
CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND TO THE SADC PARLIAMENTARY FORUM ELECTION OBSERVATION

The SADC Parliamentary Forum is a regional organization composed of Parliaments of twelve Member States of the Southern African Development Community. It has among its main objectives the promotion of multi-party democracy, good governance, peace, security, and political stability, respect of the rule of law, human rights and fundamental freedoms in the region. In pursuance of these objectives, the Forum has observed all Parliamentary and Presidential elections that have taken place in the region since July 1999. These included the elections in Namibia and Mozambique in 1999, in Zimbabwe, Mauritius and Tanzania in 2000 and in Zambia in 2001.

The main aim of the Forum's election observation missions is, among others, "to determine the openness, freeness and fairness", to learn lessons from the experience gained to strengthen the democratic processes and transparency of the conduct of elections in the region¹. In this regard, the Forum has developed Norms and Standards for Elections in the SADC Region, which outlines recommendations made by Forum's Plenary Assembly in March 2001 on strengthen electoral institutions, reforming legal frameworks and electoral processes, and entrenching democratic processes in the conduct of elections in the region. The norms and standards form the guiding principles for election observation missions in the region.

1.2 THE ELECTION OBSERVATION MISSION TO THE ZIMBABWE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS 2002

The SADC Parliamentary Forum Election Observation Mission to the Presidential Elections came into the country at the invitation of the Government of Zimbabwe, in a letter dated 5 February 2002, to observe the elections to be held on March 9 and 10, 2002.

The Mission, comprising 38 Members of Parliament (MPs) drawn from both ruling and opposition parties. It was headed by Honourable Duke Lefhoko of the Botswana Parliament who is also the Treasurer and member of the Executive Committee of the SADC Parliamentary Forum. The Steering Committee of the SADC Parliamentary Forum had agreed at a meeting held on 26 January 2000 in Harare that, because of the situation in Zimbabwe, a member of the Executive Committee of the Forum should head the Mission and that as many of the observers as possible be drawn from parliamentary members of the Forum. This decision was intended to enable greater participation of members of the Forum in the organization's activities. Participants in the Mission were drawn from the Parliaments of Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Swaziland and Tanzania. A technical team of 18 staff from 11 SADC Parliamentary Forum member parliaments and the Secretariat supported the Observers. Local interpreters were also hired to assist with local vernacular languages and Portuguese translations.

The mission purpose was to assess whether the elections would be held in a free and fair atmosphere, reflective of the will of the people of Zimbabwe. The Forum also aimed at identifying the strengths and weaknesses of the electoral process in Zimbabwe and make recommendations on possible areas of improvement.

¹ SADC Parliamentary Forum, Norms and Standards for Elections in the SADC Region, March 2001, Windhoek.

The mission's terms of reference were:

- To observe and consult widely with relevant stakeholders on the political and security situation in the country, before, during and after the poll, including, specifically, an assessment of the impact of the pre-election environment on the electoral process as a whole and its outcome.
- To assess the extent to which the elections were conducted in conformity with the provisions of the constitutional and legal framework of Zimbabwe, the relevant international conventions which the Government of Zimbabwe has ratified as well as the Norms and Standards of Elections in SADC countries adopted by the Plenary Assembly of the Forum in 2001.
- To assess the level of access to mass media systems by electoral stakeholders and provision of civic education to the electorate.
- To examine whether the contending political parties were free to campaign and promote their manifestos throughout the country or whether the atmosphere was one of intimidation and violence.
- To determine the inclusivity of the voters' roll; whether some citizens had been unduly disenfranchised
- To evaluate the degree to which the secrecy of the ballot was guaranteed.
- To enquire how transparent the electoral system is in respect of the independence and impartiality of electoral institutions.
- To examine relevant aspects of the organization and conduct of the 2002 presidential elections, such as the constitutional and legal framework, voter registration, voter education, nomination of candidates, the campaign, the role of the security forces, the media, civil society organizations, political parties and other electoral stakeholders.

1.3 METHODS OF OBSERVATION

Election observation by the SADC Parliamentary Forum is guided by experiences that have been gained in observing elections in other countries of the region such as Namibia, Mozambique, Mauritius, Tanzania Zambia and Zimbabwe. These experiences have led the Forum to recommend norms and standards for elections in the SADC region that were adopted by the Forum's Plenary Assembly in March 2001.

For the presidential elections in Zimbabwe, an Advance Team of long-term observers comprising five Parliamentarians and the Secretariat of the Forum arrived in Zimbabwe on 14 February 2002, with the main task of assessing the pre-election political and security environment for the elections. The Advance team gathered a lot of information necessary for the smooth operation of the Mission, initiating contacts with various stakeholders, and giving information on the aims and objectives of the Forum in general, and the Election Observation Mission in particular. In order to gain an understanding of the situation in Zimbabwe, the Advance Team consulted with the SADC Ambassadors accredited to Zimbabwe, representatives of the ruling Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) and the opposition Movement for Democratic Change (MDC), the Speaker of the National Assembly,

the Electoral Supervisory Commission, the Registrar General, civic organizations and editors of the main newspapers.

In a press conference addressed by the head of delegation on the 22nd of February 2002, ahead of the arrival of the main Observer Mission, the Forum clearly articulated the Mission objectives, emphasizing that the delegation was not in the country to supervise the elections but to observe the process as a whole and to form its judgment accordingly, and where it saw fit, would suggest to the relevant authorities institutional, organizational and procedural recommendations that would contribute to the improvement and enhancement of the electoral process and democratic culture in the country.

The rest of the members of the observer Mission commenced work on 25 February 2002. The programme of work started off with a briefing workshop, which was organized by the Secretariat of the Forum. The Workshop was opened by the head of Mission who, after the welcoming note briefed the Observers on the pre-election political and security environment for the elections, the mandate of the Observers and the Norms and Standards of election observation. The workshop also discussed issues of relevance to the electoral process such as the framework for Election Observation, criteria for assessing elections, Norms and Standards for Election Observation in the SADC Region, relations between the Observation Mission and the media, and observing Elections From a Gender Perspective. Various stakeholders also briefed the Workshop participants on the situation on the ground. The stakeholders who addressed the Workshop included the election management bodies, political parties, civic groups and media personnel. The Workshop also included an informative and lively session on conflict resolution. (The Programme of the Workshop is attached as Appendix 4).

For strategic reasons of covering the widest possible sample, the Observer Mission divided itself into seventeen teams covering the ten administrative provinces in Zimbabwe, namely Bulawayo, Harare, Manicaland, Mashonaland Central, Mashonaland East, Mashonaland West, Masvingo, Matabeleland North, Matabeleland South, and Midlands. (The deployment Schedule is attached as Appendix 5.) Formation of the teams followed six-point criterion as indicated on the deployment plan, which includes prior experience in election monitoring, gender, country of origin, whether one comes from a ruling or opposition political party, The teams were in the provinces between 28 February and 12 March 2002.

In line with the Forum's Constitution and policy of Engendering SADC Parliaments, the Mission included 12 women Parliamentarians (32.4% of the Mission) from nine SADC Parliaments. The following Table shows gender representation of the teams from each Parliament.

Table 1: Gender Distribution of Teams from SADC Parliaments in the Observation Mission to Zimbabwe

PARLIAMENT OF	FEMALE MEMBERS	MALE MEMBERS	TOTAL
ANGOLA	1	4	5
BOTSWANA	1	3	4
LESOTHO	1	0	1
MALAWI	2	3	5
MOZAMBIQUE	1	4	5
MAURITIUS	1	0	1
NAMIBIA	3	2	5
TANZANIA	1	4	5
SWAZILAND	0	2	2
SOUTH AFRICA	1	3	4
TOTAL	12	25	37

Of the seventeen teams that were deployed in the provinces, 6 (35%) were led by female parliamentarians.

Observations were guided by points of inquiry, which listed the main issues that would be considered in assessing the conduct of the elections. Such as voter registration, voter education, the nature of campaigning, voting and campaigning. The points of inquiry also list the main stakeholders that would be engaged in discussions with the observers, such as the Electoral Supervisory bodies, civil society organizations, contesting political parties and candidates. The Points of Inquiry are attached to this report as Appendix 2.

The provincial schedules of the Teams included meetings with the Police, Provincial Registrars, Provincial Officers of political parties, and civil society groups. The Teams were also mandated to attend all campaign rallies, observed the general political and security atmosphere in the provinces, down to community level. The teams also sought information on the number and location of polling stations, and the state of the voters' roll.

As part of the consultation strategy, the heads of the teams were called back to Harare for a one-day debriefing on the 5th March 2002. The rest of the team members remained in the provinces and continued with the observing campaign rallies, meetings and preparations for elections and kept the Secretariat abreast of these electoral processes in the provinces through the daily reports submitted to Mission's headquarters in Harare.

At this one day debriefing workshop the teams leaders reported on the on the pre-election atmosphere in the provinces, each team leader was given an opportunity to report on the electoral processes observed in his/her province. This way, team leaders were able to share experiences and advise each other on how to approach and resolve problems experienced by their teams in the respective provinces.

Most of the reports expressed the fact that SADC Parliamentary Forum observers were well received in the provinces and they also received co-operation from all electoral stakeholders. Members expressed the fact that there were pockets of intimidation and political violence reported to them. In some cases they were able to verify the reports and in some cases they were not. Most of the cases reported to them seemed to be coming from MDC supporters and in most cases violence was perpetrated by the ZANU-PF supporters especially, the youth. Summaries of provincial reports, which had been submitted before the workshop, were circulated to those present in the workshop. This gave workshop participants an opportunity to read about what has been happening in other provinces.

The team leaders reported on some of the concerns raised by the various stakeholders in the provinces. In Mashonaland West, for example, the team leaders reported on the concern raised by ZANU-PF that there might be voter apathy. The Party said they were dealing with this concern through intensified mobilization of voters. MDC also raised a concern on its inability to campaign in most parts of this province. The party said that it had resolved to resort to clandestine methods of campaigning, which were viewed as leading to less violence with the ruling party. MDC also raised concerns that the party did not have enough resources to enable it to follow all the mobile polling stations in the province. The party was also uncomfortable with pre-registering its polling agency in view of the reported trend of the agents being abducted. The team leader from Mashonaland West reported that the situation on the ground was tense. The observers could only see what happened where they were and during the day. Most violence was reported to take place in hidden places and especially at night.

The team in Manicaland reported that they had visited four of the 14 constituencies. They reported that the situation was tense as shown by very few people seen wearing their parties' propaganda material, and very few posters displayed. They had also observed copies of the Daily News being destroyed by ZANU-PF youths in the streets of Mutare.

In Bulawayo, where the team had visited all 8 constituencies, the city was noticed to be very quiet, with little visible violence, and very few people wearing their parties' election regalia. The teams had attended campaign meetings that were relatively peaceful. The teams commended the holding of two rallies by the two large parties in the city of Bulawayo on the same day, with no violence at all.

At the end of the mission, the provincial teams arrived back in Harare on the 12th March 2002. As the teams arrived, each member of the team including parliamentary staff was given a questionnaire to fill (See Appendix 6). The questionnaire was filled in as group as well as individuals within a group. These questionnaires assisted in the writing of the final report.

At the meeting to finalize the report, these questionnaires were considered and factored in. Out of 40 members, 24 members participated in the drafting of the final report. The final report was drafted through consensus. The members looked at the various statutes governing the management and conduct of the elections, the terms of reference of the Mission and the SADC Parliamentary Forum Norms and Standards for Observing Elections in the SADC Region, and based on these, came up with an agreed final statement. (The Statement is found at the beginning of this report, pages viii – xi. It is also contained as the third statement to the press.)

1.4 THE FINAL COMMUNIQUÉ OF THE SADC EXTRA-ORDINARY SUMMIT OF HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT—JANUARY 2002

The political leaders in the SADC region were concerned about the situation in Zimbabwe in the period leading to the 2002 presidential elections.

The main concerns on the political and security situation pertaining in Zimbabwe in the run up to the presidential elections were included the final Communiqué of the SADC Extra-Ordinary Summit of Heads of State and Government held on 14 January 2002 in Blantyre, Malawi. The Summit, which was attended by twelve heads of State and Government, reviewed the situation of peace, security and stability in the SADC Region. The views expressed in the Summit Communiqué on Zimbabwe's presidential elections 2002 also inspired the work of the SADC Parliamentary Forum Observation Mission.

In the Communiqué, the Summit welcomed the assurances that were made by Zimbabwe that the following actions would be undertaken in relation to the presidential elections ² :

- Full respect for human rights, including the right to freedom of opinion, association and peaceful assembly for all individuals;
- The commitment to investigate fully and impartially all cases of alleged political violence
- A Zimbabwean Electoral Supervisory Commission which is adequately resourced and able to operate independently
- The accreditation and registration of national independent monitors in good time for the elections
- A timely invitation to, and accreditation of a wide range of international election observers
- Commitment to freedom of expression as guaranteed by the Constitution of Zimbabwe
- Reaffirmation by Zimbabwe of its practice of allowing national and international journalists to cover important national events, including elections, on the basis of its laws and regulations
- Commitment by the government of Zimbabwe to the independence of the judiciary and to the rule of law
- Transfer by the government of Zimbabwe of all occupiers of non-designated farms to legally acquired land.

