

ZIMBABWE HUMAN RIGHTS NGO FORUM

**Politically motivated violence in
Zimbabwe 2000–2001**

**A report on the campaign of political
repression conducted by the
Zimbabwean Government under the guise
of carrying out land reform**

A report by the
Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum

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The Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum (also known as the “Human Rights Forum”) has been in existence since January 1998. Nine non-governmental organisations working in the field of human rights came together to provide legal and psycho-social assistance to the victims of the Food Riots of January 1998.

The Human Rights Forum has now expanded its objectives to assist victims of organised violence, using the following definition:

“organised violence” means the interhuman infliction of significant avoidable pain and suffering by an organised group according to a declared or implied strategy and/or system of ideas and attitudes. It comprises any violent action which is unacceptable by general human standards, and relates to the victims’ mental and physical wellbeing.

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SUMMARY

The Zimbabwean Government, formed by the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU (PF)) in 1980 and led by Robert Mugabe, claims it is intent upon resolving the land issue in order to achieve economic justice. It also claims that the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC), the main opposition party, was formed to protect the interests of whites and is standing in the way of achieving economic justice.

The reality is different. The Mugabe Government is an autocratic regime. When it was in danger of being voted out of power, it was prepared to use violence to prevent this. In the run-up to the General Election in June 2000 it embarked upon a violent campaign to suppress all political opposition, using the land issue to mask its true objective – the retention of power. This violent suppression of political opposition has continued ahead of the Presidential Election.

This report documents the politically motivated violence in Zimbabwe during and after the June 2000 General Election, its impact upon the people and the economy of the country, and its implications in the wider regional and continental context.

Background

The Mugabe Government has previously shown its readiness to resort to violence against political opponents. Soon after it assumed power in 1980, it was responsible for the killing and torture of thousands of unarmed civilians in Matabeleland, the stronghold of its main rival party, the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU).

Throughout the 1980s the Government proclaimed its intention to pass legislation to make Zimbabwe a one-party State. Although it dropped this plan in 1990, it continued to take measures to ensure that the country was a *de facto* one-party State.

By the late 1990s the country was experiencing grave economic hardship stemming primarily from serious mismanagement of the economy and large-scale corruption. The Government's popularity declined rapidly. It was faced with food riots and demonstrations, and then with the first major challenge to its stranglehold on power – the birth of the MDC. The subsequent farm invasions were not spontaneous; they were, and continue to be, orchestrated by the Mugabe Government in reaction to this challenge and to the growing opposition among the population.

Targets of violence

The violence unleashed by the Government includes killings, torture, physical assault, the threat of violence and the destruction of property. It is perpetrated by “war veterans” (militias led by a small group of people who participated in the liberation war but consisting mainly of unemployed ZANU (PF) supporters too young to have fought in that war), members of the State security services and ZANU (PF) supporters.

The primary targets are MDC leaders and officials. Some officials have been killed. Many have been injured or have had their property destroyed. A similar fate awaits MDC supporters. Large groups of armed militias roam the rural areas, disrupting the lives of rural people, abducting and torturing MDC supporters, and attacking teachers, doctors, nurses and other professionals accused of persuading people to support the MDC. In the urban centres, army and police personnel have carried out a series of attacks as reprisals for the massive pro- MDC urban vote in the June 2000 General Election.

Businesses and foreign aid organisations have also been targets. “War veterans” invaded their premises under the pretext of settling labour disputes, and used violence and threats to extort large sums of money. The Government allowed these invasions to continue for several months before intervening to stop them. “War veterans” also threatened to invade foreign embassies they alleged were supporting the MDC. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs initially refused to protect the embassies; it later retracted this refusal.

There have been some instances of violence used by MDC supporters against ZANU (PF) supporters, but few of them have occurred without provocation. In most cases the violence used by MDC supporters has been defensive or in retaliation for violence against them.

Violence associated with electoral challenges, by-elections and mayoral elections

The MDC challenged the results of the June 2000 General Election in many constituencies, primarily on the basis that violence and intimidation had made it impossible for MDC officials to campaign openly and for voters to vote freely. Mugabe passed regulations to stop the courts from invalidating the election results in the challenged constituencies. The Supreme Court ruled that these regulations were invalid as they violated fundamental constitutional rights.

“War veterans” and security agency personnel attacked witnesses in the constituency challenges, to intimidate them against testifying or to punish them for having testified. “War veterans” also tried to intimidate judges against deciding in favour of the MDC.

In by-elections held since June 2000 and in mayoral elections, the “war veterans” have used violence to intimidate voters.

Campaign against independent institutions

The ruling party has tried to silence the independent press in various ways. ZANU (PF) supporters have attacked and threatened journalists, and have bombed the printing press of a leading daily newspaper. Editors and journalists have been charged with criminal defamation, and laws imposing severe restrictions on the press are in the pipeline. “War veterans” have “banned” the distribution of independent newspapers in some areas. Foreign journalists perceived to be hostile to the Government have been ordered to leave the country.

The Government is in the process of imposing severe restrictions on non-governmental organisations (NGOs). “War veterans” have restricted or stopped the operations of some NGOs in the rural areas.

“War veterans” and some Government Ministers have conducted a sustained campaign against Supreme Court and High Court judges perceived to be hostile to ZANU (PF), to try to force them to resign. The Chief Justice was forced to take early retirement.

Role of Government, “war veterans” and security agencies

The Mugabe Government has approved, sponsored, encouraged or condoned the political violence perpetrated by “war veterans”. Several Government Ministers have incited violence. Several senior ZANU (PF) officials have organised and taken part in the violence.

The “war veterans”, led by Dr Chenjerai Hunzvi (until his death in June 2001) and Joseph Chinotimba, wield considerable power. They are staunch supporters of Robert Mugabe and his party and have vowed to prevent the MDC from gaining power. They are responsible for occupying farms, invading businesses, threatening embassies and terrorising opponents of the Mugabe Government throughout the country.

The police force is now highly partisan and offers little or no protection to members of opposition parties. The head of the force has openly proclaimed his support for ZANU (PF). Police officers attempting to remain non-partisan are penalised. “War veterans” are being recruited into the force, and those already in it have been rapidly promoted; many are now in charge of rural police stations. Members of the police force have been involved in attacks upon people in urban areas.

Top-ranking officers in the Zimbabwe National Army have professed their support for ZANU (PF). The Army Commander has attempted to influence soldiers to support the ruling party. Army personnel have been involved in attacks on MDC officials and supporters, and in carrying out farm invasions.

Central Intelligence Organisation (CIO) personnel have been involved in attacks on members of the opposition and in the farm invasions.

The ruling party and the “war veterans” have attempted to politicise the civil service, purging it of anyone who is not a ZANU (PF) loyalist.

Social and economic impact of the violence and land acquisition

The political violence has caused enormous physical and psychological damage. The torture meted out by ZANU (PF) supporters includes beatings, burning, electric shocks and mock drowning. Many people, young and old, have witnessed physical assaults on members of their families. Thousands have been forced to attend political rallies during which suspected MDC supporters are identified, threatened and assaulted.

The violence has severely disrupted social services. Teachers and medical personnel have been driven out of rural areas, in fear of their lives. Programmes of benefit to the community, such as legal aid services, have been closed down or disrupted.

The impact of the violence, coupled with the mismanagement of the economy and large-scale corruption, has had a disastrous effect on the Zimbabwean economy. Unemployment has risen to over 60%, inflation is likely to reach nearly 100% by the end of 2001, the Government has defaulted on foreign debt repayments, foreign investment has plummeted, and middle class professionals are leaving the country in considerable numbers, taking their much-needed skills with them.

The “fast-track resettlement of land”, being implemented without the planning or support required if the resettled lands are to be farmed productively, has led to drastic falls in export and food crop production. Foreign currency is running out and food shortages loom. A country that has historically always provided enough food for its own people and a surplus for export is now asking the international community for food relief.

Implications for Southern Africa and for Africa in general

The continuing instability in Zimbabwe has had an adverse economic impact on countries in the Southern African region. They have suffered from a knock-on effect in terms of tourism, trade and investment. Trade between Zimbabwe and South Africa, in particular, has declined considerably.

In the wider context, there has been a noticeable failure by African leaders to condemn the violence orchestrated by the Mugabe Government against the people of Zimbabwe. The response of Africa to the political repression in Zimbabwe is crucial to the course of democratisation in the continent and the development of tolerant systems of political competition.

Concluding observations

Land reform in Zimbabwe is essential, but it must be properly planned, funded and implemented. As such, it will need and deserve the support of the international community. What the international community must not support is the Mugabe Government’s attempt to snuff out democracy under the guise of land reform.

The campaign of political suppression has all but destroyed the viability of the country’s democratic institutions. A return to democracy and adherence to the rule of law are essential for the economic recovery, stability and development of Zimbabwe.

1. Introduction

The Government of Zimbabwe, led by Robert Mugabe, would depict the course of events in the country in 2000–2001 along these lines:

[The Government] is fighting a Third “Chimurenga.”¹ This new “war” is a struggle to achieve economic justice for the black majority. The Second Chimurenga war was fought to liberate the country from the yoke of white minority rule. This armed struggle resulted in the political emancipation of the black majority, but not economic emancipation as after 1980 a tiny white settler community continued to dominate the agricultural and commercial economy. In particular, a small number of whites still owned a huge proportion of the most fertile farmland,² with the black majority being relegated to poor quality land. This gross social and economic injustice could not be allowed to continue. Thus when the landless people “spontaneously” invaded white farmland to register their protest against this gross injustice, Government then felt compelled to act. It thus embarked upon its fast track resettlement programme. The new political party, the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC), was formed as a front for the whites to resist the moves towards the redistribution of the economic assets of Zimbabwe. Britain and other European powers are sponsoring the MDC because they wanted to protect the property rights of whites and are vigorously opposed to the expropriation of white-owned farmland. These Governments are also waging a vicious propaganda campaign against Zimbabwe. The Government was justified in taking all necessary measures to prevent the MDC and its Western allies from denying the black majority the economic justice they cried out for. It was perfectly justifiable to use necessary force to overcome resistance to the transformation of the economy in favour of the black majority to achieve economic justice. After all, the colonial regime had violently dispossessed the black majority of their land and had brutally suppressed them for many decades.

Apologists for the Mugabe Government play down the political violence or excuse it on the basis that violence is necessary to achieve economic justice.

As this report shows, the Government, when faced with an opposition party that was attracting widespread support, refused to allow the democratic process to take its course. Instead, it embarked upon a violent campaign against all political opponents, real and imagined, and used farm invasions to eliminate support for the opposition and land allocations to boost support for the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU (PF)), the ruling party. To justify its actions, it created the myth that the MDC opposes equitable land redistribution.

The political violence prior to the General Election in June 2000 has been extensively documented.³ This report focuses mainly on the violence during and since that election, in the lead up to the Presidential Election to be held by 31 March 2002. It seeks to establish where the primary responsibility for the violence lies and to describe the impact of the violence on the people and the economy of Zimbabwe. The report shows that the Mugabe Government is using the land issue to mask its violent suppression of political opposition⁴ and to deflect attention from its disastrous mismanagement of the economy.

2. Background

From the time the Mugabe Government assumed power in 1980 it has displayed intolerance of political opposition. Having sacrificed much to liberate the country from colonial rule, Mugabe believed that his political party had the right to rule Zimbabwe for all time and was prepared to take whatever measures were necessary to ensure this. In the early 1980s, in response to unrest caused by a small number of armed bandits being used by the South African apartheid regime to destabilise Zimbabwe, his Government orchestrated the killing and torturing of thousands of unarmed civilians in Matabeleland.⁵ It

considered that the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), the main opposition party at that time, was behind the unrest, and anyone associated with ZAPU was seen as the enemy.

During the 1980s the Government repeatedly proclaimed its intention to pass a law to make Zimbabwe a one-party State. In 1990 it dropped this plan, but has continued to take measures to ensure that the country remains a *de facto* one-party State. It sees no distinction between the State and the ruling party. In all election campaigns, for example, it has made extensive use of State resources such as Government vehicles.⁶

Towards the end of the 1990s Zimbabweans were experiencing grave economic hardship, stemming primarily from economic mismanagement and massive corruption. The popularity of ZANU (PF) diminished rapidly. In 1998 there were food riots. In a referendum in early 2000 the people emphatically rejected a new constitution drafted by a Government-appointed commission, endorsed by the ruling party and supported by extensive propaganda.⁷ The “no” vote campaign was spearheaded by a number of organisations, including the newly formed Movement for Democratic Change (MDC). This was the first serious challenge to ZANU (PF)'s stranglehold on power. Until this time, with no serious competitors for political power, the Government had maintained a façade of democracy, though it still used violence against political opponents from time to time.⁸ Now it abandoned the democratic ground rules and launched a campaign of violence against the MDC in the lead up to the General Election in June 2000.

The General Election resulted in a victory for the ruling party, albeit a marginal one.⁹ But the violence did not cease. There has, instead, been an increasing spiral of violence since June 2000 as the ruling party has set about ensuring – at any cost – that Mugabe retains the presidency in the forthcoming Presidential Election.

Meanwhile, the inequitable distribution of land in Zimbabwe remains a pressing and unresolved issue.¹⁰ Certain constraints to land reform were imposed by the independence constitution,¹¹ but they were not enough to account for Mugabe's repeated failure to grasp the opportunities to implement wide-ranging, donor-supported reform. Even after he embarked upon his “fast-track resettlement” programme (through land occupation and allocation), several foreign Governments and organisations such as the United Nations tried to persuade him to adopt a sensible, internationally supported programme of land reform. He rebuffed these overtures.

