

ZIMBABWE ELECTION SUPPORT NETWORK



March 2005 Parliamentary Elections

PRELIMINARY REPORT

Number. 1

Background

The Zimbabwe Election Support Network (ZESN) is gearing itself towards an impending major election, the parliamentary election of 2005. There had been a fiercely contested general election in 2000, which ushered into parliament, the most formidable opposition since independence. The emergence of the opposition party completely changed the country's political landscape as the country witnessed unprecedented levels of political violence.

Following the 2000 election in which the then nine-month old opposition Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) won 57 of the 120 seats, the government enacted several laws that changed the electoral playing field. Most notable among these was the General Laws Amendment Act in 2001, Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act (AIPPA) and the Public Order and Security Act. The enactment of these laws made the political environment in the country very restrictive for civic organisations as well as the opposition political parties. In addition to the above restrictive legislation, in 2004 parliament passed again another piece of repressive legislation, the NGO Bill that is currently awaiting the President's signature. The NGO bill sought to ban foreign funding to all NGOs working on issues around good governance, democracy and human rights. This bill disturbed the programming of NGOs activities and hence the late preparedness of NGOs especially in view of the pending election.

By elections

Since 2000, ZESN observed all the 16 by-elections that were held in the country. These by-elections left MDC with 51 seats from the initial 57 whilst ZANU PF gained six more seats to have 68 seats. *See table below.* ZANU PF is left with two seats to obtain the two-thirds majority in Parliament assuming that the 30-non constituency members of Parliament appointed by the President vote for the motion. Recently the President announced that Parliament would be dissolved on the 30th of March 2005, a day before the polling day. *Below are the by-elections held between 2000-2004.*

Constituency	MP and Party in 2000	Vacancy	By- election	Current Party
1.Marondera West	Rufaro Gwanzura – ZANU PF	Death of MP	November 2000	ZANU PF
2.Bikita west	Amos Mutongi –MDC	Death of MP	January 2001	ZANU PF
3.Bindura	Border Gezi- ZANU PF	Death of MP	July 2001	ZANU PF
4.Makoni West	Moven Mahachi – ZANU PF	Death of MP	September 2001	ZANU PF
5.Chikomba	Chenjerai Hunzvi – ZANU PF	Death of MP	September 2001	ZANU PF
6.Insiza	George Ndlovu – MDC	Death of MP	October 2001	ZANU PF
7.Highfield	Munyaradzi Gwisai – MDC	Dismissed from party	March 2003	MDC
8.Kuwadzana	Learnmore Jongwe – MDC	Death of MP	March 2003	MDC
9.Makonde	Swithun Mombeshora – ZANU PF	Death of MP	August 2003	ZANU PF
10.Harare Central	Mike Auret – MDC	Resigned/ill health	August 2003	MDC
11.Kadoma Central	Austin Mupandawana – MDC	Death of MP	November 2002	ZANU PF
12. Gutu North	Simon Muzenda – ZANU PF	Death of MP	2-3 February 2004	ZANU PF
13. Zengeza	Tafadzwa Musekiwa – MDC	Resigned/ security reasons	27and28 March 2004	ZANU PF
14. Lupane	David Mpala (MDC)	Death of MP	15-16 May 2004	ZANU PF
15. Seke	Tumbare Mutasa (MDC)	Death of MP	Uncontested <i>(declared winner on nomination)</i>	ZANU PF
16. Masvingo South	Edson Zvobgo (ZANU PF)	Death of MP	Uncontested <i>(declared winner on nomination)</i>	ZANU PF

ZESN observed all the by-elections including the proceedings during nomination process. Election observation of these by-elections was of paramount importance as it helped to enhance the citizenry's

confidence in the electoral process once more. The dissemination of information and communication through civic education to create an informed citizenry was much more necessary than ever in order to educate the electorate on the need for a free political climate. This also enhanced ZESN's experience in elections issues and gave the organisation the keystone to lobby for electoral reforms in the country.

MDC boycott

The opposition party MDC announced the decision not to participate in any by-election in August 2004 basing their argument on the fact that the government had not yet put into practice some of the key SADC guidelines into the political system and state administration. In August 2004, the government signed among other SADC states, a protocol on SADC guidelines and principles on elections. Among some of the key principles are in section 2.2 which are:

- *2.1.1 Full participation of the citizens in the political process*
- *2.1.2 Freedom of association*
- *2.1.5 Equal opportunities for all political parties to access the state media*
- *2.1.10 Challenge of the election results as provided for in the law of the land.*

This saw the opposition party abstaining from participating in the Seke and Masvingo South by-elections. However the MDC recently announced that it was going to participate in the election "in protest". Its argument is that, the Southern Africa Development Community's (SADC) principles are yet to be fully applied and moreover that, there is inadequate time to hold an election because of the lack of "democratic practices".

Election calendar

The President announced Thursday the 31st of March 2005 as the date for the general election. He also announced that the Parliament would be dissolved on the 30th of March 2005 while the sitting of the nomination courts would be done on the 18th of February 2005. The election of 10 Chiefs by electoral colleges will also be done on Friday 8 April 2005. The Electoral Act (Chapter 2:13) stipulates it is the 'President shall provide for matters required by this section'... 'A day on which nomination court shall sit in terms of section 46 to receive nominations of candidates for elections as members of parliament...'

(Section 38 sub section 2a.1 of the Electoral Act)

Methodology

This report is a summary of information gathered in the period from August 2004 January 2005. The report is based on information compiled from ZESN's long term observers who were deployed in 2004, reports in both print and broadcast media, reports by member organisations and input from the public in general.

ZESN deployed 240 long-term observers in all the 120 constituencies in Zimbabwe with two observers per constituency. Such observers bring in monthly reports to the head office and the information is processed into reports. In addition, other member organisations such as the Zimbabwe Peace Project (ZPP), Media Monitoring Project Zimbabwe (MMPZ) are useful sources of data gathering for ZESN reports including this preliminary report. The public has also been useful in providing feedback through the workshops attended, phone calls, emails. ZESN secretariat, provincial taskforces and board members also help in the verification of some reports. For example, when the secretariat received information that all inspection centres were closed during the extended period of voter inspection the secretariat sent an investigation team to verify if such was true (*see annexes: i.e. letter to the Chairman (ZEC), the RG of Voters and Press Statements*).

ZESN's preparatory activities for the elections

Civic Education Department

ZESN has been instrumental in nationwide civic and voter education programmes that have benefited the electorate, especially against the background of illiteracy levels in some parts of Zimbabwe. This has helped immensely, in the promotion of the concept of citizen empowerment. However according to the new Electoral legislation, civil society organisations that consist of only Zimbabweans will be required to apply to the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission for permission to conduct voter education provided that their material is approved. It is however regrettable to note that the legislation stipulates that no foreign funding for voter education purposes except if received by the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission. However the department trained Constituency Based Educators, organised and held number community workshops all over the country between September and December 2004. In a bid to empower the citizens in terms of information that will enable them to vote peacefully and exercise their right, print and electronic adverts were flighted in local newspapers and radio stations, were also produced and distributed in all provinces through members.

Election Observation Department

The new electoral act stipulates that the Electoral Supervisory Commission (ESC) has the sole mandate of deploying monitors who are civil servants. According to section 13.2, the ESC shall appoint and deploy in each polling station members of the public Service to act as monitors. Civic organisations are only accredited as observers and they do not have any direct role in rectifying the irregularities. Of major concern is the mere fact that civil servants run and monitor elections. It would have been better if the civil society as independent bodies, if they are also involved as monitors.

In addition, the ESC through the Accreditation Committee has the discretion to accredit election observers. Section 14.7 of the Act stipulates, 'Upon satisfaction of the requirements subsection 6 the observers' Accreditation Committee shall issue the individual concerned with an accreditation certificate confirming that the applicable requirements have been satisfied by that individual and specifying the period during which such individual is accredited as an observer.' ZESN is at the moment training 7 500 short-term observers, 260 long term observers and 240 supervisors and it is ZESN's hope that the Committee will accredit all the observers once applications are made and that the Committee will give the organization enough accreditation. ZESN also anticipates that the ESC will decentralize accreditation and this will reduce transport and accommodations costs for those organisations intending to field observers nationwide.

The Media and Information Department

The department has been having meetings with editors since last year in trying to advocate on the importance of balanced reporting in the upcoming election. The department has also been fighting adverts in national and provincial papers on civic education in conjunction with the Voter Education department. A workshop for journalists was held in Bulawayo on the 18-19th of February 2005. The purpose of the workshop was to encourage journalists to report impartially in the forthcoming election as well as to enlighten them on the new electoral acts. The department has also been disseminating electoral information through the ZESN website, e-mail, sms (cell phone short text messages) and several adverts on the state broadcast media (ZBH).

Research and advocacy

The department has produced a document that examines the SADC Electoral Principles and Guidelines in comparison with Zimbabwe's new electoral legislation that is, the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission Act and the Electoral Act. The document highlights the extent to which Zimbabwe has implemented or at least considered the SADC guidelines into its domestic legislation. The department is also currently working on

organising public meetings in view of the pending election and has been holding lobbying meetings with responsible electoral bodies and authorities on how they can work together and compliment each other's work.

Electoral system in Zimbabwe

The Zimbabwean constitution provides that it is a constitutional democracy, which allows for the election of public official periodically. Parliamentary elections are held every six years. The constitution provides for an electoral process that declares the winner on the basis of obtaining the majority of votes in an election also known as the first past the post electoral process.

Zimbabwe still practices the *first past the post* electoral system also known as the plurality or Westminster electoral system. A party candidate with the highest number of votes wins. Winner may be elected majority with less than a majority of 51%. In a bid to conform to the SADC principles and guidelines new electoral acts were put in place, which repealed the old, acts. These are the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission Act (ZEC) and the Electoral Act (EA) and other electoral regulations.

Electoral Institutions in Zimbabwe

1. The Delimitation Commission
2. The Zimbabwe Electoral Commission
3. The Electoral Supervisory Commission

The Delimitation Commission

This is set up in terms of section 60(2) of the Zimbabwe constitution .It has the responsibility of determining the limits of the constituencies in Zimbabwe taking into account the number of registered voters, the physical features, the means of communication in the area and the geographical distribution of the registered voters. The president in consultation with the Judiciary Services Commission appoints it.

In view of the pending election the Delimitation Commission was set on the 14th of September 2004. This was done according to section 59 of the constitution of Zimbabwe. According to the Constitution, the President shall appoint a Delimitation Commission that shall determine the lists of the anticipated number of constituencies. High Court Judge Justice George Chiweshe was appointed to chair the Commission.