The Summit also welcomed assurances by President Mugabe that the presidential elections would be free and fair and that he government would launch a peace campaign that would include opposition parties and other stakeholders.

The Summit expressed serious concern on the statement made by the Zimbabwe army on the outcome of the elections and urged the government of Zimbabwe to ensure that, in accordance with the multi-party political dispensation prevalent in the SADC, political statements are not made by the military, but by political leaders.

The above concerns that were raised by the Summit were also taken into account by the SADC Parliamentary Forum Observation Mission to the Zimbabwe presidential elections and partly informed the Mission on some of the issues to focus on during their observations.

1.5 POLITICAL OVERVIEW OF ZIMBABWE

²Final Communiqué of the SADC Extra-Ordinary Summit of Heads of State and Government, 14 January 2002, Blantyre, Malawi, page 5-6.

1.5.1 THE POPULATION

Zimbabwe is a constitutional democracy with a population of about 13 million³, of whom about 52% are women. There are 5,607,812 registered voters. The country won its independence in 1980 after a fifteen-year liberation struggle in which more than two hundred thousand lives were lost. The main grievances that drove Zimbabweans into the liberation struggle included the lack of access and control economic resources, especially the land, racial discrimination in education, health and employment, and lack of opportunities for self-determination, among others.

1.5.2 POST INDEPENDENCE POLITICS

Post independence political scene in Zimbabwe has been dominated by ZANU-PF, which has been the ruling party for the last 22 years. Parliamentary elections have been held every five years since independence.

At independence ZANU (PF) won 57 of the 100 contested parliamentary seats, of which 20 were reserved for whites, 20 were won by PF-ZAPU and 3 by the UANC of Bishop Abel Muzorewa who was then Prime Minister. In the post-independence era the ZANU-PF government pursued a policy of reconciliation towards white settlers and all other groups⁴. Although land had been one of the major historical grievances that had mobilized the Zimbabweans to take up arms, the ZANU-PF government only proceeded to acquire land for resettling the landless on a 'willing buyer, willing seller' basis provided for in the Lancaster House Constitution⁵. Even after the expiry of the entrenched clauses in the Lancaster House Constitution, and after Parliament passed the Land Acquisition Act in 1990, government proceeded with caution on the acquisition of land for redistribution to the landless.

In the early 1980s, Zimbabwe experienced security problems and political instability as relations between ZANU-PF and PF-ZAPU deteriorated leading to 'the dissident menace'. The government used the "red brigades" special forces to crush the dissidents in Matebeland and part of the Midlands province. The instability ended with signing of the Unity Accord between ZANU-PF and PF-ZAPU in December 1987.

Except for a relatively insignificant challenge by the Zimbabwe Unity Movement (ZUM) in the 1990 parliamentary elections, ZANU-PF had virtually been unchallenged at the polls until the June 2000 when MDC won 57 out of 120 contested seats. Edgar Tekere, a former member of the ZANU-PF Politburo, led ZUM. In the 1990 elections ZUM did not win any seats despite it being reported to have polled about 30% of the valid vote in Harare. Zimbabwe uses the "first-past-the-post" electoral system.

The need to redistribute land, which has been an issue since independence, continued to linger on 22 years after. Until 2001, more than six million Zimbabweans lived in communal areas where the land is infertile, rainfall is unreliable and the population is overcrowded, and approximately 4 500 white farmers occupied the fertile and well - watered farmland. Land was one of the main election issues in the 2000 Parliamentary elections.

³This is a rough estimate adjusted from the 1992 census in Zimbabwe. The next Census is due 2002.

⁴Zimbabwe fact File, Southern African Research and Documentation Centre (SARDC), June 2000.

⁵The Lancaster House Constitution was negotiated in December 1979, by the British and Rhodesian Governments on one side and the Patriotic front of ZANU and ZAPU on the other, as a basis for Zimbabwe's independence. This Constitution had some entrenched clauses that included giving white settlers 20 guaranteed Parliamentary seats and required land to be acquired by government on a willing-seller-willing-buyer basis. These clauses could only be changed after the lives of two Parliaments.

1.5.3 THE 1996 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS

Between 1980 and 1987 Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe had a prime ministerial system, with a ceremonial president. In a major constitutional change in October 1987, the ceremonial presidency was replaced by an executive presidency. The Prime Minister, Robert Mugabe was inaugurated as the first executive president on 31 December 1987. The constitutional amendment stipulated a six-year term of office for the president, who is elected by voters registered on the common roll.

The first presidential elections were held in March 1996. Three candidates stood for election, namely the incumbent President Robert Mugabe of ZANU-PF, Mr. Ndabaningi Sithole of ZANU (Ndonga) and Bishop Able Muzorewa of UANC. The other two candidates, who had been duly nominated, withdrew from the race leaving only Robert Mugabe to run for election, but the withdrawals were not recognized since they had not been done within the time stipulated in Zimbabwe's electoral law. Effectively President Mugabe was unchallenged in these elections, which had a 31% voter turn out, and he polled over 92% of the valid vote. These elections were generally judged to have been free and fair despite the complaints from opposition candidates.

1.5.4 THE FEBRUARY 2000 REFERENDUM ON A NEW ZIMBABWE CONSTITUTION

In 1998 Zimbabweans commenced discussions to write a new constitution that would replace the pre-independence Lancaster House Constitution that had been amended sixteen times. In March 1999 the president appointed a 400-member commission to make recommendations on a new constitution. The National Constitutional Assembly (NCA), a coalition of civil society organizations and opposition interest, refused to participate in the Commission, declaring its preference for holding a people's convention to discuss a draft constitution.

Preparation of the new constitution continued and a draft was presented to the nation in December 1999. The draft was put to a referendum in February 2000. Twenty-six percent of eligible voters, mainly from urban areas, participated, and of these 54% voted against the adoption of the new constitution. This was the first time since independence that the ZANU (PF) government had been seriously challenged.

A flood of violent occupations of white-owned farms by war veterans followed the rejection of the new constitution. Although the government denied being behind the farm occupations, it did not hide its support for the farm occupiers. A constitutional amendment approved in April 2000 stated that those white farmers dispossessed of their land would have to apply for compensation from the United Kingdom, the former colonial power. The ruling party also took on the issue of land as a campaign strategy for the 2000 Parliamentary elections.

1.5.5 THE JUNE 2000 PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS AND THE AFTERMATH

The June 2000 elections in Zimbabwe were the third since the abolition of the bi-cameral parliament in 1987. In the 1990 and 1995 elections, ZANU-PF won 117 and 118 of the 120 contested seats in Parliament respectively. The ruling party had been scarcely challenged since the opposition parties had little support from the electorate.

The June 2000 elections were hailed as having had the highest voter turn out since 1980. There was a 48% voter turnout. For the first time since independence, a relatively strong opposition party, the MDC that had been formed in September 1999 from a trade union-base, challenged ZANU-PF. Of the 120 contested seats, ZANU-PF won 62 and MDC won 57, with ZANU (Ndonga) winning one. The Table below shows how the votes were shared in the 200 Parliamentary Elections.

Table 2: The Distribution of Votes in the 2000 Parliamentary Elections in Zimbabwe

PARTY	VOTES WON	% OF VALID VOTE
ZANU-PF	1 203 363	48.32
MDC	1 171 656	47.05
OTHERS	115 277	4.63
TOTAL	2 490 296	100

Source: The Herald, 14 March 2002, page 11

The SADC Parliamentary Forum observed these elections. In its final report, the Forum concluded that the elections reflected the will of the people of the Zimbabwe. The Forum, however deplored the violence that characterized the pre-election period and the polarization of the private and public media along political lines. The Forum also recommended the establishment of an independent electoral commission and a more thorough process of voter registration.

1.5.6 THE BYE-ELECTIONS CONDUCTED SINCE THE 2002 PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS

By March 2002, five bye-elections have been held since the June 2000 elections. All of them (including the one that had formerly been an MDC seat) were won by ZANU-PF⁶. The campaigning was characterized by widespread pre-elections violence, and both political parties accused each other of having started the animosity. Like in the June 2000 elections, a highly polarized print media and a partisan public broadcaster aggravated the polarization of supporters of the two main political parties.

⁶ By-elections were held in the Constituencies of Marondera West, Chikomba, Bindura, Bikita and Makoni West. All these had been won by ZANU-PF except Bikita, which had been won by MDC in the 2000 Parliamentary Elections.

CHAPTER II: ELECTORAL FRAMEWORK AND PREPARATIONS FOR THE ELECTIONS

2.1 ELECTORAL PROVISIONS IN THE CONSTITUTION OF ZIMBABWE AND THE ELECTORAL LAW

The current system of electing a president in Zimbabwe is derived from the 1987 Constitutional amendment, which replaced the Westminster model imposed through the Lancaster House Constitution with an executive presidency, abolishing the bi-cameral parliament and increasing the number of parliamentarians from 100 members to 150. Chapter IV of Constitution of Zimbabwe contains the provisions relating to the office of the President.

The main electoral law in Zimbabwe is the Electoral Act of 1990, which has been amended several times. Part XIX of the Act outlines provisions relating to elections to the office of President, who is elected by all voters on the common roll voting in constituencies where they are registered. The winner is required to obtain an absolute majority of all votes cast. The President is elected for a six-year term of office and can be reelected for an unspecified number of times. Zimbabwe is therefore one of the few countries in SADC that do not have limits on the term of office of the President.

A trend that characterized the period leading up to the presidential elections in 2002 was that of several changes to the legal framework governing elections. These changes, especially, the Citizenship of Zimbabwe Amendment Act of 2001, the Public General Laws Amendment Act of 2002, the Public Order and Security Act of 2001 and other regulations made in terms of the Electoral Act presented difficult for most people in Zimbabwe to understand the electoral process. Several provisions of these Acts were challenged by the opposition party in the courts, but almost all judgments made in favour of these petitioners were either overruled or reversed through publication of notices in the Government gazette. Among the amendments made to the electoral process between June 2001 and March 2002 are the following:

- Amendments to the Citizenship Act, making a requirement for all persons who have the potential to claim other citizenships to renounce them before they can vote.
- Modification of the postal ballot, restricting it only to Zimbabwean uniformed forces and diplomatic missions. This amendment removed Section 61(2) (c) which allowed other categories of persons to apply for postal votes.
- Restrictions of the recruitment of local monitors to persons within the civil service, thereby excluding other civil society actors.
- The banning of all external funding for voter education except where such funds are channeled through the ESC.
- Requirement of proof of residence when registering as a voter. This requirement was relaxed through a High Court Order, but the Registrar General's office was reported to have continued to demand proof of residence, arguing that the act empowered the Office to seek for proof⁷.
- The General Laws Amendment Act Number 2 of 2002 outlawed the conducting of voter education by civic society organizations, giving the responsibility for such education to the ESC.

⁷The Herald, 7 December 2001

- In a Supreme judgment of 28 February 2002, the General Laws Amendment Act of January 2002 was ruled to be unconstitutional, and was therefore nullified. The President, however, nullified the application of the Supreme Court ruling to the 2002 presidential elections by way of a notice in the Government Gazette. (provide date)

2.2 ELECTORAL MANAGEMENT BODIES

Three main bodies administer elections in Zimbabwe. They are the Electoral Supervisory Commission, the Office of the Registrar General together with Constituency Registrars, and the Election Directorate.

The Electoral Supervisory Commission is established in terms of Section 61 of the Zimbabwe Constitution. It consists of a Chairperson and four members appointed by the President, two after consultation with the Judicial Service, and the other two after consultations with the Speaker of Parliament. Parliamentarians, members of local authorities and public officers are not eligible for appointment to the Commission. The Commission has the responsibility of overseeing the registration of voters and the conduct of elections. It may make recommendations to Parliament on legislation relating to elections.

The Registrar General is a public service post whose functions as registrar of elections are specified in the Electoral Act. His duties in relation to elections are controlled by the Election Directorate and are subject to recommendations by the Electoral Supervisory Commission. Zimbabwe is divided into 120 constituencies, and each one has a constituency registrar responsible for the administration, organization and conduct of elections within the constituency.

The Electoral Directorate is appointed in terms of Section 4 of the Electoral Act of 1990. It consists of a chairperson appointed by the President, the Registrar General and between two and ten members appointed by the Minister of Justice, Legal and Parliamentary Affairs. The functions of the Election Directorate include registration of voters, conducting elections in all constituencies and ensuring that elections are conducted efficiently, freely and fairly.

The roles of the three bodies overlap and the Zimbabwean electorate is often confused as to the exact division of election duties among the three bodies.

2.3 VOTER REGISTRATION

SADC Parliamentary Forum's Norms and Standards for Elections in the SADC consider a properly compiled register of voters as "a sound basis for the organization of free and fair elections... and as the biggest test of impartiality and technical competence of Electoral Commissions"⁸. The Electoral Act in Zimbabwe provides that voters on the common roll must be citizens of Zimbabwe or permanent residents, aged eighteen years or over, not mentally disordered, or serving a prison sentence for a period of six months or more.

