

ASG Record of Meeting October 16, 2013 / Compte-rendu de la réunion du 16 octobre 2013 du GRA

1. Introduction of new participants

- **Brian Carrière:** Currently Research Assistant for the Centre on Governance at the University of Ottawa and a M.A. and Ph.D. Candidate. His research interests involve governance issues on the African continent focusing on the extractive industries, social innovation and ethical finance. At UOttawa he was creator and coordinator of the Telfer Capital Markets Mentorship Program (CMMP). He has also worked at the North-South Institute as Strategic Advisor in the Governance of Natural Resources program addressing existing gaps in the policy framework and institutional setting of natural resources governance in Africa.

- **Taku Ngwenya:** Originally from Zimbabwe, Taku is currently working as an Internal Auditor for the Department of National Defence. She has also lived in Côte d'Ivoire and Tunisia. Her interests include contributing to Africa's development and she looks forward to knowledge-sharing and networking in the Africa Study Group.

- **Teddy Y. Samy:** Dr. Samy (Ph.D in Economics at U Ottawa) teaches courses in economic development, international assistance and quantitative methods at NPSIA. His broad research interests are in the areas of international trade and development economics. Much of his research in the last decade has focused on fragile states, debt relief for the HIPC countries, the Millennium Development Goals, aid effectiveness, aid and taxation, the role of emerging donors in Africa and domestic resource mobilization. He co-edited the 2013 edition of Canada Among Nations, which was on Canada-Africa relations.

2. Presentation and discussion, “The 2013 Zimbabwe Election and Prospects for the Next”/ L'élection de 2013 au Zimbabwe et les perspectives pour l'élection suivante” -- Dr. David Moore

Former ASG Chair Tony Halliday, who introduced Dr. Moore, recalled his previous visit to Ottawa in 2010 when the Zim economy was in freefall, yet the mood in the country was still somewhat buoyant and resilient. In the wake of the July 31, 2013 election, which returned Mugabe to power after 33 years in office for the seventh straight time ‘by hook or by crook’, there was only despondency.

Dr. Moore attributed Mugabe’s win with 62 per cent of the vote and 77 per cent of the seats in Parliament to a combination of factors. The opposition Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) under the weak and widely discredited leadership of Morgan Tsvangirai was lulled into somnolence and self-deception by its nominal power-sharing role in the 2009-13 ‘Government of National Unity’ (GNU) following the March and June 2008 elections. The first of these gave the MDC a 47-43 winning margin, forcing a second presidential ‘run-off’ which provoked so much ZANU-PF violence that Tsvangirai withdrew. Even the Southern African Development Community -- SADC -- could not stomach the outcome and thus facilitated the GNU.

Given the record of violence and skulduggery practiced by Mugabe’s ruling ZANU-PF party, there was never any realistic prospect that he would cede power. Yet especially after a massive MDC rally in Harare on the eve of the election, the opposition was living in a state of euphoria and ‘didn’t see it coming’.

Other factors cited by Dr. Moore were the massive deployment of organs of state power and pressure by traditional authorities in support of ZANU-PF, media manipulation, pre-vote rigging, laggardly registration, missing electronic voters' rolls, and last minute bribery of the electorate through a populist offer forgiving the payment of arrears on municipal rates. Also weighing heavily on the electorate was the ever-present fear of horrific violence as meted out on opposition supporters in 2008 by ZANU-PF party goons and more recently by the Chipangano youth gangs. Moore did, however, acknowledge that the electoral trickery deployed this time by an outsourced Israeli public relations firm, Nikuv, in support of ZANU-PF was nevertheless preferable to the brutality that had been exacted in previous elections and mercenary actions in Zimbabwe and elsewhere (e.g., Lumumba in decades past).

Dr. Moore also faulted the international community for incoherence and lack of vigilance. The EU decided not to send observers and appears ready to lift sanctions against Zimbabwe in the new year even if the Mugabe regime continues to trample on human rights. The US kept a low profile and (as a participant observed) has a 50 year record of backing the wrong person. The AU election observer delegation headed by Obasanjo appeared to hold the Zimbabwean Electoral Commission (ZEC) to a lower standard than normally applies. Indeed, Dr. Moore observed, it may be that the international community is inclined to view Africa as a region where 'rigid' election standards cannot be applied. Moreover, South Africa had lost its moral authority in the Marikana massacre on August 16 – at least in the eyes of ZANU-PF's information guru Jonathan Moyo - and SADC never came through with its financial support for the election. SADC followed by the African Union termed the election 'free peaceful and generally credible', shying away from calling it fair.

In Dr. Moore's view, however, all was not lost. As the 93 year old Mugabe inches toward his centenary, splits are opening ever wider between his presumptive successors -- e.g., Emmerson Mnangagwa and Joice Mujuru -- which may create space for a new generation of politicians to come to the fore. In the opposition ranks, it remains to be seen whether the MDC with or without Morgan Tsvangirai at its head can be reinvigorated.

Moreover, out of the chaos into which de-industrialization and hyperinflation and confiscation of property under Mugabe plunged Zimbabwe, a new economy, with a new middle class and peasantry may be gradually emerging, which could produce some quite different approaches to old problems. Nevertheless, the jury is still out on whether the emerging middle class can escape from cronyism and become productive, and whether the peasantry can escape from subsistence and add value up and down the production chain. Capitalism, Moore observed, is inherently an uneven and messy process of development, and there is no reason to believe that it will be different in Africa from what it has been elsewhere.

3. Recent African Developments --

Louise Ouimet took note that the annual Mo Ibrahim prize for an African leader who voluntarily retires and leaves his country in a better state than when he took office -- has once again in 2013 not been awarded -- for lack of suitable candidates.

Aubrey Morantz drew attention to the prospect that the UN Security Council would likely bend

to the wishes of a just concluded special summit of the African Union, and would defer prosecution by the International Criminal Court under article 16 of the Rome Treaty of Kenyan president Uhuru Kenyatta and Sudanese president Omar al-Bashir, both of whom have been indicted for crimes against humanity.

4. Next ASG Meetings/ Les prochaines réunions du GRA

October 23 -- Meeting of the Middle East Study Group to which ASG members have been invited, to hear the Egyptian Ambassador speak about recent events in Egypt. 7:30 p.m., Ottawa City Hall.

November 25 -- Next meeting of the Africa Study Group at Saint Paul University. Subject: The innovative Community Empowerment Program of the Canadian NGO Tostan in 8 African countries -- Djibouti, Gambia, Guinea, Guiné-Bissau, Mali, Mauritania, Senegal, Somalia.