According to the Herald (15 September 2004) the Commission was the most professional and was expected to produce a well-balanced report to the president. The Commission completed its functions in December 2004 and was comprised of the following members;

Justice George M. Chiweshe - *Chairperson*
Dr Maclean Bhala - *Member*
Dr Charles M. Mukora - *Member*
Dr. Job M. Whabira - *Member*

However according to the main opposition party (MDC), the demarcation of the constituency boundaries by the Delimitation commission was clear testimony of the extent to which the government was prepared to go into turning national institutions into ZANU PF rigging apparatus. (*Zimbabwe Independent 23/12/ 2004*)

There are allegations that the, new demarcations have increased seats in ZANU PF strongholds and cut the number of seats in areas where the opposition enjoys support. This sentiment is also supported in the Sunday Mirror (13/02/2004) where a study comparing the present boundaries with those of the 2000, revealed that Harare Central has grown in size with a substantial voting population from the uniformed forces being added to the area. According to the report, Cranborne, Braeside, and Rhodesvale suburbs, which previously belonged to Harare South, are now parts of the Harare Central. These areas contain numerous military police residential places that could make a difference in the voting patterns. Harare, Bulawayo and Matebeleland South Province lost a constituency each while Manicaland, Mashonaland East and West gained one each. Find below in tabular form the number of registered voters per province and number of constituencies per each province.

Province	No. Of registered voters	No. Of constituencies
Bulawayo	339 990	7
Harare	832 571	18
Manicaland	686 767	15
Mashonaland Central	490 181	10
Mashonaland East	610 715	13
Mashonaland West	593 354	13
Masvingo	675 234	14

Matebeleland North	342 745	7
Matebeleland South	341 258	7
Midlands	745 822	16

Note: to determine constituencies for each province the commission divided the number of registered voters in a province by 47 147

Source: Delimitation Commission report

However the MDC alleged that, in areas where some constituencies were lost are suspected areas where the ruling party does not have a lot of support and the increase is in areas where the party has prospects of winning the election. In the same vein, other political analysts said the technicalities to the issue also arise from the fact that all complaints to the electoral process are to be dealt with by ZEC, which is also being led by the very person who led the Delimitation Commission. It is therefore illogical for the ZEC chairperson to entertain complaints about the delimitation process, which he was responsible for. The system therefore remains closed for contest because a reversal to the decision on the boundaries would be an indication to the commission's predetermined job. There are also concerns that the delimitation commission finished its work in December 2004 whilst the final voters' roll had not yet been compiled, meaning that there was a possibility of numbers increasing in some constituencies. It therefore remains a great challenge whether the electoral process and institutions will ensure provision for a transparent and open electoral process in the little timeframe that is left.

The Zimbabwe Electoral Commission

The ZEC is established in terms of Section 3 of the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission Act. It consists of a Chairperson and four other Commissioners. The President appoints the Chairperson after consultation with the Judicial Service Commission, while the four other Commissioners are appointed by the President from a list of seven nominees submitted by the Parliamentary Committee on Standing Rules and Orders. The law requires that two of the four Commissioners must be women.

The Commission was set up on the 7th of February 2004 and comprises of the following members;

<i>Justice George Mutandwa Chiweshe</i>	-	<i>Chairperson</i>
<i>Mrs Sarah Kachingwe</i>	-	<i>Commissioner</i>
<i>Mrs Vivian Stella Ncube</i>	-	<i>Commissioner</i>
<i>Professor Goerge Kahari</i>	-	<i>Commissioner</i>

Reverend Jonathan Siyachitema - *Commissioner*

The functions of the Commission are;

- To prepare and conduct elections
- Direct and control the registration of voters by Registrar General of Voters
- To compile the voters' roll
- To ensure the proper custody and maintenance of the voters' roll and registers
- Design print and distribute ballot papers, approve form and procurement of ballot boxes and establishing polling stations
- To conduct voter education

It also gives instructions to:

1. The Registrar General of Voters (*see below*).
2. Any other person employed by the state in the running of the elections.
3. To keep the public informed about the election process

Taking cognizance of the above-mentioned functions of the Commission, it remains ZESN's concern whether the Commission would be able to take full responsibility of the transparency of some of the processes, which were undertaken by various electoral bodies before the Commission was set up. The Electoral Act and the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission Act came into effect on the 1st of February 2005, barely two months before the election day. Therefore the major challenge is whether there is enough time to implement the new law and effect the necessary changes to some of the processes, which have already been done for example the voters' roll compilation. Moreover the Commission was set up late, after registration and inspection had been done. It was ZESN's anticipation that the Commission was going to review the processes considering the fact that there were several concerns and complains raised concerning the voters' roll before, for instance that there were 'ghost names' among other allegations that the voters' roll was in shambles. The Commission is also expected to assist all interested stakeholders to get access to the voters' roll without problems.

The Registrar of Voters

Shall be subject to the control of the ZEC. This office is established under the Zimbabwe Electoral Act section 18. The subsection (1) states that there shall be a registrar of voters whose office shall be a public office and shall form part of the Public Service.

It is under the office of the registrar general that

- A constituency registrar
- Deputy constituency registrar
- One or more assistant constituency registrars shall be generated. These shall be members of the Civil Service.

However there are concerns on the Registrar of Voters being the same office with the Registrar of General which people did not have confidence and trust in. So it was not ideal for ZEC to inherit the work by this office. There is therefore need for ZEC to review and rectify the allegations of duplicate names and 'ghost voters' and above all undertake an overhaul of the voters' roll.

Electoral Supervisory Commission

The ESC is established in terms of section 61 of the Constitution of Zimbabwe. It consists of a Chairperson and four other members. The Chairperson and two (2) members are appointed by the President in consultation with the Judicial Service commission while the other two are appointed by the President in consultation with the Speaker of Parliament.

Functions of the ESC as defined in section 61 (3) of the Constitution are as follows; -

- a) To supervise the registration of voters and the conduct of elections to parliament and to the Office of the President
- b) Subject to any Act of Parliament, to supervise the registration of voters and the conduct of elections to the governing body of any local authority
- c) To consider proposed bills or proposed Statutory instruments referred to it relating to the registration of voters or any election stated above

The new Electoral Act (Chapter 2:13) confers additional functions on the ESC

- a) Establishing and chairing an Observers' Accreditation Committee responsible for accrediting observers invited to observe elections in terms of Section 14(2) of the same Act.
- b) Inviting persons representing bodies in the SADC region that exercise similar functions to those of the ESC to observe Zimbabwe elections in terms of Section 14 (5) (b).
- c) To write and submit a report to the President or the Minister, in this case the Minister of Justice, Legal and Parliamentary Affairs as the case may be soon after an election.

Currently, members of the Commission are:

Mr. Theophilus Pharaoh Gambe - Chairperson (replaced Mr. Gula Ndebele who is now the Attorney General)

Mrs. Joyce Laetitia Kazembe - Commissioner

Ms. Erica Fungai Ndewere- Mususa - Commissioner

Mr. Tendayi Musekiwa Mberi - Commissioner

There are concerns that the secretariat of the ESC has some members from the military force as members of the secretariat staff.

Election Petitions

There shall be established an Electoral Court for the purpose of hearing and determining election petitions and other matters.

The Chief Justice in consultation with the judge President appoints judges of the court. On the 18th of February, Chief Justice Godfrey Chiyausiku appointed the following High court Judges to the electoral court;

Justice Tendayi Uchena

Justice Maphios Cheda

Justice Nicholas ndou

The appointment was in accordance with Section 162 of the electoral Act. Master of the High Court Mr Charles Nyatanga was appointed Registrar of the Electoral Court in terms of the Act.

This is a positive step in that the court petitions addressed in time taking into consideration that there are 38 election petitions still pending in court since 2000 general elections.

Who may present an Election Petition?

Any candidate aggrieved in an election. The petition shall be presented within fourteen days after the day on which the result of the election has been notified.

Implications of the new electoral legislations

Under the new legislation, the Electoral Act is an enabling piece of legislation that establishes the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (ZEC). ZEC is an institution whose duty is to run all elections and referendums in the country. Of concern to ZESN is the fact that ZEC Act precludes civil society organizations from conducting voter education. Section 12 of the Act stipulates that, "*No foreign contribution or donation for the purposes of voter education shall be made except to the Commission, which may allocate such contribution or donation to any person.*" This provision of the act affected civil society organisations with voter education programmes as no alternative funding is in place from the state. Apparently there has not been much voter education so far to the electorate from the ZEC especially on the issue of voting in one day, the issue of the translucent ballot box and other changes in terms of the administration of the whole electoral process. It is ZESN's concern that the electorate need to be well educated and informed about these changes which might not seem as important but are very crucial especially taking into consideration that the previous elections were done in two days and some people could not vote due to various causes and queues which were too long etc, one would then wonder how this would be avoided if voting is going to be done in one day. One would imagine even longer queues and the fear is that this might attribute to voter apathy in the country, hence the need to educate the electorate on these issues. ZESN is however in the process of seeking approval (*as stipulated in the ZEC Act*) to continue doing voter education and thereby complimenting ZEC's work.

The Nomination court

As stipulated in the Electoral Act Section 46.1, a candidate for an election shall be nominated by means of a separate nomination paper prescribed in the form which

- a. *Not fewer than ten persons who are registered on the voters roll for the constituency for which the candidate seeks election...*
- e. *Shall contain such particulars as may be prescribed.*

In accordance to this provision, various candidates filed their papers on the 18th of February 2005 in the concerned provinces in which the nomination court was to be held. The nomination process and period went on very well without any incidences of violence.

The following are the highlights of the nomination.

- The Minister of Justice Legal and Parliamentary Affairs, called for long birth certificates for those intending to file nomination papers. The Zimbabwe Electoral Commission later reversed this after some outcry from political parties that this was purposely going to disqualify a number of aspiring candidates.
- The main highlight of the nomination day in Bulawayo was professor Jonathan Moyo's entry in the nomination court to file his papers as an independent candidate for Tsholotsho constituency. The fact that the ruling party had sidelined Moyo after he allegedly convened the Tsholotsho declaration that sought to oppose the nomination of Joyce Mujuru as the Vice President. Given that background President went on to suspend the provincial and district leaders who took part in the meeting. The decision to have a female candidate for Tsholotsho was an indirect way of barring Moyo from having an influential position within the party structures hence this also gave him the leeway to apply as an independent. As a result, the president of the ruling party, President Mugabe fired Moyo as he had violated the party's principles and standing orders. In response to the sacking, Moyo emphasized that he was a victim of hate within the party but he had an obligation to represent the people of Tsholotsho who had chosen him in the first place.
- Another surprise was the entry of suspended Chairman of ZANU PF for Matebeleland South Lloyd Lohsani Siyoka in Beitbridge
- Joshua Mhambi was disqualified to stand as an independent candidate in Lobengula –Magwegwe. He failed to produce an original copy of his national identity card. Mhambi who was born in Zambia also failed to produce his Zambian birth certificate. It was also discovered that he had not renounced his Zambian citizenship as required and stipulated in the Citizenship Act.
- In Bulawayo South MDC's secretary for legal Affairs David Coltart nearly failed to file his papers after his mother was alleged to be South African. He was finally accepted to register.
- At least three MDC members who filed as independent candidates were fired from the opposition party. These sitting members of Parliament are MP Silas Mangono of Masvingo Central, Danmore Makuvaza formerly of Mbare West and Peter Nyoni of Hwange East
- In a dramatic turn of events, incarcerated MP for Chimamani (MDC), Roy Bennett's nomination papers were rejected. As a result Roy Bennett's wife, Heather Bennet will represent the MDC party in Chimanimani. It is however alleged that Roy Bennet has since taken his wife to the Electoral court, along with ZANU PF candidate for the constituency, Samuel Undenge and two others, seeking the nullification of the nomination results. Bennet argued that the decision by the

nomination court to disqualify him from the March 31 parliamentary race is has no basis at law since incarceration is not cited in the Electoral Act as a reason to disqualify a would be candidate.

