

Lessons Learnt from the Elections in Southern and Eastern Africa – Kenya, Zimbabwe, Swaziland, Mozambique and Madagascar

Workshop held at Burgers Park Hotel, Pretoria on
6th February 2014

Session One

Chair: Molly Dlamini, SALO

Obed Bapela, Deputy Minister in the Presidency and Head of ANC International Relations:



Deputy Minister Bapela introduced the dynamics behind the topic of elections, drawing from the lessons learnt from several Southern and Eastern African countries whilst also highlighting concerns for current situations in other countries around the world. Mr Bapela began by reiterating that the point of elections was to reaffirm the democratic process, peace and stability for development. He used South Africa's progress as an example of a successful democratic transition, saying that even in the 5th running of elections, there has been remarkable success in terms of the lack of incidents that often mark elections in other African countries.

'The people of South Africa maintained a strong civic engagement and have amassed their democratic right through going to the polls and standing for hours in long lines with discipline and calm decency, all for the purpose of expressing their voices, making choices and casting their secret ballot,

voting in record numbers.'

The deputy-minister however, referred to the worrying community protests and the scale of violence as interrupting the peaceful traditions. He agreed that the right to demonstrate must be protected but warned that it must not be abused, destroying with it progress made during the previous years. Another concern in South Africa has been the lack of interest by the youth to go to the polls. Particularly due to the fact that Africa is becoming a youthful continent, Africans cannot afford to have a lower percentage of people voting. A lower turnout directly affects the ability of achieving a democracy. Mr Bapela pointed out that the service delivery protests were not only about service delivery but about youth as well. The 'Arab Spring' (2010-2012) especially stands out as proof of the strength of the youth combined with the tool of social media. This shows that the youth on the African continent should not be ignored.

In terms of democratic institutions and improved electoral processes in African countries, many countries in Southern and Eastern Africa have made substantial progress in recent years in consolidating democratic practices. In support of their efforts, South Africa has actively pursued its international relations policy of creating peace and stability for a better Africa by assisting in peaceful negotiations for the formation of democratic governments and improving electoral processes. For the past decade, South Africa has been actively supporting elections all over Africa, both in countries in transition from an authoritarian rule and in growing democracies. It is thus, the growing list of such countries that is encouraging to the African National Congress (ANC). However, Mr Bapela argued that there is need for more countries to adopt instruments of the African Union (AU) whose laws and values will be domesticated and aided in fair and credible elections. The problem of an 'unfair' election, as communicated by the deputy-minister is that it affects the credibility of government, an issue that follows the elected leadership throughout the term in office. This affects not only the ability of the state to exercise power but also creates a shadow of doubt and disrupts positive relationships with the constituency. Without fair electoral instruments prescribed by the AU that administer elections, it discourages citizen participation which reflects poorly on the African democratic practice.

Referring to lessons learnt from the Kenyan upheaval in 2007 and contrasting it to the more recent elections in Kenya (2013), Mr Bapela was astounded by the progress made and the sense of stability and peace regained in the short space of time. The peace was as a result of the collaboration between the Kenyan Government, non-governmental organizations and members of civil society, working together to implement the early warning systems and ensure free-for-all elections by bringing in all stakeholders. The lesson is that civil society has a critical role to play and requires active involvement of members to identify weaknesses in the system and develop programs to help engage with authorities. Mr Bapela explained the relevance of the matter between the International Criminal Court (ICC) and Kenya and how it relates to the matter of elections. He argued that the Kenyans had called out to the international community for assistance because they had not had the institutional capacity to handle post-election violence at that time. This was due to the level of mistrust in domestic institutions at the time which placed the ICC as an ideal instrument that could handle the matter. Kenya willingly, had subjected itself to the ICC but had requested flexibility because of the domestic commitments of those high level leaders involved. Through this example, Mr Bapela sought to emphasize the need for domestic post-violence conflict resolution mechanisms and requested SALO to host another expert session to re-focus on this key area.