The fast-track resettlement programme began in early 2000, when the Government's popularity had reached an all-time low. The first land occupations were not, as claimed by the Government, a spontaneous protest by land-hungry people. They were planned, organised and executed by ZANU (PF). Large-scale, synchronised invasions of farms by “war veterans” occurred throughout the country within days of the referendum rejecting the constitution. The farm occupiers were transported to farms in Government vehicles. Once there, they received monthly payments and regular food supplies, delivered in Government vehicles. Government Ministers, parliamentarians, Provincial Governors, other high-ranking ZANU (PF) politicians, local party officials and CIO and army personnel were involved in this process, linking up with the “war veterans” and directing or participating in the invasions and in the ensuing violence.¹²

The invasions were, and continue to be, an essential part of a political strategy to combat the growing influence of the MDC and to win back rural support by promising land reform. White farmers supportive of the MDC have been specifically targeted, the aim being to eliminate the MDC's support base on the farms. Occupied farms have been turned into torture and “re-education” camps. Farm labourers have been forced to attend indoctrination meetings during which beatings are administered to those suspected of supporting the MDC. MDC supporters in surrounding areas have been abducted and taken to the occupied farms and tortured. From their bases on these farms and elsewhere, the militias have mounted raids in the local areas, targeting anyone else suspected of supporting the opposition, including teachers, doctors, nurses and other public servants.

3. TARGETS OF VIOLENCE

3.1 MDC officials

MDC Members of Parliament and party officials live in fear of attack by “war veterans” and other ZANU (PF) supporters, including army, police and CIO personnel. In the lead up to the June 2000 General Election some MDC officials were killed and many were injured in attacks that were mounted by ZANU (PF) militias and often organised by ZANU (PF) parliamentary candidates and party officials. Many MDC party officials and members of their families had their property destroyed.

Since June 2000, violent harassment of MDC officials has continued and is intensifying. Several MDC Members of Parliament have been attacked in their homes. Reported incidents include:¹³

- February 2001: Job Sikhala, an MDC Member of Parliament in Harare, and his pregnant wife were severely assaulted by army personnel in their home in the early hours of the morning;
- May 2001: In Harare, ZANU (PF) militias attacked and injured Willias Madzimore, another MDC Member of Parliament; in the same month, whilst he was sitting in Parliament, ZANU (PF) militias attacked his house, assaulted his security guard, damaged his property and looted some items from his house; in July 2001 he reported that he was assaulted by three ZANU (PF) supporters in the presence of police officers in the charge office of the Warren Park police post in Harare.¹⁴

The President, the Vice-Presidents and some Government Ministers, ZANU (PF) Members of Parliament and Provincial Governors have made inflammatory statements inciting violence against the MDC. Some examples¹⁵ are:

- March 2000: Robert Mugabe stated publicly that “those who try to cause disunity among our people must watch out because death will befall them”;¹⁶
- June 2000: The plaintiffs in a lawsuit against Mugabe in the USA allege that the late Moven Mahachi, former Minister of Defence, told a gathering that “we will move door to door, killing like we did to Chiminya. I am the Minister responsible for defence therefore I am capable of killing”;¹⁷
- April 2001: Josaya Hungwe, the Masvingo Provincial Governor, addressing a gathering at the Masvingo Civic Centre and accompanied by the late Border Gezi, former Minister of Gender, Youth Development and Employment Creation, said: “If you do not vote for ZANU (PF) in the coming mayoral election, people are going to be killed. I want to tell you, someone is going to die.”¹⁸
- July 2001: The Minister of Foreign Affairs told trainee teachers: “As civil servants, you have to be loyal to the Government of the day. You can even be killed for supporting the opposition and no one would guarantee your safety.”¹⁹

No criminal charges have been brought against any of these officials for making these statements. In contrast, the Government has brought charges against the MDC President, Vice-President and various party officials for inciting violence.²⁰

3.2 MDC supporters in rural areas

The rural areas were, and remain, the epicentre for the violence against MDC supporters. In the run-up to the June 2000 General Election, at least 35 MDC supporters were killed by ZANU (PF) militias, mainly in the rural areas. The militias kidnapped and tortured people at centres specifically set up for this purpose. They raped women. They set fire to houses and food stores. They assaulted and drove away teachers, doctors and nurses whom they suspected of encouraging people to support the MDC. They warned hospitals and clinics not to treat MDC supporters injured in these attacks.

The violence in the rural areas goes on. ZANU (PF) militias continue to terrorise the rural population, with little or no intervention from the police. In effect, the protection of the law has been removed from anyone who supports the MDC, making MDC supporters more vulnerable than ever. “War veterans” are

now in charge of many rural police stations and there has been an increasing number of incidents in which the police have participated in the violence against MDC supporters, sometimes in the police stations.²¹ There are numerous allegations that MDC supporters have been tortured in police stations where they have been held after being arrested. Many people have had to flee from violence-racked rural areas and have sought refuge in the slightly safer urban areas.

In May and June 2001 ZANU (PF) stepped up the violence in the rural areas. The violence was particularly intensive in Mashonaland Central Province. Here is a typical report of the situation in this area in June:²²

A reign of terror has rocked Bindura as Mashonaland Central Governor, Elliot Manyika, launches his campaign to succeed the late Border Gezi as Member of Parliament for the area. Police in Bindura yesterday confirmed the escalation of violence in the constituency...

On Wednesday about 100 ZANU (PF) youths and war veterans who were transported by a UD Nissan lorry destroyed two cars and a shop belonging to the MDC Mashonaland Central provincial co-ordinator Joseph Mashinya at Chidembo business centre...

[Mashinya] said at around 4 p.m. a truckload of war veterans and ZANU (PF) youths descended on Chidembo with the intention of abducting him. "They came here looking for me but I managed to find somewhere to hide. That is when they started beating everyone who was at the shopping centre. Their reason for this terror is to wipe out any MDC element in the province," he said. "Before departing from the business centre they turned on my two cars and several others which were parked nearby. They smashed the cars and shattered all windows. My Toyota Cressida station wagon was set ablaze before they attacked my shop with stones, iron bars and hammers," Mashinya explained...

Last Sunday Manyika is also said to have led a group of ZANU (PF) supporters in attacking an MDC "safe-house" which accommodates victims of violence from Mashonaland Central province. The ZANU (PF) supporters then effected "citizens' arrests" on 15 of the 25 victims. The arrested victims are alleged to have been in possession of petrol bombs which the police have classified as "arms of war". In the attack on the safe-house several neighbouring houses were also attacked on suspicion that they also housed MDC supporters... Manyika is said to have personally assaulted the Bindura MDC district chairman, Felix Kunaka, at gunpoint while the war veterans accompanying the Governor also assaulted him.²³

A typical report of the situation in south-western Zimbabwe at this time reads:²⁴

Armed bands of former ZIPRA combatants have caused panic among the civilian population on the new resettlement areas in the Nyamandlovu area, north-west of Bulawayo. The war veterans are said to be harassing suspected supporters of the MDC, and sexually abusing women settlers. According to some settlers at one resettlement scheme near Deli, groups of rowdy war veterans, some clutching Kalashnikov combat rifles, roam the resettlement areas on a daily basis, intimidating those who do not possess ZANU (PF) membership cards. Seven settlers were reported to have abandoned the new homes after war veterans kept on harassing and threatening to kill them.

"Nobody feels safe in this place because of harassment by war veterans. Whenever we make reports to the Nyamandlovu police, they tell us they can't touch war vets," one villager said... Police in Nyamandlovu refused to speak to the reporter from the newspaper, saying they were instructed not to talk to journalists from the independent media. The officer who answered the phone told the paper to send questions to Harare. "Anything to do with war veterans, please ask our Harare headquarters," said the officer.

When this reporter arrived in the Deli resettlement area, he was confronted by four war veterans dressed in military style khaki outfits, who promptly "arrested" him for entering what they called "a protected area". The men took the reporter to their leader who simply introduced himself as the field commander of Nyamandlovu resettlement area and was "licensed" to eliminate suspected MDC spies and foreign journalists... He denied accusations that his men were sexually harassing women on the farms, and that

one of his men wanted to kill a villager suspected of being a member of the MDC. “We don’t harass civilians here. We only kill spies sent by whites.”...

However, the women settlers who were brave enough to speak to this paper said two of their colleagues had been raped by war veterans on the farms. The victims had been attacked after allegedly turning down the war veterans’ advances. “If you are raped here, the police will not do anything because they were told not to interfere with the war veterans,” said Cecilia Moyo who was allocated a stand in the area when land was being parcelled out.²⁵

3.3 MDC supporters in urban areas

The terror campaign in the urban areas prior to the June 2000 General Election was on a much smaller scale than that in the rural areas, and had little impact. The urban vote in the election was overwhelmingly pro-MDC, and the MDC won all the constituencies in the two main cities, Harare and Bulawayo. Notable incidents prior to the election included the establishment of a torture centre in the Harare suburb of Budiriro. The centre was a medical surgery owned by the “war veteran” leader, the late Dr Chenjerai Hunzvi. A number of people were abducted, taken to the surgery and subjected to protracted torture.

Immediately after the General Election the violence in urban areas intensified. Soldiers in armoured vehicles and police support unit officers were deployed in the suburbs of Harare and other cities and towns, allegedly to maintain order and prevent an outbreak of post-election violence. Instead, they assaulted residents, including senior MDC party officials, as part of a strategy to punish urban people for having voted for the MDC in such large numbers.

This campaign of terror by army and police personnel continued sporadically into 2001. An example is the attack on the MDC Member of Parliament, Job Sikhala, and his pregnant wife in February 2001, referred to earlier. In the same month soldiers went on the rampage in Chitungwiza, near Harare, entering a nightclub, forcing its patrons to lie face down and then beating them for being “MDC supporters”.²⁶

Since May 2001 the number of attacks on MDC officials and supporters has increased. In early April, Hunzvi announced that the “war veterans” were going to set up “mobilisation bases” in each of the 42 urban constituencies; from these bases they would conduct “an aggressive Presidential Election campaign” on behalf of ZANU (PF).²⁷ This announcement was followed by a wave of attacks on MDC Members of Parliament, officials and supporters. In one of the worst cases, an MDC supporter was allegedly abducted and taken to a place where he and several other MDC supporters were tortured. The torture took the form of placing a red-hot metal chain across their backs so as to create burn lines in the form of an “X”. The details of this incident are given at the end of this report.²⁸

In July 2001, following a 2-day work stay-away organised by the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU), soldiers beat up unarmed civilians as a punishment for participating in the protest. One such incident is described in the following report:

Armed soldiers and policemen are alleged to have severely beaten up people in Harare’s Warren Park, Kuwadzana and Dzivaresekwa suburbs yesterday, accusing them of taking part in the two-day stay-away which ended on Wednesday. At around 3.00 a.m. yesterday, the soldiers and policemen entered homes and bars in Dzivaresekwa and attacked occupants for allegedly barricading roads. On Wednesday evening several people returning from the city were beaten up. In Warren Park 1, soldiers burst into the Babylon Inn Night Club, just after midnight yesterday, and accused patrons of holding an MDC meeting. They beat them up. Even workers were not spared. A patron, William Sharara, 24, sustained a broken left arm and other injuries. Those who tried to escape through the back entrance were beaten back by other soldiers who were outside. Beatings were reported in Kuwadzana, Budiriro and Mufakose on Wednesday and after midnight yesterday. The MDC Budiriro 1 district secretary was beaten up so severely he could hardly walk or sit while another man is now bed-ridden from injuries resulting from the beatings.²⁹

3.4 Businesses and foreign aid organisations

In April 2001, ZANU (PF) appointed Joseph Chinotimba, a war veteran, as its political commissar for Harare³⁰ and formed the five-member Harare Province Labour Committee to deal with “labour disputes”. The committee members included Chinotimba and the ZANU (PF) Vice-Chairman for Harare Province, Chris Pasipamire.³¹ This action was taken in the wake of the election of a new ZCTU executive in which the key positions had gone to MDC sympathisers. Chinotimba unilaterally proclaimed himself the head of the ZCTU and the “war veterans” embarked upon a strategy to undermine worker support for the ZCTU and strengthen worker support for ZANU (PF). They sought to exploit a situation that had been created by the Government itself – a dysfunctional system of settlement of workers’ grievances, resulting from underfunding and understaffing. Their activities included:

- Raiding commercial businesses, a private hospital, a private dental surgery, foreign development aid agencies, and charity organisations (including a children’s orphanage and a home for the elderly);
- Assaulting and intimidating managers and executive officers of these organisations;
- Extorting millions of dollars from these organisations;
- Taking some managers and executive officers to the ZANU (PF) provincial headquarters where they were threatened, assaulted and tortured.

Initially, the Government-controlled press applauded the activities of the “war veterans” on behalf of workers. In most instances, the police refused to intervene to stop their activities and protect those affected.

The business community strongly condemned this wave of lawlessness, as did foreign Governments, especially after foreign nationals, foreign-owned companies and foreign aid organisations were affected. In one instance, the “war veterans” manhandled the Canadian High Commissioner to Zimbabwe when he tried to stop them taking away a Canadian national who was the head of a Canadian-funded aid organisation in Zimbabwe. In protest, several countries suspended aid to Zimbabwe or threatened to do so.