For the 2002 presidential elections, the voters' roll was opened for public inspection for the period between 12 November and 2 December 2001. The period was extended, first by a week, and then it was deemed to have ended on 27 January 2002. The Electoral Act, however, makes provisions for continuous voter registration and for the Registrar General to alter any day and time fixed for voter registration through publication of a further notice in the Gazette.

⁸Norm and Standards for Elections in the SADC Region, SADC Parliamentary Forum, March 2001, page 17.

On 1 March 2002, the Registrar General announced that the period of registration had been extended from 27 January to 3 March 2002, and a supplementary voters' roll would be produced before the election on 9 and 10 March 2002. These changes in the closing date for registration of voters for the 2002 presidential elections caused confusion among potential voters since the announcement of the extension of the period for registration had not been adequately publicized to the electorate and all parties to inform their supporters.

Requirements for proof of residence for one to register as a voter in the form of title deeds, lodgers' permit, electricity, rates and water statements in applicant's name had the effect of discouraging or even excluding some potential voters, especially women, the majority of whom do not own property and would have no documentary proof of ownership or residence. In addition, changes to the Citizenship Act, requiring persons with potential for dual citizenship to renounce one of their choice or be struck off the voters' register would disadvantage potential voters in commercial farm and mines, many of whom have parentage originating from neighbouring countries.

The number of registered voters for the presidential elections announced by the Registrar General's office on 7 March 2002 was 5,607,812. The table below shows the distribution of registered voters by Province.

Table 3: Number of Registered Voter for the Zimbabwe Presidential Elections 2002 by Province

PROVINCE	NUMBER OF REGISTERED VOTERS
BULAWAYO	368,028
HARARE	882,176
MANICALAND	658,694
MASHONALAND CENTRAL	480,092
MASHONALAND EAST	589,185
MASHONALAND WEST	572,677
MASVINGO	655,122
MATEBELELAND NORTH	338,188
MATEBELELAND SOUTH	343,993
MIDLANDS	724,659
TOTAL	5,607,812

Source: The Herald, Friday 8 March 2002, page 2

Some of the issues raised in relation of the voter registration process included the late conclusion of registration and the lack of opportunity of the voters to inspect the voters' roll prior to the elections.

⁹Statutory Instrument 41A of 2002, Electoral (Presidential Elections) (N0.3) Notice 2002 dated 1 March 2002.

2.4 VOTER EDUCATION

Effective education of voter on how to vote is one of the most important aspects of free and fair elections. In past elections in Zimbabwe, non-governmental organizations had actively participated in voter education. The General Laws Amendment Act of 2002 gave the ESC the monopoly of conducting voter education. The Act empowers the ESC to register persons and organizations that may assist in voter education.

The attention of our observers was brought to concerns raised on voter education, especially by civic organizations, which noted that the ESC lacked resources to conduct effective voter education. Confusion among civic organizations was also said to be caused by the definition of 'voter education' contained in Electoral Act as 'a course or programme of instruction on electoral law and procedures aimed at voters generally...' It was not clear whether this included public meetings to urge people to exercise their constitutional right to vote. The provisions of the Public Order and Security Act, which required meetings of 12 persons or more to notify the police, compounded the confusion. In most areas the 'notification' was interpreted to mean seeking permission from the police. Many civic organizations also reported that a lot of their meetings were disallowed by the police for various reasons, including the potential of the meetings to disrupt public order. None of the meetings of the ruling party were reported to have been disallowed by the police.

2.5. NOMINATION OF CANDIDATES

Nominations of candidates for the presidential elections took place in Harare on 31 January 2002. Five candidates were duly elected, namely Robert Gabriel Mugabe of ZANU-PF, Morgan Tsvangirayi of MDC, Shake Maya of NAGG, Paul Siwela an independent, and Tarugarira Wilson Kumbula of ZANU, contesting in his individual capacity without using the ZANU symbol¹⁹. Two of the candidates, Paul Siwela and Wilson Kumbula did not contested under the names and symbols of the political parties that they had initially wished to due to court applications by party members that they did not have the mandate of their respective political parties. Nomination of presidential candidates was assessed to have proceeded smoothly.

2.6 INTERNATIONAL OBSERVERS

The SADC Parliamentary Forum Observer Mission was one of the many observer missions that converged in Zimbabwe at the invitation of the government. Other international Missions included the OAU, the Commonwealth, the SADC Electoral Commissions, and the ACP Missions the National Observer Missions coming from Botswana, South Africa, Libya, Namibia Nigeria, Tanzania and Malawi, among others. The Forum's observers collaborated with most of the observer missions that were in Zimbabwe at the time of the elections.

The conduct of international observer to elections in Zimbabwe is governed by a code of conduct that was developed by the ESC. The Code of Conduct incorporates, among other things, the requirement for accreditation by every observer, the need to be impartial, independent, non-partisan and neutral, to obey the laws of Zimbabwe and to desist from obstructing or interviewing voters at polling stations. The number of observers was fewer than the June 2000 parliamentary elections. Also the EU was not allowed to observe.

Civic groups in Zimbabwe also noted that the number of international observers invited by the government of Zimbabwe for the 2002 elections would not enable elections in all parts of the country to be observed. The ZESN had responded by recruiting 15 000 local observers, but as noted below, only 400 were invited by the ESC.

¹⁹Government Gazette Extraordinary, Vol. LXXX, No.8C, 6 February 2002.

2.7 LOCAL MONITORS AND OBSERVERS

Analysis of the history of participation of civil society organizations in the electoral process shows that before the 1995 Parliamentary Elections, there was no clear legal framework for the involvement of civil society in monitoring or observing elections. Both the Constitution and the Electoral Act were silent on this issue. There had been no formalized local monitoring in the 1980, 1985 and 1990 parliamentary elections. In 1995, owing to demands from civil society, Electoral (Amendment) Regulations Number 1 of 1995 (Statutory Instrument 70 of 1995) allowed the Electoral Supervisory Commission to appoint civil society monitors. The Regulations did not, however, mention aspects such as the code of conduct for monitors or the difference between a monitor and an observer.

In the 2000 parliamentary election, there was a tightening of the regulations governing monitors. The Electoral (Amendment) Regulations number 7, 2000 (SI 161A of 2000) set out the qualifications for monitors, prohibiting non-citizens and officers of contesting political parties from being appointed as monitors. The regulations also made a distinction between monitors and observers. A monitor was to be a citizen appointed by the ESC, while an observer would be from a foreign country or an international organization appointed by the ESC on the recommendation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The most recent changes in the procedures for local monitors and observers are contained in Section 14B (2) of the General Laws Amendment Act of 2002 which stipulates that a monitor shall be appointed by the ESC only from officers in the Public Service. This had the effect of barring civic organizations from participating as monitors. The Act, however, provided for local observers who would be accredited at the invitation of the ESC.

The Zimbabwe Election Support Network (ZESN), a coalition of 38 NGOs and civic groups, has coordinated election observation by civil society groups since 1999. It coordinated training and deployment of local observers for the 2000 parliamentary elections as well as the 2002 presidential elections. It, however, noted with concern the drastic reduction in the number of local observers invited by the ESC to monitor the presidential elections. Out of the estimated 15 000 local observers that had been assessed to be necessary and mobilized by ZESN, only 400 were invited. This had the effect of leaving many polling stations without observers.

2.8 REPORTS TO SADC PARLIAMENTARY FORUM OBSERVERS ON THE PRE-ELECTION VIOLENCE

Even the government of Zimbabwe and its police could not deny the fact that the period leading to Zimbabwe a presidential election was marred by politically motivated violence. Media reports of violence abound on both the local and the international media. In all the briefings received by the SADC Parliamentary Forum observers, there had been emphasis placed on the prevalence of violence. Appeals had also been made by the leadership of all the political parties contesting the elections, urging their supporters to desist from being violent or engaging in behaviours that spark violence. There had been accusations and counter accusations both in the media and in the briefings received by the Forum's observers. There was, therefore, no denial of the prevalence of violence. What was being contested was the detail as to who the perpetrators were.

The methods of work employed by the Observer teams included consultations with the police, political parties, civic organizations and electoral bodies in all the provinces where the Observers were deployed. All seventeen Teams in the ten provinces of Zimbabwe sent daily reports to the Command Centre that in Harare. These reports were analyzed for purposes of noting the political and security trends in the period before, during and after the elections.

The reports sent from the ten provinces are published as a supplement to be read together with this report. All the 17 teams in the ten provinces reported either having witnessed some form of politically motivated violence or having received a report and verified an incident of violence. Teams in Mashonaland East and Mashonaland West had witnessed violent attacks at campaign rallies of the opposition party, and in one instance in the Chinhoyi one of the cars clearly marked with a SADC sticker had been attacked after attending a rally of the MDC, the opposition party¹¹.

In consultations with stakeholders, the Teams had received numerous reports of politically motivated violence. In none of the provinces was there no reports of violence, what differed was the degree, with some provinces being observed to be more violent than others.

Provincial party leaders of both ZANU-PF and the MDC confirmed that there had been violence in their areas. The police in all provinces, especially those responsible for rural constituencies, had confirmed that persons who supported opposition parties lived in fear and some had been forced to flee their homes¹². This meant that these people would not be able to vote since they could only do so in their home constituencies. The Team deployed to Mashonaland West reported having been told by the police that a lot of the rural areas in the province were 'no go' areas for non-ZANU-PF supporters, and that no opposition party had been held campaign rallies in rural areas in the province¹³. On attending a rally of the ruling party in a rural constituency, observers noted people being pulled out of their houses and being forced to attend the rally. One such woman who was pregnant had to be hospitalized after being manhandled by ZANU-PF youths.

The Forum Observers also noted that the police had not been non-partisan in the way that they responded to reports of violence. In some areas, it was the victims of violence that were arrested while the perpetrators went free¹⁴. Observer Teams also visited hospitals to talk to victims of violence. On numerous occasions Observers received reports of victims being assaulted and reporting to the police, but with no action being taken. Attempts to engage in discussions with the police in that regard had not been successful since all questions were often referred to the Police Headquarters in Harare. Although generally, the police were able to confirm that there had been violence in all provinces, there was a trend to blame it on the opposition party rather than on the ruling party. In reports from six of the ten provinces, Observers had been told by the police that MDC youths were the main perpetrators of violence. Police also confirmed the existence of youth/militia bases in most of the provinces. ¹⁵Both parties were reported to have militia bases from where youths launched attacks or mobilization campaigns on supporters of opposing parties.

The general state of insecurity and fear arising from widespread politically motivated violence was cause for concern not only for citizens and also for the Forum's Observer Mission as it cast a dark shadow on the elections. It violates the people's freedom of expression and association, which is a basic a fundamental requirement for free and fair elections.

¹¹Report of the Head of Mission after a visit to Chinhoyi on 24 February 2002.

¹²Report of the Forum's Team in the Matebeleland North on 28 February 2002.

¹³Report of the Team in Mashonaland West dated 4 March 2002.

¹⁴Report of the Forum's Team in Mashonaland West, 4 March 2002.

¹⁵Report from Masvingo, 28 February; Report from Bulawayo, 28 February;

2.9 POLLING STATIONS, BALLOT BOXES AND POLLING STAFF

SADC Parliamentary Forum Observers noted that lack of information on the location of polling stations was a major concern. In most urban centers, this information was not available until the day before polling.

This caused some confusion, considering that some locations that had previously been used as polling stations were not going to be used because of the reduction of polling stations in most urban areas. In Harare where elections for mayor and councilors took place simultaneously with the presidential elections, confusion was compounded by the need for voters to select polling stations that were not only in their constituencies, but also in the correct ward. Since ward boundaries are not always within a single constituency, the Combined Harare Residents association gave an example of an area of Harare where voters had to choose between the presidential and mayoral elections since there was no polling station in the area where the ward coincided with constituency¹⁶.

In all polling stations observed, the polling staff was in position in time and conducted their business in a professional manner. Concerns were raised to our observers in some rural polling stations where opposition parties claimed that their polling agents had been abducted by unruly elements, thereby preventing them from being in their locations before polling started. Opposition parties also claimed that they did not have adequate information on mobile polling stations in rural areas and did not have resources to enable them to follow all the mobile stations.

2.10 PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN

The participation of women in the Zimbabwe presidential elections 2002 was analyzed from three angles, first, the inclusion of gender issues in the election manifestos and election campaigns of the main political parties, second, factors that were perceived to inhibit the participation of women in the elections such as voter registration requirements, and third, the effect of pre-election violence on the participation of women.

Issues of gender equality are not priorities in any of the party manifestos for the 2002 presidential elections, notwithstanding that, women constitutes the majority of the voters. Analyses of the manifestos of the two main political parties indicate that issues of gender equality were treated very superficially. While the ZANU-PF manifesto contained a more substantial section on mainstreaming gender¹⁷, it can be argued that the actions that are mentioned as achievements of the last two decades have made little difference in the lives of women who continue to be underrepresented in decision-making and in access and control of productive resources. The MDC manifest made no mention of gender issues except for single sentence in the Manifesto Summary, which mentions the need not to unfairly prejudice women 'by their child-bearing and caring roles in relation to employment and economic opportunity'.¹⁸ From this analysis, it can be concluded that gender was not an election issue for the main political parties.