- According a ZESN long-term observer who witnessed the nomination court sitting in Mashonganyika Building, Gideon Dhliwayo ZANU Ndonga's Candidate was disqualified for failing to pay the nomination fee of two million Zimbabwe Dollars referred in to in section (e) of the Electoral Act as "such particulars as may be prescribed". *For more on the results see annexures*

The Media Coverage

The SADC Principles and Guidelines to free and fair election Section 2.1.5 states that there should be "Equal access for all political parties to access the state media" However neither of the two electoral Acts (ZEC and EA) contain provisions to ensure that the opposition parties have equal access to the media. As a result the state media still skewed in favour of the ruling party.

However on 16 February 2005 the government through the Ministry of Information and Publicity in the President's office gazetted regulations governing political parties' access to the electronic media during the forthcoming parliamentary election. ZESN received this as a positive development in election broadcasting in Zimbabwe. The test is whether the regulations, which seek to accord contesting parties and their candidates the right to convey their policies to the electorate through the broadcast media, will be applied fairly.

For the first time, election broadcasts in Zimbabwe are set to depart from the tradition in which Zimbabwe Broadcast Holdings (ZBH) (then ZBC) would set its own in-house regulations and implement them without an independent body monitoring the fair application of the guidelines or arbitrating on complaints from aggrieved parties. Political parties whose election material is rejected by the public broadcaster must now be given reasons within 24 hours of the rejection and may appeal to the Broadcasting Authority of Zimbabwe (BAZ) for redress.

However in a statement by the Media Monitoring Project of Zimbabwe, noted with concern the fact that the Minister of State for Information and Publicity in the President's Office, Jonathan Moyo, a functionary of one of the contesting parties (ZANU PF) set the regulations to grant "*equal opportunities*" to political parties to access the national broadcaster.

In addition there does not appear to have been any consultation with other contesting parties or media organizations in coming up with the regulations. While MMPZ in principle welcomes the regulations they have come too late. For example, Section 6 (4) of the regulations requires licensees to *"give the Authority [BAZ] a broadcast schedule for election programmes and recording dates for all pre-recorded programmes for its station at least fifteen (15) days before an election period."* The BSA defines the election period as the period *"thirty-three days before the polling day for the elections and ends at the close of polling day or the last polling day."* This means that the election period begins on 26 February 2005. The Broadcasting Services (Access to radio and television during an Election) Regulations 2005 gazetted on 16 February 2005 were gazetted 10 days before the election period which makes it impossible for ZBH to fulfill this requirement of the regulations. It remains unclear how this will affect the broadcasting of election programmes.

The organisation added that the Minister for Information or the BAZ must clarify the consequence of this delay and what remedial action government intends to take.

The prohibitive cost of advertising space has the potential to preclude political parties or candidates with little financial resources. For example, a political party will have to pay \$226 million to secure one hour of prime time advertising on ZTV and \$84 million to secure one hour of prime time advertising on Radio Zimbabwe.

MMPZ maintains that the public broadcaster, a national resource funded by public funds, should allocate a basic equal amount of free direct access to political parties, which may then be supplemented by paid direct access. Such excessive financial constraints placed upon parties with limited financial resources may effectively subvert the intention of granting equitable access to the electronic media.

Further, the regulations give ZBH the discretion to reject an advertisement that does not *"meet the quality standards set by the licensee"*. This may be manipulated to effectively bar some parties from accessing the public broadcaster. To prevent this, MMPZ called on ZBH to clarify and widely publicize the *"quality standards"* according to which it shall measure election broadcasts.

It is also ZESN's anticipation that the ZBH will this time abide by the regulations and that the BAZ will be fair and firm in monitoring their implementation. So far we have seen the launch of the MDC campaign and a rally by Job Sikala of the MDC. These two events were covered and we applaud such developments and hope to see more and other political parties who are contesting in the 2005 elections.

Political Parties (Finance) Act

Recently the two main political parties, ZANU PF and MDC received funds under the **Political Parties (Finance) Act sub section 3 (3)** which stipulates that political parties with 5% of total votes in the most recent election. In this case these two mentioned political parties qualified for state funds for their respective political parties. ZANU PF was given *three billion three hundred and eighty million* Zimbabwean dollars (\$3 380 000 000. 00) whilst MDC was given *three billion one hundred and twenty million* Zimbabwean dollars (\$3 120 000 000.00). However there are allegations that ZANU PF is using other state resources like seed, fertiliser and computers to lure the electorate to vote for the party. There are also some allegations on the involvement of traditional leaders and civil servants in mobilising people and campaigning for the ruling party.

The Political climate

The political climate prior to the election has witnessed less overt political violence but full of uncertainties. However the factors to such a situation seem to be based on the need for a peaceful election so as to ensure legitimacy for the ruling party if and when it wins.

According to the ZESN long-term observers' reports, in most provinces, many incidents of political violence were of intra-party nature for both parties, ZANU PF and MDC. Parliamentary hopefuls waged fierce contestations against each other in their bid to win the party's primary elections held in mid January. There were several reports of intraparty squabbles within the main opposition party the MDC and ZANU PF. More anxiety to the March 2005 parliamentary elections is being felt after the opposition's final decision to participate in the election "in protest". While the decision to contest in the election had a good reception with the public, ZANU PF argues that the MDC's previous stance had been driven by cowardice and the late decision was based on the call of the so called "western imperialists and sponsors of the opposition". The participation of the MDC regardless if it's being in protest, is believed to have given legitimacy to the ruling party because the fact that they are participating is enough to the satisfaction of ZANU PF. As a result of these and other factors, there is a lot of anxiety in the political atmosphere such that the electorate is in limbo over what will happen to the much-awaited electoral process. Though there has been tension between the two major parties, the political environment has been generally calm and peaceful despite isolated cases of intimidation from the police, state agencies, ruling party supporters, traditional leaders and some members of the main opposition party (MDC).

Primary Elections

The period between the last report in 2004 and January 2005 saw intraparty squabbles within the two major political parties. According to the *Daily Mirror (13/07/2004)* the MDC confirmation exercise had been marred by vote buying allegations as the candidates submitted their curriculum vitae.

The following is a summary of the events that took place within the MDC primaries.

- Harare North Legislator Trudy Stevenson was thrown to the wayside after a confirmation exercise, which was allegedly marred by vote buying and corruption. She was later re-confirmed and is standing as the MDC candidate for Harare North
- The National Executive member, Chris Mukanya was eyeing Mbare West that is represented by Dunmore Makuwaza. However the MDC deputy secretary general Gift Chimankire finally became the winner in the constituency after beating Makuwaza in the primary election.
- The MDC Manicaland Provincial Chairman Timothy Mabhawu was reportedly eyeing for the Mabvuku constituency that is represented by Justin Mutendadzamera and he won the seat amid allegations of irregularities sited by Mutendadzamera
- Frank Chamunorwa an executive member from Mashonaland East was reported to have opted for Mbare while Morgan Femai who also seats in the provincial executive was aiming for the same seat.
- A record breaking intraparty squabbles within the MDC were between Job Sikhala and the national Chairman Isaac Matongo. Matongo was accused of trying to eliminate Sikhala as the party's candidate in the coming plebiscite. This squabble was finally ended with the Primary election that was done at the Harvest House where Sikhala emerged as the winner.
- Supporters of the outgoing Masvingo Central legislation Silas Mangono fought running battles with those loyal to Tongai Mathuthu, the party's candidate in the pending election. It is alleged that Tsvangirai's bodyguards ganged up with youths aligned to Mathuthu to beat Mangono's supporters.
- There was a fierce clashing between rival MDC factions in at Masvingo Civic centre, where the party leader Morgan Tsvangirai was addressing his supporters
- In Masvingo Silas Mangono (MP) lost during primary elections to Tongai Mathuthu amid allegations of dirty tricks and Mangono later filed his papers during nomination to contest as an independent candidate

The following is a summary of ZANU PF intraparty highlights:

- In August 2004 ZANU PF made headlines, as it emerged that the ruling party stalwarts, Didymus Mutasa and Kumbirayi Kangai had been exempted by the Manicaland provincial committee from participating in the primary election because of fierce fighting that had been taking place between the two factions
- Six provincial chairpersons were suspended from ZANU PF party after allegedly Tsholotsho meeting, which allegedly sought to oppose the nomination of Joyce Mujuru as Vice President. This also later saw the Minister of Information and Publicity in the President's office, Jonathan Moyo being sidelined by the party. Consequently Moyo stood as an independent candidate for Tsholotsho in the pending March 2005 election and this led to his dismissal from the ZANU PF party.
- According to the Financial Gazette (10-16/02/2005) delays experienced in the in finalising the ZANU PF manifesto caused two false starts suffered by the ruling party in officially launching the March 31 Parliamentary poll. Changes in the party's information and publicity department saw the governments spin doctor Jonathan Moyo being relieved of his duties.
- The permanent representative to the United Nations, Ambassador Tichaona Jokonya threw his hat into the political ring after he highlighted interest in the Chikomba seat. He was to compete with the incumbent legislator Constantine Makokove. There were speculations that Ambassadors appointment was to fast track him into the cabinet ministers position since he is viewed with high esteem in the political circles.
- In December 2004 ZANU PF dispatched a team to the ruling party's factitious hotbed the Masvingo province amid reports that war veterans had demanded the expulsion of six big wigs from the party upon allegations of corruption and forsaking the sacred 1987 Unity Accord. (Daily Mirror 21 December 2004) The freedom fighters recommended that the Foreign affairs minister Stan Mudenge, Gutu South MP Shuvai Mahofa, Governor and resident Minister Josaya Hungwe, Chief Fortune Charumbira legislator for Zaka East, Tinos Rusere and suspended chairman Daniel Shumba, from Masvingo province.
- There was however a call for the end to all squabbles within the ZANU PF party as these would see strong divisions within the party. The squabbles to especially in Masvingo, and Manicaland had a negative impact on the party's reputation.
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SUMMARY OF SOME INCIDENTS