'Kenya did not at that time (post-violence conflict resolution mechanisms), and I think the lesson therefore is that it must be another area of focus, so that it is not just about preparing the nation, preparing the people, preparing the country for the elections, but also, if the violence breaks out, there are mechanisms in place that are able resolve the issues'.

Moving onto a similar situation of post-election distress, Marius Fransman's (Deputy-Minister of International Relations) visit to Madagascar for the presidential inauguration informed another lesson. It was during this trip that the post-election tension became evident to South Africa due to a bomb attack. The deputy-minister acknowledged that there had been dissatisfaction in the country but that violence was not a constructive option, rather discussion to improve the electoral administration is more appropriate to move forward peacefully. In order for Africa to learn from Madagascar, it was to understand the functionality of transitional mechanisms that allows a ruling party to be unseated. It is difficult for African leadership to relinquish power and more thought into this is necessary. The case of Côte d'Ivoire was used as an example.

'Sometimes elections bring solutions, but sometimes elections provoke a situation, and how one manages those issues where people do not want to give in, is obviously a lesson that we need to learn.'

South Africa fully subscribes to the SADC principles and guidelines governing democratic elections, in defining what the country terms as a 'successful free, fair, democratic and peaceful election'. According to the SADC principles, Madagascar was successful despite the many intransigent positions that existed at the time. The democracy however, needed maturing in order to contend with the results. Mr Bapela therefore picked up the term 'relatively free' and explains that there are new words accompanying the 'free, fair and democratic'. It is thus now necessary, for academics to distinguish exactly what a free and fair election is. He expressed criticism for the SADC instruments that observe

‘unfair’ elements, make recommendations accordingly and yet no consequences are seen to come through the process. It is the same issue he related to Zimbabwe and Swaziland. In Zimbabwe, Mr Bapela argued that the contradictions were worrying. In a significant move, President of Botswana Ian Kama broke ranks with SADC and the rest of Africa, in his refusal not to participate in SADC Observer Missions because he claimed that the reports of his observers were not taken fully into consideration despite evidence of irregularities. Mr Babela believed that such a strong statement should be considered seriously and requires action on part of other actors. South African actors can therefore; study, research and identify lessons from these countries but the problem is who will take these issues forward for future consideration.

Mr Bapela then advised the citizens of Swaziland, in light of the absolute monarchy and poor electoral record to unite and create a mobilizing platform such as the Freedom Charter that will unite the people and provide a constructive solution. The ANC in its resolutions has made it clear that the democratization of Swaziland is being supported, but the Swazi people must take the initiative. Commenting on Mozambique, the deputy minister encouraged RENAMO to opt for electoral processes and not violence in the upcoming Mozambican elections (2014).

Dr Siphamandla Zondi, Director of the Institute for Global Dialogue:

Dr Zondi’s speech focused on the lack of success in democracy. He began with by pointing out that despite the increased frequency in elections and the growth in numbers, democracy has not corresponded to an improvement in the lives of people. Elections seemed to raise the expectations of the citizens but when it did not deliver, tensions resulted. Moreover, Dr Zondi stated that electoral violence happened at any stage during the electoral process and therefore, holding specific reasons accountable was a narrow approach to the greater situation.



‘The truth is that the African state is built on the architecture of violence, deep-seated violence and deep-seated anger. Of course a Mugabe can manipulate it; of course somebody else can manipulate it, but the truth is that the state in Africa was created violently, maintained violently, and handed over without exorcising it of violence.’

Elections have led to a proliferation of political parties without opening up of the political space for alternative ideas. Dr Zondi, deduced from his logic that instead of providing freedom, democracy actually only gave citizens the opportunity to choose between one set of elites over another set of elites, which has caused disjuncture. He continued to explain how elections were part of a global industry, creating employment that did not allow for questions on the system. Due to the commercial nature of all spheres of life in the contemporary world, all political processes, NGO funding and the work of reputable institutions such as the United Nations (UN); had become commercial in turn, promoting a democracy without concrete reasoning.

