

## **Agreement between the Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) and the two Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) formations, on resolving the challenges facing Zimbabwe**

### **Preamble**

We, the Parties to this Agreement;

CONCERNED about the recent challenges that we have faced as a country and the multiple threats to the well-being of our people and, therefore, determined to resolve these permanently.

CONSIDERING our shared determination to uphold, defend and sustain Zimbabwe's sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and national unity, as a respected member of the international community, a nation where all citizens respect and, therefore, enjoy equal protection of the law and have equal opportunity to compete and prosper in all spheres of life.

ACKNOWLEDGING the sacrifices made by thousands of Zimbabwe's gallant sons and daughters in the fight against colonialism and racial discrimination and determined to accept, cherish and recognise the significance of the Liberation Struggle as the foundation of our sovereign independence, freedoms and human rights.

DEDICATING ourselves to putting an end to the polarisation, divisions, conflict and intolerance that has characterised Zimbabwean politics and society in recent times.

COMMITTING ourselves to putting our people and our country first by arresting the fall in living standards and reversing the decline of our economy.

EMPHASISING our shared commitment to re-orient our attitudes towards respect for the Constitution and all national laws, the rule of law, observance of Zimbabwe's national institutions, symbols and national events.

RESPECTING the rights of all Zimbabweans regardless of political affiliation to benefit from and participate in all national programmes and events freely without let or hindrance.

RECOGNISING, accepting and acknowledging that the values of justice, fairness, openness, tolerance, equality, non-discrimination and respect of all persons without regard to race, class, gender, ethnicity, language, religion, political opinion, place of origin or birth are the bedrock of our democracy and good governance.

DETERMINED to build a society free of violence, fear, intimidation, hatred, patronage, corruption and founded on justice, fairness, openness, transparency, dignity and equality.

RECOGNISING and accepting that the Land Question has been at the core of the contestation in Zimbabwe and acknowledging the centrality of issues relating to the rule of law, respect for human rights, democracy and governance.

COMMITTED to act in a manner that demonstrates loyalty to Zimbabwe, patriotism and commitment to Zimbabwe's national purpose, core values, interests and aspirations.

DETERMINED to act in a manner that demonstrates respect for the democratic values of justice, fairness, openness, tolerance, equality, respect of all persons and human rights.

SUBMITTING ourselves to the mandate of the Extraordinary Summit of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) held in Dar-es-Salaam, United Republic of Tanzania, on 29th March 2007 and endorsed in Lusaka on 12th April 2008 and in the AU Summit held in Sharm El-Sheikh, Egypt from 30th June to 1 July 2008.

RECOGNISING the centrality and importance of African institutions in dealing with African problems, we agreed to seek solutions to our differences, challenges and problems through dialogue.

ACKNOWLEDGING that pursuant to the Dar-es-Salaam SADC resolution, the Parties negotiated and agreed on a draft Constitution, initiated by the Parties on 30 September 2007, and further agreed and co-sponsored the enactment of the Constitution of Zimbabwe Amendment Number 18 Act, amendments to the Electoral Act, the

Zimbabwe Electoral Commission Act, Public Order and Security Act, Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act and Broadcasting Services Act.

APPRECIATING the historical obligation and need to reach a solution that will allow us to put Zimbabwe first and give the people a genuine chance of rebuilding and reconstructing their livelihoods.

PURSUANT to the common desire of working together, the Parties agreed to and executed a Memorandum of Understanding on 21 July 2008, attached hereto as Annexure "A".

Now therefore agree as follows:

#### **ARTICLE I - DEFINITIONS**

1. Definitions The "Agreement" shall mean this written Agreement signed by the representatives of ZANU-PF and the MDC, in its two formations ("the Parties") in fulfillment of the material mandate handed down by the SADC Extraordinary Summit on 29th March 2007 and endorsed by SADC in Lusaka, Zambia and adopted by the African Union Summit in Sharm El- Sheikh, Egypt. The "Parties" shall mean ZANU-PF, the two MDC formations led by Morgan Tsvangirai and Arthur Mutambara respectively. The "Government" or "New Government" means the new Government to be set up in terms of this Agreement.

#### **ARTICLE II DECLARATION OF COMMITMENT**

2. Declaration of Commitment The Parties hereby declare and agree to work together to create a genuine, viable, permanent, sustainable and nationally acceptable solution to the Zimbabwe situation and in particular to implement the following agreement with the aims of resolving once and for all the current political and economic situations and charting a new political direction for the country.

