



New
Patriotic
Front

*Isi Neni Tinebana
Mqhulu kaMabenzi*



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CONSULTATION POINTS DOCUMENT

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This document is based on consultations for the establishment of the NEW PATRIOTIC FRONT as a political party. The name, NEW PATRIOTIC FRONT, reflects the ideological values and ethos of the Party which offers a new trajectory and innovative approach, focussing on the restoration, maintenance and preservation of the legacy of independence, empowerment and constitutionalism, and the protection of civil and political liberties as espoused by the founding father of Zimbabwe, Comrade Robert Gabriel Mugabe, and other inspirational leaders and heroes who include the late Comrade Joshua Mqabuko Nyongolo Nkomo, Comrade Simon Vengai Muzenda, and Comrade Herbert Wiltshire Pfumaindini Chitepo amongst others.

1. KEY BACKGROUND ISSUES ABOUT THE COUP

For Zimbabwe's sake, it is a patriotic duty and generational responsibility to lawfully and democratically reverse the bloody military coup of 15 November 2017, as soon as possible and in the context of the elections that are constitutionally due between July and August this year. The reasons for this are set out below:

The coup was illegal and unconstitutional, specifically because it **violated sections 2, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213 and 214 of the Constitution** of Zimbabwe.

The coup was also bloody; with as yet unreported and undocumented cases of killings, widespread torture, illegal arrests and detentions, looting, destruction of homes and other property along with the displacement of people into internal and external refugees.

While the extent of the support for the coup within the Zimbabwe Defence Forces remains unclear, (**with indications that such support may in fact be much less than initially thought**), significant information is emerging that **Emmerson Mnangagwa and ZDF commanders behind the coup justified the coup on the deceit and disinformation that massive foreign funding, ostensibly from the US, was used to bankroll the Million Man March and the Presidential Youth Interface Rallies** in order to side-line war veterans in ZANU PF and the government and to have them replaced by so-called criminals and counter-revolutionaries led by the First Lady, Dr Grace Mugabe, who had falsely been alleged as having been earmarked to succeed President Mugabe. This is the false line that was used to justify the coup, not only within the ZDF but also within SADC, the AU, China and Britain. What is shocking is

that it's a blatant falsehood that the funding of Million Man March and the Presidential Youth Interface Rallies came from any foreign country, let alone the US.

Following the military coup, there has been brazen militarization, capture and corruption of ZANU PF, State institutions and agencies of government. This has particularly affected police, prosecution and judiciary institutions which have now become weapons against opponents of the coup government. An example of the capture and corruption of the judiciary is a reprehensible 24 November 2017 order that astonishingly declared the military coup to be "lawful". The order was fast tracked and granted by Justice George Chiweshe, the Judge President of the High Court of Zimbabwe and a Retired Brigadier General who was Judge Advocate in the Zimbabwe National Army and who takes direct orders from General Chiwenga.

The Cabinet has become a dysfunctional and sycophantic organ with all but five of its members unable to freely participate and contribute to deliberations following the appointment of two key coup commanders to key ministerial posts and the elevation of General Chiwenga, who spearheaded the coup as Commander of the Zimbabwe Defence Forces, to the post of Vice President and Minister of Defence and War Veteran Affairs.

The traditional support base of ZANU PF across the country, largely made up of peasants and traditional leaders, indigenous business persons, farmers and miners at all levels, workers, vendors, youth and women has been alienated from what is left of ZANU PF and have been left

without a political home. This support base feels that the Party is no longer the same in light of the way President Mugabe was removed in a humiliating manner through the indignity of a military coup and Mnangagwa's lies.

The Youth who constitute the demographic majority and among whom many are increasingly and openly styling themselves as Generation 40 or G40 across the country and across the political divide are agitated and also unhappy over the humiliating removal of President Mugabe in a military coup led by an old guard that believes in entitlement and styles itself as Zimbabwe's "stockholders" based on the military role of its ranks during the 1970s liberation struggle. The Youth had connected with President Mugabe; first through the Million Man March, second through the Presidential Youth Interface Rallies and more importantly because of his commitment to generational renewal in politics, government and society through progressive Youth Empowerment and Indigenisation policies. Like the traditional base of ZANU PF supporters, the Youth feel targeted and alienated by the military and without a political home.