Several factors were observed to inhibit the participation of women in the election campaigns. The political climate of intolerance, intimidation and violence that characterized the period leading up to the presidential elections severely limited women's participation. As stated by the Women's Coalition, an umbrella body representing 18 women's organization, women were the silent victims of an orchestrated campaign of terror and political violence that swept across the country. The perpetrators of the violence were mainly young men and male war veterans who raped and forced women and girls into sexual activities that many women will never talk about for fear of being ostracized by their families and communities. At some militia camps, young men and women were reposed to be sleeping in the same rooms. This would obviously be a formula for sexual abuse. New laws governing the

¹⁶Statement by the Combined Harare Residents association submitted to observer teams dated 2 March 2002.

¹⁷The 3rd Chimurenga - Our Achievements and Challenges: Election 2002 People's Manifesto, ZANU-PF, November 2001, pages 50-51

¹⁸MDC Manifesto Summary, February 1999, page 3

elections that were introduced in parliament in the period immediately leading to the presidential elections further curtailed political participation of women. Examples include the requirement to proof of residence in the form of title deeds, and utility bills all of which are usually in the name of the husbands. Amendments to the Citizenship Act was also reported to disadvantage women who less likely to be able to go through the laborious process of renouncing the foreign citizenship or that of their parents.

CHAPTER III: ELECTION CAMPAIGNS AND THE MEDIA

3.1 POLITICAL PARTY CAMPAIGNS

The Forum's Observer Mission was mandated to examine whether the contending political parties were free to campaign and promote their manifestos throughout the country or whether the atmosphere was one of intimidation and violence. Observations made by the Mission indicated that, while campaigns of the ruling ZANU-PF were peaceful, well attended, with very visible police presence, rallies of the opposition MDC had little police presence and were often either disrupted by unruly elements or denied permission by the police on the pretext that they were likely to cause public insecurity and disorder. Observations of MDC rally in Marondera and Chinhoyi left the Forum observers with clear indications of how insecure such gatherings could be. After the Chinhoyi rally on 24 February, the Forum's observers were stoned by organized youth groups that waylaid them 10 kilometres outside the urban centre. Observers to most rural constituencies, especially in the three Mashonaland provinces also noted almost a total absence of MDC campaign activity.

The ruling party successfully organized more than 50 rallies addressed by the presidential candidate, while the MDC organized less than ten. At a consultation meeting with the Forum's observers, the MDC claimed that 77 of their campaign meetings had been either denied permission by the police or disrupted by unruly ZANU-PF youths. ZANU PF, on the other hand, claimed that the MDC rallies had not materialized because of poor turn out and lack of proper organization. In the two main urban Centres, Harare and Bulawayo, both the ruling party and the opposition had held rallies on the same days, with no incidents of violence. This was highly commended by the Forum's observers.

Observers also noted the widespread use of public resources for organizing campaign rallies of the ruling party. In many instances, persons attending the rallies were transported in government vehicles. Security at these rallies was assured because of the high police and military presence. Such features support claims by opposition parties that 'the playing field is not level'.

3.2 MEDIA COVERAGE

The commentary on media coverage for the periods before, during and after the elections covered three main daily newspapers The Herald, The Chronicle and The Daily News, four weekly newspapers The Zimbabwe Independent, The Financial Gazette, The Standard, and The Mirror and the public broadcaster, the Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation with one television station and four radio channels.

The Media Environment in Zimbabwe was extremely polarized: nearly all of the independent media have an adversarial relationship with government while the state- owned media are fiercely pro-government.

The role of the state media is however to be emphasized in this election, given that they are in part funded by taxpayers. State or Public media have an internationally recognized role to report or cater for the interests of all sections of society.

The Zimbabwe Newspapers Group, including the daily Herald, Chronicle. The Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation (ZBC), consisting of ZTV and four radio stations, has a particularly prolific role because it is capable of reaching nearly all areas of the country.

According to the code of conduct set out by the Electoral Supervisory Commission (ESC), the Public Media in the exercise of its function, is expected to:

- Offer the electorate non-partisan information
- Offer all contesting candidates and political parties free and paid access to the public Media
- Report events in an objective, accurate, balanced and fair manner, clearly separating fact from comment.
- News must cover all campaign rallies, activities or pronouncements of all contesting parties fairly without bias for one party or against.
- Refrain from giving positive coverage to some candidates while ignoring or giving only negative coverage to others.
- Initiate voter education programmes in the national interest
- No party political programmes should be broadcast or published once voting has started

The state media however, ignored much of the ESC's code: heavy positive coverage was given to the ruling party while the opposition Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) featured usually in negative terms. On average, the first fifteen minutes of ZTV was dedicated to the ruling party candidate. In the last week of February coverage in the Zimbabwe Newspapers and ZBC were focused more on allegations of a coup plot allegedly hatched by MDC president Morgan Tsvangirai with a Canadian Firm than on the election issues at hand.

ZTV provided voter education in its advertising slots during peak hours, placed by the ESC. But no direct access was granted to any of the opposition parties to promote their programmes on radio and television. The national broadcaster exclusively dedicated airtime to advertising from ZANU-PF, mainly related to its land policy. This was despite opposition complaints that they had no access to the national broadcaster.

In the same vein, the independent media slanted coverage in favor of the main opposition party and alternative civic society voices. Political advertising in the main Newspapers was monopolized by the MDC. Representatives from the Independent Media said the ruling party would not advertise in their outlets because they were considered to be opposition operatives. The polarized media situation did not present a balanced enough picture of the political and economic issues upon which voters were to decide.

CHAPTER IV: THE POLL

The mandate of the Forum's Observers in relation to the poll was to evaluate the degree to which the secrecy of the ballot was guaranteed. Observers had spent the previous two weeks familiarizing themselves with the provinces, constituencies and the location of polling stations. They were able to be at the first polling stations in time to observe the opening procedures. All our observers noted that the commencement of voting was carried out in a peaceful manner, with polling officers exercising their responsibilities in a professional manner.

Observers in all the ten provinces observed that the process of checking for names on the voter's roll was cumbersome and quite slow, with a voter in Harare taking between 5 and 15 minutes to vote. The voting process was observed to be faster on the second day after polling officers had become familiar with the processes.

Voters, especially in Harare waited in the long queues for extended periods, with some voters only managing to cast their votes after up to 18 hours wait. Others gave up after long waits on the first day, only to return to even longer queues on the second day. As noted above, Forum's observers lamented the reduction of polling stations in urban areas, which led to long queues, especially in Harare and Chitungwiza where tripartite and bipartite elections were conducted. This had led to extensions of both voting times and voting days.

Closing times had to be extended in most urban polling stations, with some stations being reported to have been kept open until 4 o'clock of the following morning. Polling officers were commended for their dedication and determination to perform their duties.

Voting on the third day in Harare and Chitungwiza was observed to have been quite confused, with voters having waited for up to five hours with no voting activity while polling officers waited for the instruction to restart the voting following the successful petitioning for an extension by the opposition MDC.

In other urban centres, the process voting process was observed to be much slower than in rural areas where there were more fixed and mobile polling stations. Polling in rural areas went relatively smoothly. Concern was, however, raised on the extent to which polling agents of the opposition MDC were able to function in rural areas that were ZANU-PF strongholds. Observers received reports of abductions of MDC polling agents especially in rural constituencies. One observer team in Mashonaland Central had to intervene when the police arrested MDC polling agents that were proceeding to Harare to vote on 11 March. The Forum Observers successfully made representations to the police on behalf of the agents. Who were released and escorted by the Observers to Harare where they were able to vote.

Due to the slow processing of voters, disturbances had been observed at some high-density suburb polling stations. The police were observed to have used teargas to disperse some of the voters. By the end of the third day, some constituencies, especially in Harare's high-density suburbs, still had long queues. Our observers noted that, while it is the requirement that all persons in the queue at the closing time will be served before the polling station closes, some polling stations kept voters outside the fences of the polling stations as a way of ensuring a shorter queue at the end of the day.

At the end of the third day of voting, while most polling stations had no queues, at some stations in high-density suburbs the police riot squad was used to disperse voters who were still queuing to vote.

The triple factors in Harare and Chitungwiza of a reduction of the number polling stations, the conducting of tripartite and bipartite elections, and the existence of the largest number of registered voters than in any other province in the country made polling an absolute nightmare in this province. The Forum's Observers closely followed the situation on the ground and were of the considered opinion that the rights of many voters in this province had been violated during this election. These factors fueled claims by the opposition that the arrangements in urban centres, and especially in the Harare province, had been deliberately planned to disadvantage some of the voters.

CHAPTER V: THE COUNT

The process of verification of the ballot papers and counting took place at constituency centres where all ballot boxes from polling stations in the constituencies were gathered. Opposition political parties had mentioned the process of transporting the ballot boxes from polling stations to the counting centres as an area of concern because of an amendment to the electoral law that barred polling agents from accompanying the boxes during the transportation. In discussions with the bodies responsible for the elections in Zimbabwe, this anomaly had been rectified. The Forum's observers commended the electoral bodies for positively responding to this concern.

The verification, though slow, was observed to have been conducted smoothly. The counting was relatively fast.

CHAPTER VI: THE RESULTS

Robert Mugabe, the ZANU-PF candidate was declared winner of the Zimbabwe presidential elections in March 2002 after polling 56.2% of the valid vote cast. **Table 4** below gives a summary of the Zimbabweans voted.

Table 4: Results of the Zimbabwean Presidential Elections 2002

CANDIDATE	POLITICAL PARTY	NUMBER OF VOTES	% OF VALID VOTE
ROBERT MUGABE	ZANU-PF	1 685 212	56.2%
MORGAN TSVANGIRAI	MDC	1 258 401	42.0%
WILSON KUMBULA	ZANU	31 368	1.0%
SHAKE MAYA	NAGG	11 906	0.4%
PAUL SIWELA	INDEPENDENT	11 871	0.0%
TOTAL		2 998 758	

Source: The Herald 14 March 2002, page 11

A closer analysis of the result shows that there is a clear rural-urban divide in the voting pattern. Rural voters overwhelmingly voted for ZANU-PF while the majority of urban voters supported the opposition MDC. **Tables 4** and **5** clearly illustrate this trend. **Table 5** below shows how the provinces voted. In the three Mashonaland provinces, Mugabe polled over 70% of the valid vote, while in Bulawayo and Harare, the two predominantly urban provinces, Morgan Tsvangirai polled over 75% of the vote. **Table 6** shows a selection of urban constituencies in the Mashonaland Provinces where ZANU enjoys most of its support.

Table 5: How the Provinces Voted

PROVINCE	CANIDATE	PARTY	NO. OF VOTES	% OF VOTE
BULAWAYO	ROBERT MUGABE	ZANU-PF	29 828	18.3
	MORGAN TSVANGIRAI	MDC	131 890	81.1
	WILSON KUMBULA	ZANU	402	0.2
	SHAKE MAYA	NAGG	194	0.1
	PAUL SIWELA	INDEPENDENT	302	0.2
	TOTAL		162 616	
HARARE	ROBERT MUGABE	ZANU-PF	101 395	24.6
	MORGAN TSVANGIRAI	MDC	309 832	75.0
	WILSON KUMBULA	ZANU	833	0.2
	SHAKE MAYA	NAGG	430	0.1
	PAUL SIWELA	INDEPENDENT	445	0.1
	TOTAL		412 935	
MIDLANDS	ROBERT MUGABE	ZANU-PF	258 780	61.9
	MORGAN TSVANGIRAI	MDC	151 355	36.2
	WILSON KUMBULA	ZANU	4 684	1.1
	SHAKE MAYA	NAGG	1 627	0.4
	PAUL SIWELA	INDEPENDENT	1 878	0.4
	TOTAL		418 024	
MANICALAND	ROBERT MUGABE	ZANU-PF	172 547	48.7
	MORGAN TSVANGIRAI	MDC	172 225	48.7
	WILSON KUMBULA	ZANU	5 530	1.6
	SHAKE MAYA	NAGG	1 832	0.5
	PAUL SIWELA	INDEPENDENT	1 820	0.5
	TOTAL		353 954	
MASHONALAND WEST	ROBERT MUGABE	ZANU-PF	230 321	71.4
	MORGAN TSVANGIRAI	MDC	87 498	27.1
	WILSON KUMBULA	ZANU	2 636	0.8
	SHAKE MAYA	NAGG	1 167	0.4
	PAUL SIWELA	INDEPENDENT	1 019	0.3
	TOTAL		322 641	
MASHONALAND EAST	ROBERT MUGABE	ZANU-PF	266 425	76.2
	MORGAN TSVANGIRAI	MDC	76 607	21.9
	WILSON KUMBULA	ZANU	3 772	1.1
	SHAKE MAYA	NAGG	1 459	0.4
	PAUL SIWELA	INDEPENDENT	1 302	0.4
	TOTAL		349 565	
MASHONALAND CENTRAL	ROBERT MUGABE	ZANU-PF	250 685	83.4
	MORGAN TSVANGIRAI	MDC	45 139	15.0
	WILSON KUMBULA	ZANU	2 747	0.9
	SHAKE MAYA	NAGG	1 128	0.4
	PAUL SIWELA	INDEPENDENT	914	0.3
	TOTAL		300 613	

PROVINCE	CANIDATE	PARTY	NO. OF VOTES	% OF VOTE
MATEBELELAND NORTH	ROBERT MUGABE	ZANU-PF	61 274	34.8
	MORGAN TSVANGIRAI	MDC	109 771	62.4
	WILSON KUMBULA	ZANU	2 218	1.3
	SHAKE MAYA	NAGG	1 184	0.7
	PAUL SIWELA	INDEPENDENT	1 488	0.8
	TOTAL		175 935	
MATEBELELAND SOUTH	ROBERT MUGABE	ZANU-PF	73 369	45.2
	MORGAN TSVANGIRAI	MDC	84 322	52.0
	WILSON KUMBULA	ZANU	2 611	1.6
	SHAKE MAYA	NAGG	899	0.6
	PAUL SIWELA	INDEPENDENT	978	0.6
	TOTAL		162 179	
MASVINGO	ROBERT MUGABE	ZANU-PF	254 603	68.4
	MORGAN TSVANGIRAI	MDC	108 036	29.0
	WILSON KUMBULA	ZANU	5 654	1.5
	SHAKE MAYA	NAGG	1 962	0.5
	PAUL SIWELA	INDEPENDENT	1 840	0.5
TOTAL		418 024		

As selection of urban and peri-urban constituencies in the provinces where ZANU-PF recorded most of its support further shows the rural-urban divide in the voting pattern. **Table 6** below gives a selection of urban and peri-urban constituencies in Mashonaland East, West and Central. Although the ruling party has a majority in most of these constituencies, there is a significant opposition vote, and the difference between the ruling party and the opposition was comparable in relation to that obtaining in the predominantly rural constituencies shown in **Table 7**.