#### **ARTICLE III RESTORATION OF ECONOMIC STABILITY AND GROWTH**

3. Economic recovery

3.1 The Parties agree:

- (a) to give priority to the restoration of economic stability and growth in Zimbabwe. The Government will lead the process of developing and implementing an economic recovery strategy and plan. To that end, the parties are committed to working together on a full and comprehensive economic programme to resuscitate Zimbabwe's economy, which will urgently address the issues of production, food security, poverty and unemployment and the challenges of high inflation, interest rates and the exchange rate.
- (b) to create conditions that would ensure that the 2008/2009 agricultural season is productive.
- (c) to establish a National Economic Council, composed of representatives of the Parties and of the following sectors:
  - (i) Manufacturing
  - (ii) Agriculture
  - (iii) Mining
  - (iv) Tourism
  - (v) Commerce
  - (vi) Financial
  - (vii) Labour
  - (viii) Academia; and
  - (ix) Other relevant sectors
- (d) that the terms of reference of the Council shall include giving advice to Government, formulating economic plans and programmes for approval by government and such other functions as are assigned to the Council by the Government.
- (e) to endorse the SADC resolution on the economy.

#### **ARTICLE IV SANCTIONS AND MEASURES**

4. Sanctions and Measures

4.1 Recognising and acknowledging that some sections of the international community have since 2000 imposed various sanctions and measures against Zimbabwe, which have included targeted sanctions.

4.2 The Parties note the present economic and political isolation of Zimbabwe by the United Kingdom, European Union, United States of America and other sections of the International Community over and around issues of disputed elections, governance and differences over the land reform programme.

4.3 Noting and acknowledging the following sanctions and measures imposed on Zimbabwe:-

- (a) enactment of the Zimbabwe Democracy and Economic Recovery Act by the United States of America Congress which outlaws Zimbabwe's right to access credit from International Financial Institutions in which the United States Government is represented or has a stake;
- (b) suspension of Zimbabwe's voting and related rights, suspension of balance of payment support, declaration of ineligibility to borrow Fund resources and suspension of technical assistance to Zimbabwe by the International Monetary Fund;
- (c) suspension of grants and infrastructural development support to Zimbabwe by The World Bank; and
- (d) imposition of targeted travel bans against current Government and some business leaders.

4.4 Noting that this international isolation has over the years created a negative international perception of Zimbabwe and thereby resulting in the further isolation of the country by the non-availing of lines of credit to Zimbabwe by some sections of the international community.

4.5 Recognising the consequent contribution of this isolation to the further decline of the economy.

4.6 Desirous and committed to bringing to an end the fall in the standards of living of our people, the Parties hereby agree:-

- (a) to endorse the SADC resolution on sanctions concerning Zimbabwe;
- (b) that all forms of measures and sanctions against Zimbabwe be lifted in order to facilitate a sustainable solution to the challenges that are currently facing Zimbabwe; and
- (c) commit themselves to working together in re-engaging the international community with a view to bringing to an end the country's international isolation.

## **ARTICLE V LAND QUESTION**

### **5. Land Question**

5.1 Recognising that colonial racist land ownership patterns established during the colonial conquest of Zimbabwe and largely maintained in the post independence period were not only unsustainable, but against the national interest, equity and justice.

5.2 Noting that in addition to the primary objective of the liberation struggle to win one man one vote democracy and justice, the land question, namely the need for the re-distribution of land to the majority indigenous people of Zimbabwe was at the core of the liberation struggle.

5.3 Accepting the inevitability and desirability of a comprehensive land reform programme in Zimbabwe that redresses the issues of historical imbalances and injustices in order to address the issues of equity, productivity, and justice.

5.4 While differing on the methodology of acquisition and redistribution the parties acknowledge that compulsory acquisition and redistribution of land has taken place under a land reform programme undertaken since 2000.

5.5 Accepting the irreversibility of the said land acquisitions and redistribution.

5.6 Noting that in the current Constitution of Zimbabwe and further in the Draft Constitution agreed to by the parties the primary obligation of compensating former land owners for land acquired rests on the former colonial power.

5.7 Further recognising the need to ensure that all land is used productively in the interests of all the people of Zimbabwe.