It was only when this campaign began attracting widespread international condemnation that the Government decided to rein in the “war veterans”, to a limited extent. It claimed that rogue elements within the “war veterans” had perpetrated excesses instead of settling labour disputes, and it dissolved the Harare Province Labour Committee.³² Some people were arrested and charged with extortion, among them Pasipamire. One high-ranking “war veteran”, Mike Moyo, was arrested but soon released. After his release he accused the Minister of Home Affairs of sanctioning the invasions and condemned him for ordering the arrest of minor players rather than the main instigators, Hunzvi and Chinotimba, who he said had made personal fortunes by taking large amounts of the money extorted from businesses.³³

The Government’s token clamp down on the “war veterans” did not affect their core activities. In June 2001 they attacked the Shamva Gold Mine, destroying homes and attacking suspected MDC supporters.³⁴ Thirty-five people were injured, five of them seriously.³⁵

In July 2001 the ZCTU called a 2-day work stoppage to protest against the huge hike in petrol prices, economic mismanagement and corruption within the Mugabe Government. The Zimbabwe National Liberation War Veterans’ Association (ZNLWVA) threatened attacks on foreign companies that closed during the stoppage. Chinotimba accused these companies of undermining the country and said on State radio: “We want to identify such people and if they are not citizens of this country we are going to deal with them... [and make] them evacuate our country within a day.”³⁶ Threats were also made against ZCTU leaders.

3.5 Foreign embassies

In late April 2001, a local newspaper quoted Hunzvi as saying: “Our next target ... will be to deal once and for all with foreign embassies and non-governmental organisations that are funding the MDC. We

will use whatever means we have to deal with these foreign nations who want to install a puppet regime in Zimbabwe.”³⁷ His statement was widely condemned and he later attempted to deny he had made it.³⁸

The foreign embassies demanded a guarantee of their safety and security. The Secretary for Foreign Affairs said that the Government of Zimbabwe could not guarantee the security of foreign embassies and donor agencies that flouted their terms of registration by supporting opposition parties and interfering in internal politics. This refusal to offer protection to foreign embassies was later quietly retracted.³⁹

3.6 ZANU (PF) officials and supporters

The Mugabe Government propaganda machine has sought to portray the MDC as a party of hooligans intent upon achieving power through the use of violence. The Government-controlled media give prominent coverage to all allegations of violence by MDC supporters, but report little of the violence perpetrated by ZANU (PF) supporters. The police are quick to clamp down on MDC supporters when they commit acts of violence, but usually ignore those carried out by ZANU (PF) supporters. The police often arrest MDC supporters without good cause.

MDC supporters have resorted to violence occasionally. Some of it, particularly by young people, has been unprovoked. Most of it, however, is defensive in nature or is in retaliation against the campaign of terror condoned by the Government and waged by ZANU (PF) supporters against MDC supporters throughout the country.

The various bodies that have kept a record of the violence in 2000 and 2001 all report that ZANU (PF) supporters have been responsible for the bulk of the violence, with only a small proportion of it being attributable to MDC supporters.⁴⁰ Most of the victims of violence have been MDC supporters or suspected MDC supporters, although as the violence has intensified it has become more difficult to determine the political persuasions of the victims as they are reluctant to reveal this.

4. Violence associated with electoral challenges, by-elections and mayoral elections

4.1 Electoral challenges

After the June 2000 General Election the MDC initiated proceedings to have the results set aside in 38 constituencies, on the basis that the elections had not been free and fair because of the violent campaign by ZANU (PF) supporters against the MDC. The MDC said it had been unable to campaign in some constituencies because it was too dangerous, and that violence and the threat of violence had deterred MDC supporters from exercising their right to vote for the party of their choice.

Shortly before the electoral challenges were due to be heard, Mugabe sought to prevent the courts from invalidating any election results. Purporting to act according to the terms of his powers under the Electoral Act,⁴¹ he “validated” any corrupt or illegal practices committed during the General Election, deeming them not be violations of the Electoral Act. In the preamble to these regulations, he proclaimed that the elections had been “held under peaceful conditions”, that “the people who voted did so freely” and that the outcome of the election “represents a genuine and free expression of the people’s will”. He added that the challenges were “undermining political stability and the democratisation process” and therefore had to be stopped “in the interests of peace, security and stability.”

The Supreme Court unanimously⁴² ruled that these presidential regulations were invalid, finding that they violated the right of candidates to seek legal recourse when election results were challenged on the grounds that the elections were tainted by corrupt and illegal practices.

There is a large body of evidence showing that the elections were not free and fair, nor were they held under peaceful conditions.⁴³ In December, many months after the General Election, the electoral

challenges finally began to be heard in the High Court.⁴⁴ In four of the cases heard so far, the challenges have succeeded and the election results in these constituencies have been set aside.

4.2 Violence against witnesses

Having failed to stop the electoral challenges from being heard, ZANU (PF) supporters unleashed violence upon MDC candidates to intimidate them into withdrawing their challenges, and upon MDC witnesses to intimidate them against testifying. Some police officers have taken part in the violence against MDC witnesses.⁴⁵ The numerous incidents of witness intimidation are described at the end of this report.⁴⁶ A typical case is given here:

K.M., aged 32, an assistant welder and MDC organising secretary, was assaulted on 22 February 2001 at Chiredzi. He was assaulted with whips by a group of ZANU (PF) youths led by war veteran, Boniface Mutemachani. He received serious injuries and bruises all over his body. His assailants accused him of being “a key witness against their party”. He was further attacked with a pick handle on his left shin. K.M. identified one assailant, Farai Kahlamba, as the instigator of the assault. K.M. was left for dead, and could not walk to find help. He suffered a severe bone fracture, and received treatment at Dr Mungwazi’s surgery. The matter was reported to the police but no arrests have been made in the matter.

In another case, three lawyers had travelled to Chikomba to investigate reports of witness intimidation. On arrival they saw one of the witnesses being assaulted by ZANU (PF) youths. The youths then severely assaulted one of the lawyers, and took him and the witness to the police station, where they were further assaulted by police officers. When the other two lawyers arrived at the station to rescue their colleague, the member in charge, a war veteran, detained them. He ordered all police details to arm themselves with automatic weapons and distributed live ammunition to them. He then lectured the lawyers about the evils of the MDC, stating that as educated people they ought not to allow themselves to be used by white people. He threatened to call Hunzvi, “war veterans” and the army to carry out further assaults on the lawyers. The lawyers were later released.⁴⁷

This violent intimidation has led a few MDC candidates to withdraw their court cases. It has also caused some witnesses to refuse to testify.

4.3 Threats against judges

After one of the judges involved in the electoral challenges, Justice Devittie, set aside the results in three constituencies⁴⁸ on the grounds that there had been widespread violence and intimidation, Chinotimba warned him that he could “soon be following his master” from the court bench. This was a reference to the forced retirement of Chief Justice Gubbay (see 5.3). A newspaper quoted Chinotimba as saying: “Devittie is a judge for opposition political parties. The way Gubbay went is the same way Devittie is going to go.”⁴⁹ Chinotimba later denied that he had threatened Devittie. It is understood that “war veterans” threatened to kill Devittie and his mother. Devittie resigned from the bench.

Devittie’s resignation has led to further delays in the hearing of these cases as it has been difficult to reassign the cases to other judges. The judges are now understandably reluctant to hear these cases and are finding excuses not to get involved in them.⁵⁰

In June 2001 Judge Ziyambi set aside the result in the constituency of Chiredzi North. She ruled that there was widespread violence and intimidation in the constituency during the General Election, perpetrated mainly by ZANU (PF) supporters and “war veterans”, making it impossible for voters to back the candidate of their choice. The ruling follows a petition to the court by the defeated MDC candidate.⁵¹ It remains to be seen whether threats will be levelled against Judge Ziyambi for her decision.

4.4 By-elections and mayoral elections

Two by-elections have been held since the June 2000 General Election, and seven more are in the pipeline. In Marondera West, won by ZANU (PF) in the General Election, the by-election took place in November 2000. In Bikita West, won by the MDC, the by-election was held in January 2001. Before the Marondera West by-election, Hunzvi and an entourage of “war veterans” travelled extensively around the constituency. But it was in the Bikita West constituency, one of the few rural constituencies won by the MDC, that the Government pulled out all the stops to win back the constituency.

ZANU (PF) supporters and “war veterans” descended on Bikita West and set up base camps. Hunzvi, Chinotimba and a third leading figure, Francis Zimuto, travelled around the constituency forcing people to attend rallies and instigating assaults on MDC supporters. Chiefs and Headmen were warned that they would lose their privileges unless they ensured that people in their areas voted for ZANU (PF). Villagers were told that their votes were not secret and anyone voting for the MDC would be ruthlessly dealt with. Just prior to the by-election Minister Gezi handed out millions of dollars for the development of youth projects. The result was that ZANU (PF) won Bikita West with a substantial majority.

The success of these tactics persuaded ZANU (PF) to use them again in an urban constituency, Masvingo, where mayoral elections were due to be held in May 2001. Large numbers of ZANU (PF) supporters and “war veterans” were sent into the area. The police arrested numerous MDC supporters on allegations of public violence, but ignored the violence and intimidation being perpetrated by ZANU (PF). The “war veterans” drove around ordering businesses to close and forcing everyone to attend rallies to be addressed by the two Vice-Presidents and several Government Ministers.⁵² The Government-controlled press created the impression that thousands of people had packed halls eager to hear these addresses.⁵³ Despite these efforts, the MDC won the mayoral election convincingly, ZANU (PF) getting only 29% of the vote.

In early July 2001 it was reported⁵⁴ that “war veterans” and CIO agents had descended on Nerutanga in Buhera North, the home village of the MDC president, Morgan Tsvangirai. The High Court had recently nullified the General Election result in this constituency, which Tsvangirai had lost to the ZANU (PF) candidate. In anticipation of a by-election and in preparation for the 2002 Presidential Election, ZANU (PF) has embarked upon a terror campaign in the constituency, targeting school teachers, other civil servants and “uncooperative” traditional leaders. The MDC branch secretary for the area, Willard Magadzire, has reported that scores of families have been forced to abandon their homes and have fled to the mountains for safety. Magadzire himself has had his homestead burnt and property destroyed by ZANU (PF) supporters. He said that reports have been made to the police, but they have refused to intervene, saying they fear the CIO.

Other areas which have recently been subjected to violence associated with by-elections, mayoral elections and the run-up to the Presidential Election include:

- Bindura, where a by-election is to be held on 21 and 22 July 2001; the ZANU (PF) candidate for this seat, Governor Elliott Manyika, has been conducting a campaign of violent intimidation in the area;⁵⁵ ZANU (PF) youths operating from seven bases they had set up in the area have allegedly raped some women and assaulted suspected MDC supporters;⁵⁶
- Bulawayo, where the election of an executive mayor is due to take place in July 2001; Chinotimba has arrived in the city to spearhead what will inevitably be a violent campaign;⁵⁷
- Kwekwe, Bindura and Bulawayo, where the police have raided MDC offices and arrested MDC officials; the MDC reports that their party offices are being searched, often without search warrants.⁵⁸

On 22 July 2001, ZANU (PF) youths attacked a convoy carrying the MDC president, the party's candidate for the Bindura constituency, Elliot Pfebve, and several senior members of the party. The convoy was en route to venues in Bindura. The vehicles were damaged by stones thrown by the youths and one car was set on fire, but none of the MDC officials was injured. However, several MDC supporters were injured, some seriously; one was said to be in critical condition. A few kilometres on, an even bigger mob

advanced threateningly towards the vehicles, but was stopped by the intervention of the police. Armed policemen then accompanied the MDC team to two rallies.⁵⁹

5. Campaign against independent institutions

5.1 Independent media

The independent press has played an important role in exposing corruption and the abuse of power by Government officials and in documenting the violent activities of ZANU (PF) supporters. This has made it a primary target for the ruling party, which has used a range of legal and extra-legal measures to try to silence it. These measures include making death threats to and assaults on reporters,⁶⁰ bombing the offices and printing press⁶¹ of one independent newspaper, charging editors and reporters with criminal defamation, and repeatedly suing newspapers for civil defamation, claiming large amounts of damages. Legislation imposing far-reaching restrictions on the press is in the pipeline. It includes Government registration of newspapers, licensing of reporters and the establishment of a statutory media council. The legislation will enable the Government to stop newspapers and journalists from operating if found guilty by the Government-appointed council. It will also severely restrict foreign funding of Zimbabwean media institutions.

Steps are also being taken against foreign journalists. In February 2001 the Government forced two foreign journalists who had been highly critical of it to leave the country.⁶² In mid-June it announced stricter working conditions for foreign journalists, requiring them to apply for press accreditation at least a month before an intended visit. Applications have to be submitted to the Information Ministry in Harare or through Zimbabwe's diplomatic missions abroad. Journalists have been warned not to make travel plans until approval is given.⁶³ Also in mid-June the Government rejected applications for entry by two BBC film crews. At the end of June a third foreign journalist was told that his work permit would not be renewed when it expired in July.⁶⁴

5.2. Non-governmental organisations

A number of NGOs in Zimbabwe are highly critical of the Mugabe Government and have documented and exposed the human rights abuses committed by State security agencies and ZANU (PF) supporters. The Government has therefore sought to undermine them. Security agency personnel have tried to infiltrate NGOs to find out about their operations and to cause trouble within them, and the Government has funded the establishment of pro-Government parallel agencies to weaken support for existing NGOs. Further measures in the pipeline to hamper the operations of NGOs include one aimed at restricting foreign funding for them.

In June 2001 the Government-controlled press reported that the Government was proposing to ban NGOs and the churches from carrying out voter education; instead, the Government-appointed Electoral Supervisory Commission would conduct voter education programmes.⁶⁵ The Commission is seriously underfunded and understaffed.

5.3 Judiciary

The High Court and Supreme Court have made a series of rulings that land reform is being carried out illegally. The Government has ignored court orders requiring it to evict illegal farm invaders and to comply with the required procedures contained in its own laws. In one case the Supreme Court said: "There is no dispute that a programme of land reform is necessary and indeed essential for the future peace and prosperity of Zimbabwe."⁶⁶ It added that the Government had enacted the necessary laws for land reform, but had then failed to comply with these laws. All the courts were doing was to seek to have the Government abide by its own laws. The Supreme Court also made the following observation:

Wicked things have been done and continue to be done. They must be stopped. Common law crimes have been, and are being, committed with impunity. Laws made by Parliament have been flouted by the Government. The activities of the past nine months must be condemned.