Table 6: Comparison of the Poll Results of the two leading Candidates in Selected Urban and Peri-urban Constituencies in the Three Mashonaland Provinces

CONSTITUENCY	CANDIDATE	PARTY	VALID VOTES	% OF VOTE
CHINHOYI- MASHONALAND WEST	ROBERT MUGABE	ZANU-PF	11 432	57.0
	MORGAN TSVANGIRAI	MDC	8 477	42.3
CHEGUTU- MASHONALAND WEST	ROBERT MUGABE	ZANU-PF	16 083	57.5
	MORGAN TSVANGIRAI	MDC	11 493	41.1
KADOMA CENTRAL MASHONALAND WEST	ROBERT MUGABE	ZANU-PF	9 345	39.0
	MORGAN TSVANGIRAI	MDC	14 446	60.2
BINDURA- MASHONALAND CENTRAL	ROBERT MUGABE	ZANU-PF	19 932	62.9
	MORGAN TSVANGIRAI	MDC	11 272	35.6
MARONDERA EAST MASHONALAND EAST	ROBERT MUGABE	ZANU-PF	15 719	56.8
	MORGAN TSVANGIRAI	MDC	11 667	42.1
SEKE MASHONALAND EAST	ROBERT MUGABE	ZANU-PF	14 667	53.2
	MORGAN TSVANGIRAI	MDC	12 551	45.5

Table 7 below shows the polls on the selected rural constituencies where ZANU-PF recorded its most support, while **Table 8** shows the poll in the urban constituencies where MDC received most of its support.

Table 7: Poll results in Selected Rural Constituencies

CONSTITUENCY	CANDIDATE	PARTY	VALID VOTES	% OF VOTE
UZUMBA	ROBERT MUGABE	ZANU-PF	37 341	90.9
MASHONALAND EAST	MORGAN TSVANGIRAI	MDC	3 197	7.8
MUTUKO S	ROBERT MUGABE	ZANU-PF	27 339	91.6
MASHONALAND EAST	MORGAN TSVANGIRAI	MDC	2 120	7.1
MT DARWIN S	ROBERT MUGABE	ZANU-PF	29 680	91.5
MASHONALAND CENTRAL	MORGAN TSVANGIRAI	MDC	2 205	6.8
GURUVE S	ROBERT MUGABE	ZANU-PF	30 651	91.0
MASHONALAND CENTRAL	MORGAN TSVANGIRAI	MDC	2 646	7.9
MAKONDE	ROBERT MUGABE	ZANU-PF	20 421	86.8
MASHONALAND WEST	MORGAN TSVANGIRAI	MDC	2 662	11.3
KADOMA EAST	ROBERT MUGABE	ZANU-PF	18 771	84.7
MASHONALAND WEST	MORGAN TSVANGIRAI	MDC	3 123	14.1

Table 8: Results of Polls in Selected Urban Areas

CONSTITUENCY	CANDIDATE	PARTY	VALID VOTES	% OF VOTE
BULAWAYO NORTH	ROBERT MUGABE	ZANU-PF	3 794	16.8
EAST	MORGAN TSVANGIRAI	MDC	18 669	82.7
LOBENGULA	ROBERT MUGABE	ZANU-PF	2 896	18.8
BULAWAYO	MORGAN TSVANGIRAI	MDC	15 364	83.7
HIGHFIELD	ROBERT MUGABE	ZANU-PF	3 187	17.5
HARARE	MORGAN TSVANGIRAI	MDC	14 919	82.1
BUDIRIRO	ROBERT MUGABE	ZANU-PF	4 082	16.4
HARARE	MORGAN TSVANGIRAI	MDC	20 749	83.3
GWERU URBAN	ROBERT MUGABE	ZANU-PF	5 570	29.3
MIDLANDS	MORGAN TSVANGIRAI	MDC	13 332	70.1
MKOKA	ROBERT MUGABE	ZANU-PF	5 448	38.0
MIDLANDS	MORGAN TSVANGIRAI	MDC	16 129	60.3

CONSTITUENCY	CANDIDATE	PARTY	VALID VOTES	% OF VOTE
MASVINGO CENTRAL MASVINGO	ROBERT MUGABE	ZANU-PF	9 757	38.0
	MORGAN TSVANGIRAI	MDC	15 471	60.3
MUTARE CENTRAL MANICALAND	ROBERT MUGABE	ZANU-PF	5 294	19.8
	MORGAN TSVANGIRAI	MDC	21 296	79.8
MUTARE NORTH MANICALAND	ROBERT MUGABE	ZANU-PF	7 580	29.5
	MORGAN TSVANGIRAI	MDC	17 940	69.7
GWANDA NORTH MATEBELELAND SOUTH	ROBERT MUGABE	ZANU-PF	5 876	16.4
	MORGAN TSVANGIRAI	MDC	12 610	67.0
HWANGE EAST MATEBELELAND NORTH	ROBERT MUGABE	ZANU-PF	4 610	22.0
	MORGAN TSVANGIRAI	MDC	15 950	76.0

The above tables show the polarization between rural and urban areas in terms of voting patterns. The dominance of the ruling party in rural areas indicates the extent to which the party has responded to the need of the population in these areas, especially on the issue of the land. The opposition party, however, claimed that rural areas were 'no go' areas for them for campaign purposes. They reported many incidents where they were unable to penetrate these areas for purposes of mobilizing voters. The rural-urban divide in the pattern of voting can also be cited as the reason why there was an out cry by the opposition party when it was observed that polling stations in urban areas had been reduced and this disadvantaged the urban voters where the opposition enjoys most of its support.

The high turnout of voters in Zimbabwe has been commended as a sign of the population's commitment to multi-party democracy. The determination of voters, as indicated by the length of time spent in queues waiting to vote has also been noted as a sign of the maturing of the democratic process.

CHAPTER VII: POST - ELECTION DEVELOPMENTS

The period immediately following the announcement of the election results was characterized by an uneasy calm in most urban areas and some reports of jubilation in rural areas where the ruling party had won. The army and the police were deployed to all major centers.

The media continued to be polarized, with the public media hailing the elections as a victory for the people of Zimbabwe, while the private media echoed the sentiments of the opposition party whose leader had declared that he would not accept the election results. As Zimbabweans awaited the assessment of the election by the international observers, the public media continued to hail the assessments that had declared the elections to be free and fair, while ignoring or heavily criticizing those that had pointed out any obvious challenges to the electoral process. In the capital, business went back to normal soon after the announcement of the results.

CHAPTER VIII: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

8.1 CONCLUSIONS

The SADC Parliamentary Observation Mission based its conclusions on an assessment of the situation that they had observed in Zimbabwe in the period leading up to the presidential elections, the information that they had received in consultations with the stakeholders, background documents that they had received before and upon arrival into the country, and comparison of the situation on the ground with the requirements contained in the Norms and Standards for Elections in the SADC Region and lessons learned from the Zimbabwe 2000 parliamentary elections.

Although the Forum's observation Mission's mandate was to observe the elections within the context of the Zimbabwean constitution and electoral law, the Observers received concerns raised by various civic groups on the numerous and continual changes to the electoral laws that occurred in the lead up to the presidential elections.

While the Forum commended the ESC and the Registrar General of Elections for performing some of the very complex electoral tasks and managing under difficult circumstances, the existence of three often overlapping Electoral Management Bodies, none of which is independent was a cause for concern, especially following the recommendations made by the Forum after the Parliamentary Elections in Zimbabwe in June 2000.

Attention of the Forum observers was also drawn to concerns raised on the apparent lack of transparency in the process of voter registration, and especially in relation to the preparation of the Supplementary Voters' Roll.

Observers also noted that passing the responsibility for Voter Education to the ESC without providing the Commission with adequate resources was likely to cause a lot of voter to go to the elections without having received adequate education. Exclusion of civic groups from conducting voter education could be said to violated their rights.

Although none of the Forum observers were present during nominations of candidates, no adverse reports had been received on the process.

Reports from SADC Parliamentary Forum Observers in the ten provinces gave a clear indication that pre-election violence had been widespread. The election campaign was marred by incidents of violence in all provinces. Police and party leaders confirmed the fact that there has been violence in various forms. What seemed to be in question were the perpetrators of that violence. Violence was visited upon ordinary voters, party supporters and leaders alike. Reports indicated that violence was perpetrated by supporters of the two main political parties -the ruling Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) and the opposition Movement For Democratic Change (MDC).

In the preparations for the polling, concerns were raised on the reduction of stations in urban areas, especially in Harare and Chitungwiza where tripartite and bipartite elections were conducted. No concerns had been raised in the provision of ballot papers and boxes. Polling staff was also observed to have conducted their tasks in a professional manner, in spite of the extremely slow processing in urban polling stations.

The participation of women in these elections was also reported to have been curtailed by some changes to Citizenship laws and legislated requirements for registration, as well the high levels of political violence throughout the country. Gender issues were also observed not to be high on the agenda of the campaigning candidates.

The climate of insecurity and fear obtaining in Zimbabwe since the 2000 parliamentary elections was such that the electoral process could not be said to adequately comply with the Norms and Standards for Elections in the SADC region.

8.2 RECOMMENDATIONS

It is evident to us that elections may not, in themselves, be a panacea to Zimbabwe's complex situation of political conflict.

We therefore appeal to the political leadership of the country, the churches, civil society and the business sector to join hands and begin a healing process for Zimbabwe in the face of enormous problems. An election should not be construed to be one of "victor" and "vanquished".

We also urge the Heads of State and Government of SADC countries to urgently engage the leadership of Zimbabwe to facilitate dialogue and reconciliation. We believe it is within the powers of the people of Zimbabwe, through their leaders with the support of SADC to avert a political crisis in the country and bring about peace.

APPENDIX I: POINTS OF INQUIRY

I. ELECTORAL AUTHORITIES

THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS WILL GUIDE THE DISCUSSIONS WITH THE ELECTORAL AUTHORITIES

MAIN ISSUES

1. What are the main organizational and political problems you are facing in the conduct of this election?

ASSESSMENT OF THE CONDUCT OF THE ELECTORAL PROCESS

2. Do the existing constitutional and legal instruments ensure the effective independence and impartiality of your institution?
What is your response to the widespread claims that your institution is not independent from the government of the day?
To what extent can such perception affect the legitimacy of the election outcome?

VOTER REGISTRATION AND VOTER'S ROLLS

1. Have there been serious complaints about the voter registration process?
2. How accurate are the voters' rolls?
3. How much do you sell the voters' roll? Is such cost not prohibitive and restrictive of the transparency of the registration process?

VOTER EDUCATION AND INFORMATION

1. Is your institution responsible for voter education and information?
2. To what extent were voter education and information programmes effective in raising levels of voter participation (i.e. registration and poll) and in improving electors' understanding of the voting procedure?
3. How much time prior to election did those programmes take place?

THE CAMPAIGN

1. What is your assessment of the campaign?
2. Do all parties and voters enjoy the freedom of assembly and movement?
3. What is your institution's role in ensuring a political violence and intimidation free and fair electoral campaign?

VOTING AND COUNTING

1. What is the total number of polling stations? Is this number sufficient?
2. Is the distribution of polling stations countrywide adequate?
3. Are the locations of polling stations known to voters?
4. Will rural voters have to walk long distances to reach the polling stations?
5. Are there provisions for mobile voting stations? If so, are there timetables of the mobile stations made public and adhered to?