5.8 Recognising the need for women's access and control over land in their own right as equal citizens.

5.9 The Parties hereby agree to:

- (a) conduct a comprehensive, transparent and non-partisan land audit, during the tenure of the Seventh Parliament of Zimbabwe, for the purpose of establishing accountability and eliminating multiple farm ownerships.
- (b) ensure that all Zimbabweans who are eligible to be allocated land and who apply for it shall be considered for allocation of land irrespective of race, gender, religion, ethnicity or political affiliation;
- (c) ensure security of tenure to all land holders.
- (d) call upon the United Kingdom government to accept the primary responsibility to pay compensation for land acquired from former land owners for resettlement;
- (e) work together to secure international support and finance for the land reform programme in terms of compensation for the former land owners and support for new farmers; and
- (f) work together for the restoration of full productivity on all agricultural land.

## ARTICLE VI CONSTITUTION

### 6. Constitution

Acknowledging that it is the fundamental right and duty of the Zimbabwean people to make a constitution by themselves and for themselves; Aware that the process of making this constitution must be owned and driven by the people and must be inclusive and democratic; Recognising that the current Constitution of Zimbabwe made at the Lancaster House Conference, London (1979) was primarily to transfer power from the colonial authority to the people of Zimbabwe; Acknowledging the draft Constitution that the Parties signed and agreed to in Kariba on the 30th of September 2007, annexed hereto as Annexure "B"; Determined to create conditions for our people to write a constitution for themselves; and Mindful of the need to ensure that the new Constitution deepens our democratic values and principles and the protection of the equality of all citizens, particularly the enhancement of full citizenship and equality of women.

6.1 The Parties hereby agree:

- (a) that they shall set up a Select Committee of Parliament composed of representatives of the Parties whose terms of reference shall be as follows:
  - (i) to set up such subcommittees chaired by a member of Parliament and composed of members of Parliament and representatives of Civil Society as may be necessary to assist the Select Committee in performing its mandate herein;
  - (ii) to hold such public hearings and such consultations as it may deem necessary in the process of public consultation over the making of a new constitution for Zimbabwe;
  - (iii) to convene an All Stakeholders Conference to consult stakeholders on their representation in the sub-committees referred to above and such related matters as may assist the committee in its work;
  - (iv) to table its draft Constitution to a 2nd All Stakeholders Conference; and
  - (v) to report to Parliament on its recommendations over the content of a New Constitution for Zimbabwe
- (b) That the draft Constitution recommended by the Select Committee shall be submitted to a referendum;
- (c) that, in implementing the above, the following time frames shall apply:
  - (i) the Select Committee shall be set up within two months of inception of a new government;
  - (ii) the convening of the first All Stakeholders Conference shall be within 3 months of the date of the appointment of the Select Committee;
  - (iii) the public consultation process shall be completed no later than 4 months of the date of the first All Stakeholders Conference;
  - (iv) the draft Constitution shall be tabled within 3 months of completion of the public consultation process to a second All Stakeholders Conference;

- (v) the draft Constitution and the accompanying Report shall be tabled before Parliament within 1 month of the second All Stakeholders Conference;
- (vi) the draft Constitution and the accompanying Report shall be debated in Parliament and the debate concluded within one month;
- (vii) the draft Constitution emerging from Parliament shall be gazetted before the holding of a referendum;
- (viii) a referendum on the new draft Constitution shall be held within 3 months of the conclusion of the debate;
- (ix) in the event of the draft Constitution being approved in the referendum it shall be gazetted within 1 month of the date of the referendum; and
- (x) the draft Constitution shall be introduced in Parliament no later than 1 month after the expiration of the period of 30 days from the date of its gazetting.

## **ARTICLE VII PROMOTION OF EQUALITY, NATIONAL HEALING, COHESION AND UNITY**

### **7. Equality, National Healing, Cohesion and Unity**

#### **7.1 The Parties hereby agree that the new Government:**

- a) will ensure equal treatment of all regardless of gender, race, ethnicity, place of origin and will work towards equal access to development for all;
- b) will ensure equal and fair development of all regions of the country and in particular to correct historical imbalances in the development of regions;
- c) shall give consideration to the setting up of a mechanism to properly advise on what measures might be necessary and practicable to achieve national healing, cohesion and unity in respect of victims of pre and post independence political conflicts; and
- d) will strive to create an environment of tolerance and respect among Zimbabweans and that all citizens are treated with dignity and decency irrespective of age, gender, race, ethnicity, place of origin or political affiliation.
- e) will formulate policies and put measures in place to attract the return and repatriation of all Zimbabweans in the Diaspora and in particular will work towards the return of all skilled personnel.