Incident / Date	Description / place	Source
MP APPEARS IN COURT.	<p>MDC MP for Makokoba Thokozani Khupe appeared in court on 22/01/05 for breaching the Public Order and Security Act, after she was allegedly apprehended addressing an unsanctioned meeting. Khupe (41) was not asked to plead. She remanded out custody to February 10 2005 on \$100 000 bail. She is alleged to have organised a political meeting with MDC supporters from Makokoba at the Fast Climber, a restaurant for which she is director. She contravened section 24(6) of POSA chapter 11.17 (failing to notify the regulating authority). It is alleged that she has four other similar cases which are still pending before the courts.</p>	Herald 23/01/05
WAR IN MDC CAMP	<p>A wave of political upset has hit the MDC. Intra-party clashes were allegedly spearheaded by some of the MDC top six leaders eyeing urban constituencies in the 2005 general elections. MDC had an upper hand against ZANU PF in urban areas in 2000 parliamentary polls. For instance, the party's member of parliament for Mbare West Danmore Makuwaza is accusing deputy secretary general Gift Chimankire of abusing his position in a bid to oust him from the constituency. According to Makuwaza, Chimankire is abusing his position as a member of the top six leaders to cause confusion in the constituency.</p> <p>Chimankire with the help of a member of MDC's national security Diamond Karanda has been ferrying people of Mbare West from their homes to places in Chitungwiza, Budiriro, and Avenues supplying them with beer, food and money. He is alleged to have 20 000 tonnes of maize for supplementary feeding in the constituency. Chimankire denied these allegations of vote buying, but does not deny that he is vying for the post.</p>	Daily Mirror 11/10/04

	<p>Clashes in MDC were characterized by physical assaults of top officials by youths, nasty jostling for party parliamentary representations and general confusion on policy matters. In the past four months there had been political bickering in Masvingo central, Harare North and St Mary's Chitungwiza, with sitting MPs Silas Mangono, Trudy Stevenson, and Job Sikhala were likely to lose their MDC candidature for next year's polls.</p> <p>MDC national security director Peter Guhu and director for education identified only as Mr Rusike were severely assaulted by rowdy youths in full view of their national party leaders.</p>	
MDC Clashes	<p>There was a fierce clash between rival MDC factions in at Masvingo Civic centre, where the party leader Morgan Tsvangirai was addressing his supporters</p> <p>Supporters of the outgoing Masvingo Central legislation Silas Mangono fought running battles with those loyal to Tongai Mathuthu, the party's candidate in the pending election. It is alleged that Tsvangirai's bodyguards ganged up with youths aligned to Mathuthu to beat Mangono's supporters.</p>	Herald 15/02/05
MDC ACTIVISTS ASSAULTED	<p>Four MDC activists, Paul Kaseza the district chairperson, Shaibu Zakaria youth chairperson, Norbert Matengani the organizing secretary and Sadam Atwabi were picked from their respective homes and forced to march to an open space near the beer hall where they were severely assaulted. They were accused of supporting the MDC and were paraded and forced to do all kinds of humiliating things.</p>	MDC Information and Publicity. 23/09/04
PRAYER FOR VIOLENCE FREE ELECTIONS	<p>The Ecumenical Church Institutions in Zimbabwe (ECZ) has called on churches and all Zimbabweans to pray for violence free parliamentary elections scheduled for March 31, 2005. In a statement ECZ said it</p>	The Herald 08/02/05

	<p>would have a prayer session on 13/02/05 at the Harare City Sports Centre.</p> <p>It urged the electorate, political parties, civic organisations and other related constituencies to attend the service.</p> <p>Recently, Vice President Joyce Mujuru led a national prayer service for peaceful elections at the city sports centre. President Mugabe has, at various gatherings, reiterated the need for a violence free election.</p> <p>Police Commissioner Chihuri has also retaliated that there will be zero tolerance on political violence ahead of the election.</p>	
ZANU PF YOUTHS HARASS ELECTORATE	ZANU PF youths have begun intimidating the electorate to force them to attend ruling party rallies in the high-density suburb of Glen View and surrounding areas. The youths were seen going from door to door forcing residents to attend a ruling party gathering, at a time when President Mugabe and police commissioner Augustine Chihuri have the use of violence in the country as a political weapon.	Daily Mirror 19-10-04
60 MDC ACTIVISTS ARRESTED THIS YEAR – THEMBA NYATHI	Police have arrested 7 MDC members of parliament and 53 party activists since beginning 2004, with the opposition party saying these actions prelude free and fair election from taking place in the country. Paul Themba Nyathi, MDC's secretary for information and publicity alleged that the party's members had continued to be victim's arbitrary arrest and intimidation, among other human rights violations. He said the fact that human rights abuses continue to be perpetrated on such a large scale emphasizes the appalling decay of governance standards in Zimbabwe.	Daily Mirror 13-12-04
ACTING CHIEF PLEADS GUILTY OF INCITING VIOLENCE	Acting Chief Serima of Gutu, Chivande village, George Chivande, also a teacher by profession, yesterday entered his plea of guilt before Masvingo magistrate's Mr Shortgame Musaiona for contravening a section of the criminal procedure and evidence act (Incitement) on	Herald 13/01/05

	<p>January 7 2005. Chivande used his position as a chief to incite some ZANU PF youths to evict a businessman Mr Abel Gandidza from his shop at Matiza business centre, because of his undesirable political affiliation. The following day about 20 ZANU PF youths, led by one Nicholas Muzendiwa went to the shop, assaulted attendance and patrons drinking at the bar, and also deflated tyres of Mr Gandidza's vehicle.</p>	
<p>MDC CHAIRWOMAN RAPED.</p>	<p>A Chitungwiza MDC youth chairwoman was on new year's eve allegedly assaulted and rapped and left for dead by five fellow opposition party activists. Dickson Tarusenga (47), John Matienga (28), Tinei Rwizi (26), Stephen Nyikadzino (27), and Biggie Chitengu (31) allegedly went to the chairwoman's home and invited her for an MDC meeting. Since she knew them the chairwoman agreed to go with them. On the way, they are said to have started assaulting her. They questioned why she had been chosen as chairwoman amidst male candidates. She was dragged to an open space, assaulted with batons, whipped and raped.</p>	<p>06-01-05</p>
<p>PARADZA ARRESTED</p>	<p>Sitting Member of Parliament Kindness Paradza was arrested after allegedly being involved in a fight with Leo Mugabe, s supporters whom he was expected to battle it out with in the primary elections.</p>	<p>12/01/05 Herald</p>
<p>POLICE RAID MDC CANDIDATES' MEETING</p>	<p>The police on 17/02/05 disrupted a training session of the MDC's 120 candidates, which was being held at the Sheraton Hotel in Harare. They arrested MDC Director of Elections Ian Makone, who by the time of writing this report was being held at Harare Central Police Station.</p>	<p>17/02/05</p>
<p>SUSPECTED POLITICAL VIOLENCE</p>	<p>A group of 31 ZANU PF youths were arrested in Norton after they went on a rampage. The youths allegedly commandeered private cars, assaulted MDC supporters and destroyed property worth millions of dollars. It is also alleged that they stabbed a police officer in the process.</p>	<p>Herald 15/02/05</p>

Taking a comparative approach to the SADC Principles and Guidelines on elections

The SADC Principles and Guidelines require member States to ensure that all their citizens enjoy freedom of movement, assembly, association and expression as well as political tolerance during electoral processes. There must also be an independent judiciary.

There is a lot to be done on this note, the Zimbabwean legislation enacted in February 2005, touches on these topics. Apart from a general statement of principles in section 3 of the Electoral Act, there is no enforcement mechanism, and the Electoral Commission's role is confined to registering voters, providing voter education and conducting elections. This is a weakness in the new legislation

The following are of particular concern:

- *Freedom of Assembly and Association:* These freedoms are seriously limited by the Public Order and Security Act [*Chapter 11:17*], under which all political gatherings are supposed to apply for clearance. However this act seems to be selectively applied to stifle opposition party rallies.
- *Freedom of Expression:* The Public Order stifles this right and Security Act and the Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act [*Chapter 10:27*], which makes it an offence to publish false news. The latter Act has been used to ban the *Daily News* newspaper and to prevent foreign journalists working in Zimbabwe, since only citizens or permanent residents can be accredited as journalists for more than 30 days.
- *Political tolerance:* the ruling ZANU (PF) party in some cases shown itself intolerant of opposition. The new legislation is likely to change the party's attitude. This is supported by the President Robert Mugabe (*Herald 23/07/04*), police Commissioner Chihuri, (*Herald 21/10/04*) and Mr. Nathan Shamuyarira the ZANU PF secretary for Information and Publicity who called on Zimbabweans to embrace a culture of tolerance as the country heads towards general elections (*Sunday Mail 24/10/04*).

The advantages and disadvantages some of the new changes in the electoral regulations

Current Provisions in the new Acts	Advantages	Disadvantages
Voting in one day	It allows for more transparency in the voting process. Concerns over what would happen to the ballot	There are worries if the voting process would be complete in one day, e.g. in Harare the electorate failed to vote in two

	<p>box overnight are done away with.</p> <p>It requires many polling stations and also faster processing of voters to avoid long queues</p>	<p>days in the 2000 general elections, this could actually be worse. An example is of ZANU PF that failed to hold its primary elections on one day.</p>
Counting at the polling station	<p>There is more transparency because there will be no more fears that ballot boxes could be staffed with more papers during transportation to the counting centers (as alleged before).</p> <p>Credibility, confidence and originality to the results are increased as fears of cheating are done away with. But this will be so, if results are announced at the polling station and there are counter signatures by political party agents and copies given to them.</p>	<p>There is a high likelihood of retribution to the electorate, as results per polling station would show how they have voted.</p> <p>There are also fears that in some remote areas there is no electricity to ensure adequate lighting in the counting process.</p> <p>Need for a lot of security to combat mischievous activities and behavior.</p>
The use of visible ink	<p>It is much easier for the naked eye to see who has voted or not, this detracts some people from voting twice. However there is need for high quality ink, which does not wash off easily.</p>	<p>There is concern over the quality of the ink to be used some ink may be easily washed away using chemicals.</p>
No mobile polling stations	<p>No need to move around with ballot boxes and this will remove the perception and previous</p>	<p>Some of the electorate may be disenfranchised, if few polling stations are set in remote areas or in non-neutral</p>

	allegations of cheating during moving from one point to another	places.
The use of translucent boxes	<p>Gives more confidence on the fairness of the process provided that there are adequate boxes and seals.</p> <p>All are able to see the accumulation of the votes in the ballot box.</p>	<p>The electorate may be intimidated that a certain party may be able to see how one has voted.</p> <p>More voter education is needed to reduce fears of retribution and guarantee the secrecy of vote.</p>
Establishment of the Electoral Petitions Court	<p>Election petitions are quickly addressed. <i>(Time frame)</i></p> <p>It ensures mechanism in which aggrieved parties may point at irregularities and seek a quick remedy. It would work well if there are regular updates and consultations with stakeholders.</p>	<p>The court may be comprised of a judiciary whose impartiality may be questionable.</p> <p>There is also need to establish party liaison committees to handle conflicts before they are taken to court.</p>
Access of media by all political parties	<p>Enables political parties to air their manifesto to the electorate.</p> <p>The electorate will have a choice in choosing the party they want to vote for rather than when one party has monopoly over the media especially television and radio.</p>	<p>Advertising fees may be out of reach for political parties if they are exorbitant</p>

Provincial summaries

ZESN observed that the voter registration and inspection of the voters' roll was not adequately advertised in both the print and broadcast media. However, there were reports that this was not the case in rural areas, where people were informed about the voters' roll inspection and registration through their community leaders for example Chief and Kraal Heads. Unlike in urban areas, the voter inspection and registration was reported to be higher in rural areas than in urban areas. There are also allegations that mobile voter registration, which was done from May to July last year in rural areas, focused on ZANU PF strongholds. Also of major concern is the fact that, people were not yet in the election mood and might be attributed to the low voter turns out witnessed in most provinces during inspection of the voters' roll and there is also the issue of new constituencies and boundaries which were inadequately advertised. Given that fact, it might be necessary to consider another round of inspection of the voters' roll even though voters' registration is continuous. Below are summaries of the reports, which ZESN received from its long-term observers for each province. Among other issues, meticulous attention was given on voters' roll inspection and registration for each province.