The knee-jerk and opportunistic announcement by Patrick Chinamasa, in the 2018 Budget Statement, of the wholesale reversal of signature ZANU PF empowerment policies which were spearheaded by President Mugabe has shocked key beneficiary-constituencies in and outside ZANU PF. This is particularly true of policy reversals affecting the Youth, Beneficiaries **of Land Reform** and **Indigenisation**. The policies that have benefited these constituencies are the bedrock of Zimbabwe's gains of Independence. Their

reversal after the military coup is dangerous and exposes the real and treacherous purpose of the coup.

With a few months left before the next general election is constitutionally due, there have been wholesale and illegal root and branch changes of personnel in and reversal of appointments to State and government institutions and agencies with the coup government proclaiming “a new dispensation” as if it is a constitutional product of a revolution, an uprising or an election. These radical and illegal changes of personnel, many of them done on tribal lines, have caused general anxiety and instability in the public sphere.

By their own admission coup commanders have deployed over 2,000 senior military officers and embedded them in communities across the country’s villages and streets, where they are taking advantage of the military coup, to do illegal political work for the coup government as “army commissars” ahead of the 2018 general election.

The public space in Zimbabwe is now gripped by palpable fear. While there was some euphoria, especially from traditional opposition ranks that have over the years rallied around their “Mugabe must go” mantra, that euphoria has now disappeared and has been replaced with real fear of the military, as more and more evidence that the Army has taken over becomes increasingly real. This fear has become national, across the political divide. Everybody is now afraid of the military and Mnangagwa and Chiwenga are taking advantage of that fear.

2. KEY QUESTIONS ABOUT THE COUP

In terms of Section 213 of the Constitution of Zimbabwe, **ONLY** the President can deploy the Zimbabwe Defence Forces whether in or outside Zimbabwe. With this constitutional background, there are two key questions that expose claims, including some coming from SADC and the AU, that there was no coup in Zimbabwe on 15 November 2017:

- **Did President Mugabe deploy the Zimbabwe Defence Forces to undertake any operation, notably the so-called Operation Restore Legacy, on 13 November 2017?**
- **In light of the deployment of the Zimbabwe Defence Forces on 13 November 2017 to undertake the so-called Operation Restore Legacy, which was a military coup, did President Mugabe freely and voluntarily resign on 21 November 2017? Was President Mugabe's resignation legal and constitutional?**

As a matter of fact, President Mugabe did not deploy the Zimbabwe Defence Forces on 13 November 2017 to stage a coup on 15 November 2017. General Chiwenga deployed the Zimbabwe Defence Forces and he did so treasonously, without the legal power or constitutional authority. It follows from this that the forced resignation of President Mugabe on 21 November 2017 was illegal and unconstitutional as a direct consequence of the military coup. To put it bluntly, President Mugabe did not freely and voluntarily resign on 21 November 2017. It is for this reason that the coup government of Mnangagwa and Chiwenga is unconstitutional and illegitimate. It has no legal or moral authority, or interest, to organise free, fair and credible elections that are constitutionally due by 23 August 2018.

3. KEY ACTIONS THAT ARE URGENTLY NEEDED

In light of the foregoing, it is important to consider actions that should be taken to **reverse the coup, remove the fear gripping the nation, and restore constitutionalism & legitimacy.**

I. URGENT NEED FOR A NEW NARRATIVE AGAINST THE COUP

This is necessary to do as a matter of top priority to provide a visible, counter narrative to the coup; and proffer a positive agenda setting for a new nationalism for a truly new Zimbabwe.

II. NEED TO FOCUS ATTENTION ON IMPLICATIONS OF MILITARY RULE ON THE HOLDING OF FREE, FAIR & CREDIBLE ELECTIONS.

There's a need for a SADC or AU military presence to guarantee free political participation in the run up to the elections and to ensure that the commanders who staged the military coup do not use the same means to subvert or overturn a free, fair and credible outcome of the 2018 election. Those who staged the coup cannot be the ones who cure it.

III. NEED FOR POST-COUP CIVILIAN TRANSITIONAL AUTHORITY

There's a need for a civilian transitional authority to prepare for free, fair and credible elections.