## **ARTICLE VIII RESPECT FOR NATIONAL INSTITUTIONS AND EVENTS**

### **8. Respect for National Institutions and Events**

#### **8.1 In the interests of forging a common vision for our country, the Parties hereby agree:-**

- (a) on the necessity of all Zimbabweans regardless of race, ethnicity, gender, political affiliation and religion to respect and observe Zimbabwe's national institutions, symbols, national programmes and events; and
- (b) that all Zimbabweans regardless of race, ethnicity, gender, political affiliation and religion have the right to benefit from and participate in all national programmes and events without let or hindrance.

## **ARTICLE IX EXTERNAL INTERFERENCE**

### **9. External Interference**

#### **9.1 The Parties reaffirm the principle of the United Nations Charter on non-interference in the internal affairs of member countries.**

#### **9.2 The Parties hereby agree:-**

- (a) that the responsibility of effecting change of government in Zimbabwe vests exclusively on and is the sole prerogative of the people of Zimbabwe through peaceful, democratic and constitutional means;
- (b) to reject any unlawful, violent, undemocratic and unconstitutional means of changing governments; and
- (c) that no outsiders have a right to call or campaign for regime change in Zimbabwe.

## **ARTICLE X FREE POLITICAL ACTIVITY**

## 10. Free political activity

Recognising that the right to canvass and freely mobilise for political support is the cornerstone of any multi-party democratic system, the Parties have agreed that there should be free political activity throughout Zimbabwe within the ambit of the law in which all political parties are able to propagate their views and canvass for support, free of harassment and intimidation.

## **ARTICLE XI RULE OF LAW, RESPECT FOR THE CONSTITUTION AND OTHER LAWS**

### 11. Rule of law, respect for the Constitution and other laws

11.1 The Parties hereby agree that it is the duty of all political parties and individuals to:

- (a) respect and uphold the Constitution and other laws of the land;
- (b) adhere to the principles of the Rule of Law.

## **ARTICLE XII FREEDOM OF ASSEMBLY AND ASSOCIATION**

### 12. Freedoms of Assembly and Association

12.1 Recognising the importance of the freedoms of assembly and association in a multi-party democracy and noting that public meetings have to be conducted in a free, peaceful and democratic manner in accordance with the law, the Parties have agreed:-

- (a) to work together in a manner which guarantees the full implementation and realisation of the right to freedom of association and assembly; and
- (b) that the Government shall undertake training programmes, workshops and meetings for the police and other enforcement agencies directed at the appreciation of the right of freedom of assembly and association and the proper interpretation, understanding and application of the provisions of security legislation.

## **ARTICLE XIII STATE ORGANS AND INSTITUTIONS**

### 13. State organs and institutions

13.1 State organs and institutions do not belong to any political party and should be impartial in the discharge of their duties.

13.2 For the purposes of ensuring that all state organs and institutions perform their duties ethically and professionally in conformity with the principles and requirements of a multi-party democratic system in which all parties are treated equally, the Parties have agreed that the following steps be taken:-

- (a) that there be inclusion in the training curriculum of members of the uniformed forces of the subjects on human rights, international humanitarian law and statute law so that there is greater understanding and full appreciation of their roles and duties in a multi-party democratic system;
- (b) ensuring that all state organs and institutions strictly observe the principles of the Rule of Law and remain non-partisan and impartial;
- (c) laws and regulations governing state organs and institutions are strictly adhered to and those violating them be penalised without fear or favour; and
- (d) recruitment policies and practices be conducted in a manner that ensures that no political or other form of favouritism is practised.

## **ARTICLE XIV TRADITIONAL LEADERS**

### 14. Traditional Leaders

14.1 Recognising and acknowledging that traditional leaders are community leaders with equal responsibilities and obligations to all members of their communities regardless of age, gender, ethnicity, race, religion and political affiliation, the Parties hereby agree to:-

- (a) commit themselves to ensuring the political neutrality of traditional leaders; and

(b) call upon traditional leaders not to engage in partisan political activities at national level as well as in their communities.

## **ARTICLE XV NATIONAL YOUTH TRAINING PROGRAMME**

### 15. National Youth Training Programme

Recognising the desirability of a national youth training programme which inculcates the values of patriotism, discipline, tolerance, non- violence, openness, democracy, equality, justice and respect. Determined to ensure that the National Youth Training Programme raises awareness of the HIV and AIDS pandemic, engenders a spirit of community service, skills development and a commitment to the development of Zimbabwe

#### 15.1 The Parties hereby agree that:-

- (a) all youths regardless of race, ethnicity, gender, religion and political affiliation are eligible to participate in national youth training programmes;
- (b) the National Youth Training Programme must be run in a non- partisan manner and shall not include partisan political material advancing the cause of any political party; and
- (c) while recognising that youths undergoing training at national youth training centres have a right to hold political opinions, they shall not, during the period of their training, collectively and as part of a scheme of the training centre be used or deployed for partisan political work.