Midlands

The period ending December 2004 witnessed few incidents of political tensions. The most notable activity, however, was the preparation for the primary elections in the ruling ZANU PF party.

In Gweru Rural constituency there were no reports of politically motivated violence. There were however allegations of vote buying by suspected ZANU PF leaders.

There were no reports of civil society organisations being stopped from arranging workshops in the province. However such workshops could only go ahead with the consent of the local traditional and political leadership. In Chirumanzu, Mvuma one such workshop could not go ahead as the local MP said that NGOs were banned in his constituency. However inspection of the voters' roll was marred by low turn out.

Masvingo

The province did not get any reports of inter-party violence in the province. However there were reports of intra-party violence when supporters of rival ZANU PF factions clashed in Masvingo South in December. No arrests were made. It is alleged that voters were forced to attend a ZANU PF meeting in Gonarezhou, Chiredzi area.

The opposition MDC held a rally in Masvingo that was addressed by its leader Morgan Tsvangirai in September. However a follow-up rally which the incumbent MP Mr Silas Mangono wanted to address was disrupted by suspected ZANU PF supporters who threatened to beat up anyone who dared to attend the rally. The rally was subsequently cancelled.

Civic organisations were able to organize and conduct workshops in the province with the consent of local traditional leadership except for Mwenezi constituency. Inspection of the voters' roll went on well, no incidents were reported.

Manicaland

Mutare North /Central and South

The inspection of the voters' roll Chipinge North and South was marred by a very poor turnout. It would seem as if the change of boundaries affected the electorate .For example the Wengezi used to be part of Chimanimani but its now part of Mutare South. This seems to have confused potential voters, as they were unaware of the new changes hence unsure of their actual constituency.

There were also allegations that the ruling party has taken control of the registration process in Chipinge North and South by using kraal heads to lead their people to the inspection centers. There were isolated reports of political violence particularly in Chipinge South where suspected ZANU PF supporters reportedly ferried and beat up suspected opposition supporters, who allegedly in turn ran away and sought refuge in neighboring Mozambique.

There was also a generally high turnout to inspect the voters' roll except in the three Makoni constituencies.

Civic organisations were able to conduct community workshops except in Makoni that was allegedly declared a one party province by the local political and traditional leadership.

Harare

The same problems affecting the registration process in other regions were also recorded in the province. The turnout in the inspection was very low. Some voters did not find their names on the voters' roll and did not have the required documents like proof of residence to re-register. However there seemed to have been a limited number of inspection centers.

Some residents Glen Norah, Glen View, Highfield and Budiriro were reported to have been allegedly forced to buy party cards and attend political rallies. The Ngungunyana housing scheme is an example of how the housing issue is being taken advantage of in trying to lure supporters. It is also believed that there was the abuse on the issuing of passport forms as bait to lure voters. It is alleged that these forms were distributed on partisan basis.

Chitungwiza

It was alleged that ZANU PF cadres were being used during inspection centers as personnel. There were allegations that members of the women's league were in possession of a voters' roll, which they were believed to have been using in conducting a separate registration exercise. It also alleged that they were actually moving from door to door with a copy of the voters' roll. All this took place in Unit F, Zengeza, and St Mary's. ZESN members were disallowed to conduct voter education in these constituencies. Another housing scheme was also launched by the ZANU PF candidate for Chitungwiza. However, critics have also complained that this breached the electoral laws and regulations, as it was tantamount to vote buying. Some people have accused the MP of abusing the scheme to gain mileage ahead of the pending election.

Mtshiseland North

Just like in most provinces, the electorate in this province is rather sceptical about the new electoral laws such as the counting of votes at the same polling station because this might be a cause for prejudice and victimisation from any losing party. In Tsholotsho, there are allegations that kraal heads were intimidating the electorate to support the opposition.

Mashonaland East

Reflections on the various constituencies of Mashonaland East in view of voter registration amply testified the prevalence of registration through coercion. It is being alleged that traditional leaders indirectly or directly forced people to register claiming that they already had a list of all those eligible to vote and one's failure to register would throw him or her into unspecified serious consequences. Along the same line landlords (house owners) in areas like Rusike and Dombotombo in Marondera, were forced to register their tenants by suspected ruling party functionaries. The inspection process was not well advertised in some constituencies to the effect that some people were not aware of it.

Whilst in other constituencies there were door-to-door campaigns encouraging people to inspect the voters' roll in Dombotombo suburb there was however, compulsory inspection in fear of the alleged hovering threat of the ruling party's disciplinary measures.

The issue of hidden inspection centers was witnessed at places like Forest Lodge and Igava areas where inspection was done at imposingly perilous places that deterred a significant number of eligible voters from inspecting their names.

In some areas it is alleged that people were forced to attend ruling party rallies. Vote buying was also witnessed where food handouts and agriculture inputs were used as incentives. In addition it is alleged that government food distribution and even AIDS Levy distributions were done at political rallies. No opposition party activities were tolerated in almost every section of the province, leaving other contesting parties at a quandary, as they had no room to campaign.

Mashonaland West

Posters about the inspecting the voters' roll placed by the ESC were seen in most constituencies in this province but however the turnout was relatively poor.

This might have been attributed to a prevalence of violence in Makonde and Hurungwe West during the intra-party campaigns for primary elections. A dominance of vote buying in all political actors was witnessed. In Chinhoyi voters were enticed through distribution of free party cards and in Sanyati prospective candidates lured voters for allegiance through supply of clothes for women, bicycles, food, and

fertilizers. Noted also is the alleged abuse of state resources like state vehicles during primary election campaigns by the ruling party.

Overallly the primary elections in this province are said to have been marred by intimidation, high tensions and the obvious degeneration into violent encountered in most areas of the province save for Zvimba North and South that did not go through the primary elections as the candidates were said to have been unanimously endorsed to represent the party and were unopposed.

Civic Organizations did little activities whilst in some areas, voter education was carried out by the ESC.

Mashonaland Central

Inspection of the voters' roll was adequately publicized by the ESC and there was high turnout. Admittedly, the process was carried out satisfactorily and it was not restrictive. In certain areas of the province voter inspection was marred by voter apathy.

Imposition of candidates was rife resulting into disgruntlement among supporters. The province is a no go area for other political parties, and party cards are compulsory and failure to produce one results in grievous consequences. It is alleged that there was serious monitoring of movements for suspected opposition party members or new comers in the province and if seen they were supposed to report to the war veterans particularly on the purpose of visiting the province and their duration of stay. Vote buying was witnessed at campaign rallies where bicycles and farming inputs were distributed. However some constituencies in the province held peaceful campaigns like distribution of flyers and party regalia. This is one province that had a complete shutout of civic organizations, resultantly little education was carried out by civic organisations.

Public comments on the possible outcome of the impending elections

There have been numerous paradigms that are being used to predict the possible outcome of the impending election. On one hand there are those claiming that the ruling party will win the poll while on the other, the opposition will take the poll. At the time of writing this report ZESN was still trying to get party manifestos for all contesting political parties.

According to some political analysts, the MDC will lose the coming election as the people of “can never allow Zimbabwe to be a colony again”. The analysts argue that in this election ZANU PF would once again prove to the word that it is the only party, which brought political and economic freedom to the people of Zimbabwe. They refer to the colonial situation where the colonialists used to discriminate against the black majority. The history of the armed struggle is the paradigm they use to justify the outcome of the election to the side of ZANU PF. Some of the reasons put forward for the loss of the opposition party in the coming election are:

- MDC has never defeated ZANU PF in the elections and is unlikely to fair any better in the coming election.
- MDC has no clear-cut policy on how it would rule the country even if given the chance
- MDC knows it has never done anything positive for the country other than calling for economic sanctions and causing mayhem
- ZANU PF has scored many successes in the areas of industry, education and health while MDC is mostly known for making noise in the parliament. This statement seems contrary to the fat that the President had expressed concern over the low pass rates that are being experienced in the schools especially those in the rural areas. In Silobela they had a three percent pass in other areas 19 percent and 27 percent has been the highest so far. (Chronicle18 February 2005)
- MDC can never win the support of the majority because it is tool of the white imperialists designed to try and bring about a regime change through unorthodox means.

These are according to the concerned analysts are the reasons why ZANU PF will win, but a reverse analysis to the above facts will reveal that it is basically for the same reasons that the MDC says will win the impending poll. One tends to question on whether the argument that the MDC has never defeated ZANU PF but is a fact that the opposition party managed to win 57 seats in a period less than six months after its formation. However on another note some political analysts also argue that;

- The ruling party has plundered the once vibrant economy through its chaotic land reform programme that brought the agricultural sector to its knees.
- MDC believes that they have won the broad struggle against tyranny; they believe they are firmly driving the political agenda.

- MDC has a vision that of a new Zimbabwe whose focus shall be on food security and jobs all of these that had been put in jeopardy by the ZANU PF.
- The MDC is striving to transform Zimbabwe's political culture, to roll the nation back to the ideals of the liberation struggle, to extend basic freedoms and to put together all aspects of the nation into a single unit.
- The MDC believes that an analysis of the regime's vision, programmes and behavior shows that it is no longer possible for the status quo to turn around the nation's fortunes as is being argued by the ruling party. That leaves the people with a single option to start afresh, in a new setting, with a leadership that has a clean record and unblemished ideas.
- ZANU PF has no strategy on intra-party democracy
- ZANU PF has no strategy on regaining good relations with the international community and hence there is no investor confidence.
- Mugabe wants 2/3 majority but however, considering party divisions which emerged after the primary elections this is a big challenge again for the party.
- The prevailing economic hardships being felt by voters, remains another challenge for the ruling party.