II. REGISTRAR GENERAL OF ELECTIONS

THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS WILL GUIDE THE DISCUSSIONS WITH THE OFFICE OF THE REGISTRAR GENERAL OF ELECTIONS

MAIN ISSUES

1. Are all the logistics for elections in place and do all the stakeholders know about the arrangements?
2. What are the main organizational and political problems you are facing in the conduct of this election?

ASSESSMENT OF THE CONDUCT OF THE ELECTORAL PROCESS

3. Do the existing constitutional and legal instruments ensure the effective independence and impartiality of your institution?
4. What is your response to the widespread claims that your institution is not independent from the government of the day?
5. To what extent can such perception affect the legitimacy of the election outcome?

VOTER REGISTRATION AND VOTER'S ROLLS

1. Have there been serious complaints about the voter registration process?
2. How accurate are the voters' rolls?
3. How much do you sell the voters' roll?
4. Is such cost not prohibitive and restrictive of the transparency of the registration process?

VOTER EDUCATION AND INFORMATION

5. Is your institution responsible for voter education and information?
6. To what extent were voter education and information programmes effective in raising levels of voter participation (i.e. registration and poll) and in improving electors' understanding of the voting procedure?
7. How much time prior to election did those programmes take place?
8. How were the monitors selected and what is their role and function? How will this differ from that of the civil society observers?

THE CAMPAIGN

9. What is your assessment of the campaign?
10. Do all parties and voters enjoy the freedom of assembly and movement?
11. What is your institution's role in ensuring a political violence and intimidation free and fair electoral campaign?
12. Is there a code of conduct for parties and candidates pertaining to the electoral campaign?

VOTING AND COUNTING

13. What is the total number of polling stations? Is this number sufficient?
14. Is the distribution of polling stations countrywide adequate?
15. Are the locations of polling stations known to voters?
16. Will rural voters have to walk long distances to reach the polling stations?
17. What criteria have been used to select areas for which mobile voting stations are needed? Are there timetables of the mobile stations made public and adhered to?

III. POLITICAL PARTIES AND CANDIDATES

THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS WILL GUIDE THE DISCUSSIONS WITH POLITICAL PARTY REPRESENTATIVES

GENERAL

1. What are your expectations about the role of international observers, in general, and the SADC Parliamentary Forum delegation, in particular?
2. How do you assess the political, security and economic situation in which this election is being conducted?

MAIN CAMPAIGN ISSUES

3. What are the main campaign issues in this election?

ASSESSMENT OF THE CONDUCT OF THE ELECTORAL PROCESS

GENERAL ENVIRONMENT

1. Are the constitutional, legal and regulatory electoral instruments in line with the internationally and regionally accepted electoral practices?
2. Is the judiciary independent?
3. Are the army and police perceived as being committed to democracy, and apolitical and neutral during the electoral process? Are they accused of taking part or side in the political violence?

ELECTORAL BODIES

4. To what extent do the majority of the electoral stakeholders perceive the various Electoral Bodies as being independent, impartial, objective and competent? What impact would this perception have on the legitimacy of the election?

VOTER REGISTRATION AND VOTER'S ROLLS

5. Are there serious complaints about the voter registration process?
6. How accessible and accurate are the voters' rolls?

VOTER EDUCATION AND INFORMATION

7. To what extent were voter education and information programmes effective in raising levels of voter participation (i.e. registration and poll) and in improving electors' understanding of the voting procedure?
8. How much time prior to election did those programmes take place?

NOMINATION OF CANDIDATES

9. Did the major parties use democratic procedures to select their candidates?

THE CAMPAIGN

10. Do all parties and voters enjoy the freedom of assembly and movement? Are there "no go areas" during the campaign?
11. Are there claims of campaign materials being destroyed by competing parties?
12. Is the ruling party accused of using public resources for its campaign?
13. How would you assess the role of the security forces?
14. Are there widespread reports of political violence and intimidation during the pre-electoral phase? If so, to what extent did these acts influence levels of voters' participation and the electoral outcome?

FUNDING OF POLITICAL PARTIES AND CANDIDATES

2. Are there complaints about the legislation regarding access to funding by political parties and candidates?

ACCESS TO THE STATE-OWNED MEDIA

3. What is the basis of allocation of free airtime to the contesting parties and candidates on state-owned radio media?
4. Are the main parties and candidates satisfied with the amount of free airtime allocated to them on the official TV and radio?

VOTING AND COUNTING

5. What is the total number of polling stations? Would this number be sufficient?
6. Is the distribution of polling stations adequate?
7. Are the locations of polling stations known to voters?
8. Will rural voters have to walk long distances to reach the polling stations?
9. Are there provisions for mobile voting stations? If so, are there timetables of the mobile stations made public and adhered to?

FINAL REMARKS

10. What is your political party's overall assessment of the conduct of the electoral process?
11. What are your suggestions as to how the situation could be improved, at this stage?

IV. CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANISATIONS

THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS WILL GUIDE THE DISCUSSIONS WITH CIVIL SOCIETY REPRESENTATIVES

ABOUT LOCAL OBSERVERS

1. To what extent does the new legislation impact on the work of local observers?
2. Would the local observers have the right to intervene in the voting process?
3. Is it confirmed that civil servants will be appointed as domestic monitors? What kind of impact could this have on the integrity of the electoral process?
4. What is your organisational ability to observe the election countrywide?

VOTER REGISTRATION AND VOTER'S ROLLS

5. Have there been serious complaints about the voter registration process?
6. How accurate are the voters' rolls?
7. How much do the voters' rolls cost? Is such cost prohibitive and restrictive your ability to carry out your work?

VOTER EDUCATION AND INFORMATION

8. Did your organization play a role in voter education and information?
9. To what extent were voter education and information programmes effective in raising levels of voter participation (i.e. registration and poll) and in improving electors' understanding of the voting procedure?
10. How much time prior to election did those programmes take place?

THE CAMPAIGN

11. What is your assessment of the campaign?
12. Do all parties and voters enjoy the freedom of assembly and movement?
13. What is your organisation's role in ensuring a political violence and intimidation free and fair electoral campaign?

VOTING AND COUNTING

14. What is the total number of polling stations? Would this number be sufficient?
15. Is the distribution of polling stations adequate?
16. Are the locations of polling stations known to voters?
17. Will rural voters have to walk long distances to reach the polling stations?
18. Are there provisions for mobile voting stations? If so, are there timetables of the mobile stations made public and adhered to?

APPENDIX II: COMPOSITION OF THE FORUM'S OBSERVER MISSION

MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT

Angola

1. Hon. Exalgina Gamboa (MPLA)
2. Hon. Moises Kamabaya (MPLA)
3. Hon. Sebastiao Antonio (MPLA)
4. Hon. Rosario K. Kavaleka (UNITA)
5. Hon. Gaspar Domingos da Silva (NDPA)

Botswana

6. Hon. Gobopang D. Lefhoko (BDP)
7. Hon. Lesego E. Motsumi (BDP)
8. Hon. M.G.K. Mooka (BDP)
9. Hon. O.O. Maswabi (BNP)

Lesotho

10. Hon. Nthloi Motsamai

Malawi

11. Hon. Elvey M.K. Mtafu (UDF)
12. Hon. Kate Kainja (MCP)
13. Hon. Nicholas Kachingwe (UDF)
14. Hon. Vincent M. Gondwe (AFORD)
15. Hon. Jaffalie Mussa (UDF)

Mauritius

16. Hon. Danielle Perrier

Mozambique

17. Hon. Bonifacio Gruveta Massamba (FRELIMO)
18. Hon. Casimiro Pedro Sacadura (FRELIMO)
19. Hon. Lutero Chimbirombiro Simango (RENAMO)
20. Hon. Catrina Enoque Dinis (FRELIMO)
21. Hon. Zelma Vasconcelos (RENAMO)

Namibia

11. Hon. Nora Schimming-Chase (COD)
12. Hon. E. Kaiyamo (SWAPO)
13. Hon. Teopolina N. Mushelenga (SWAPO)
14. Hon. P. Siska (DTA)
15. Hon. Ponnele Ya France (SWAPO)

South Africa

16. Hon. B. Z. Tolo (ANC)
17. Hon. P.F. Smith (IFP)
18. Hon. Joe Seremane (DP)
19. Hon. Dr. Jean Benjamin (ANC)
20. Hon. Pallo Jordan (ANC)

Tanzania

21. Hon. Dr. Hassy H.B. Kitine (CCM)
22. Hon. Janeth B. Kahama (CCM)
23. Hon. Danhi Makanga (UDP)
24. Hon. Peter Kabisa (CCM)
25. Hon. Gwassa A. Sebabili (CCM)

Parliamentary Staff

2. Mr. Geraldo Cambiete (Angola)
 3. Mr. Boitshoko Mokgatlhe (Botswana)
 4. Mr. Henry Njolomole (Malawi)
 5. Mr. O Phiri (Malawi)
 6. Mr. J Mwenyeheli (Malawi)
 7. Mr. Mohammad Aly Dahoo (Mauritius)
 8. Mr. Jaime Ezequiel Numaio (Mozambique)
 9. Ms. Daisy Bwalya (Namibia)
 10. Ms. A Hohobes (Namibia)
 11. Mr. Neluvhola (South Africa)
 12. Mr. A Maziya (Swaziland)
 13. Mr. T.K. Ruhilabake (Tanzania)
 14. Ms. Hilda Kazela (Zambia)
-
2. Mr. F. Chibomba (Zambia)
 3. Mr. Chibula (Zambia)
 4. Mr. Kawimbe (Zambia)
 5. Mr. S Martin (Interpreter)
 6. Ms Shongo (Interpreter)

The Forum Secretariat

1. Dr. Kasuka Mutukwa – Secretary General
2. Ms. Titi Pitso - Elections Programme Officer
3. Mr. Justin Bonongwe
4. Ms. Hanna Majamanda
5. Ms. Vicencia Cardoso
6. Ms. Agnes Lilungwe
7. Mr. Patrick Chiputa

APPENDIX III

ORIENTATION WORKSHOP PROGRAMME : 25-27 FEBRUARY 2002, SHERATON HOTEL, HARARE, ZIMBABWE

DAY ONE: MONDAY 25 FEBRUARY 2002

- 09:00 – 09:15 Welcome Note
 Hon. G.D. Lefhoko, Head of the Mission
- 09:15 – 09:45 Each participant introduces himself/herself and share with the participants his or her election experiences as well as their expectations about the current mission
- 09:45 – 10:00 Opening Remarks

 Dr. Kasuka Mutukwa, Secretary General,
 SADC Parliamentary Forum
- 10:00 – 10:45 Discussions on the situation on the ground
- 10:45 - 11:00 BREAK
- 11:00 – 11:45 Framework for Election Observation, Criteria for Assessing Elections and Norms and Standards for Election Observation in the SADC Region

The presenter will describe the rationale for observing elections, the role of international and regional observers, what they do observe and the distinctions between observing and monitoring. S/he will also discuss the SADC Parliamentary Forum's Electoral Norms and Standards, as the basis for assessing elections in the SADC region. The points of Enquiry and the terms of reference will also be discussed:
Presenter: Denis Kadima

- 11:45 – 12:30 Relations between the Observation Mission and the Media

Observation missions are often a focus of media attention. In addition, mass media is a vehicle for communicating to the public and other electoral stakeholders. The presenter discuss with the delegation on how it could utilise and interact with the media effectively. S/he will also draw the attention of the delegates on the "dos" and "don'ts" when dealing with the media as an observer mission. The Presenter will also bring to the attention of the delegation the different media houses in the country and how they are perceived.
Presenter: Kondwani Chirambo

14:45 –15:30 Observing Elections From a Gender Perspective

The presenter will discuss how an electoral process can be analysed and evaluated from a gender perspective. The presentation will highlight the need to assess elections with a gender lens at all the different stages. A checklist for mainstreaming gender in elections will be discussed to provide practical ways for ensuring that gender issues are taken into account in an election. Presenter: Rumbidzai Nhundu

15:30 – 15:45 BREAK

15:45 – 16:30 Representative from Women in Parliament Support Unit: Presenter: Teresa Mugadza

16:30 Parliamentary staff meeting

DAY TWO: TUESDAY, 26 FEBRUARY 2002

09:00 – 09:45 Conflict Resolution and Election Disputes

Although the Forum’s delegates would be limited by the scope of their mandate as election observers, their presence may help diffuse tensions. Under the supervision of the Mission Leader, the observers may, for example, hold informal meetings with concerned parties or encourage constructive dialogue to resolve issues between parties.

The presenter will therefore help enhance the understanding of MPs about the fundamental issues involved in election-related conflicts and how election observer delegations can act appropriately to help diffuse such conflicts.