## **ARTICLE XVI HUMANITARIAN AND FOOD ASSISTANCE**

### 16. Humanitarian and food assistance

16.1 In times of need, every Zimbabwean regardless of race, ethnicity, gender, political affiliation and religion is entitled to request and receive humanitarian and food assistance from the State.

16.2 It is the primary responsibility of the State to ensure that every Zimbabwean who needs humanitarian and food assistance receives it.

16.3 Non-Governmental Organisations involved in giving humanitarian and food assistance shall do so without discrimination on the grounds of race, ethnicity, gender, political affiliation and religion and in doing so, shall not promote or advance the interests of any political party or cause.

#### 16.4 In this regard the Parties hereby agree:

- (a) that in the fulfillment of its obligations above, the Government and all State Institutions and quasi State Institutions shall render humanitarian and food assistance without discrimination on the grounds of race, ethnicity, gender, political affiliation or religion;
- (b) that humanitarian interventions rendered by Non-Governmental Organisations, shall be provided without discrimination on the grounds of race, ethnicity, gender, political affiliation and religion.
- (c) that all displaced persons shall be entitled to humanitarian and food assistance to enable them to return and settle in their original homes and that social welfare organisations shall be allowed to render such assistance as might be required.
- (d) that all NGO's rendering humanitarian and food assistance must operate within the confines of the laws of Zimbabwe.

## **ARTICLE XVII LEGISLATIVE AGENDA PRIORITIES**

### 17. Legislative agenda

#### 17.1 The Parties hereby agree that:

- (a) the legislative agenda will be prioritized in order to reflect the letter and spirit of this agreement;
- (b) the Government will discuss and agree on further legislative measures which may become necessary to implement the Government's agreed policies and in particular, with a view to entrenching democratic values and practices.

## **ARTICLE XVIII SECURITY OF PERSONS AND PREVENTION OF VIOLENCE**

### 18. Security of persons and prevention of violence

18.1 Noting the easy resort to violence by political parties, State actors, Non-State actors and others in order to resolve political differences and achieve political ends.

18.2 Gravely concerned by the displacement of scores of people after the election of March 29, 2008 as a result of politically motivated violence.

18.3 Recognising that violence dehumanises and engenders feelings of hatred and polarisation within the country.

18.4 Further recognising that violence undermines our collective independence as a people and our capacity to exercise our free will in making political choices.

18.5 The Parties hereby agree:

- (a) to promote the values and practices of tolerance, respect, non- violence and dialogue as means of resolving political differences;
- (b) to renounce and desist from the promotion and use of violence, under whatever name called, as a means of attaining political ends;
- (c) that the Government shall apply the laws of the country fully and impartially in bringing all perpetrators of politically motivated violence to book;
- (d) that all political parties, other organisations and their leaders shall commit themselves to do everything to stop and prevent all forms of political violence, including by non-State actors and shall consistently appeal to their members to desist from violence;
- (e) to take all measures necessary to ensure that the structures and institutions they control are not engaged in the perpetration of violence.
- (f) that all civil society organisations of whatever description whether affiliated to a political party or not shall not promote or advocate for or use violence or any other form of intimidation or coercion to canvass or mobilise for or oppose any political party or to achieve any political end;
- (g) to work together to ensure the security of all persons and property;
- (h) to work together to ensure the safety of any displaced persons, their safe return home and their enjoyment of the full protection of the law.
- (i) to refrain from using abusive language that may incite hostility, political intolerance and ethnic hatred or unfairly undermine each other.
- (j) that while having due regard to the Constitution of Zimbabwe and the principles of the rule of law, the prosecuting authorities will expedite the determination as to whether or not there is sufficient evidence to warrant the prosecution or keeping on remand of all persons accused of politically related offences arising out of or connected with the March and June 2008 elections.

## **ARTICLE XIX FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION AND COMMUNICATION**

### 19. Freedom of Expression and Communication

Recognising the importance of the right to freedom of expression and the role of the media in a multi-party democracy. Noting that while the provisions of the Broadcasting Services Act permit the issuance of licences, no licences other than to the public broadcaster have been issued. Aware of the emergence of foreign based radio stations broadcasting into Zimbabwe, some of which are funded by foreign governments. Concerned that the failure to issue licences under the Broadcasting Services Act to alternative broadcasters might have given rise to external radio stations broadcasting into Zimbabwe. Further concerned that foreign government funded external radio stations broadcasting into Zimbabwe are not in Zimbabwe's national interest. Desirous of ensuring the opening up of the air waves and ensuring the operation of as many media houses as possible.