IV. A NEW PATRIOTIC MOVEMENT

The political ground is ripe for the urgent formation of a new nationalist, patriotic, democratic, inclusive and progressive movement for:

- Victims of human rights violations and selective application of the law by the coup and illegitimate government, especially but not only in cases of alleged corruption.
- The alienated traditional base of peasants and traditional leaders, indigenous business persons, farmers and miners at all levels, workers, vendors, youth and women in ZANU PF that has been offended by the ill-treatment and humiliation of President Mugabe and is unable to remain under ZANU PF;
- The Youth who are the demographic majority and many who style themselves as Generation 40 or G40 and who have been targeted for persecution and marginalisation by the coup government;
- The key stakeholders across the economy and across the political divide who are the immediate victims of the reversal of signature empowerment policies and programmes which include **land reform, indigenisation and youth empowerment** policies; and
- Political neutrals who are dissatisfied with the failure by existing political parties, especially in opposition ranks, to provide leadership to **reverse the coup** by dealing with the extraordinary situation in the country in order to provide an ideological and policy vision that resonates with the majority of Zimbabweans beyond the ZANU PF of Mnangagwa and Chiwenga and beyond their tribalised coup government.

V. NEW PATRIOTIC FRONT

There's a need for a fresh movement that resonates and is in sync not only with the aspirations of the constituencies outlined above but also

with the ethos and values of a truly New Zimbabwe. In our considered view, based on broad based consultations, that fresh movement is embodied in the **NEW PATRIOTIC FRONT** based on and driven by a new nationalism, a new patriotism and a new policy program that honours and respects the founders, values and gains of Zimbabwe's liberation struggle while also embracing generational renewal against the backdrop of changed and changing national, regional, continental and global imperatives, especially on the economic, science and technology fronts.

VI. IDEOLOGICAL FOUNDATION OF THE NEW PATRIOTIC FRONT

The ideological foundation of the **NEW PATRIOTIC FRONT** rests on three pillars, which are:

Zimbabwe's Nine Constitutional Founding Values & Principles as enshrined in section 3(1) of the Constitution of Zimbabwe; namely:

- (a) **Supremacy of the Constitution;**
- (b) **The Rule of Law;**
- (c) **Fundamental human rights and freedoms;**
- (d) **Zimbabwe's diverse cultural, religious and traditional values;**
- (e) **Recognition of the inherent dignity and worth of each human being;**
- (f) **Recognition of the equality of all human beings;**
- (g) **Gender equality;**
- (h) **Good governance which includes respect for hard work and merit against the scourge of entitlement; and**
- (i) **Recognition of and respect for the ideals and values of Zimbabwe's liberation struggle.**

Zimbabwe's enduring gains of Independence as a legacy of the country's liberation struggle; namely:

- (a) The historic and irreversible land reform program as enshrined in sections 288— 297 of the Constitution of Zimbabwe;
- (b) The Indigenisation policy to enable communities, the Youth and employees to benefit from the exploitation of the country's natural and economic resources;
- (c) Provision of affordable and accessible healthcare with requisite state of the art and well-staffed facilities across all communities; and
- (d) Provision of compulsory topnotch basic education and development of internationally competitive high-end science and technology based skills in tertiary and higher education to generate engineering solutions to societal problems and incubate industries.

The inter-generational and transformational aspirations of the people of Zimbabwe in their quest for development, peace, prosperity and happiness, namely:

- (a) **Preservation of national unity;**
- (b) **Creation of national wealth through economic growth, industrialization and modernisation;**
- (c) **Ensuring fairness and equity in allocation of national resources;**
- (d) **Development and defence of democracy to ensure individual and community participation in the election of public officials and the making of public decisions;**
- (e) **Maintenance of peace and order;**
- (f) **Sovereignty of the people of Zimbabwe through their State, in the making of national and foreign policies; and**
- (g) **Generational renewal in the leadership of political, business, State and government institutions to ensure a progressive balance between continuity and change.**



VII. INSPIRATIONAL HEROES OF THE NEW PATRIOTIC FRONT

The **NEW PATRIOTIC FRONT** is inspired by all the heroes and leaders of Zimbabwe's struggle for independence, self-determination and empowerment for their indelible contributions in the making of a free and independent Republic of Zimbabwe as founders of the nation. Foremost among these is the founding father of Zimbabwe, Comrade Robert Gabriel Mugabe, and other inspirational leaders and heroes who include the late Comrade Joshua Mqabuko Nyongolo Nkomo, Comrade Simon Vengai Muzenda, and Comrade Herbert Wiltshire Pfumaindini Chitepo amongst others.

VIII. INTERIM LEADERSHIP OF NEW PATRIOTIC FRONT

It is important that an Interim National Steering Committee of eleven members be set up with immediate effect to do the all the preparatory and ground work for the formal launch of the **NEW PATRIOTIC FRONT**. The specific terms of reference for the Steering Committee, both as a whole and the individual responsibilities of its members, shall be worked out and agreed prior to the formal start of the work of the Committee.

Thank you.





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