The Mugabe Government responded by mounting vicious verbal attacks upon the Judiciary, claiming that the judges were seeking to prevent land reform. It stage-managed protests by “war veterans” against the judges, culminating in the invasion of the main courtroom of the Supreme Court. The “war veterans” threatened to invade the homes of judges if they did not resign.⁶⁷ These attacks sought to discredit the Judiciary and create the impression that the judges were obstructing the equitable re-distribution of land.⁶⁸

Although an agreement reached between the Government and Chief Justice Gubbay included Government assurances that it respected the independence of the judiciary and a Government undertaking that it would put a stop to attempts to remove judges illegally,⁶⁹ pressure continued to be exerted on judges perceived to be hostile towards the Government. This pressure led eventually to the forced early retirement of Chief Justice Gubbay. The war veterans vowed that they would continue their campaign to get rid of “reactionary” judges. Chinotimba threatened to force the resignation of one judge who had decided in favour of the MDC in one of the constituency challenges (see 3.3).

Since the resignation of Chief Justice Gubbay, three judges have resigned. At least one of these resignations stemmed from threats by “war veterans”.⁷⁰ The Government has appointed eight new judges, all of whom have connections with the ruling party.

6. Role of Government, “war veterans” and security agencies

6.1 Government

Some members of the Mugabe Government have tried to imply that the Government has not been responsible for the violence that has afflicted the country. They maintain that none of the violence has been State sponsored, State directed or State organised. All the evidence, however, points to Mugabe authorising and encouraging the use of violence to prevent the MDC from winning political power through the ballot box.⁷¹ The 77-year-old President,⁷² who has headed the Government for over two decades, seems determined to retain power at all costs.

The violence started in early 2000 with the farm invasions, which were organised by the Government and its security agencies. Since then, ZANU (PF) has been directly behind all the violence against the MDC. The President and many other ZANU (PF) officials have repeatedly incited violence against the MDC. Many of these officials have helped organise the violence and have participated in it. Many others have condoned it through their silence.

6.2 “War veterans”

Mugabe’s chief agency of violence against his political opponents has been and continues to be a small core group of “war veterans”⁷³ who are fanatically loyal to him. This group operates militias comprising ZANU (PF) youths and other ZANU (PF) supporters, most of whom are not war veterans. The group leaders have repeatedly stated that they will use violence to ensure the MDC never assumes power in Zimbabwe, as they regard it as a front for the protection of white minority interests. They have also vowed to take whatever measures are necessary to ensure that Mugabe wins the Presidential Election in 2002.⁷⁴ The ruling party finances their operations and the security agencies supply them with arms. The leading members of this group of “war veterans” are Joseph Chinotimba and, until his recent death, Chenjerai Hunzvi.⁷⁵

Hunzvi was a Polish-trained medical doctor who claimed to have played a prominent role in the liberation struggle; several war veterans have stated that these claims were false. He was accused of fraudulent

practices.⁷⁶ His ascent to power began in 1997, when he led protests that forced Mugabe to grant war veterans lavish pensions. These unbudgeted payments drove up inflation and pushed the economy into a downward spiral. After Mugabe's defeat in the constitutional referendum, Hunzvi's "war veterans" were asked to campaign on behalf of ZANU (PF) in the General Election. Hunzvi readily accepted this task, saying: "All revolutions require violence... No-one can stop the revolution we have started." Prior to the election, his surgery in Harare was used as a centre for torturing numerous MDC supporters (see 3.3). His campaign to be elected as an MP was characterised by extreme violence. He organised the farm invasions and played a prominent role in the violent by-election campaigns in Marondera West and Bikita West and mayoral elections in Masvingo (see 4.4).

Chinotimba, a war veteran, is a low-level employee in the Harare City Council. He became Hunzvi's right hand and has played a pivotal role in the farm invasions, styling himself the Commander in Chief of Farm Invasions. In November 2000 he led a group of "war veterans" in storming the Supreme Court to protest against the court's rulings on land reform and to demand the resignation of Chief Justice Gubbay (see 5.3). He accompanied Hunzvi in the campaigns in Marondera West, Bikita West and Masvingo. He is currently facing charges for attempting to kill a female MDC supporter by shooting her twice.⁷⁷ He has repeatedly breached the bail conditions set by the court when he was remanded out of custody on this charge.

The rise of the "war veterans" to their current position of power has been fostered throughout by the Government and the ruling party:

- In early 2000, ZANU (PF) allocated the "war veterans" Z\$20 million to use in their campaign for the ruling party in the General Election. They formed militias composed of ZANU (PF) supporters, mostly unemployed youths, and paid the recruits for their violent activities. ZANU (PF) provided transport and other necessary support, and personnel from the CIO, the army and the police participated or assisted in the operations undertaken by the "war veterans";
- After the General Election, ZANU (PF) provided the "war veterans" with two floors of a Government building in Harare, from which to conduct their operations;
- In September 2000, ZANU (PF) announced that the "war veterans" would be brought into the army as a reserve force;
- In October 2000, Mugabe granted an amnesty to all perpetrators of violence in the period leading up to the General Election, except those who had killed or raped.⁷⁸ The main beneficiaries of this amnesty were the "war veterans". This fortified their belief that they were above the law and they became almost untouchable by the police unless ZANU (PF) authorised the police to take action against them, which happened rarely;
- In early 2001 the late Minister Gezi installed "war veterans" in key positions in the reconstituted ZANU (PF) provincial executives;
- April, May and June 2001 saw an intensification of the campaign of terror against the MDC in both the rural areas and the towns, with the involvement of Government officials, as described earlier.

At the end of May 2001 the Secretary-General of the ZNLWVA, Andy Mhlanga, said his association would be meeting to plan an aggressive strategy for the Presidential Election.⁷⁹ The association would draw up a comprehensive budget and would be looking for at least Z\$1.5 million per province, a total of Z\$15 million; it would also lobby for a fleet of heavy-duty vehicles to use during the campaign.

As the Presidential Election draws closer, the violence by the "war veterans" against the opposition is likely to escalate.

6.3 Zimbabwe Republic Police

When the farm invasions started in 2000, the courts ordered the police to evict the illegal occupiers. The head of the Zimbabwe Republic Police (ZRP), Commissioner Augustine Chihuri, himself a war veteran,

initially adopted the attitude that this was a political matter which could not be handled by the police. By January 2001 he had cast off the cloak of political neutrality and announced “I support ZANU (PF) because it is the ruling party.”⁸⁰

Prior to the June 2000 General Election there were many instances when the police turned a blind eye to violence being perpetrated against white farmers and MDC supporters. Although some members of the force tried to carry out their duties professionally on a politically neutral basis, in general the police failed to intervene or to investigate murder, rape, torture or the destruction of property by the “war veterans”. Some people were even taken from police stations and killed by “war veterans”.

After the General Election the police force became increasingly partisan in favour of the ruling party. Police and army personnel attacked people in urban areas to punish them for voting for the MDC. Police officers seen reading independent newspapers were regarded as disloyal; those who tried to enforce the law on a non-partisan basis were transferred⁸¹ or demoted; and some senior officers left in disgust over the political abuse of the police force.⁸² One senior officer who took action to save a foreign businessman’s enterprise from the “war veterans” was told to pack his bags and report to a police station. To justify his purge of senior officers, Chihuri alleged that there were reactionary elements in the force, remnants of the Rhodesian Selous Scouts and the British South Africa Police (BSAP).⁸³ In July 2001 he told a Government-controlled newspaper that police officers thought to support opposition political parties would be sacked; an undisclosed number of officers have already been dismissed on these grounds.⁸⁴

“War veterans” in the police force have received rapid promotion; more have been recruited into the force and some have been placed in charge of rural police stations. These officers have not only refused to assist MDC supporters under attack from ZANU (PF) supporters, but also in some instances have participated in these attacks. Selective enforcement of the law has become the norm, with the police arresting anyone connected with the MDC for offences such as inciting or committing public violence, but ignoring similar offences committed by ZANU (PF) supporters. The police regularly carry out raids on MDC party offices and arrest MDC members on flimsy charges. In March 2001 the police imposed a ban on MDC rallies in Chitungwiza, near Harare.⁸⁵

In essence, the police force has removed the protection of the law from those considered to be hostile to ZANU (PF). It has become an instrument for violence rather than a force to protect people irrespective of their party affiliation. It has become a para-military militia to be used to ensure that Mugabe wins the Presidential Election.

6.4 Zimbabwe National Army

The ZNA consists of about 40,000 soldiers. It has been constantly enlarged in recent years.

The ruling party has made attempts to turn the ZNA into a politically partisan force. The Army Commander, Constantine Chiwenga, is reported to have toured army barracks urging soldiers to rally behind ZANU (PF) to thwart a possible MDC victory in the Presidential Election.⁸⁶ Many high-ranking ZNA officers are veterans of the liberation war and have benefited considerably from Mugabe’s system of patronage and are thus beholden to him. “War veterans” in the army have received rapid promotion to higher ranks.⁸⁷

In urban areas, army personnel have participated in the ongoing campaign to punish people for voting for the MDC in the General Election. They have also trained the police units that are being deployed to deal with urban unrest and to harass MDC officials and supporters. In the rural areas the army has provided transport and assistance for farm invasions.

There have been repeated allegations that the ZNA is supplying arms to the “war veterans”, but now that the latter have been absorbed as a reserve force in the army they will presumably have free access to army weapons.

6.5 Central Intelligence Organisation

It is thought that there are between 8000 and 10,000 personnel in this unit. The unit is under Mugabe's direct control. It has a separate and large budget that is not subject to audit by the Auditor-General. Its Director and Deputy Director are both war veterans. It has played an important role in organising and participating in the farm invasions and in organising the terror campaign.

6.6 ZANU (PF) youth

Young ZANU (PF) supporters make up the core of the militias led by the "war veterans" and used by the ruling party to perpetrate violence against MDC officials and supporters.

The Government is planning to introduce a National Youth Service. It says this scheme is aimed at instilling discipline and patriotism. Young people will be eligible for employment in State institutions only if they have done their youth service stint. Opposition political parties fear that the scheme will be a way of indoctrinating young people and recruiting more of them for a nation-wide campaign of violence against the opposition in the run-up to the Presidential Election.

6.7 The civil service

In September 2000 the late Minister Gezi said that he intended retrenching all civil servants and replacing them with ZANU (PF) supporters. He said: "If you want to work for the Government, you should be prepared to support ZANU (PF)."⁸⁸ There followed a campaign led by the "war veterans" to get rid of all civil servants suspected of sympathising with the MDC. This has affected teachers, police officers, officials in Government offices such as rural district councils and district administrations, and many more.⁸⁹

The aim of these purges is to ensure that people in rural areas have no access to any locally based MDC sympathisers. Local officials who are members of ZANU (PF) are now in a position to reward party supporters by granting them drought relief, for example, and to withhold services from people who do not support ZANU (PF). Chiefs and Headmen, all of whom are appointed and paid by the Government, tend to be staunch supporters of ZANU (PF) and can be easily used by the party to influence people in their areas to vote for ZANU (PF).

7. Social and economic impact of the violence and land acquisition

7.1 Social impact

The violent campaign conducted throughout Zimbabwe by "war veterans", ZANU (PF) supporters and the State security agencies has had a devastating physical and social impact, especially in the rural areas. The violence that Zimbabweans have had to endure has included:

- Physical torture, including burning, severe beatings on the body, beating on the soles of the feet, electric shocks, and mock drowning;⁹⁰
- Psychological torture;
- Witnessing assaults on family members;
- Being forced to attend lengthy political indoctrination rallies during which suspected MDC supporters have been assaulted and threats made of dire consequences for anyone discovered by the "war veterans" to be supporting opposition parties;⁹¹
- The destruction of their homes and property.

The violence has spread fear and insecurity throughout the country. Most Zimbabweans live in a state of anxiety about their future and that of their families, their friends and their country.

Social services have been affected on a large scale. Nurses and doctors have been driven out of rural areas, suspected of being MDC sympathisers.⁹² Similarly, hundreds of headmasters and teachers have been forced to flee from as a result of assaults or threats of assault by “war veterans”, and the impact on schooling in rural communities has been severe.

Programmes of benefit to the community, such as the paralegal scheme run by the Legal Resources Foundation,⁹³ have been closed down or disrupted. The National Constitutional Assembly’s outreach programme to bring about constitutional reform has also been disrupted by “war veterans”.

7.2 Economic impact

The policies⁹⁴ of the Mugabe Government and the large-scale public sector corruption⁹⁵ have seriously damaged the economy of Zimbabwe. Factors reflecting this damage include the following:

- Unemployment stands at about 60%⁹⁶ and is rising as the economy contracts and businesses close or downsize; this has been exacerbated by the farm invasions which have resulted in large numbers of farm workers being put out of work;⁹⁷
- Formal sector unemployment has fallen by 90,000 (7%) to its lowest level since the mid-1990s;
- A large percentage of Zimbabweans suffer from poverty and the situation is deteriorating rapidly;⁹⁸
- According to the Zimbabwe Government Central Statistics Office, inflation stood at 64.4% in June 2001, having risen from 55.5% in May 2001. Inflation is forecast to reach nearly 100% by the end of 2001;⁹⁹
- The cost of staple items is set to escalate further following the increase of over 70% in the price of petrol in June 2001;¹⁰⁰
- Some 70% of the country’s GDP is required to service its foreign debt, and the Government has defaulted on foreign debt repayments;¹⁰¹
- The economy is forecast to shrink by about 10% in 2002;
- Foreign investment has plummeted;¹⁰²
- What were once growth industries, such as tourism, have been devastated; tourists have stopped visiting Zimbabwe because of the violence and instability;
- Several foreign Governments have cut, reduced or suspended aid to Zimbabwe to register their disapproval of the lawlessness that now characterises the country;
- There has been an exodus of black middle class professionals, including doctors, nurses, teachers, accountants and other people with skills that are badly needed; the small white population has also shrunk considerably.