Referring to the writings of Claude Ake, the late Nigerian political scientist, he expressed his disbelief for the system of democracy as a suitable answer to African problems. The African problem had been superficially defined as a lack of democracy and so the corresponding solution could only be that of democracy. Dr Zondi argued that the democratic rhetoric stems from a global system in which a few states have power who therefore, determine and define the problem and also provide the solutions for it, expecting all other states to follow. He highlighted visionary and value terms used to facilitate ‘modernisation’.

‘We call it ‘modern-ization’ , which means bringing my modern culture to you – oh, and don’t call it ‘my’ modern culture, call it ‘universal’ culture; call it ‘international’ , and call it ‘best practice’ , and call it ‘the way’ .

Dr Zondi argued that the power gained by Africans at the end of the colonial era was not power but the position of administrator and did not break the logic running the colonial state. He highlighted how the DRC provides an example of logic, in that the country is key to facilitating the movement of raw materials domestically to abroad. Furthermore, it would seem that DRC is there to maintain order over a dissatisfied people and so requires the monopoly on violence. Dr Zondi argued that such re-emphasises the fact that there are no post-colonial states in Africa, rather there are administered states which are control and influenced by Western countries. This is the reason why democratisation does not fundamentally address the challenges that Africans are faced with. Similarly, it is why there are cyclic patterns of violence. Dr Zondi argued that African leaders themselves have come to cherish that which they have inherited and as a result they support unviable states. He concluded his presentation by urging Africans to consider alternative structures and to contribute to the redefinition of the 'African problem'.

Session Two

Professor Kealeboga Maphunye, WHIPHOLD-Brigalia Bam Chair of Electoral Democracy in Africa at UNISA:



Prof Maphunye's considered common problems within the electoral processes of countries in the African continent and beyond. He stated that post-election conflict countries were a complicated. Focusing on election management approach, Prof Maphunye highlighted his belief that elections as part of the political process, are here to stay an.

Professor Maphunye pointing out that elections in Africa are more frequently competitive now as opposed to 20 years ago and this has created a pressured environment. The formalisation of impartial and independent electoral management bodies to smoothen the processes are therefore central to contributing to the professionalism of the election process. However, elections in Africa are

themselves provocative in the sense that they have time and can trigger violence. Prof Maphunye therefore urged African leaders to recognise the need to improve the processes.

He remarked that despite the systems in place being capable, the processes were marring the success. In particular, he highlighted the issue of elections-related planning as challenge. As examples he used timeframes, voter registration and voter education as problematic aspects. The understanding of the 'election year' was also unable to assist in smoothening the electoral process as the 'election year' for some countries only considered the year of elections and not the pre-election preparation or follow-up processes.

'Here I want to leave you with, the point that we cannot celebrate or applaud mediocrity. Where an election has not taken place in accordance with international and African standards, which I am going to refer to shortly, we have to come out and say so.'

Moving with his presentation, Prof Maphunye argued that civil society is crucial during the election times. He highlighted how civil society was pivotal in Zimbabwe in providing election observers. The role of civil society in terms of participation is critical and requires appropriate civil and democracy education. He argued that the African Union, Regional Economic Communities and governments have an important role to play in implementing the provisions of instruments guiding the electoral processes on the continent. However, Prof Maphunye maintained that despite signing treaties, African states still do not implement these electoral treaties domestically. He underlined how countries have ignore the African Charter constitution clause which proclaims that there shall not be any unconstitutional change of

government. In terms of finding a reason why civic participation was low in many African states, Prof Maphunye pointed out that the African Charter needs to be translated into all the languages of Africa and the fact that such efforts have not been made.

Prof Maphunye argued that there is an increasing priority on the continent, that is to address the matter of the role of 'winner takes all' and 'strong man politics'. He questioned whether the continent has a vibrant and free media. The existence of institutions that can promote democratic participation would aid in levelling the playing field. Professor Maphunye gave an example of South Africa and its Chapter 9 institutions. He argued however that, these institutions would only be effective if they are not staffed by political appointees, but by credible individuals who can guarantee justice and the rule of law prevails.