Presenter: Karthi Govender

09:45 – 10:30 Voting and Counting Checklist

Presenter: Denis Kadima

10:30 BREAK

11:00 – 11:45 Representative from Zimbabwe Election Support Network

11:45 –12:30 Representative from Zimbabwe Council of Churches

12.30 – 14.00 LUNCH BREAK

14:00 – 15:00 Representative from Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA)

Presenters: Chairperson – Reyhana Masters
Information Officer – Rashweat Mukundu

15:00 – 15:45 Political and Security Context under which the 2002 Zimbabwe Presidential Election are being held

- Geographical information
- Administrative structures of Zimbabwe
- Political background of the country
- The economy
- The 1996 Presidential Election: Issues, Problems and Results
- The 2000 parliamentary elections: Issues, Problems and Results
- Candidates contesting the 2002 election: their ideological orientation and sources of support
- The Main Issues

Presenter: Dr. David Zamchiya

15:45 Discussion on Deployment

Presenter: Titi Pitso

DAY THREE: WEDNESDAY, 27 FEBRUARY 2002

08:30 Briefing by MDC representatives at The Sheraton Hotel, Conference Room

10:00 Briefing by ZANU PF representatives at the ZANU PF Offices

14:00 – 14:45 Reporting on the Zimbabwe 2002 elections : Challenges of the Media

Panel Presenters: Pikirai Deketeke, Editor : The Herald
Davison Maruziva – Deputy Editor, Daily News

14:45 Accreditation

APPENDIX IV: MISSION DEPLOYMENT PLAN

ASSIGNMENT CRITERIA AND TEAM COMBINATION

- A. Experience in election observation; country; party affiliation; gender; local language proficiency.
 B. Number of teams depends on the number of constituencies; role of Mission leaders.

PROVINCE	CITY	DELEGATE	COUNTRY	PARTY AFFILIATION	GENDER	ELECTION EXPERIENCE
BULAWAYO (1st TEAM)	BULAWAYO	HON. KAINJA	MALAWI	MCP	F	COMMONWEALTH ELECTION OBSERVER GHANA IN 1974
		HON. SITHOLE	SWAZILAND		M	
		HON. NELUVHOLA	SOUTH AFRICA	STAFF	M	
		HON. MOOKA	BOTSWANA	BDP	M	
BULAWAYO (2nd TEAM)	BULAWAYO	HON. D. PERRIER	MAURITIUS	MMM	F	
		MR. O. PHIRI	MALAWI	STAFF	M	
HARARE (HEAD OF MISSION)	HARARE	HON.G.D. LEFHOKO	BOTSWANA	BDP	M	LESOTHO 1998, AMERICAN ELECTIONS IN 1994
		MR. B. MOKGATHE	BOTSWANA	STAFF	M	ZAMBIA 2001 ELECTIONS
HARARE (1st TEAM)	HARARE	HON. E. MTAFU	MALAWI	UDF	F	
		HON. N. MOTSAMAI	LESOTHO	SPEAKER	F	HEAD OF THE ZAMBIA ₂₀₀₁ MISSION ZAMBIA ₂₀₀₁ ELECTIONS
		HON. P. SISKA	NAMIBIA	DTA	F	
HARARE (2nd TEAM)	HARARE	HON.DR.P. JORDAN	SOUTH AFRICA	ANC	M	ZAMBIA 2001 ELECTIONS
		HON. J.B. KAHAMA	TANZANIA	CCM	F	
		HON. L. MOTSUMI	BOTSWANA	BDP	F	
		MR. ALLY DAHOO	MAURITIUS	STAFF	M	MADAGASCAR 1996, SEYSELLES1998, LIBERIA (1997 VOTER REGISTRATION, 1999 ELECTIONS)
HARARE (3rd TEAM)	HARARE	HON. SCHIMMING-CHASE	NAMIBIA	COD	F	HEAD OF THE ZIMBABWE 2000 OBSERVER MISSION
		HON. DLAMINI	SWAZILAND		M	
		MS KAZELA	ZAMBIA	STAFF	F	ZIMBABWE 2000

PROVINCE	CITY	DELEGATE	COUNTRY	PARTY AFFILIATION	GENDER	ELECTION EXPERIENCE
HARARE (4th TEAM)	HARARE	HON. GAMBOA	ANGOLA	MPLA	F	
		HON. MASSAMBA	MOZAMBIQUE	FRELIMO	M	
		HON. VASCONCELOS	MOZAMBIQUE	FRELIMO	M	
		MR. J. NUMAIO	MOZAMBIQUE	STAFF	M	
		MS V CARDOSO			F	
MASHONALAND CENTRAL	BINDURA	HON. P. YA FRANCE	NAMIBIA	SWAPO	M	
		HON. O.O. MASWABI	BOTSWANA	BNF	M	ZIMBABWE 2000 AND ZAMBIA 2001
		MS.D. BWALYA	NAMIBIA	STAFF	F	TANZANIA 2000 AND ZAMBIA 2001
MASHONALAND EAST	MARONDRERA	HON. M. KAMABAYA	ANGOLA	MPLA	M	ZIMBABWE 2000
		HON. C.E. DINIS	MOZAMBIQUE	FRELIMO	F	
		HON. R.K.KAVALEKA	ANGOLA	UNITA	M	
		MS A. HOXOBES	NAMIBIA	STAFF	F	
		MR. S. MARTIN		INTERPRETER	M	ZAMBIA 2001
MATEBELELAND SOUTH	GWANDA	HON. J. SEREMANE	SOUTH AFRICA	DP	M	
		HON. G.A. SEBABILI	TANZANIA	CCM	M	
		MR. J. MWENYEHILI	MALAWI	STAFF	M	TANZANIA 2000 AND ZAMBIA 2001
MATEBELELAND NORTH		HON. P. KABISA	TANZANIA	CCM	M	
		HON. P. SMITH	SOUTH AFRICA	IFP	M	
		Mr.T.K. RUHILABAKE	TANZANIA	STAFF	M	TANZANIA 2000 ZAMBIA 2001
MASHONALAND WEST	CHINHOYI	HON. B. Z. TOLO	SOUTH AFRICA	ANC	M	
		HON.N.KACHINGWE	MALAWI	UDF	M	
		MR. A MAZIYA	SWAZILAND	STAFF	M	TANZANIA 2000 AND ZAMBIA 2001
MASVINGO	MASVINGO	HON. T. MUSHLENGA	NAMIBIA	SWAPO	F	TANZANIA 2000 AND ZAMBIA 2001
		HON. D. MAKANGA	TANZANIA	UDP	M	
		MR. H. NJOLOMOLE	MALAWI	STAFF	M	
MIDLANDS	GWERU (TEAM 1)	HON. E. KAIYAMO	NAMIBIA	SWAPO	M	DEPUTY HEAD- ZAMBIA 2001
		HON. V. GONDWE	MALAWI	AFORD	M	
		MR. CHILUBA	ZAMBIA	STAFF	M	
	GWERU (TEAM 2)	HON. J. BENJAMIN	SOUTH AFRICA	ANC	F	ZIMBABWE 2000
		HON. J. MUSSA	MALAWI	UDF	M	
	MR. KAWIMBE	ZAMBIA	STAFF	M		
MANICALAND (2 TEAMS)	MUTARE	HON. L. SIMANGO	MOZAMBIQUE	RENAMO	M	ZIMBABWE 2000, TANZANIA 2000, ZAMBIA 2001
		HON. C.P. SACADURA	MOZAMBIQUE	FRELIMO	M	
		HON. S. ANTONIO	ANGOLA	MPLA	M	
		HON. G. D. DA SILVA	ANGOLA	NDPA	M	TANZANIA 2000
		MR. G. CAMBIETE	ANGOLA	STAFF	M	TANZANIA 2000, ZAMBIA 2001
	MS. SHONGO		INTERPRETER	F		

Secretary General Harare
27 February 2002

APPENDIX V: PRESS STATEMENTS

SADC PARLIAMENTARY FORUM ELECTION OBSERVATION MISSION TO ZIMBABWE FROM 14 FEBRUARY TO 16 MARCH 2002

PRESS STATEMENT

**For Immediate Release
February 22, 2002**

The Southern African Development Community (SADC) Parliamentary Forum yesterday commenced its election observation mission in Zimbabwe with a series of consultative meetings with various stakeholders to assess the pre-election environment.

As part of its mandate, the Mission has so far consulted with the Ambassadors accredited to SADC countries, representatives of the ruling Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) and the opposition Movement for Democratic Change (MDC), the Speaker of the National Assembly and will be meeting electoral management bodies, civic organizations and newspaper editors in the next few days.

The Mission is headed by Hon. Duke Lefhoko of the Botswana Parliament who is also the Treasurer and member of the Executive Committee of the SADC Parliamentary Forum. The Mission comprising 38 Members of Parliament (MPs) drawn from both opposition and ruling parties, is coordinated by the Secretary-General of the Forum Dr Kasuka Mutukwa. Members of the Mission are from Angola, Botswana, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa and Tanzania.

The deployment of the Observation Mission is on the invitation of the government of Zimbabwe. The aim is to under-take an independent and impartial observation of the electoral process and the March 9-10 presidential elections in Zimbabwe in line with the resolution of the SADC Parliamentary Forum Plenary Assembly in 1999 to strengthen democracy and democratic processes in the region.

MISSION PURPOSE

The mission purpose is to assess whether the elections are held in a free and fair atmosphere, reflective of the will of the people of Zimbabwe. The Forum will also identify the strengths and weaknesses of the electoral process and make recommendations on possible areas of improvement.

The mission's terms of reference are:

- To observe and consult widely with relevant stakeholders on the political and security situation in the country, before, during and after the poll. This will include specifically an assessment of the impact of the pre-election environment on the electoral process as a whole and its outcome.

- To assess the extent to which the elections are being conducted in conformity with the of the constitutional and legal framework of Zimbabwe, the relevant international conventions, which the Government of Zimbabwe has ratified as well as the Norms and Standards of Elections in SADC countries adopted by the Plenary Assembly of the Forum in 2001.
- To assess the level of access to Mass media systems by electoral stakeholders and provision of civic education to the electorate.
- To examine whether the contending political parties are free to campaign and promote their manifestos throughout the country or whether the atmosphere is one of intimidation and violence.
- To determine the inclusivity of the voters' roll; whether some citizens have been unduly disenfranchised
- To evaluate the degree to which the secrecy of the ballot is guaranteed.
- To enquire how transparent the electoral system is in respect of the independence and impartiality of electoral institutions.
- To examine relevant aspects of the organization and conduct of the 2002 presidential elections, such as the constitutional and legal framework, voter registration, voter education, nomination of candidates, the campaign, the role of the security forces, the media, civil society organizations, political parties and other electoral stakeholders.

The Mission will deploy its teams to all ten provinces. The delegation is not in the country to supervise the elections but to observe the process as a whole and to form its judgement accordingly. Where it sees fit, the Mission is free to suggest to the relevant authorities, institutional, organisational and procedural recommendations that would contribute to the improvement and enhancement of the electoral process and democratic culture in the country.

The Mission will submit its final report to the SADC Parliamentary Forum Executive, the Plenary Assembly of the Forum, the Government of Zimbabwe, the electoral authorities of Zimbabwe, leaders of political parties that contested the 9-10 March 2002 election, the public, the media and other interested parties. The Forum has so far observed elections in Namibia (1999), Mozambique (1999), Mauritius (2000), Zimbabwe (legislative elections, 2000) and Zambia (2001).

PRELIMINARY ISSUES: APPEAL FOR PEACEFUL CAMPAIGN

The SADC Parliamentary Forum wishes to appeal to all contesting parties to desist from violence and conduct that would undermine the electoral process, endanger the lives of innocent people and destabilize the nation.

Despite several appeals from national leaders, the churches, the Southern African Development Community (SADC) member states and the international community at large for a peaceful electoral process, politically related violence of the type witnessed in past week in and around Harare continues to rear its head. This is a source of great concern to the Mission.

The use of violence to advance political aims does not augur well for the democratic ideals espoused by the SADC Treaty and the Norms and Standards of Elections in the SADC Region.

Intimidation, murder, destruction of property and all other forms of violent conduct are likely to impact negatively on the electorate's capacity to freely express their will in the forthcoming presidential election. It is vital that the political situation changes in a manner that will remove fear to enable the people to freely exercise their electoral right.

The Forum calls upon the security forces to act impartially and professionally; provide reasonable safeguards at political meetings, rallies, polling stations and party premises.

The Forum welcomes the assurances by President Mugabe to the SADC Extra-Ordinary Summit of Heads of State and Government held on 14 January, Blantyre, Malawi 2002 that the forthcoming elections would be free and fair.

We trust that the pledge made by the Zimbabwe government to the SADC Summit to ensure a conducive electoral atmosphere, including the commitment to investigate fully and impartially all cases of alleged political violence, shall be under-taken ahead of the elections.

The Forum hopes its efforts will assist the people of Zimbabwe to hold peaceful and successful elections.

G.D. Lefhoko
Head of Mission
SADC Parliamentary Forum

PRESS STATEMENT

February 26, 2002

ZIMBABWE GOVERNMENT ASSURES OBSERVERS OF SECURITY

The Southern African Development Community (SADC) Parliamentary Forum today met with the Ministerial representatives of the Government of Zimbabwe over security concerns following recent attacks on its Observer Mission and their South African counterparts.