7.3 Impact of fast-track resettlement

Fast-track resettlement has been carried out with little or no planning and totally inadequate financing. People have been resettled on land without the infrastructure, inputs and support necessary for them to make productive use of the land. Some of these people have not been able to sustain themselves and have returned to their communal land areas.

The inadequate support systems for resettled farmers and the major disruption to commercial farming enterprises has led to a drastic reduction in the production of export crops such as tobacco and of food crops such as maize and wheat. Independent, professional studies show that there will soon be considerable shortfalls in food crops such as maize. The Government, however, continues to maintain that there will not be any shortfalls,¹⁰³ although the Minister of Finance, Simba Makoni, has admitted that food shortages are looming, that there is no provision for food importation in the budget and that foreign currency has run out.¹⁰⁴

The Presidential Election is likely to be held at a time when many Zimbabweans will need food relief. As in the past, the ruling party may well use food relief as a political weapon. People facing starvation are likely to be told that they will receive emergency food supplies only if they vote for Mugabe in the election.

Despite the disastrous results of land acquisition and fast-track resettlement, in June 2001 the Government intensified the acquisition of commercial farms. In an eight-day period it designated a further 2030 commercial farms for acquisition; according to the Commercial Farmers' Union (CFU) only 1000 of these are new listings. The number of commercial farms acquired or about to be acquired now stands at about 4500 out of a total of 5500.¹⁰⁵

8. Implications for Southern Africa and for Africa in general

The continuing instability in Zimbabwe has had adverse economic effects on the countries in Southern Africa. It has led to a serious drop in tourism in the region, and has affected foreign investment. It has left Zimbabwe unable to pay some of the large debts owed to South Africa, and there has been a decline in trade between the two countries.

The response of Africa to the political repression in Zimbabwe is important for the future course of democratisation and the development of tolerant systems of political competition in Africa. At a meeting of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) in July, African Foreign Ministers defended Zimbabwe's land programme¹⁰⁶ and blamed the instability, conflict and economic disruption on Britain's refusal to support Zimbabwe's land reform efforts.¹⁰⁷

The criticism of Britain was, however, expunged from the final declaration of the African Heads of State.¹⁰⁸ A South African Foreign Affairs spokesman later stated that South Africa's stance on the land reform programme remained unchanged – “land redistribution in Zimbabwe should be done within the framework of the law and the constitution of that country”¹⁰⁹ – and this stance has been publicly endorsed by President Mbeki on several occasions.

Many African countries seem unable or unprepared to accept that the ruling party in Zimbabwe is using the land issue as a cover to mount a full-scale attack upon the country's democratic institutions. In general, African leaders have failed to condemn the violence directed at Mugabe's political opponents and seem to have failed to understand that Mugabe's approach to the land problem is causing untold harm.

9. Concluding observations

There is a clear need for land redistribution in Zimbabwe. The international community must fully support genuine land reform. What the international community must not support is the Mugabe Government's attempts to snuff out democracy under the guise of land reform. Land reform cannot be used to justify a campaign of terror against political opponents involving murder, assault, torture and the destruction of property. Mugabe must not be allowed to deceive people into believing that violence has been necessary to overcome resistance to land reform, or that there were no alternatives to his unplanned, chaotic and destructive massive land grab.¹¹⁰ He must not be permitted to make land the sole issue and to remove from the agenda the vitally important issues of democracy, human rights and the rule of law.

Zimbabwe has become a lawless society in which anyone who opposes Mugabe's policies is in danger of attack. The rule of law¹¹¹ has been replaced by rule by thugs. Armed militias roam the countryside assaulting people whose sole “crime” is to support the opposition party. The victims receive little or no protection from the law enforcement agencies; worse, members of these agencies sometimes participate in the assaults.

The campaign of political violence, intimidation and repression has all but destroyed democracy in Zimbabwe. To retain power in the face of increasing opposition, Mugabe has been prepared to subvert the democratic process, the independence of the judiciary, the freedom of the press and the professional neutrality of the police and the army. He has deliberately stirred up violence, race hatred and political intolerance, and he has brought economic destitution to his country.¹¹²

Disaster can be averted in Zimbabwe only by a return to democracy and the rule of law. The starting point for the restoration of democracy is a free and fair Presidential Election,¹¹³ monitored by international observers not only on the polling days, but also in the months leading up to the election. Both inside and outside Zimbabwe, pressure must be exerted to achieve this aim.

Only Mugabe can rein in the forces perpetrating violence in the name of ZANU (PF). The “war veterans” are so powerful that even members of the Government who do not approve of their activities are scared to express disapproval. There is, however, no indication that Mugabe will move to stop the violence. After Hunzvi died in June 2001, the Mugabe Government declared him a national hero.¹¹⁴ This speaks volumes about the value system of the Mugabe Government.¹¹⁵ At the funeral Mugabe implored Hunzvi’s followers not to relent in their campaign to seize land from the whites.¹¹⁶ This led to a new wave of violence in commercial farming areas – farm invasions, threats, intimidation, theft and work stoppages¹¹⁷ – intended to demonstrate that ZANU (PF)’s capacity to use violence had not been affected by Hunzvi’s death or by the debacle of the invasions of businesses and international development organisations. Attacks on MDC Members of Parliament are increasing. Violence has intensified in areas such as Bindura and Bulawayo where by-elections or mayoral elections are due to be held. The acquisition of white-owned commercial farms has been stepped up.

Despite international pressure, it seems likely that Mugabe will continue to foster violence in order to try to win the Presidential Election. It is doubtful that ZANU (PF) would have won the June 2000 General Election unless it had used violence. The economic conditions are now far worse than in June 2000. Prices of staple items have escalated and levels of unemployment and poverty have greatly increased. Land is not proving to be the trump card that ZANU (PF) expected it to be, given the problems arising out of the ill-conceived fast-track settlement programme. The disruption of agriculture due to violent land occupations has resulted in considerable shortfalls in maize and wheat production, and these shortages will become apparent in the period leading up to the Presidential Election. This will make the Mugabe Government even more unpopular. Under these conditions, it is difficult to see how Mugabe can win the Presidential Election without using violence. Thus Mugabe may well decide to continue with the violent campaign.¹¹⁸

The violence is likely to take the form of brutal suppression of all opposition. The vehicle is likely to be the “war veterans”, assisted by the State security agencies. But if Mugabe uses massive violence ahead of the poll, it will be impossible to conceal this from international observers, presuming they will be allowed in, and the international community will not accept the poll as free and fair. The Mugabe Government will then have even less legitimacy and will face increased isolation and sanctions.

The only other route available to Mugabe is to find an excuse to declare a state of emergency, ban the MDC, arrest its leadership, and rule by decree. The excuse could be an outbreak of violent unrest in the towns provoked by, for instance, the imprisonment of the President of the MDC on charges of inciting violence. This would be an extremely dangerous strategy. It could lead to irresistible pressure upon the South African President to take decisive steps to restore democracy in Zimbabwe by such measures as closing the border between the two countries or cutting off fuel and electricity supplies to Zimbabwe. Nonetheless, Mugabe might still calculate that he might get away with this strategy for a while by claiming that he had no option but to use extraordinary measures to deal with widespread violent unrest. A variation on the state of emergency scenario would be for Mugabe to get the army to stage a phoney coup. This would enable him to deal with the opposition and get rid of people in his own party who oppose his plan to prescribe who will succeed him. This, again, would be a very risky move.

Some see a glimmer of hope in Mugabe’s agreement to meet a delegation of Foreign Ministers from seven Commonwealth countries in August 2001.¹¹⁹ But it may be that he has merely succumbed to international pressure to engage in dialogue and will simply use these discussions as a delaying tactic. After the agreement to meet the delegation was announced, he stepped up farm acquisitions. The Government also immediately started to campaign to drop issues of governance from the meeting’s agenda, maintaining that the sole mandate of the Commonwealth delegation would be to resolve the differences over land between Britain and Zimbabwe. Mugabe announced that “extraneous” matters should not be allowed to distract attention from the land issue. He said that the core issue was land, and attention should not be deflected from this issue by “a fixation on peripheral matters such as the rule of law, democracy, good governance, and political violence”. Mugabe’s reference to these fundamental matters as “peripheral” is telling.

The Commonwealth, however, wants the delegation to investigate a wide range of issues, including the rule of law, lawlessness, and the harassment of opposition leaders, judges and the media. Commonwealth leaders are correct in their belief that only by addressing the national crisis from a holistic point of view, as opposed to a narrow land-oriented approach, can there be political stability and economic recovery. Zimbabweans yearn for political stability and economic recovery. They long for a society in which they can freely exercise their democratic rights and are protected by the law against political thuggery. The cry of Zimbabweans is summed up by the words of a recent victim of political violence: “We are tired of this violence and what we want now is just to vote and see the terror going away.”¹²⁰

Acronyms and abbreviations

AP	Associated Press
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
CFU	Commercial Farmers’ Union
CIO	Central Intelligence Organisation
CMAG	Commonwealth Ministerial Action Group
CNN	Cable News Network
CPI	Corruption Perceptions Index
DDF	District Development Fund
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GALZ	Gays and Lesbians Zimbabwe
IRIN (UN)	Integrated Regional Information Networks (United Nations)
MDC	Movement for Democratic Change
MSF	Medecins Sans Frontières
NDI	National Democratic Institute
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
OUA	Organisation of African Unity
SABC	South African Broadcasting Organisation
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SIRDC	Scientific and Industrial Research and Development Centre
ZANU (PF)	Zimbabwe African National Union (Patriotic Front)
ZAPU	Zimbabwe African People’s Union

ZCTU	Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions
ZIPRA	Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army
ZNA	Zimbabwe National Army
ZNLWVA	Zimbabwe National Liberation War Veterans' Association
ZRP	Zimbabwe Republic Police

Annexes: Case Studies

Section A – Incidents involving Dr Hunzvi

- In the streets of Chivhu, Zimbabwe, children wear caps emblazoned with the face of Chenjerai “Hitler” Hunzvi, a parliamentary candidate, whose name their parents whisper with fear. Hunzvi is leader of Zimbabwe's independence war veterans’ association - the prime mover behind the violent occupation of white farms- and President Robert Mugabe’s most feared henchman. He is standing for parliament in the election next weekend. In his prospective constituency of Chikomba, the opposition MDC has been driven underground by a ruthless campaign of intimidation. Peter Kaunda, the MDC candidate, has been forced to flee his home, move his family and sleep in safe houses in Harare, 110 miles north. He said: “We have been unable to campaign since these guys started being violent.” Hunzvi secured the nomination of the ruling ZANU (PF) party in characteristically devious style by displacing a rival who had already won a primary election. Days later, thugs began the campaign to guarantee victory for their master by moving from house to house hunting down anyone suspected of backing the MDC. A teacher who had been on the receiving end of violence from Hunzvi thugs said “Hunzvi is a very bad man. He is the very man who has caused all this violence in the first place.” (Source: *Telegraph* 17 June 2000.)
- “My most vivid image of my time here is of the war veteran leader, Chenjerai Hunzvi, leaning from the passenger window of a truck, wild-eyed and screaming. He was trying to persuade the driver of my car to pull over. This was in the middle of a by-election campaign which, even by Zimbabwe’s standards, was remarkably violent. Opposition members of parliament said Mr Hunzvi had personally thrown a petrol bomb at them as they attempted to campaign.” (Source: Grant Ferrett BBC report on 10 February 2001 in a report entitled “Zimbabwe’s descent into violence”.)
- “A frightful view appears in the rear-view mirror. Two pick-up trucks loaded with threatening ZANU (PF) militiamen are overtaking us. At 140 kph, along 6 km of winding road, they try to ambush four journalists covering a political rally in Bikita, in south-east Zimbabwe. Leading the pack of angry, fist-waving men in paramilitary uniforms is Dr Torture himself, Chenjerai Hitler Hunzvi- ZANU (PF) MP, war veteran leader and instigator of violence, whose surgery in Budiriro township in Harare was used overtime as a torture centre during the elections last year. His pick-up pulls up alongside. Dressed in olive green fatigues, Hunzvi gesticulates wildly, waves us down. A third pick-up appears ahead. We are trapped. With a sharp U-turn and immense relief we squeeze past the car behind as it changes lanes to block us. Later we learn that Hunzvi and his shock troops have just assaulted the driver of opposition leader Morgan Tsvangarai and five youths guarding his car during a rally. We arrive at Nyika Growth Point, a forlorn place that has not seen any growth in the past five years, except in the production of petrol bombs. The militia is based at the rural district council office. As we walk past it, a shrill voice very much like Hunzvi’s shrieks: ‘Go away! Cunt, asshole, British rubbish, this is Zimbabwe!’ Only eight days ago in the next village, Hunzvi and his men threw petrol bombs like confetti, burned two cars and assaulted four opposition MPs with knobkerries. Lucia Mativanenga, the opposition’s national chair for women, needed four stitches on her head. We are not stopping for a roadside chat with Hunzvi. Bikita is in Masvingo province, a former ZANU (PF) stronghold now racked by internal party dissidence. The by-election has turned Bikita into a battleground. Feared war vet leaders Joseph Chinotimba, Francis Zimuto, aka ‘Black Jesus’, and Hunzvi moved in. Their men set up bases at the future polling stations of Bengura and Mutikizizi schools. They include war veterans and the new youth brigades created by the sinister Border Gezi, Minister of Gender, Youth and Employment. As governor of Mashonaland Central province, he left a trail of blood during the parliamentary elections last June. These ZANU (PF) militia have been beating up people, forcing them to attend all-night rallies, stealing their property and confiscating identity documents needed to vote. Mission hospitals have treated dozens of wounded residents.” (Source: Mercedes Sayagues *Mail and Guardian* 5 January 2001 describing an incident in Bikita.)
- In the mayoral election in Masvingo in May 2001 Chenjerai Hunzvi, moved around the town armed with an AK47 rifle, flanked by other armed war veterans. Contacted for comment, Hunzvi said: “You

are a dog. That is rubbish. You are stupid. You people at The Daily News are dogs.”
(Source: *Daily News* 11 May 2001.)