Looking at the work of Women Investment Portfolio Holdings, Prof Maphunye explained that the organisation has worked with other stakeholders to come up with a programme for capacitating election management bodies to address the gaps of professionalism previously mentioned. The programme tailor-made is called the MDEA which stands for the 'Management of Democratic Elections in Africa', he concluded.

Professor Esther Kebuka-Sebitosi:



Prof Kebuka-Sebitosi 's talked about the 'real meaning' of gender and how it affects elections, the participation of women in politics as well as the economy. She argued that this has got a significant impact on the situation of gender and social development in Africa. Prof Kebuka-Sebitosi began by pointing out the gender paradox pertaining elections in Africa. She argued that while women make the greater numbers for voter turnout, the people elected into positions are predominantly men. To explain this social phenomenon, gender must be understood as a socially-constructed role ascribed to both males and females. The gender paradigm can therefore be recognised as culture-specific with characteristics identified in the social behaviour respectively of men and woman.

In Africa, Prof Kebuka-Sebitosi argued that the gender roles are established at a very tender age and influences the true identity of an individual and their way of life. Just as class, race and ethnicity

are social processes requiring analysis, a tool in terms of gender is the gender-based analysis. Prof Kebuka-Sebitosi pointed out that such an analysis should accept that beyond the biological difference between males and females, gender is implicated in the relations between them and so the tool allows one to identify the status, roles and responsibilities. It is from this that men dominate women in decision making within the Africa continent.

Prof Kebuka-Sebitosi articulated that within the framework of gender-based analysis, African elections present an opportunity for an analysis of gender relations. The deduction has been that women are far more disadvantaged in politics than men and with regards to sexual division, certain roles are ascribed to men and certain professions correspond to female employment. Prof Kebuka-Sebitosi highlighted that in response, the UN first proposed programmes for 'gender development'. She pointed out that this model of gender development was not very successful, because it required that both men and women take decisions and share benefits equally, which is impossible as things stand. Hence there has been an acknowledgement that gender discrimination persists in a systematic way that treats individuals on the basis of their gender which denies them of their rights, opportunities and resources, Prof Kebuka-Sebitosi argued.

In reflection upon historical processes of disempowerment, Professor Kebuka-Sebitosi argued that these can be rectified with 'gender equity'. She pointed out that gender equity has significant implications for elections on the continent.

According to Prof Kebuka-Sebitosi, in Kenya, women do not have the status or the chance to go into elections on a fair, equal and level playing field. She argued that in Kenya, verbal intimidation is extensive as well as negative propaganda against women and many aggressive acts aimed at discouraging women from vying for electoral positions. In Kenya 50% of the population is female, yet this group is unable to contribute towards the development of Kenyan society fairly. Prof Kebuka-Sebitosi linked this to the sense of frustration and general violence marking every election. There are various international instruments available to Kenya to guide the society towards gender equity but in most situations they are not implemented. Prof Kebuka-Sebitosi remarked on the possible success of the introduction of proportional representation for Kenya.

‘So proportional representation is being discussed, but then there is the party system, and as you know the list is often secretive and you find that nobody can actually come out and be on the list and many of these women have not made it.’

Highlighting some possible intervention strategies, Professor Kebuka-Sebitosi argued that it is vital to train women candidates so as to ensure effective participation. A further step would be to equip the community with gender education, and thirdly the creation of a legal environment that is conducive to the participation of women, would also aid a programme for gender equity. In terms of creative social instruments to promote gender equality, an example can be drawn from Kenya that has established an SMS hotline for receiving information about gender violence within constituencies.

Advocate Sivu Maqungo, CEO LEAF Consultancy:

Advocate Maqungo reiterated that there were agreements and protocols available to African states that provide full information on how elections should take place. He argued that there is no deficiency in laws or regulations.