The above are the different and contrasting ideas that the major contesting political parties believe have so as to win the coming election. The outcome of the election at the moment is rather tricky to predict. Both parties are confident of winning whilst on the other hand the issue of independent candidates remains an interesting one taking into consideration that in 2000 most independent candidates lost the election but this time round it will be interesting to see how Tsholotsho and Harare central will ferry. This is because at present, there is a lot of apathy especially among the urban electorate on why they should go and vote in the coming election. On the one hand the electorate is of the argument that the opposition did not do much to change their fortunes since their election into parliament in the last five years. It's also at the same instance that they understand that the opposition had no space to effect any changes since they were not the sitting government. The electorate is also aware of the fact that the ZANU PF has since 1980 ruled the country such that this is enough for them to have proved their worth. It is however very difficult for one to accurately predict the outcome of the election since the electorate remains with the final say on the voting day.

CONCLUSION

There are a number of challenges that the organization faces in the impending election. The main challenge concerns the issue of accreditation. In the past elections accreditation was centralized and the organisation hopes that this time the ESC will consider ZESN's recommendation, which the organisation has been putting forward since 2002 that accreditation should be decentralized. This will ensure efficiency in whole process and will also reduce transport and accommodation costs on the part of those seeking to be accredited. Delays in publicity of number and location of polling stations made it difficult for the organisation to train and deploy observers.

The NGO bill has also affected the civic organizations, as there is uncertainty whether the bill will be signed or not. At the moment many organizations have reduced their operations due to the turnovers of staff to more stable circles such as the public service and lack of funding.

The upcoming election is indeed of great importance to the nation. ZESN is making frantic efforts in preparation for the election. However, the organization is of the opinion that the nation is not yet in the election mood as compared to the situation in 2000. Moreover, the state bodies tasked with ensuring the smooth running of elections in Zimbabwe including the ZEC were set up late and are still to prove if they are in a position to perform any meaningful functions within the few days left.

ZESN's message to the electorate is to encourage all registered voters to go out in all their numbers and vote peacefully in the forthcoming elections. The organisation also encourages all concerned political parties to advise their supporters to engage in non-violent campaign strategies.

Areas of concern;

1. Voting in one day, the need for more polling stations
2. Need for light especially in rural areas where there is no electricity considering that counting will be done at the polling station will start after closure of polling (after 7pm)
3. Security at polling stations especially during counting
4. Transparency in transmission of results, whether counting is going to be done at polling stations or at constituency level.

5. Police should allow all political parties to contest freely-POSA
6. Accreditation should be decentralized and observers should be accredited early.
7. Role of traditional leaders during elections
8. Access to balanced state resources by all contesting political parties and candidates.
9. Continued and effective coordination of electoral management bodies and also timeous consultations with all stakeholders
10. Adequate and effective voter information to the electorate 'e.g. publicity of polling stations on time, how voting in one day is to be done, use of translucent ballot boxes and counting procedures etc
11. Publicity of constituency boundaries- to avoid voters going to wrong constituencies
12. State agents should undertake their duties in a professional, non-partisan manner and should not apply the law selectively
13. Zero tolerance on violence
14. The electorate is scared of retribution and should be re-assured on the issue of counting at polling station and use of translucent ballot boxes.
15. Voter apathy
16. Postal voting still a major concern.

LIST OF CANDIDATES FOR THE 2005 GENERAL ELECTION

Annexure 1.

Province		Party	Candidate Name	Gender
Masvingo	Bikita East	ZANU(PF)	KENNEDY MATIMBA	Male
Masvingo	Bikita East	MDC	EDMORE MARIMA	Male
Masvingo	Bikita East	ZANU(Ndonga)	CALIPHAS MUTONGA	Male
Masvingo	Bikita West	ZANU(PF)	CLAUDIUS MAKOVA	Male
Masvingo	Bikita West	MDC	ALEX ZIRABADA	Male
Masvingo	Chiredzi North	ZANU(PF)	CELINE POTE	Female
Masvingo	Chiredzi North	Independent	OTTILIA MALULEKE	Female
Masvingo	Chiredzi North	ZANU(Ndonga)	ONIAS MAKUNI	Male
Masvingo	Chiredzi North	MDC	ZVIREVO NGIRIVANA	Male
Masvingo	Chiredzi South	Independent	NEHENNIA ZANAME	Male
Masvingo	Chiredzi South	ZANU(PF)	AARON BALOYI	Male
Masvingo	Chiredzi South	MDC	EMMACULATE MAKONDO	Female
Masvingo	Chivi North	ZANU(PF)	ENITA MAZIRIRI	Female
Masvingo	Chivi North	MDC	BERNARD CHIONDEGWA	Male
Masvingo	Chivi South	ZANU(PF)	CHARLES MAJANGE	Male
Masvingo	Chivi South	MDC	STEVEN CHENGETA	Male
Masvingo	Gutu North	ZANU(PF)	JOSAYA TUNGAMIRAI	Male
Masvingo	Gutu North	MDC	CRISPA MUSONI	Male
Masvingo	Gutu South	ZANU(PF)	SHUVAI MAHOFA	Female
Masvingo	Gutu South	MDC	STEVEN CHENGETA	Male
Masvingo	Masvingo	ZANU(PF)	SHYLET UYOYO	Female
Masvingo	Masvingo	MDC	TONGAI MATUTU	Male
Masvingo	Masvingo	Independent	SILAS MANGONO	Male
Masvingo	Masvingo North	ZANU(PF)	STAN MUDENGE	Male
Masvingo	Masvingo North	MDC	JOSEPHY MUTEMA	Male
Masvingo	Masvingo	ZANU(PF)	WALTER MZEMBI	Male
Masvingo	Masvingo	MDC	GREEN GWATINYANYA	Male
Masvingo	Mwenezi	ZANU(PF)	ISAYA SHUMBA	Male
Masvingo	Mwenezi	MDC	CHARLES MUZENDA	Male
Masvingo	Zaka East	ZANU(PF)	TINOS RUSERE	Male
Masvingo	Zaka East	MDC	MISHECK MARARA	Male

Masvingo	Zaka West	ZANU(PF)	MABEL MAWERE	Female
Masvingo	Zaka West	MDC	HARISON MUDZIRI	Male
Midlands	Chirumanzu	ZANU(PF)	EDWIN MUGUTI	Male
Midlands	Chirumanzu	MDC	REGIS FAMBISAI	Male
Midlands	Gokwe Chireya	ZANU(PF)	LEONARD CHIKOMBA	Male
Midlands	Gokwe Chireya	MDC	SIBANGANI SILANDU	Male
Midlands	Gokwe	ZANU(PF)	FLORA BHUKA	Female
Midlands	Gokwe	MDC	FARAI MAGAYA	Male
Midlands	Gokwe	ZANU(PF)	LOVEMORE MUPUKUTA	Male
Midlands	Gokwe	MDC	AARON CHINHARA	Male
Midlands	Gokwe South	ZANU(PF)	JAISON MACHAYA	Male
Midlands	Gokwe South	MDC	LAMECK NKIWANE	Male
Midlands	Gokwe Kana	ZANU(PF)	MAX K. MACHAYA	Male
Midlands	Gokwe Kana	MDC	MUYAMBI L. NKIWANE	Male
Midlands	Gweru Rural	MDC	RENSON GASELA	Male
Midlands	Gweru Rural	ZANU(PF)	JOSPHAT MADUBEKO	Male
Midlands	Gweru Urban	ZANU(PF)	ENOS SIZE	Male
Midlands	Gweru Urban	MDC	TIMOTHY MUKAHLERA	Male
Midlands	Kwekwe	MDC	BLESSING CHEBUNDO	Male
Midlands	Kwekwe	ZANU(PF)	EMMERSON MNANGAGWA	Male
Midlands	Mberengwa	Independent	GOODWILL SHIRI	Male
Midlands	Mberengwa	ZANU(PF)	RUGARE GUMBO	Male
Midlands	Mberengwa	MDC	SEKAI HOLLAND	Female
Midlands	Mberengwa	ZANU(PF)	JORUM GUMBO	Male
Midlands	Mberengwa	MDC	TINOZIVASHE MPOFU	Male
Midlands	Mkoba	ZANU(PF)	PAUL CHIGANGO	Male
Midlands	Mkoba	MDC	AMOS CHIBAYA	Male
Midlands	Shuruqwi	ZANU(PF)	FRANCIS NHEMA	Male
Midlands	Shuruqwi	MDC	BONIFACE MPEDZISI	Male
Midlands	Silobela	ZANU(PF)	THOMAS THEMBA NDEBELE	Male
Midlands	Silobela	MDC	ABEDNIGO MALINGA	Male
Midlands	Zhombe	ZANU(PF)	DANIEL MACKENZIE NCUBE	Male
Midlands	Zhombe	MDC	EDSON NYATHI	Male
Mashonaland	Chikomba	ZANU(PF)	TICHAONA JOKONYA	Male
Mashonaland	Chikomba	MDC	PIMIEL KUDENGA	Male
Mashonaland	Wedza	ZANU(PF)	AENEAS CHIGWEDERE	Male
Mashonaland	Wedza	MDC	THERESA MAKORE	Female
Mashonaland	Marondera	ZANU(PF)	SYDNEY SEKEREMAI	Male
Mashonaland	Marondera	MDC	JAMES IAN KAY	Male
Mashonaland	Marondera	ZANU(PF)	AMBROSE MUTINHIRI	Male
Mashonaland	Marondera	MDC	SHADRECK DZAKOROMOKA	Male
Mashonaland	Uzumba	ZANU(PF)	KENNETH MUTIWEKUZIVA	Male
Mashonaland	Uzumba	MDC	STEWART PAIREMANZI	Male
Mashonaland	Mutoko North	MDC	SHUPIKAI M. MANDAIZA	Female
Mashonaland	Mutoko North	ZANU(PF)	DAVID CHAPFIKA	Male
Mashonaland	Mutoko South	ZANU(PF)	OLIVIA MUCHENA	Female
Mashonaland	Mutoko South	MDC	DERICK MUZIRA	Male