Section B - Army attacks upon people in towns

The Legal Unit of the Human Rights Non-Governmental Forum took these statements from some of the complainants:

Statement 1: Mr X, aged 31

On 30 June 2000 I was coming from town and had decided to go and buy some beer at Tafara shopping centre. It was at around 8.00 p.m. and there were four of us. Four army trucks arrived with about 80 soldiers, as well as a truck full of policemen. We were ordered to lie on our stomachs and they started to pour our beer on us, declaring that we were being assaulted for voting for MDC. I was assaulted with a rifle butt and a bullet belt all over the body. One of them struck me on the nose with a rifle butt, and I bled profusely from the nose and mouth. I also suffered injuries on my ribs because of the assaults with their booted feet. The assaults continued for about three hours in Munatsi bar. There were people all over the shopping centre who were being assaulted for no apparent reason. The soldiers were armed and wearing maroon berets. I lost three lower teeth because of the beatings. The soldiers I think came from the same battalion that assaulted people during the food riots. We were then ordered to get up singing and leave the area. I could not go and report the matter to the police until today. We were turned down by the police, who said that we should have reported it the same day we were assaulted.

Statement 2: Mr Y, aged 26

On 30 June 2000 at around 9.00 p.m. I was coming from Mabvuku to buy sandpaper. I was passing through Tafara shopping centre and there were several soldiers, one of whom started shouting ‘This is the other one!’ They started assaulting me with a sjambok (whip) and a rifle butt. During the beating, I fell down on the ground, and I received several injuries. Some of the soldiers were shouting, ‘This is the change you voted for!’ I suffered injuries on the right eye and nose. They took off my shirt and in the process I lost my wallet, which had about \$700 and my ID in it. I only noticed this when I reached home. I did not report it to the police, because I was afraid of another attack. When we were being assaulted, there was also a truck full of police who were watching. The soldiers wore maroon berets. The following morning, whilst we were talking to the Daily News crew, a police truck came past, and they shouted that they would come back for some more assaults. I went to report the matter on 3 July 2000, but no statements were recorded, although the Mabvuku Police did promise to investigate.

Statement 3: Mr Z, aged 25

On 30 June 2000 at about 9.00 p.m. I was assaulted by members of the National Army whilst I was going to buy some groceries at Tafara Shopping Centre. They used open hands, baton sticks and ammunition belts to assault me. I suffered injuries on my knee and ankle (right leg). When I was assaulted I fell down into a trench and managed to escape that way. There were about 80 soldiers, and they wore maroon berets. I received no medication, and could not report the matter for fear of victimization, because the police were also present during the incident.

There were numerous press reports of such violence. In July 2000 the following incidents were reported:

- Soldiers beat up the MDC Member of Parliament for Dzivarasekwa, Mr. Edwin Mushoriwa, as he was conducting a victory parade with his supporters in the high-density suburb. Fifteen others were injured.
(Source: *Standard* 2 July 2000.)
- Soldiers went on a rampage in Mabvuku, beating up MDC supporters.
(Source: *Standard* 2 July 2000.)
- Soldiers imposed a curfew in Harare and Kwekwe. The affected areas are: Warren Park, Mbare, Epworth, Budiriro, Dzivarasekwa, Kambuzuma, Rugare, Glen Norah, Glen View, Tafara, Mufakose, Mabvuku, Sunningdale, Chitungwiza and Kwekwe. Soldiers and police officers were beating up residents on streets and in nightclubs. Residents interviewed suspect it is “an act of political retribution after ZANU (PF) lost all nineteen seats in Harare and Chitungwiza.” People were phoning the *Daily News* offices every morning reporting the previous nights’ incidents of random beating by

the soldiers and the police. Other victims have visited the newspaper offices to protest the beatings. (Source: *Daily News* 12 July 2000.)

- The police in Glen View confirmed that a resident of Budiro lost four teeth and sustained head injuries after being beaten up by a group of fifty soldiers on Sunday 16 July 2000 at Makomva Shopping Glen View. (Source: *Daily News* 19 July 2000.)
- The Residents Association called on the government to control the police and soldiers beating up people in the high-density suburbs. Affected areas are Mabvuku, Tafara, Chitungwiza, Mbare, Dzivarasekwa, Kuwadzana, Glen View, Warren Park, Epworth, Budiro, Kambuzuma, Rugare, Glen Norah, Mufakose, Sunningdale and Kwekwe. (Source: *Daily News* 21 July 2000.)

Section C - Violence against MDC party officials

Period prior to June 2000 elections

Many party officials were attacked and a number were killed. Two of the worst incidents during this period were these:

- In April 2000 in the Buhera North constituency two MDC party officials, Tichaona Chiminya and Talent Mabika were killed when their vehicle was forced to stop and their vehicle was set on fire with petrol by ZANU (PF) attackers. The two victims were burnt to death.
- In May 2000 a ZANU (PF) militia group consisting of several hundred people attacked the homestead at which the relatives of an MDC parliamentary candidate lived. This attack was apparently mounted because the militias were unable to locate and attack the candidate himself. Mathew Pfebve was brutally beaten to death and several other family members were beaten up. Several homes were also set on fire.

Period after June 2000 elections

In the period following upon the June 2000 elections there have been numerous incidents. Some of these incidents are these:

- At the end of June 2000 MDC Member of Parliament for Dzivarasekwa in Harare, Mr. Edwin Mushoriwa was beaten up by soldiers as he was conducting a victory parade with his supporters in the high-density suburb. Fifteen others were injured. (Source: *The Standard* 2 July 2000.)
- On 24 July 2000 ZANU (PF) supporters allegedly abducted Itayi Maguwu, an election agent for the MDC candidate for Dzivarasekwa constituency. He was killed and his mutilated body was dumped near his house a few days later. The late Maguwu was the election agent for Edwin Mushoriwa, who beat ZANU (PF)'s Omega Hungwe in the violence-ridden June parliamentary election. His badly mutilated body was found about 200 metres from his house in the early morning hours. (Source: *Standard* 30 July 2000.)
- In the early hours of 7 October 2000 armed riot police broke into the house of Justin Mutendazamera, the MDC Member of Parliament for Mabvuku in Harare. They severely beat up the MP and his wife. The police accused him of having incited the food riots that had occurred recently, a charge that was denied by Mutendazamera. (Source: *Daily News* 18 October 2000.)
- In November 2000 Fidelis Mhashu the MDC MP for Seke yesterday said he narrowly escaped death when a group of sixty war veterans attacked him and other members at Beatrice Primary School. Mhashu said Chenjerai Hunzvi ZANU (PF) MP for Chikomba threatened to kill him. (Source: *Daily News* 25 November 2000)
- On 25 November 2000 an MDC candidate for Mberengwa was assaulted on the arm and face.
- On 25 November 2000 in Mahusekwa the MDC treasurer for Furamera branch and his wife were brutally assaulted by 10 suspected ZANU (PF) supporters in the violence preceding the Marondera West by election.

- On 6 February 2001 MDC MP for Chitungwiza in Harare, Job Sikhala, was assaulted by two truck loads of army personnel at 4.00 a.m. in the morning, while at his house. His pregnant wife and domestic worker were also assaulted. Sikhala alleged that soldiers whipped him and his family with chains at their home during this dawn raid. The police accused Sikhala of inciting violence during the 13-14 January parliamentary by-election in Bikita West.
- On 7 March 2001 the MDC chairman in Shamva was severely assaulted by ZANU (PF) supporters. Other MDC officials from Shamva have fled from their homes after repeated attacks.
- On 20 May 2001 Edson Mukwasi, 27, MDC's Harare provincial youth chairman, sustained a swollen eye and several injuries to his body after he was attacked by ZANU (PF) supporters in Kambuzuma.
- At the end of May 2001 ZANU (PF) militias attacked Willias Madzimure, the Member of Parliament for Kambuzuma in Harare. This happened a few minutes after they assaulted Itai Chandiwana, an MDC activist at a nearby beerhall. A few days later about 200 war veterans and ZANU (PF) supporters attacked the home of Madzimure in Kambuzuma, in broad daylight. They destroyed windows, ransacked and looted household goods worth thousands of dollars. Godknows Musukutwa, 25, a security guard at the Member of Parliament's home, sustained serious head injuries during the attack.
(Source: *Daily News* 23 May 2001)
- At the end of May 2001 Joel Sithole, the MDC Plumtree ward 10 in Matabeleland candidate for council elections, was detained and tortured for more than 24 hours before fleeing his tormentors. Sithole, 60, was abducted by masked men suspected to be war veterans and ZANU (PF) supporters. He has since named some of his abductors, all from the Bango area of Bulilimamangwe South. Sithole was abducted at around 4.00 a.m. by suspected war veterans and ZANU (PF) supporters while waiting for transport at Brunapeg, about 60km south of Plumtree town.
(Source: *Daily News* 28 May 2001)
- In mid-July 2001 the Harare home of Mrs Sekai Holland, MDC Secretary for International Affairs was laid siege to. Mrs Holland and her husband Jim were inside the house, which was surrounded by armed policemen. Mrs Holland had been driving in central Harare earlier this morning when she realised that her car was being followed by a white Defender Land Rover. A chase ensued as Mrs Holland tried to evade her pursuers, during which shots were fired at her vehicle. She managed to reach her home, and while entering the house further shots were fired, and her domestic employees were assaulted. Avondale police were called and on arrival discovered that the persons laying siege to the Holland's home were themselves policemen, from the Criminal Investigation Department. They say they wish to speak to Mrs Holland as they suspected that her car was involved in "household burglaries".
(Source *Daily News* 17 July 2001.)

Section D - Report of torture with hot chains

Statement made on 3 May 2001 by victim of alleged torture:

Introduction

This report puts into writing events before, during and after the night of Friday 13 April 2001. I have written this report only for the benefit of those who I think will be able to offer me some help as I start my journey to look for protection away from people that I am convinced are bent not only on physically harming me through torture, but also are nursing satanic desires to take my life as well as that of many others who like me are not only hoping through endless talk, but are acting for change in Zimbabwe's political, economic and social welfare. I have been tortured, both physically and psychologically and have written this report on my own because I am not able, or to put it more appropriately, because it is not safe for me to make this report to the Zimbabwe Republic Police (ZRP), because I have every reason to believe they were party —though maybe indirectly - to the ordeal that my life has become in the past three months.

Duty as an advocate of political change

I do not consider myself an opposition party active activist but my duty to Zimbabwe, the county of my birth, requires me to do all that I can in my restricted capacity to assist the liberation of my country from fellow countrymen who have taken it upon themselves to rob, murder, torture, cheat and steal from their own. I for quite some time since early this year took it upon myself to buy MDC cards for distribution to various people. Whether

this is right or wrong, it does not matter, the fact still remains that quite a substantial number of people have been receiving these MDC cards for the salvation of their county, which is the struggle we are fighting.

Word filtered to me during the early days of February 2001 that due to these MDC card distribution activities, 'some people were looking for me'. From then on I began to scale down on my movements and sleeping at different friends houses away from home where I would be made an easy target.

Events of Friday 13 April 2001

As I mentioned above, I had stopped sleeping at home because it had come to my knowledge that some people' - ZANU (PF) war veterans and 'other' government agents - were looking for me because of my MDC cards distributing activities.

Now on this day, due to the fact that my parents were going away for their traditional Easter Passover, I had to take the risk and be at home to keep watch on the house since thieves had just stolen my father's car only two months before.

I did not check the exact time but I think it was between 12 midnight and I am that I heard a very hard knock on the door. Somehow the people who I knew very well to be looking for me knew that I would be sleeping at home during Easter so when the hard knock banged the door I had to open or else the door was going to be brought down.

Three men came into the house and one of them started clapping me asking where my room was, showed them and they proceeded there and demanded to see where I kept the MDC cards that I distributed to 'innocent people'. They started upsetting everything looking for anything that has an MDC symbol on it.

They only managed to find two MDC T-shirts. They continued clapping me and telling me that I was a fool to play around with ZANU 'Unofaka ukaira zvekuramba nemoto', (You will die if you play with fire) so they threatened as they searched the room. They said that I was stupid because with my degree, I could be doing a lot better at my work than moving around in MDC T-shirts and distributing cards for a party that was selling the country to white men. What had happened to my Rasta beliefs of keeping Africa for Africans, they mocked me. In between the claps they told me that they were going to teach me a warning lesson that would help me teach others not to play with fire. From the tone of their speech I somehow felt that they were not going to kill me at least today - as they kept on saying that 'today is just but the beginning', 'muchawona mumwe moto vanhu veMDC' (you will see more fire for MDC people).

I was pushed outside where I was shocked to find a government plated Defender vehicle waiting inside the vehicle were four more men, two were sitting in front while other roughly dressed ones were sitting on the back passenger seat of the Defender. The ones who came into the house addressed the one sitting on the driver's passenger seat as 'chef' and so I assumed that he was the leader. The leader of the group threateningly reiterated that today they were going to warn me, but unlike my assailants in the house, the leader emphasized that they were going to warn me 'in writing' so that I would be able to show and tell my friends and also be prepared for what was to come. I was pushed into the vehicle and the vehicle was started. We took the direction into Dzivaresekwa 3 until we got to the outskirts of Dzivaresekwa using the road between Dzivaresekwa No. 4 and Dzivaresekwa No. 6 Primary Schools.