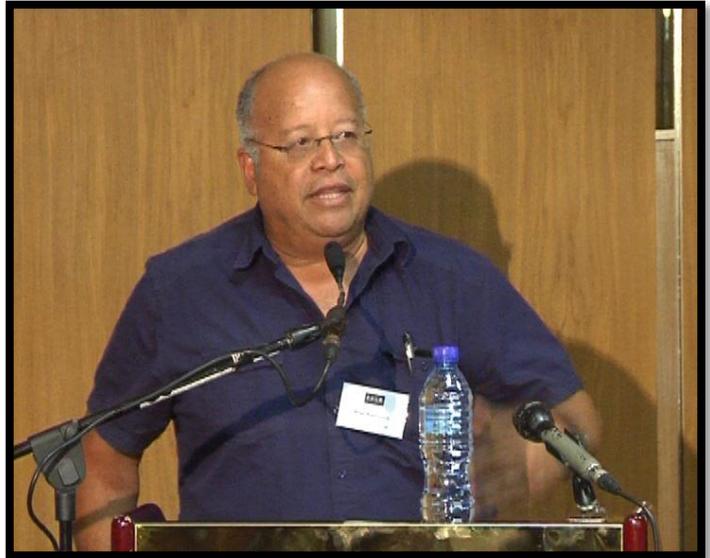
The institutions supporting the electoral process are elements of democracy and run continuously over time such as the Chapter 9 institutions in South Africa. Advocate Maqungo reiterated how these institutions support human rights principles which in turn ensure that critical electoral elements such as freedom of press are available, therefore creating a suitable environment. He argued that the independence of these institutions, as well as a professional police and army is vital during election times. Equally important is the presence of a Press Ombudsman to share the marketing resources available to political parties which prevent a single party from dominating the sphere. According to advocate Maqungo, the mandate of those institutions levelling the field should be effectively executed, allowing for democratic principles such as transparency and accountability to prevail. He

envisioned that the trust in the system would establish peaceful electoral process. Furthermore, having observers, trained in terms of the protocols and the charters also support a healthy environment for a credible and legitimate electoral process. He pointed out that political parties could contribute to legitimising the elections by accepting the electoral process and by trusting the results. Advocate Maqungo concluded by argued that all the solutions to the problems in the electoral process are available.

‘We must just follow the systems that have been put in place, and we must make sure that we do so with integrity.’

Professor Brian Raftopolous, Director of Research, Solidarity Peace Trust:

Prof Raftopolous used the example of Zimbabwe to illustrate the challenges of a regionally mediated election as well as the opportunities and the limits of what can be done through it. Judging from the activities following 2008 Zimbabwe elections when incumbent party lost power then. Prof Raftopolous argued that SADC was not able to implement reforms and the result was another election with minimal implementation of the Global Political Agreement [GPA]. Key issues which led to this election being accepted concerned first, the absence of violence and secondly, for SADC from the beginning the issue around Zimbabwe was not democratisation, but stabilisation. The aim therefore for SADC was a minimally credible election without violence.



Prof Raftopolous warned that attributing ZANU-PF's victory to the election process only is not enough. He argued that Zimbabwe's social topography has been completely transformed. It is a largely smallholder, agrarian society with an informalised economy after massive de-industrialisation processes. This has created new social bases and new forms of patronage in the economy for ZANU-PF and has also affected the outcome of the elections. According to Prof Raftopolous, for the MDC this has had significant impact. The central social force of the opposition was the labour movement, and labour movements thrive, historically, in conditions of industrialisation and constitutionalism. Once those two areas are undermined, labour movements lose their force. This has had a significant impact in the way the opposition was able to mobilise in Zimbabwe. Therefore, SADC was not able to fully carry out their mandate for a generally acceptable election, Prof Raftopolous argued. He highlighted that there is still contestation over the outcome of that election. What resulted was a *de facto* government in Zimbabwe and a seriously weakened opposition. The frustration within the opposition is apparent, he pointed out.