19.1 The Parties hereby agree:-

- (a) that the government shall ensure the immediate processing by the appropriate authorities of all applications for re-registration and registration in terms of both the Broadcasting Services Act as well as the Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act;



(b) all Zimbabwean nationals including those currently working for or running external radio stations be encouraged to make applications for broadcasting licences, in Zimbabwe, in terms of the law;  
(c) that in recognition of the open media environment anticipated by this Agreement, the Parties hereby:-

- (i) call upon the governments that are hosting and/or funding external radio stations broadcasting into Zimbabwe to cease such hosting and funding; and
- (ii) encourage the Zimbabweans running or working for external radio stations broadcasting into Zimbabwe to return to Zimbabwe; and

(d) that steps be taken to ensure that the public media provides balanced and fair coverage to all political parties for their legitimate political activities.

(e) that the public and private media shall refrain from using abusive language that may incite hostility, political intolerance and ethnic hatred or that unfairly undermines political parties and other organisations. To this end, the inclusive government shall ensure that appropriate measures are taken to achieve this objective.

## **ARTICLE XX FRAMEWORK FOR A NEW GOVERNMENT**

### 20. Framework for a new Government

Acknowledging that we have an obligation to establish a framework of working together in an inclusive government;

Accepting that the formation of such a government will have to be approached with great sensitivity, flexibility and willingness to compromise;

Recognising that the formation of such a Government would demonstrate the respect of the Parties for the deeply-felt and immediate hopes and aspirations of the millions of our people.

Determined to carry out sustained work to create the conditions for returning our country to stability and prosperity;

Acknowledging the need for gender parity, particularly the need to appoint women to strategic Cabinet posts;

20.1 The Parties hereby agree that:

#### 20.1.1 Executive Powers and Authority

The Executive Authority of the Inclusive Government shall vest in, and be shared among the President, the Prime Minister and the Cabinet, as provided for in this Constitution and legislation.

The President of the Republic shall exercise executive authority subject to the Constitution and the law.

The Prime Minister of the Republic shall exercise executive authority subject to the Constitution and the law.

The Cabinet of the Republic shall exercise executive authority subject to the Constitution and the law.

In the exercise of executive authority, the President, Vice Presidents, the Prime Minister, the Deputy Prime Ministers, Ministers and Deputy Ministers must have regard to the principles and spirit underlying the formation of the Inclusive Government and accordingly act in a manner that seeks to promote cohesion both inside and outside government.

#### 20.1.2 The Cabinet

- (a) shall have the responsibility to evaluate and adopt all government policies and the consequential programmes;
- (b) shall, subject to approval by Parliament, allocate the financial resources for the implementation of such policies and programmes;
- (c) shall have the responsibility to prepare and present to Parliament, all such legislation and other instruments as may be necessary to implement the policies and programmes of the National Executive;

- (d) shall, except where the Constitution requires ratification by Parliament, or action by the President, approve all international agreements;
- (e) shall ensure that the state organs, including the Ministries and Departments, have sufficient financial and other resources and appropriate operational capacity to carry out their functions effectively; and
- (f) shall take decisions by consensus, and take collective responsibility for all Cabinet decisions, including those originally initiated individually by any member of Cabinet.
- (g) The President and the Prime Minister will agree on the allocation of Ministries between them for the purpose of day-to-day supervision.

#### 20.1.3 The President

- (a) chairs Cabinet;
- (b) exercises executive authority;
- (c) shall exercise his/her powers subject to the provisions of the Constitution;
- (d) can, subject to the Constitution, declare war and make peace;
- (e) can, subject to the Constitution, proclaim and terminate martial law;
- (f) confers honours and precedence, on the advice of Cabinet;
- (g) grants pardons, respites, substitutes less severe punishment and suspends or remits sentences, on the advice of Cabinet;
- (h) chairs the National Security Council;
- (i) formally appoints the Vice Presidents;
- (j) shall, pursuant to this Agreement, appoint the Prime Minister pending the enactment of the Constitution of Zimbabwe Amendment no.19 as agreed by the Parties;
- (k) formally appoints Deputy Prime Ministers, Ministers and Deputy Ministers in accordance with this agreement;
- (l) after consultation with the Vice Presidents, the Prime Minister and the Deputy Prime Ministers, allocates Ministerial portfolios in accordance with this Agreement;
- (m) accredits, receives and recognizes diplomatic agents and consular officers;
- (n) appoints independent Constitutional Commissions in terms of the Constitution;
- (o) appoints service/executive Commissions in terms of the Constitution and in consultation with the Prime Minister;
- (p) in consultation with the Prime Minister, makes key appointments the President is required to make under and in terms of the Constitution or any Act of Parliament;
- (q) may, acting in consultation with the Prime Minister, dissolve Parliament;
- (r) must be kept fully informed by the Prime Minister on the general conduct of the government business and;
- (s) shall be furnished with such information as he/she may request in respect of any particular matter relating to the government, and may advise the Prime Minister and Cabinet in this regard.