Mashonaland	Seke	ZANU(PF)	PHINEAS CHIHOTA	Male
Mashonaland	Seke	MDC	MILTON BENE	Male
Mashonaland	Mudzi West	ZANU(PF)	AQUALINA KATSENDA	Female
Mashonaland	Mudzi West	MDC	SHORAI TSUNGU	Female
Mashonaland	Mudzi East	Independent	TENDAI MAROWA	Male
Mashonaland	Mudzi East	ZANU(PF)	RAY KAUKONDE	Male
Mashonaland	Mudzi East	MDC	ESSAU MACHEMEDZI	Male
Mashonaland	Murehwa North	ZANU(PF)	DAVID PARIRENYATWA	Male
Mashonaland	Murehwa North	MDC	ALOIS MUDZINGWA	Male
Mashonaland	Goromonzi	ZANU(PF)	HERBERT MEREWA	Male
Mashonaland	Goromonzi	MDC	CLAUDIUS MARIMO	Male
Mashonaland	Murehwa South	ZANU(PF)	JOEL B. MATIZA	Male
Mashonaland	Murehwa South	MDC	ALASKA KUMIRAI	Male
Mashonaland	Zvishavane	ZANU(PF)	OBERT MATSHALAGA	Male
Mashonaland	Zvishavane	MDC	SIMON DICK	Male
Mashonaland	Chequtu	ZANU(PF)	WEBSTER SHAMU	Male
Mashonaland	Chequtu	MDC	ZVAMPILA NOMHLE	Male
Mashonaland	Chinhoyi	ZANU(PF)	FABER CHIDARIKIRE	Male
Mashonaland	Chinhoyi	MDC	SILAS MATAMISE	Male
Mashonaland	Hurungwe East	ZANU(PF)	REUBEN MAUMAHOKO	Male
Mashonaland	Hurungwe East	MDC	BIGGIE HAUROBHI	Male
Mashonaland	Hurungwe	MDC	GODFREY GUMBO	Male
Mashonaland	Hurungwe	ZANU(PF)	CEICILIA GWACHIRWA	Female
Mashonaland	Kadoma	MDC	EDITOR MUTAMISA	Male
Mashonaland	Kadoma	ZANU(PF)	JIMAYI MUDUVURI	Male
Mashonaland	Kariba	MDC	NATHAN MUKWASHA	Male
Mashonaland	Kariba	ZANU(PF)	JONATHAN CHANDENGENDA	Male
Mashonaland	Mhondoro	ZANU(PF)	SYLVESTER NGUNI	Male
Mashonaland	Mhondoro	MDC	SHAKESPEAR MAYA	Male
Mashonaland	Manyame	MDC	HILDA MAFUDZE	Female
Mashonaland	Manyame	ZANU(PF)	PATRICK ZHUWAWO	Male
Mashonaland	Makonde	MDC	JEFFAT KAREMBA	Male
Mashonaland	Makonde	ZANU(PF)	LEO MUGABE	Male
Mashonaland	Ngezi	MDC	FLORA HOTYO	Female
Mashonaland	Ngezi	ZANU(PF)	BRIGGHT MATONGA	Female
Mashonaland	Sanyati	ZANU(PF)	ZAKARIA ZIYAMBI	Male
Mashonaland	Sanyati	MDC	TREVOR RUZVIDZO	Male
Mashonaland	Zvimba North	ZANU(PF)	IGNATIUS CHOMBO	Male
Mashonaland	Zvimba North	MDC	PRINCE CHIBANDA	Male
Mashonaland	Zvimba South	ZANU(PF)	SABINA MUGABE	Female
Mashonaland	Zvimba South	MDC	EMILLIE MASIMBA	Female
Harare	Harare Central	MDC	MURISI ZWIZWAI	Male
Harare	Harare Central	ZANU(PF)	FLORENCE CHIDEYA	Female
Harare	Harare Central	Independent	MARGARET DONGO	Female
Harare	Harare North	MDC	TRUDY STEVENSON	Female
Harare	Harare North	ZANU(PF)	NYASHA CHIKWINYA	Female
Harare	Harare South	MDC	JAMES MUSHONGA	Male

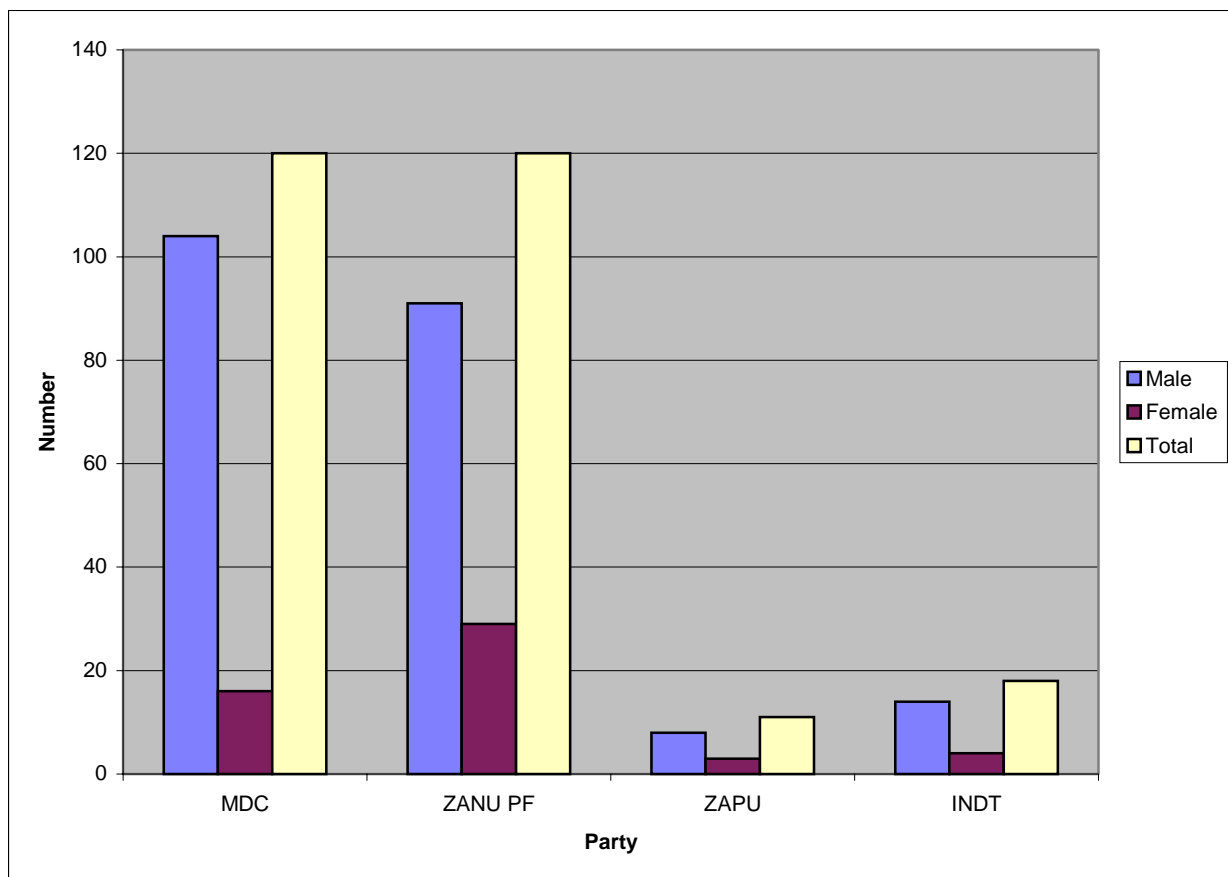
Harare	Harare South	ZANU(PF)	HUBERT NYANHONGO	Male
Harare	Harare East	MDC	TENDAYI BITI	Male
Harare	Harare East	ZANU(PF)	MUVENGWA MUKARATI	Male
Harare	Budiriro	MDC	GILBERT SHOKO	Male
Harare	Budiriro	ZANU(PF)	DAVID MAKUFA	Male
Harare	Chitungwiza	MDC	FIDELIS MHASHU	Male
Harare	Chitungwiza	ZANU(PF)	BRIGHTON CHIRONGWE	Male
Harare	Dzivarasekwa	MDC	EDWIN MUSHRIWA	Male
Harare	Dzivarasekwa	ZANU(PF)	FRANCIS MUCHADA	Male
Harare	Glen Norah	MDC	P. MUSHAIRAMBWI-MUSHONGA	Female
Harare	Glen Norah	ZANU(PF)	VICTORIA CHITEPO	Female
Harare	Glen Norah	ZIYA	THOMAS GWATI	Male
Harare	Glen View	MDC	PAUL MADZORE	Male
Harare	Glen View	ZANU(PF)	SABINA MANGWENDE	Female
Harare	Hatfield	MDC	TAPIWA MASHAKADA	Male
Harare	Hatfield	ZANU(PF)	AMOS MIDZI	Male
Harare	Highfield	MDC	PEARSON MUNGOFA	Male
Harare	Highfield	ZANU(PF)	RODRICK NYANDORO	Male
Harare	Highfield	ZANU(Ndonga)	SEKAI DUTIRO	Female
Harare	Kambuzuma	MDC	WILLIS MADZIMURE	Male
Harare	Kambuzuma	ZANU(PF)	SAMUEL MVURUME	Male
Harare	Kuwadzana	MDC	NELSON CHAMISA	Male
Harare	Kuwadzana	ZANU(PF)	DAVID MUTASA	Male
Harare	Mbare	MDC	GIFT CHIMANIKIRE	Male
Harare	Mbare	ZANU(PF)	TENDAI SAVANHU	Male
Harare	Mbare	Independent	DUNMORE MAKUVAZA	Male
Harare	Mufakose	MDC	PAULINE MPARIWA	Female
Harare	Mufakose	ZANU(PF)	SABINA THEMBANI	Female
Harare	Mufakose	ZANU(Ndonga)	GODFREY MAGAYA	Male
Harare	St Mary's	MDC	JOB SIKHALA	Male
Harare	St Mary's	Independent	TENDEKAI MSWATA	Male
Harare	St Mary's	ZANU(PF)	PATRICK NYARUWATA	Male
Harare	Tafara-	MDC	TIMOTHY MUBHAU	Male
Harare	Tafara-	ZANU(PF)	PAMELA TUNGAMIRAI	Female
Harare	Tafara-	Independent	FANUEL CHIREMBA	Male
Harare	Zengeza	MDC	GOODRICH CHIMBAIRA	Male
Harare	Zengeza	ZANU(PF)	CHRISTOPHER CHIGUMBA	Male
Harare	Zengeza	Independent	EMILDA MUCHAIRA	Female
Bulawayo	Bulawayo East	MDC	WELSHMAN NCUBE	Male
Bulawayo	Bulawayo East	ZANU(PF)	JOSHUA MALINGA	Male
Bulawayo	Bulawayo	MDC	DAVID COLTART	Male
Bulawayo	Bulawayo	ZANU(PF)	SITHEMBISO NYONI	Female
Bulawayo	Bulawayo	Independent	CHARLES MPOFU	Male
Bulawayo	Pelandava	MDC	MILTON GWETU	Male
Bulawayo	Pelandava	ZANU(PF)	SIKHANYISO NDLOVU	Male
Bulawayo	Pelandava	Independent	LEONARD NKALA	Male
Bulawayo	Nkulumane	MDC	GIBSON SIBANDA	Male