'One is the opposition politics which largely constructed itself through constitutionalism and human rights...But the other: we're also seeing the end of a certain kind of ZANU-PF language, the end of a certain kind of re-distributive messaging because what we are seeing now is the limits of victory.'

The 'limits of victory' is due to the deteriorating economy and the problematic promises of the indigenisation programme as well as a re-distributive program which shows few signs of growth. In reflection of the Zimbabwean situation, Prof Raftopolous felt that SADC did not intend to use extensive resources to attend to the situation due to South Africa's preoccupation with domestic issues and the global sanctions. He argued that Zimbabwean parties were against foreign intervention in all forms, thus reiterating the poor odds for SADC to fulfil its mandate.

Prof Raftopolous argued that electoral figures are no indication of the dynamics or problems in the system. He pointed out that elections in Africa requires a longer-term and broader understanding of the situation. He highlighted that the ruling parties in Africa themselves are not static nor homogenous. He referred to democracy as an effective solution to Africa's problems, should it be implemented effectively.

'I think that the struggle for democratisation is very important. I think it is important because it is not a Western intervention, it is not a Western construction for us, it's a central part of what the struggles in this region, on this continent, have been about for a very long time.'

Wandile Dlodlu, Swaziland Democratic Front:



Mr Dlodlu introduced the situation in Swaziland by first speaking on the struggle lifestyle that defines life in Africa in many ways. He pointed out the key basis for continuing to struggle as concerning the desire for democracy, economic emancipation and social justice. It is important to note how these struggles are interrelated to a number of outside forces, Mr Dlodlu in particular highlighted the context of global forces and argued that no struggle could be isolated in the world. The possibilities for success are tied to the successes of other progressive forces elsewhere.

The key feature of the dominant global system today is its imperialist nature and how it draws all the countries of the world into a global economic system under terms and conditions that favour some countries and

marginalise the poor in the developing world. Mr Dlodlu maintained that in this global context there are opportunities that can be actively exploited and utilised for the benefit of struggling people. Keeping this in mind he said that, despite the glaring inequalities globally, there was an apparent struggle for the democratisation of global affairs, including the transformation of the international multilateral institutions to be inclusive in their operations of governance. According to Mr Dlodlu, these trends reflect a yearning for a new world order in which the voices of the poor, particularly in the developing world, should find profound expression and fair recognition.

Moving onto another global trend affecting the struggle for democratisation, Mr Dlodlu highlighted capitalism as the one that dominates today's economic system and influences the logic of private ownership and accumulation for profit.

'This system is the one around which the whole world is organised, including social values, structures, ideas, patterns of wealth creation and governance. Struggles we identify are contesting that logic and system, challenging the glaring inequalities of poverty and the unemployment crisis resulting from the uneven distribution of resources and wealth.'

In light of capitalism, Mr Dlodlu stated that the concentration of power, resources, and decision-making in the hands of a few is the biggest threat to democracy, elections and peace of the world. Power in the world is still largely in the hands of the most developed countries of the West; however, Mr Dlodlu indicated that there are shifts and indications of emerging powers from the historic global south, particularly from China, India and Brazil, together with other countries, including South Africa. The Swaziland Democratic Front therefore, is one of the struggle movements considering its relation to the global trends. Mr Dlodlu then mentioned several issues Africa is still facing as a consequence including the neo-colonial legacy, conflict and rampant human rights abuses from undemocratic regimes. It is within these international and domestic conditions that elections must be recognised as a pivotal for democratic practise. The negative trends allow for governments such as that of Swaziland to hide from democratic accountability.

'The picture I have presented lays the basis of the environment in which general elections in my country, and many more African countries, take place. What all of us here must construe quite correctly is the fact that elections don't take place in a vacuum but that they are a product of a particular political system, influenced and affected directly for the good or the bad of society.'

Mr Dlodlu proceeds in his speech to illustrate how the King and Chiefs in Swaziland openly influence the voting process by speaking in public about the candidates. He also pointed out the six new laws that were passed on the eve of the elections. The laws fundamentally changed the environment by disallowing candidates to represent a collective and forcing candidates to openly show their finances etc., in turn discouraging candidates from stepping forward.

