riot control, in order to identify in an appropriate public report the lessons learnt and the tailored safeguards and targeted training to be undertaken to prevent any ill-discipline that could lead to loss of life and injury in the future on the part of its forces in highly politicised, tense, and stressful situations of crowd control. This would include the firing of warning shots not in accordance with its standing operational procedures.

The Military, in conjunction with the Police, should consider and adopt contingency policies and plans for emergency situations when the exigencies of time do not permit detailed consultations so that there are no gaps in the applicable procedure or any uncertainties or ambiguities, and that a workable operational plan at all levels is prepared in advance of any future possible disturbances. The important point is that corporate failings must be prevented in the future.

The use of live ammunition as warning shots should be discouraged and should only be used in limited circumstances of danger to public safety.

## **Nation Building and Reconciliation**

The Commission recommends the establishment of a multi-party reconciliation initiative, including youth representatives, with national and international mediation to address the root causes of the post-election violence and to identify and implement strategies for reducing tensions, promoting common understandings of political campaigning, combating criminality, and uplifting communities.

The Commission recommends that the National Peace and Reconciliation and Human Rights Commissions should increase their efforts to fully implement their mandates.

There is need for National Healing as highlighted by the continued reference especially in Bulawayo and Gweru to events such as Gukurahundi.

The Commission recommends that a special attention should be given to the issue of harassment and violence especially against women in institutions and politics.

## **Accountability**

It is imperative for the Police urgently to complete their investigations to enable the prosecution of those persons responsible for all alleged crimes committed on the 1st of August 2018.

Those particular members of the Military and the Police found to have been in breach of their professional duties and discipline on the 1st of August 2018 should be identified as soon as possible for internal investigations and appropriate sanction, which should include hearing from the victims and their families for impact assessment and to provide the necessary compensation.