Bulawayo	Nkulumane	ZANU(PF)	ABSOLOM	Male
Bulawayo	Pumula-Luveve	MDC	ESAPH MDLONGWA	Male
Bulawayo	Pumula-Luveve	ZANU(PF)	MICHAEL B. MPOFU	Male
Bulawayo	Pumula-Luveve	Independent	STARS MATHE	Female
Bulawayo	Lobengula-	ZANU(PF)	MOLLY MPOFU	Female
Bulawayo	Lobengula-	MDC	FLETCHER DULINI NCUBE	Male
Bulawayo	Makokoba	ZANU(PF)	SIHLE THEBE	Female
Bulawayo	Makokoba	MDC	THOKOZANI KHUPHE	Female
Bulawayo	Makokoba	Independent	ARNOLD PAYNE	Male
Bulawayo	Makokoba	Independent_1	WILSON BANCINYANE-NDIWENI	Male
Matebeleland	Matobo	MDC	LOVEMORE MOYO	Male
Matebeleland	Matobo	ZANU(PF)	ANANIAS NYATHI	Male
Matebeleland	Gwanda	ZANU(PF)	ABEDNICO NCUBE	Male
Matebeleland	Gwanda	MDC	PAUL T. NYATHI	Male
Matebeleland	Beitbridge	ZANU(PF)	KEMBO MOHADI	Male
Matebeleland	Beitbridge	Independent	LLOYD SIYOKA	Male
Matebeleland	Beitbridge	MDC	MURUMWA SIPHUMA	Male
Matebeleland	Beitbridge	ZANU(Ndonga)	SIBONGILE SIBANDA	Female
Matebeleland	Insiza	ZANU(PF)	ANDREW LANGA	Male
Matebeleland	Insiza	MDC	SIYABONGA NCUBE	Male
Matebeleland	Bulilima	MDC	MOSES M. NDLOVU	Male
Matebeleland	Bulilima	ZANU(PF)	MAJOR L. NLEYA	Male
Matebeleland	Mangwe	ZANU(PF)	EUNICE N. MOYO	Female
Matebeleland	Mangwe	MDC	EDWARD T. M. MKHOSI	Male
Matebeleland	Umzingwane	MDC	NOMALANGA M. KHUMALO	Female
Matebeleland	Umzingwane	ZANU(PF)	ABIGAIL E.S. DAMASANE	Female
Matebeleland	Binga	ZANU(PF)	GEORGE NYATHI	Male
Matebeleland	Binga	MDC	GABUZA J. GABUZA	Male
Matebeleland	Bubi -Umquza	MDC	MABIKWA THABE	Male
Matebeleland	Bubi -Umquza	ZANU(PF)	ORBERT MPOFU	Male
Matebeleland	Tsholotsho	MDC	MTOLIKI SIBANDA	Male
Matebeleland	Tsholotsho	Independent	JONATHAN MOYO	Male
Matebeleland	Tsholotsho	ZANU(PF)	MUSA NCUBE	Male
Matebeleland	Nkayi	ZANU(PF)	THEMBANI O. MOYO	Male
Matebeleland	Nkayi	MDC	ABEDINICO BHEBHE	Male
Matebeleland	Hwange East	MDC	THEMBINKOSI SIBINDI	Male
Matebeleland	Hwange East	Independent	PETER NYONI	Male
Matebeleland	Hwange East	ZANU(PF)	THOKOZILE MATHUTHU	Female
Matebeleland	Hwange West	MDC	JEALOUS SANSOLE	Male
Matebeleland	Hwange West	ZANU(PF)	SIPHIWE MAPUWE	Female
Matebeleland	Lupane	ZANU(PF)	MARTIN KHUMALO	Male
Matebeleland	Lupane	MDC	NJABULISO MGUNI	Male
Manicaland	Buhera North	MDC	TICHAONA MUDZINGWA	Male
Manicaland	Buhera North	ZANU(PF)	WILLIAM MUTOMBA	Male
Manicaland	Buhera North	ZIYA	MOSES MUTYASIRA	Male
Manicaland	Buhera South	MDC	SOLOMON MADZORE	Male
Manicaland	Buhera South	ZANU(Ndonga)	SOLOMON MBAIMBAI	Male

Manicaland	Buhera South	ZANU(PF)	KUMBIRAI KANGAI	Male
Manicaland	Chimanimani	MDC	EILEEN BENNETT	Female
Manicaland	Chimanimani	ZANU(PF)	DR. SAMUEL UNDENGE	Male
Manicaland	Chipinge North	MDC	MATHEUS MATEU-MHLAMBO	Male
Manicaland	Chipinge North	ZANU(PF)	MORRIS SAKABUYA	Male
Manicaland	Chipinge North	ZANU(Ndonga)	DANIEL TUSO	Male
Manicaland	Chipinge South	MDC	ELIA MAKOTORE	Female
Manicaland	Chipinge South	ZANU(PF)	ENOCK PORISINGAZI	Male
Manicaland	Chipinge South	ZANU(Ndonga)	WILSON KUMBULA	Male
Manicaland	Makoni East	ZANU(PF)	SHADRECK CHIPANGA	Male
Manicaland	Makoni East	MDC	PISHAYI MUCHAURAYA	Male
Manicaland	Makoni North	MDC	ELTON MANGOMA	Male
Manicaland	Makoni North	ZANU(PF)	DDYMUS MUTASA	Male
Manicaland	Makoni West	MDC	REMUS MAKUVAZA	Male
Manicaland	Makoni West	ZANU(PF)	JOSEPH MADE	Male
Manicaland	Makoni West	ZANU(Ndonga)	TENDAI CHEKERA	Male
Manicaland	Mutare Central	ZANU(PF)	SHADRECK BETA	Male
Manicaland	Mutare Central	MDC	INNOCENT GONESE	Male
Manicaland	Mutare Central	ZANU(Ndonga)	SYLVIA TSATA	Female
Manicaland	Mutare North	MDC	GILES MUTSEKWA	Male
Manicaland	Mutare North	ZANU(PF)	ELLEN GWARADZIMBA	Female
Manicaland	Mutare South	MDC	SYDNEY MUKWECHENI	Male
Manicaland	Mutare South	ZANU(PF)	FREDDY KANZAMA	Male
Manicaland	Mutare West	ZANU(PF)	CHRISTOPHER MUSHOHWE	Male
Manicaland	Mutare West	MDC	GABRIEL CHIWARA	Male
Manicaland	Mutasa North	MDC	EVELYN MUSAITI	Female
Manicaland	Mutasa North	ZANU(PF)	GEN. M. NYAMBUYA	Male
Manicaland	Mutasa South	ZANU(PF)	OPPAH MUCHINGURI	Female
Manicaland	Mutasa South	MDC	EDWIN MAUPA	Male
Manicaland	Nyanqa	ZANU(PF)	PAUL KADZIMA	Male
Manicaland	Nyanqa	MDC	DOUGLAS MWONZORA	Male
Mashonaland	Bindura	ZANU(PF)	ELLIOT MANYIKA	Male
Mashonaland	Bindura	MDC	JOEL MUGARIRI	Male
Mashonaland	Guruve North	ZANU(PF)	DAVID BUNTU	Male
Mashonaland	Guruve North	MDC	ALLAN MARCOMIC	Male
Mashonaland	Guruve South	ZANU(PF)	EDWARD CHINDORI-CHININGA	Male
Mashonaland	Guruve South	MDC	BIGGIE CHIGONERO	Male
Mashonaland	Mazowe East	ZANU(PF)	CHEN CHIMUTENGWENDE	Male
Mashonaland	Mazowe East	MDC	SHEPHERD MUSHONGA	Male
Mashonaland	Mazowe East	ZANU(Ndonga)	GIDEON CHINOUREI	Male
Mashonaland	Mazoe West	ZANU(PF)	SABINA ZINYEMBA	Female
Mashonaland	Mazoe West	MDC	MICHAEL GONYE	Male
Mashonaland	Mt Darwin	ZANU(PF)	JOYCE MUJURU	Female
Mashonaland	Mt Darwin	MDC	CHINOTO MUKWEZVARAMBA	Male
Mashonaland	Mt Darwin	ZANU(PF)	SAVIOUR KASUKUWERE	Male
Mashonaland	Mt Darwin	MDC	HENRY CHIMBIRI	Male
Mashonaland	Muzarabani	ZANU(PF)	LUKE MUSHOWE	Male

Mashonaland	Muzarabani	MDC	EDWIN ZAMBARA	Male
Mashonaland	Rushinga	ZANU(PF)	SANDRA MACHIRO	Female
Mashonaland	Rushinga	MDC	BRAIN MUFUKU	Male
Mashonaland	Shamva	ZANU(PF)	NICHOLAS GOCHE	Male
Mashonaland	Shamva	MDC	GODFREY CHIMOMBE	Male

Annexure 2 Gender analysis per party



Gender analysis per party

The above graphical illustrations clearly shows how the representation of women in terms of candidature in the forthcoming election. As shown above, ZANU PF has the greatest number of women candidates and this might be attributed to the party's will to comply by the SADC Protocol on Gender Equality and representation in Parliament to which Zimbabwe is a signatory. The protocol states that by 2005 every SADC state should be having at least 30% women representation in power. In this instance ZANU PF is

fielding more candidates for the coming election as compared to the MDC. This is a very welcome position that has been taken but the main opposition party still needs to do more on meeting the gender representation requirements.

COMPARISON OF REGISTERD VOTERS IN YEAR 2000 & 2005

Annexure 3

PROVINCE	DESCRIPTION	2000	2005
BULAWAYO	Number of Registered Voters	357 281	339 990
	Percentage of total Number of Registered Voters	7%	6%
	Number of Constituencies	8	7
HARARE	Number of Registered Voters	799 452	832 571
	Percentage of total Number of Registered Voters	15.83%	14.71%
	Number of Constituencies	19	18
MANICALAND	Number of Registered Voters	576 404	686 767
	Percentage of total Number of Registered Voters	11.41%	12.13%
	Number of Constituencies	14	15
MASH CENTRAL	Number of Registered Voters	418 277	490 181
	Percentage of total Number of Registered Voters	8.28%	8.66%
	Number of Constituencies	10	10
MASH EAST	Number of Registered Voters	506 817	610 715
	Percentage of total Number of Registered Voters	10.03%	10.79%
	Number of Constituencies	12	13
MASH WEST	Number of Registered Voters	502 964	593 354
	Percentage of total Number of Registered Voters	9.96%	10.48%
	Number of Constituencies	12	13

MASVINGO	Number of Registered Voters	593 778	675 234
	Percentage of total Number of Registered Voters	11.76%	11.93%
	Number of Constituencies	14	14
MAT NORTH	Number of Registered Voters	317 405	342 745
	Percentage of total Number of Registered Voters	6.29%	6.06%
	Number of Constituencies	7	7
MAT SOUTH	Number of Registered Voters	319 015	341 258
	Percentage of total Number of Registered Voters	6.33%	6.03%
	Number of Constituencies	8	7
MIDLANDS	Number of Registered Voters	58 422	745 822
	Percentage of total Number of Registered Voters	13.52%	13.18%
	Number of Constituencies	16	16
TOTALS	Number of Registered Voters	5 049 815	5 658 637
	Percentage of total Number of Registered Voters	100.41%	99.97%
	Number of Constituencies	120	120