#### 20.1.4 The Prime Minister

- (a) chairs the Council of Ministers and is the Deputy Chairperson of Cabinet;
- (b) exercises executive authority;
- (c) shall oversee the formulation of government policies by the Cabinet;
- (d) shall ensure that the policies so formulated are implemented by the entirety of government;
- (e) shall ensure that the Ministers develop appropriate implementation plans to give effect to the policies decided by Cabinet: in this regard, the Ministers will report to the Prime Minister on all issues relating to the implementation of such policies and plans;
- (f) shall ensure that the legislation necessary to enable the government to carry out its functions is in place: in this regard, he/ she shall have the responsibility to discharge the functions of the Leader of Government Business in Parliament;
- (g) shall be a member of the National Security Council;
- (h) may be assigned such additional functions as are necessary further to enhance the work of the Inclusive Government;
- (i) shall, to ensure the effective execution of these tasks, be assisted by Deputy Prime Ministers; and
- (j) shall report regularly to the President and Parliament.

#### 20.1.5 Council of Ministers

To ensure that the Prime Minister properly discharges his responsibility to oversee the implementation of the work of government, there shall be a Council of Ministers consisting of all the Cabinet Ministers, chaired by the Prime Minister, whose functions shall be:

- (a) to assess the implementation of Cabinet decisions;
- (b) to assist the Prime Minister to attend to matters of coordination in the government;
- (c) to enable the Prime Minister to receive briefings from the Cabinet Committees;
- (d) to make progress reports to Cabinet on matters of implementation of Cabinet decisions;
- (e) to receive and consider reports from the Committee responsible for the periodic review mechanism;  
and
- (f) to make progress reports to Cabinet on matters related to the periodic review mechanism.

#### 20.1.6 Composition of the Executive

- (1) There shall be a President, which Office shall continue to be occupied by President Robert Gabriel Mugabe.
- (2) There shall be two (2) Vice Presidents, who will be nominated by the President and/or Zanu-PF.
- (3) There shall be a Prime Minister, which Office shall be occupied by Mr Morgan Tsvangirai.
- (4) There shall be two (2) Deputy Prime Ministers, one (1) from MDC-T and one (1) from the MDC-M.
- (5) There shall be thirty-one (31) Ministers, with fifteen (15) nominated by ZANU PF, thirteen (13) by MDC-T and three (3) by MDC-M. Of the 31 Ministers, three (3) one each per Party, may be appointed from outside the members of Parliament. The three (3) Ministers so appointed shall become members of the House of Assembly and shall have the right to sit, speak and debate in Parliament, but shall not be entitled to vote.
- (6) There shall be fifteen (15) Deputy Ministers, with (eight) 8 nominated by ZANU PF, six (6) by MDC-T and one (1) by MDC-M.
- (7) Ministers and Deputy Ministers may be relieved of their duties only after consultation among the leaders of all the political parties participating in the Inclusive Government.

#### 20.1.7 Senate

- (a) The President shall, in his discretion, appoint five (5) persons to the existing positions of Presidential senatorial appointments.
- (b) There shall be created an additional nine (9) appointed senatorial posts, which shall be filled by persons appointed by the President, of whom, 3 will be nominated by ZANU-PF, 3 by MDC-T and 3 by MDC-M.

#### 20.1.8 Filling of vacancies

- (a) In the event of any vacancy arising in respect of posts referred to in clauses 20.1.6 and 20.1.7(b) above, such vacancy shall be filled by a nominee of the Party which held that position prior to the vacancy arising.

### **ARTICLE XXI ELECTORAL VACANCIES**

#### 21. Electoral Vacancies

Aware of the divisive and often times confrontational nature of elections and by elections; Noting the need to allow this agreement to take root amongst the parties and people of Zimbabwe; and Cognisant of the need to give our people some breathing space and a healing period;

21.1 The Parties hereby agree that for a period of 12 months from the date of signing of this agreement, should any electoral vacancy arise in respect of a local authority or parliamentary seat, for whatever reason, only the party holding that seat prior to the vacancy occurring shall be entitled to nominate and field a candidate to fill the seat subject to that party complying with the rules governing its internal democracy.