The vehicle was driven until we had reached the old rubbish dumping site just outside Dzivaresekwa where the semi mad ZANU (PF) supporter John Musasamba stays. It then became clear to me how the news of fly card distribution activities had filtered out. John Musasamba, though worn out by poverty, was one of the forces behind ZANU (PF)'s infiltration activities in Dzivaresekwa because very few people take him seriously.

When we got to Musasamba's squatter shack, I was shocked to see three other people already there, two were writhing in agony by the fireside where a group of maybe ten men I suspect these were war veterans - were sitting and shouting abusive language to these 'Whiteman wives'. Due to the darkness surrounding the place, I was not able to take notice of the people's faces.

I was pushed and kicked out of the vehicle and ordered to sit with my friends facing the fire. In the midst of abusive language being hauled at us I was ordered to get close to my friends and take a look at their backs to see 'the writing on their walls' before I witnessed a writing on someone else's 'wall' in preparation for my own wall being written.

I noticed to my horror straight line of blisters on two guys backs which looked like they had been burnt with a wire but the breaks in the blisters told me that it was not a wire. I had not prepared myself for what I was about to see because from the burning fire was drawn a custom made red-hot chain. Fear gripped me like it has never done before but it was to grip me even more as the other guy was ordered to take off his shirt and sit with his legs bent up and his head between the leg. He was warned that if he screamed the marks would be increased from the two that would be enough to put an 'X', to as many as the times he screamed. So we had been brought here so that we could be warned by way of an X being burnt into our backs using a hot iron chain.

I can not put into writing what I felt as I saw three chain marks being inscribed on the guys back. I could hear the 'shshshshshshs' sound of burning flesh as red-hot iron got into contact with human skin. The smell of burning flesh made my stomach turn.

During all this process of burning the group got into a form of ritual singing extolling the virtues of seriously warning sellouts like us and Morgan Tsvangerai, the virtues of President Mugabe who they represented, the strength of their war against whites and their black friends in the MDC and the virtues of taking land away from the white men by all means necessary. 'Muringochani dzevarungu ende tichakudzidzisa' (You are white people's homosexual wives we will teach you) they all shouted.

After the third guy was finished I was kicked to the front and ordered to sit in the manner the last guy had been seated. Terror filled me and I could feel my body shake. The group started shouting abusive language at me and scolding me that I was distributing MDC cards when I was such a chicken. They said that they thought only hard men do such crazy things and expected chickens like me to abstain from political games. I had started the action they said so they were going to help me finish it.

The red-hot chain was taken from the fire and I was ordered to lift up my head and take a close look at it before it landed on me. I was horrified and could not focus. All I could see was a red line being pulled out of the fire. I could feel the heat even when the chain was still centimeters away from my skin. I closed my eyes and clenched my teeth in preparation for my horror. And indeed horror did I feel. I let out an involuntary scream as soon as the chain landed on my flesh and sprung up in a terrified jump much to the enjoyment of my torturers who with joy informed me that I had earned for myself one more mark and my marks would increase to three. What a nice boy I was, they laughed out. 'Ndiwoka magraduates atinoda aya' (These are the graduates we want) they mused. I was kicked down and told to maintain my steady if I wanted to make life easy for me but how can one be expected to maintain ease when one has a hot chain writing marks on one's human flesh? The second stroke came with threats of death for me and pain for my family if I continued with try silly activities of helping whites retake over Zimbabwe by distributing cards for their party of black sellouts.

The third stroke was meant to instill more pain by the hot chain spending more time on my body but I jerked away from the chain in a cry of anguish and pain, I cried and begged for forgiveness but only managed to attract for myself another stroke to make them four. I was given the fourth stroke and had to clench my teeth the hardest and harden my back so as not to scream. I was told that if I wanted to be forgiven then I should first collect all the MDC cards that I distributed.

Having finished burning me with their hot iron chain, they took the two MDC T-shirts they had found in my room and threw them into the fire telling us that this is the way we would go, burning flesh like the T-shirts were burning.

Having killed the fire with water we were addressed by the leader of the group who gave us the following final words.

1. That today we were lucky to go back home, next time we might not be so lucky. He pointed out that if we read the papers we should be aware that war vets would be setting up bases in all urban constituencies. He said it was his opportunity to inform us that as he spoke, a group of war vets had already set up base in Dzivaresekwa and they would surely continue to pay us more visits as and when word reaches them that we are still engaged in our activities of supporting the MDC.

2. That we would do ourselves a great disfavour if we went to the police to report because as we are aware, the ZRP is a ZANU (PF) institution and they would not believe whatever we would say. In fact, such a move would only serve to put forward earlier the day of their (our torturers) visit back to us and that next time our families might also need to be involved. We were reminded again that we might not be too lucky to have the opportunity to go back home again.

3. That they were aware that we no longer are staying at our homes and hence they are making investigations into where we are staying. They would make it a point that they harass and torture those who are keeping us until we have nowhere but the fields (as is happening in Chitungwiza) to sleep in.

Having finished his lecture, the majority of war vets I had found by the fire side disappeared into the night while the group that had fetched me got into their vehicle and ordered us to get in front of the vehicle where we would run ahead until we got back into Dzivaresekwa. We were told that the vehicle will be coming behind us at a speed that will be left to the discretion of the driver and 'anenge atsikwa atsikwa' (who is run over is run over) so we have to run as fast as our legs can carry us. I have never considered myself a good runner but when you have a vehicle being driven possibly by a war veteran policeman, you have to be a runner. And run I did. When we got into Dzivaresekwa we were ordered to run back to our respective homes as fast as our legs could carry us as our tormentors had other people to visit elsewhere before the night was over.

I did not look at the time when I got home. Whether the housemaid heard something and was too frightened to wake up I do not know but the door was not locked when I got home. With blisters already forming on my back,

the pain of sweat mixing into the wounds. I could not sleep but started to put back into place all the things that had been upset.

Conclusion

For reasons of keeping evidence, I then decided to have two photos taken so that I can keep my torturers' orders to show the world and others concerned who Zimbabweans should put an 'X' for during the coming presidential elections.

I have been living an insecure life since I heard that these people from the ruling party are looking for me and the degree of insecurity has increased on a daily basis up to today. Before I was tortured I had not foreseen how deep the desire to eliminate the opposition was in the ruling party but now I know. I have since become so insecure that I fear discussing the matter with anyone hence it has taken me almost a month without informing my employers.

As I hear that strange looking people keep passing by my parents' house I fear greatly for not only my safety but also the safety of my family. As I also keep hearing from my network of informers that people keep asking 'where I am staying these days' I know for sure that the hunt for my hideouts is already on and I do not know when they will catch up with me.

It is very funny how when a people in power face opposition they go to very great lengths to weaken the various units of their opponents. I have been of the thinking that my contribution was only too small to be noticed. Now I know better.

Section E - Intimidation of witnesses in constituency challenges

These are mostly reports received by the Human Rights Forum.

Chiredzi

- K.M., aged 32, an assistant welder and MDC organizing secretary, was assaulted on 22 February 2001 at Chiredzi. He was assaulted with whips by a group of ZANU (PF) youths led by war veteran, Boniface Mutemachani. He received serious injuries and bruises all over his body. His assailants accused him of being "a key witness against their party". He was further attacked with a pick handle on his left shin. K.M. identified one assailant, Farai Kahlamba, as the instigator of the assault. K.M. was left for dead, and could not walk to find help. He suffered a severe bone fracture, and received treatment at Dr Mungwazi's surgery. The matter was reported to the police but no arrests have been made in the matter.
- A group of about ZANU (PF) youths led by a war veteran leaders based at Chiredzi attacked the house of Kenneth Mwinga in Tshovani Township in Chiredzi North. They broke a door and windows as a reprisal for Mwinga's testimony in the Chiredzi North election petition at the High Court. Mwinga was not hurt as he was not at home at the time. They accused him of testifying against their party in an MDC election petition. Mwinga had been testifying in case in High Court in Harare challenging the result of Chiredzi North constituency. In court Mwinga said that after he had agreed to testify he had been beaten up by the war vet leader that had subsequently attacked his house and his leg had been broken.
(Source: *Daily News* 5 April 2001.)

Buhera North

- In Murambinda in Buhera North, E.G. received death threats from his former employer, Kainos "Kasiyatota" Zimunya. Zimunya was the election agent of Kenneth Manyonda, the ZANU (PF) candidate. E.G. was told that if he divulged information to anyone regarding Kainos Zimunya's role in the murder of Tichaona Chiminya and Talent Mabika, both MDC campaign officials, he would be killed. Recently, Zimunya was subpoenaed to testify in the election petition, but failed to appear before the High Court.

Hurungwe (Karo)

- In Hurungwe in the Karoi area N.M., aged 23, who had been previously assaulted during the run-up to the June 2000 parliamentary elections by a group of ZANU (PF) supporters, was again attacked by ZANU (PF) supporters on 16 February 2001. He was able to identify some of his attackers as: Rex Jesus, Richman, Doubt Nyika, Kenneth Ngwazi, Innocent Dwani and Shame Karichi. He suffered injuries all over his body. When he returned to Hurungwe after testifying before the High Court, a

group of ZANU (PF) supporters confronted him asking him why he had gone to the High Court. They accused him of sympathizing with the MDC. They came to his house on a daily basis and threatened him and his family. The matter was reported to the Z.R.P. in Karoi but the police told him that no assistance would be rendered to MDC supporters. N.M. reported the matter three more times but no action was ever taken. N.M. was forced to leave his home because of the fear of further victimization and has spent the last week sleeping at a friend's place.

- In Hurungwe D.P. aged 29 was assaulted on 16 February 2001. Upon returning home after giving testimony before the High Court, a group of ZANU (PF) supporters threatened him with violence, but were restrained by their leaders. They tried to break into his home at midnight. They threatened him, sang songs and shouted.
- In Hurungwe on 20 February 2001, the ZANU (PF) supporters returned, followed him, and wanted to kidnap his friend. However, the police arrived before anything could happen. He could not identify the attackers. He was forced to leave his home, because of the fear of victimization. The matter was reported to Z.R.P. of Karoi, but no action was taken.
- T.T. aged 30, was forced to flee Hurungwe before the elections because of threats. When he returned from testifying before the High Court on 19 February 2001, ZANU (PF) members confronted him in a local hotel and threatened him with death. They threatened to burn down his house, whilst singing slogans and songs. He managed to escape. He reported the matter to the ZRP in Karoi. However, the ZRP told him that no action would be taken because it was a “political case.” He no longer lives at home, because of fear of victimization.
- In Hurungwe P.C., aged 38, was chased by ZANU (PF) supporters on 15 February 2001 for his allegiance to the MDC, after testifying before the High Court in the election challenges. He reported the matter to the ZRP in Karoi on 17 February 2001.
- In Hurungwe D.C., aged 31, was harassed and intimidated by ZANU (PF) supporters on his return home on 22 February 2001 after testifying in the Harare High Court
- Richard Chadya, MDC candidate for Hurungwe East during the 2000 parliamentary elections who last week successfully challenged Zanu (PF) Reuben Marumahoko's victory in the High Court last week had part of his homestead and a grain storage burnt to ashes by suspected ZANU (PF) supporters who were apparently incensed by the court decision. Property worth over \$40 000 was destroyed when the thugs burnt down two thatched houses and a maize storage area on Saturday night at around 11.00 p.m. While Chadya was the candidate for Hurungwe East, his homestead is in Hurungwe West in the Boniface Area. Fortunately no one was injured in the attack, as there was no one in the burnt down houses. However it was clear that the arsonists had the intention of causing injury. Chadya was away from home at time of the attack. Chadya said: “This is just a desperate move by the ZANU (PF) government as it attempts to stall the process of change that will usher in a better life for people in Zimbabwe. All the ZANU (PF) government can do is destroy. People have to realise that they have the power in their hands to bring about complete change to the terror and hunger under this dictatorship.”

Chinhoyi

- In Chinhoyi members of the CIO threatened N.M. and P.K., both election agents for Silas Matamisa, the MDC candidate for Chinhoyi, with death. After they had written affidavits supporting Matamisa, they were assaulted and received death threats from CIO agents. N.M. subsequently wrote an affidavit supporting Chiyangwa, the ZANU (PF) MP for Chinhoyi, as a result of the threats. (Source: *Daily News* 15 February 2001).
- On 9 March 2001 S.P. (aged 23) was assaulted with knobkerries, booted feet, and clenched fists at the Karoi terminus by a group of about 15 ZANU (PF) youths and war veterans. They accused him of distributing MDC material and encouraging others to testify at the High Court in the election challenges. They also harassed him and stated that they were not afraid of the police and that he should leave Karoi. He suffered multiple injuries on his sides and his head. He received no medical treatment from the hospital because he left his hospital cards at home. He fled his home due to fear of continuous intimidation and victimisation.

Kariba

- Luka Sigobele, MDC candidate for Kariba withdrew petition challenging election result because he feared for his life after receiving death threats. In his petition he cited political violence as the main reason why he lost. He said his mother and other family members and himself were receiving threats from people he refused to disclose to the press. “My mother is continuously receiving calls from strangers demanding to know my whereabouts. My movements were closely monitored by people whom I can’t name, because they might come and pick me up.” He hurriedly moved out of a relative’s house in Karoi after the relative started receiving threatening calls. “I did it for the safety of our party members because people were going to be harassed or even killed.”
(Source: *Daily News* 2 April 2001.)