In his conclusion, Mr Dlodlu explained that due to elections in Swaziland not reflecting democratic principles, it would be up to civil society to push for the reconstruction of politics in the country. He reiterated the need for international support in this regard, but asked that international involvement not divide the tight nucleus that the democratic force is in Swaziland. He called for support in terms of pressure and resources towards the creation of a national dialogue. The dialogue he envisioned, required political parties, civil society players, strategic sectors of the Swazi people in order to find a lasting solution to the forty-year-old political impasse, which he said was the product of the ‘Malan, Verwoerd and Botha apartheid system’.

‘The ANC-led government has a duty, comrades, a moral and a political one, to help us wash out that mess that was left by Malan, Botha and the rest.’

Mr Dlodlu expressed his appreciation to SALO for creating a space to explore options for Swaziland and called for further sessions.

Advocate Siphon Mantula:

Advocate Mantula discussed lessons learnt from the elections in Madagascar and Zimbabwe. Beginning with Madagascar and positive observations of the post-election period, he said that with sanctions on the verge of being lifted the ordinary people could stand to economic gains. He also pointed out that an elected government had taken over and so Madagascar would return to SADC and the AU.

In Madagascar, the first issue is that voting is done publically in the form of open counting and not privately. Secondly, there was sporadic spates of violence due to the political and economic situation of the people and there also was a limited role of women in the electoral processes. There was also a lack of multi-party democracy and so elections ran on populism. In all, these issues prevented a smooth electoral process.

In terms of the lessons learnt from Zimbabwe, constitutions cannot be seen as a primary solution to electoral issues. In elections, the advocate said that the voters roll is the key document and without it, elections are minimal. The Truth and Reconciliation model to be implemented in Zimbabwe also is problematic and Botswana’s recent stand was also challenging for the state as a neighbour. In addition, Advocate Mantula noted that South African media was not objective and raised alarm by spreading news on violence that was not the case.

Overall the SADC Organ on Politics and Defence is a critical organ that can significantly contribute to the electoral processes of Southern African states. It should view elections as an opportunity for representation and conflict management. Also, scholars should be part of observer missions.

Godfrey Magwenzi, Zimbabwe Consulate:

Mr Magwenzi spoke on behalf of the Zimbabwean Consulate on the situation of Zimbabwe. He argued that Prof Raftopolous assessment of Zimbabwe was inaccurate, stating that Zimbabweans main concerns were the economic challenges and encouraging ZANU-PF to honour their election promises.

Mr Magwenzi reiterated that Zanu-PF had won the elections fairly and outlined the awarded seats to the different political parties. He maintained that in terms of implementation of the GPA, the question was responsibility lay in the three parties that agreed upon the GPA and not upon ZANU-PF alone. He explained that the voters’ roll was a continuous process in the country, ingrained in the social system. Furthermore, the MDC had distributed copies of the voters’ roll before the elections that were records of Zimbabwean Electoral Commission’s voter registration. However, the MDC did not have an updated record. With the postponement of the elections, all parties therefore received the voters’ roll at the same time. Mr Magwenzi said that the electoral process was acceptable and explained that Mr Morgan Tsvangirai began to complain once the results were released.

‘Now, I don’t know whether he (Morgan Tsvangirai) was to accept it only if he had won. That is the problem that we have had in Zimbabwe: the opposition cannot accept the results of the elections unless they win those elections.’

In his concluding statements, Mr Magwenzi explained how ZANU-PF did not influence the media in the country and reaffirmed the need to accept the electoral figures as truth of the situation.

The analysis and recommendations included in this Policy Dialogue Report do not necessarily reflect the view of SALO or any of the donors or conference participants, but rather draw upon the major strands of discussion put forward at the event. Participants neither reviewed nor approved this document. The contents of the report are the sole responsibility of SALO, and can under no circumstances be regarded as reflecting the position of the donors who provided financial assistance for this policy dialogue session.

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