### **ARTICLE XXII IMPLEMENTATION MECHANISMS**

#### 22. Implementation mechanisms

22.1 To ensure full and proper implementation of the letter and spirit of this Agreement, the Parties hereby constitute a Joint Monitoring and Implementation Committee ("JOMIC") to be composed of four senior members from ZANU-PF and four senior members from each of the two MDC Formations. Gender consideration must be taken into account in relation to the composition of JOMIC.

22.2 The committee shall be co-chaired by persons from the Parties.

22.3 The committee shall have the following functions:-

- (a) to ensure the implementation in letter and spirit of this Agreement;
- (b) to assess the implementation of this Agreement from time to time and consider steps which might need to be taken to ensure the speedy and full implementation of this Agreement in its entirety;
- (c) to receive reports and complaints in respect of any issue related to the implementation, enforcement and execution of this Agreement;
- (d) to serve as catalyst in creating and promoting an atmosphere of mutual trust and understanding between the parties; and
- (e) to promote continuing dialogue between the Parties.

22.4 JOMIC shall be the principal body dealing with the issues of compliance and monitoring of this Agreement and to that end, the Parties hereby undertake to channel all complaints, grievances, concerns and issues relating to compliance with this Agreement through JOMIC and to refrain from any conduct which might undermine the spirit of co-operation necessary for the fulfillment of this Agreement.

22.5 The new Government shall ensure that steps are taken to make the security forces conversant with the Constitution of Zimbabwe and other laws of Zimbabwe including laws relating to public order and security.

22.6 The implementation of this agreement shall be guaranteed and underwritten by the Facilitator, SADC and the AU.

22.7 The Parties and the new Government shall seek the support and assistance of SADC and the AU in mobilizing the international community to support the new Government's economic recovery plans and programmes together with the lifting of sanctions taken against Zimbabwe and some of its leaders.

22.8 The Parties agree that they shall cause Parliament to amend any legislation to the extent necessary to bring this agreement into full force.

#### **ARTICLE XXIII PERIODIC REVIEW MECHANISM**

##### 23. Periodic review mechanism

23.1 Having regard to the Objectives and Priorities of the New Government as set out in this Agreement, the Parties hereby agree that:

- (a) they shall constitute a committee composed of 2 representatives each to review on an annual basis progress on the implementation and achievement of the priorities and objectives set out in this Agreement, namely: Economic (restoration of economic stability and growth, sanctions, land question) Political (new constitution, promotion of equality, national healing and cohesion and unity, external interference, free political activity, rule of law, state organs and institutions, legislative agenda and priorities) Security (security of persons and prevention of violence) and Communication (media and external radio stations); and
- (b) the committee shall make recommendations to the Parties and the new government on any matters relating to this Agreement, more particularly on measures and programmes that may be necessary to take and make to realise full implementation of this Agreement.
- (c) this Agreement and the relationship agreed to hereunder will be reviewed at the conclusion of the constitution-making process.

23.2 The Parties will continually review the effectiveness and any other matter relating to the functioning of the Inclusive Government established by the Constitution in consultation with the Guarantors.

#### **ARTICLE XXIV INTERIM CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS**

##### 24. Interim Constitutional amendments

The Parties hereby agree:

24.1 that the constitutional amendments which are necessary for the implementation of this agreement shall be passed by parliament and assented to by the President as Constitution of Zimbabwe Amendment Act No 19. The

Parties undertake to unconditionally support the enactment of the said Constitution of Zimbabwe Amendment No 19;

24.2 to include in Constitutional Amendment No19 the provisions contained in Chapters 4 and 13, and section 121 of the draft Constitution that the Parties executed at Kariba on 30 September 2007 (Kariba draft).

**ARTICLE XXV COMMENCEMENT**

25. Commencement This Agreement shall enter into force upon its signature by the Parties.

In WITNESS WHEREOF the Parties have signed this Agreement in the English language, in six identical copies, all texts being equally authentic:

Done at Harare on this 15 day of September, 2008

ROBERT G MUGABE PRESIDENT, ZANU-PF

MORGAN R TSVANGIRAI PRESIDENT, MDC

ARTHUR G 0 MUTAMBARA PRESIDENT, MDC

In WITNESS THEREOF the Facilitator: THABO MBEKI SADC FACILITATOR