The SADC Parliamentary Forum delegation comprising Mission Head Hon. Duke G. Lefhoko (Botswana), Secretary-General Dr Kasuka Mutukwa, Hon. Lutero Simango (Mozambique), Hon. Elvey Mtafu (Malawi) and Hon. Nora Schimming-Chase (Namibia) met with Minister of Home Affairs John Nkomo, Minister of State Security Sidney Sekeramayi and Police Commissioner Augustine Chihuri on Tuesday, 26 February 2002 at the Ministry of Home Affairs offices in Harare.

The meeting was convened at the request of the SADC Parliamentary Forum after some of its members were stoned and slightly injured by unruly youths 10 kilometres out of Chinhoyi on 24 February and following an earlier attack on South African Observers at Kwekwe on 22 February.

The Ministers regretted the incidents and assured the Forum that concrete measures would be instituted to secure the safety of all Observer Missions in Zimbabwe for the 9-10 March Presidential elections. The Forum welcomes the government's intervention and re-affirms its commitment to under-taking an impartial election observation exercise in line with its terms of reference.

The Forum will deploy a team of 56, composed of 39 members of parliament and 17 support staff to all ten provinces of Zimbabwe on Thursday, 28 February.

The Mission will continue to attend campaign rallies of all contesting Political parties.

The Forum has in the past few days been consulting all stakeholders in an on-going effort to comprehensively assess the political environment in the country.

The Mission will share its findings on the pre-election and post-election phases with all stakeholders, including the general public.

Hon. Duke G. Lefhoko, MP
Head of Mission
SADC Parliamentary Forum

STATEMENT BY THE SADC PARLIAMENTARY FORUM ELECTION OBSERVATION MISSION

ZIMBABWE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS 9-10 MARCH 2002

13 March 2002

The Southern African Development Community (SADC) Parliamentary Forum has completed its interim assessment of the Zimbabwe 2002 elections.

On the invitation of the government of Zimbabwe by letter dated February 4, 2002, the SADC Parliamentary Forum Observer mission constituted a delegation of 70 members, consisting of 39 Members of Parliament and support staff drawn from the Secretariat in Windhoek, Namibia and eleven parliaments of the region.

It is the policy of the Forum to observe elections of all member states starting with the pre-election phase. This is the seventh election the Forum has observed in the region since 1999.

Since its inception of the observation programme, the Forum has collectively evolved Norms and Standards for Elections in the SADC region approved in March 2001. The main objective of the Norms and Standards is to ensure the conduct of peaceful, free and fair elections in the region.

In observing the elections, the Forum was guided by the constitutional and legal framework of Zimbabwe and the Norms and Standards for Election Observation in the SADC Region. Among other things, the Mission was detailed to assess the security and political environment in which the elections were to be held.

DEPLOYMENT

The Forum deployed teams to all the ten provinces following consultations and interaction with all stakeholders, including political parties, electoral authorities, representatives of civil society, media editors, security officers and members of the diplomatic corps.

The teams proceeded to observe the campaign rallies, meetings, preparations for elections, location of polling stations, media coverage of elections, voting and counting processes and actions that impinged on the fundamental rights and freedoms of the citizens of Zimbabwe as enshrined in Part III of the Constitution.

THE POLITICAL AND SECURITY CLIMATE

The Forum observed that the political and security climate in which the elections were conducted was complex. It was characterized by high levels of polarization and political intolerance, lack of communication amongst stakeholders and lack of free flow of information to the electorate, which are necessary conditions for democracy to prevail.

We observed noticeable differences in the provinces but generally there was no euphoria that normally characterizes elections the SADC region.

VIOLENCE AND INTIMIDATION

The election campaign was marred by incidents of violence in all provinces of the country. Police and party leaders have not denied the fact that there has been violence in various forms. What seemed to be in question was the perpetration of that violence. Violence was visited upon ordinary voters, party supporters and leaders alike. Reports indicated that violence was perpetrated by supporters of the two main political parties -the ruling Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) and the opposition Movement For Democratic Change (MDC).

Not only did the SADC Parliamentary Forum witness some of these acts, its Mission members were themselves targets of an orchestrated attack 10 kilometres out of Chinhoyi on 24 February 2002.

However, evidence indicated that the majority of those affected were supporters of the MDC or those perceived to be opponents of the ruling party and government. Violence was manifest in the number of hospitalized victims, numerous cases of alleged torture, arson, assault and incidences of false imprisonment.

The prevalence of violence was reflected in virtually all reports from our observers in the field, which included abduction of some polling agents of MDC. In one such incident, our observer team intervened when Police in Mashonaland Central detained 24 election agents of the opposition party who were on their way to Harare to vote.

Regrettably, the phenomena of political intolerance and violence seem to have been prevalent since the 2000 legislative elections. Acts of violence appeared to be systematically employed by youths and War veterans with camps dotted around the country.

POLICE CONDUCT

In any situation of conflict, the police were expected to be impartial. In spite of the arrests made, there are significant claims that the police have been partisan in handling of the political situation when called upon to intervene. The use of riot squads to disperse potential voters in some Harare constituencies raised questions about the impartiality of the Police.

VOTERS ROLL

A voter's register is considered a basic condition for a successful election. In this election, concerns were raised regarding the timeous release of the voter's roll which was only made available three days before the polls, leaving no time for the electorate to verify its accuracy. As a result of this, it was observed that a large number of people were unable to vote.

Issues of the voter's roll were compounded by the announcement that a supplementary register had been prepared and would be used in the 2002 elections contrary to earlier announcements that registration for 2002 was closed.

FREEDOM TO CAMPAIGN

In any election, contestants should be able to move freely among the electorate. In this election, whereas the ruling party's campaign was relatively uninterrupted, some of opposition party meetings were cancelled or interrupted by opponents. It was however, significant that in two instances in Harare and Bulawayo, rallies of opposing parties were conducted in the same city without any violence. This should be the norm.

POLLING STATIONS

Information to the electorate and other stakeholders on the location of polling stations was not available to enable the electorate to make informed decisions. Much as we appreciate the increase of polling stations in rural areas, the reduction of the number of polling stations in urban areas had a major impact on the elections. This was particularly so in Harare and Chitungwiza where tripartite and bipartite elections were held. It resulted in congestion with some people spending up to 48 hours in queues because of their sheer determination to vote.

VOTING AND COUNTING

We observed that in many provinces the voting was peaceful. Well over 50 percent of the registered voters were able to cast their vote. The major exception was the Harare Province where the voting process was excruciatingly slow resulting in the extension of both times and days of voting.

There were also a number of violent incidents in which the police dispersed voters from polling stations especially in high-density suburbs. Further, although a large number of people voted, a significant number of the electorate was unable to vote as a result of logistical, administrative and other impediments. The counting proceeded very well.

It was significant to note that the recommendation from the Forum observers for the polling agents to ride with the ballot boxes was accepted and implemented. However, free movement of party agents was compromised by acts of intimidation and reported abductions in some provinces. However, the massive turnout of voters demonstrates the commitment of the people of Zimbabwe to multiparty democracy.

LACK OF INDEPENDENCE OF THE ELECTORAL COMMISSION

Despite various recommendations and practices in the SADC region, Zimbabwe is one of the countries without an Independent Electoral Commission. The assignment of roles to three different electoral bodies, the Electoral Supervisory Commission (ESC), the Election Directorate and the Registrar-General's Office affects efficiency and causes duplication. The government should seriously consider establishing an Independent Electoral Commission as recommended by the Forum after the 2000 legislative elections and as held by the Norms and Standards of Elections in SADC.

ACCESS TO PUBLIC MEDIA

There was lack of access to the public media by political parties other than the ruling party. The monopolization of the public media by the ruling party went contrary to the guidelines set out by the Electoral Supervisory Commission (ESC) for equal and equitable access to contesting parties. The slanted coverage by the state-owned Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation (ZBC) and the Zimbabwe Newspapers deprived the electorate an opportunity to make an informed choice.

CONCLUSION

The climate of insecurity obtaining in Zimbabwe since the 2000 parliamentary elections was such that the electoral process could not be said to adequately comply with the Norms and Standards for Elections in the SADC region.

MAJOR RECOMMENDATIONS

It is evident to us that elections may not, in themselves, be a panacea to Zimbabwe's complex situation of political conflict.

We therefore appeal to the political leadership of the country, the churches, civil society and the business sector to join hands and begin a healing process for Zimbabwe in the face of enormous problems. An election should not be construed to be one of "victor" and "vanquished".

We also urge the Heads of State and Government of SADC countries to urgently engage the leadership of Zimbabwe to facilitate dialogue and reconciliation. We believe it is within the powers of the people of Zimbabwe, through their leaders with the support of SADC to avert a political crisis in the country and bring about peace.

Signed for and on Behalf of the SADC Parliamentary Forum Observer Mission,
Harare, Zimbabwe, 13 March 2002

Hon. Duke G. Lefhoko, MP
Head of Mission

Hon. Mrs. Elvey Mtafu, MP
Vice-Chair

Hon. Lutero Simango, MP
Vice-Chair

APPENDIX VI

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY OF BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS DISTRIBUTED TO THE ELECTION OBSERVATION MISSION

1. SADC Parliamentary Forum Constitution, SADC Parliamentary Forum, 2002: The Constitution of the SDC Parliamentary Forum contains the main guiding principles for the Forum.
2. SADC Parliamentary Forum –Towards a Regional Parliament, SADC Parliamentary Forum 2002
3. SADC Parliamentary Forum – Norms and Standards, SADC Parliamentary Forum, March 2001: These are the standards that the Forum uses to judge the conduct of elections in the SADC Region. They were formulated after lengthy discussions that culminated in a Workshop conducted in April 2001. They set the levels expected for every country to follow in conducting elections.
4. SADC Parliamentary Forum – Election Observation Guide for Members of Parliament.,SADC Parliamentary Forum, 2001: This is a guide for Parliamentarians to follow when observing elections in the SADC region. They were developed by the Forum after the experience gathered during information observation in the region.
5. Zimbabwe Presidential Elections 2002 – Briefing Materials, SADC Parliamentary Forum, 2000: This is a compendium of documents put together by the SADC Parliamentary Forum to inform the Observers on the political and security situation in Zimbabwe in the period leading up to the presidential elections. The Compendium is in two volumes. The first contains the following:
 - Logistical and background information, including Mission Purpose and Terms of reference, Points of inquiry, List of Observers, Briefing Workshop Schedule, and Code co Conduct for Forum Election Observers
 - Documents containing the Political Overview of Zimbabwe, including a Map of Zimbabwe, History of Zimbabwe, Sections of the Zimbabwe Constitution relating to presidential elections, the Broadcasting Services Act, The Public Order and Security Act, the Political Parties (Finance) Act, gazetted list of candidates contesting the 2002 presidential elections
 - Names and contact details of Provincial Registrars, Electoral Offices, provincial offices of the contesting political parties, and Offices of the Zimbabwe Election Support Network
 - Some press clipping on electoral issues

The second volume contains the

 - Zimbabwe Electoral Act,
 - The Interim Statements on the Zimbabwe 2000 Parliamentary Elections made by observer missions of the SADC Parliamentary Forum, the European Union, the Organization of African Unity, and the Commonwealth.
 - Gender Checklist for Free and fair elections

6. Election Observation Mission Report, SADC Parliamentary Forum, Zimbabwe Parliamentary Elections 2000: This is the full report of the Zimbabwe Parliamentary Elections held in June 2000, produced by the SADC Parliamentary Forum. It contains a record of the observations as well as the conclusions and recommendations made.
7. Election Observation Staff Handbook, SADC Parliamentary Forum, 2001: This is Staff Handbook produced by the Forum to guide Parliamentary staff attached to an election observer mission on how to conduct the various tasks required for the smooth running of the Mission. It was published by the Forum in 2001.
8. Pre-Election Briefing, Electoral Supervisory Commission, March 2002: This is a briefing produced by the Zimbabwe Electoral Supervisory Mission to guide the activities of election observers.
9. The 3rd Chimurenga- Our achievement and challenges –Land for Economic Empowerment. Union – Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF). Other ZANU-PF Election material distributed includes The 3rd Chimurenga –The people’s 22 Reasons for voting ZANU PF, ZANU PF, 2002, and He has done All these things for you, ZANU PF
10. Presidential Election 2002 - Completing the change, MDC Information pack, 2002: This is the main election manifesto for the Movement For Democratic Change (MDC). The other MDC election material that was distributed included a summary of the election manifesto containing the main election issues
11. Voter Education leaflet No.1, Electoral Supervisory Commission, 2002: This is a voter education pamphlet produced by the Zimbabwe Electoral Supervisory Commission. The ESC is the only organization that is legally allowed to conduct all voter education in Zimbabwe
12. National Constitutional Assembly Proposed Draft, NCA, 2002: This is a draft constitution of Zimbabwe produced by a coalition of civic organizations and groups.
13. Zimbabwe Elections Observer Mission Report, .The Electoral Commissions of SADC countries, June 2000: This is the full report on the Zimbabwe Parliamentary Elections held in June 2000, produced by the Electoral Commissions of SADC countries. It contains a record of the observations as well as the conclusions and recommendations made.