Chikomba

- J.G., (aged 29), an MDC secretary at the district level in Sadza, was intimidated and victimized by the police on 17 March, 2001 when he returned from the election challenge hearings at the High Court. The police tried to abduct him, but he resisted and managed to flee the area. He suffered injuries on the back, abdomen, left ear and right cheek. The police are searching for him and other persons who have testified or will testify in the election petition hearings.
- P.Z., (aged 25), living in Chivhu, was abducted from his house while he was taking a bath. He was assaulted and detained on 10 March 2001 in the Sadza Police Station by ZRP. P.Z. was able to identify Constable Mhukayesango and Action Mugadza as two of his assailants. P.Z. was a witness in the election challenges before the High Court and when he returned from Harare, Inspector Majora confronted him, started shouting at him and threatened him with death. His attackers dragged him about 150 meters to the police station. He was forced to bite the front of a pistol and cold water was poured over him several times. His attackers hit him with open hands, sticks and a plank on his ears, cheek, wrist and back. He suffered multiple injuries. The following day the police threatened to shoot him and refused to give him a referral letter to receive medical care in the hospital. A week later, ZANU (PF) supporters removed property from his house. He was told never to come back to Chikomba.
- P.C., living in Sadza, is the district MDC chairman in Chikomba. The officer in charge of the Sadza Police Station confronted him when he returned from testifying at the High Court in Harare. He was threatened with assault and abduction. A ZANU (PF) vehicle was parked in front of his gate twice. He fled the area on 26 March 2001 out of fear of being victimized again.
- J.M. (aged 25) was threatened with assault by five ZANU (PF) youths on 21 March 2001, after she returned to Matove from testifying in the election petitions. Her assailants came to her home twice, once in the morning and again, in the evening armed with sticks. They demanded to know why she had gone to Harare. She managed to escape first to Sadza Growth Point and then to Harare.
- Mr Hondora is representing the MDC candidate for Chikomba, who is contesting the election result. On 7 April 2001 Mr Hondora travelled to Chikomba, together with two other lawyers, Mr Shumba and Mr Mupanga, to investigate allegations of intimidation and assault directed at witnesses in the election challenge. Hondora was assaulted and the two other lawyers were threatened.

In a letter to the Commissioner of Police Hondora stated that members of ZANU (PF) assaulted him while police watched. The other two lawyers managed to escape but were threatened with assault when they arrived at the local Sadza Police Station to make a complaint. They arrived at Sadza Growth Point and soon noticed a crowd wearing ZANU (PF) T-shirts and army attire assembling in the area. Mr Shumba went for the car in case violence occurred while the other two stayed behind to witness the rally. The crowd soon started chasing after one of Mr Hondora’s witnesses, Nelson Chivanga. The assailants were armed with stones, axes, knobkerries and other weapons. At this point the crowd turned on the three men saying that they were outsiders and calling them “sellouts” and “stooges of the white man”. Mr Hondora was caught and beaten. Mr Shumba managed to escape and was hidden by a resident of a nearby homestead. Mr Mupanga managed to drive away to safety. At the time that Mr Hondora was caught, Mr Chivanga was already being severely beaten. Mr Hondora was hit, kicked, slapped and whipped. He sustained bruises to his head, a broken jaw, a bloody nose, a cut lip, lacerations and his molars have been weakened which caused him difficulty in consuming solid food for days afterwards. In addition his glasses were broken and his clothes were torn from the attack. Mr Shumba and Mr Mupanga went to the police station to make a complaint and discovered

that Mr Hondora was already there with Mr Chivanga. Mr Hondora and Mr Chivanga asked to be taken to a medical clinic but their request was refused. While in detention they were beaten further, searched and interrogated as to their affiliation with the MDC. Mr Hondora alleges that Constable Cuthbert Mapfumo held him while he was being assaulted and that Constable Moses Zhakata participated in the assaults. Also present were Constable Mafandizvo, Constable Masaringo and Constable Nikisi. Assistant Inspector Majora ordered all police officers present to be armed with rifles and live ammunition. The rifles were pointed at the four men. In addition the men produced documents that identified them as officers of the court but these documents were swept to the floor and ignored. Majora took Mr Shumba and Mr Mupanga into an adjacent room and lectured them on his view of the MDC. He asked how, as educated men, they could be used by white people. In addition he had their car searched and threatened to call war veteran leader Chenjerai Hunzvi, other war veterans and the army to ‘discipline’ them. After these incidents, which took about three hours, the men were released. The three men made a report to the police in Harare when they returned. The Sadza Police Station was phoned for information but officials there denied any such event took place. Mr Hondora is contemplating legal action against the police and individual police officers involved in the attack

Makoni

- Mrs Erica Nyaunde, a witness in the Makoni East election petition, told the High Court that she was the victim of harassment stemming from her willingness to testify in the case. She stated that on 17 April 2001, three men followed her into a phone shop. One man, who she could identify only as “Douglas”, was wearing a ZANU (PF) T-shirt. Mrs Nyaunde had gone to the phone shop to make a call about a cheque she was trying to cash. Douglas produced handcuffs and told her that she would “cash her cheque at the cemetery”. The men also said, “you gave us problems and your name is among 68 going to the High Court”. The men dispersed after the proprietor of the shop called police. A policeman then escorted Mrs Nyaunde to a terminus.
- In Makoni West F.M., (female aged 58), former MDC secretary of Makoni West was assaulted with sticks and knobkerries by a group of ZANU (PF) supporters transported from Rusape town. She suffered injuries on the back and the right knee, which forced her to leave her post in the MDC. On 18 March 2001 her attackers returned and alleged that she was forcing witnesses to testify in the High Court election challenges against Defence Minister Moven Mahachi. She managed to escape and fled to Harare, for fear of further victimization.
- In Makoni West (Rusape) R.C., (female aged 41) an MDC Chairperson, is the MDC information and publicity secretary for Makoni West district. She was assaulted with sticks and knobkerries in Nyakonda by supporters of ZANU (PF). They were allegedly sent by Mhiripiri who was based in Rusape. One assailant could be identified as Munyaradzi. She suffered multiple injuries on left eye, chin, left wrist, left lower leg and right ankle. She still experiences severe headaches because of the beatings. On 18 March 2001 a group of ZANU (PF) supporters came to her house from Sabhuku Tandi and ordered her to tell them the names of the witnesses in the election petition cases. She refused and was then tripped, causing the dislocation of her right ankle. She fled to Harare immediately. She did not report the matter to the ZRP because she felt that they would not take any action.

Mount Darwin

- Godfrey Mumbamarwo, MDC candidate for Mount Darwin South in the 2000 parliamentary elections, who is also a former organising secretary for Mashonaland Central was on the same day, severely assaulted at his home in Chiwaridzo Township in Bindura at about 10.00 p.m. for the sole “crime” of being an MDC activist. A group of ZANU (PF) supporters wielding iron bars and logs pounded Mumbamarwo who suffered suspected broken ribs and severe head injuries. All the furniture in the house was destroyed. After he had been taken to hospital, the ZANU (PF) thugs followed him there vowing to finish him off. His family has since transferred him to a Harare hospital. Several assailants were identified. These are Kanosvamaha, a ZANU (PF) councillor in the town, Dickson Mafios a ZANU (PF) Provincial Youth chairman and one Trust Katsiga. While the matter was reported to the police, no action has yet been taken in apprehending the culprits.

Section F - Press statement Zimbabwe Lawyers for Human Rights issued on 11 April 2001

On the afternoon of Saturday 7 April 2001 Mr Tawanda Hondora, the chairperson of ZHLR, was the victim of a brutal attack by members of ZANU (PF) in full view of, and with the active participation of, members of the Zimbabwe Republic Police.

Mr Hondora had gone to Sadza Growth Point in Chikomba constituency in the company of two lawyers from the Human Rights Forum Legal Unit to investigate allegations that persons from the area who came forward to testify in the court case challenging the election result in the district had been assaulted by police officers in the district.

At the Sadza Growth Point, the lawyers observed that a group of about 30 persons wearing ZANU (PF) T-shirts were assaulting Mr Nelson Chivanga, one of the witnesses from the election challenges. Uniformed police officers stood by and watched. The group of assailants noticed the “foreigners” (all three black Zimbabwean male lawyers) watching the assault and gave chase.

Two of the lawyers managed to escape but Mr Hondora was caught by the mob which was continuing the brutal attack on Mr Chivanga. Mr Hondora was then kicked, slapped, hit with fists, whipped and hit behind the ear with a stone. He has a suspected broken jaw.

The mob then forced Mr Hondora to chant ZANU (PF) slogans and to toyi toyi to the police station.

At the police station Mr Hondora and Mr Chivanga were then extensively searched, interrogated about their relationship to the MDC and further tortured. They were assaulted by Constable Mapfumo in the presence of Assistant Inspector Majora, Woman Constable Mafandizvo, Woman Constable Masaringo and Constable Nikisi. Constable Moses Zhakata later took over the beatings.

When the other two lawyers arrived at the police station to rescue their colleague, Assistant Inspector Majora detained them as well. He ordered all police details to be armed and distributed live ammunition. Assistant Inspector Majora then proceeded to lecture the lawyers about the evils of the MDC stating that as educated people they ought to be wiser and not allow themselves to be used by white people. He threatened to call Mr Chenjerai Hunzvi, war veterans and the army to further assault the lawyers.

He refused to allow the lawyers to report the assault and denied Mr Hondora police protection from the waiting mob in order to go to the clinic and have his injuries tended to. In all, Mr Hondora was detained for over three hours.

The lawyers proceeded to Harare, after having their car searched, and filed a formal complaint at Harare Central Police Station. Mr Hondora then proceeded to obtain medical attention.

ZHLR is outraged by the continued brutality, lack of respect for fundamental human rights and political partisanship of the Zimbabwe Republic Police. We demand a full investigation into this incident, as well as into other reported instances of political violence and the denial of the protection by the police to the victims. We condemn police involvement with the vigilante groups of ZANU (PF) supporters who are creating a reign of terror in Zimbabwe.

Section G - Purging the civil service

- Public Service Association (PSA) has criticised politicians who are hounding civil servants, forcing them to declare their political affiliation as a work requirement.
(Source: *Daily News* 1 October 2000.)
- In April 2001 Border Gezi warned all civil servants not to distort government programs and said those who were not prepared to go by the set programmes, which were ZANU (PF) programmes, were free

to resign the civil service.

(Source: *Herald* 12 April 2001.)

- War veterans in Plumtree shut down offices of Bulilimamangwe Rural District's Council and the district administrators' offices after accusing workers of supporting opposition parties.
(Source: *Herald* 11 January 2001.)
- War veterans forcibly closed the offices of the Bulilimamangwe District Council in Plumtree after accusing workers of sympathizing with the MDC.
(Source: *Standard* 11 January 2001.)
- War veterans in Plumtree agreed to let civil servants, rural district council employees and ZANU (PF) workers go back to work after taking over the offices and chasing away workers the previous week.
(Source: *Herald* 12 January 2001.)
- Workers at the Bulilimamangwe district and provincial offices were driven out by war veterans accusing them of supporting the MDC.
(Source: *Daily News* 17 January 2001.)
- The government has suspended the assistant district administrator of Bulimamangwe district and 10 junior employees of the local authorities in Plumtree on charges that they are sympathetic to the MDC.
(Source: *Financial Gazette* 18 January 2001.)
- War veterans and ZANU (PF) supporters swooped on the Victoria Falls Town Council offices and ordered all workers out. They accused a number of ZANU (PF) councillors of sympathizing with the MDC.
(Source: *Daily News* 26 January 2001.)
- War veterans closed government and council offices at Zaka in Masvingo, accusing most of the civil servants of working with the MDC to undermine State programmes.
(Source: *Herald* 31 January 2001.)
- War veterans closed the Umguza Rural District Council offices, accusing officials of supporting the MDC.
(Source: *Financial Gazette* 21 February 2001.)
- Was veterans closed the Nyamandlova sub-offices of the Umguza Rural District Council in protest against the presence from the MDC whom they believed to be frustrating land redistribution.
(Source: *Herald* 17 February 2001.)
- The Umguza Rural District Council estimates that it lost \$2 million over the past week after a band of war veterans closed its offices accusing its chairman and councillors of supporting the MDC.
(Source: *Standard* 18 February 2001.)
- Two workers at the Post and Telecommunications Corporation (PTC) branch in Centenary were dismissed from their jobs and evicted from their homes by war veterans, who accused them of supporting and sympathizing with the MDC.
(Source: *Daily News* 28 February 2001.)
- War veterans in Redcliff, a mining town near Kwekwe, closed down four of the municipality's offices alleging that the officers were supporters of the MDC.
(Source: *Daily News* 7 March 2001.)
- Several civil servants who were suspected of sympathizing with the MDC have been transferred from Matabeleland. Transfers were at the instigation of war veterans who have shut most rural district councils in Matabeleland and barred civil servants from working there.
(Source: *Financial Gazette* 1 March 2001.)
- War veterans in Kadoma closed down three offices at the town centre over allegations that three of the council's directors supported the opposition MDC party.
(Source: *Daily News* 12 March 2001.)
- War veterans and ZANU (PF) supporters have "dismissed" 16 council workers in Marondera, accusing them of supporting the MDC.
(Source: *Daily News* 19 March 2001.)

- Pupils at Murambinda Secondary School thwarted efforts by war veterans to terrorise their headmaster because of his alleged support of the MDC.
(Source: *Standard* 15 April 2001.)
- War veterans and ZANU (PF) supporters have chased scores of teachers and civil servants from their jobs in rural Matabeleland North alleging that they supported the MDC. The “sacking” of the teachers comes at a time when the Matabeleland regional office is battling to engage qualified teachers to fill thousands of vacant posts in most schools.
(Source: *Financial Gazette* 17 May 2001.)
- Gabriel Karonga, the MDC vice-chairman for Hurungwe West district, was fired from his job in Mashonaland West after threats by so-called war veterans.
(Source: *Daily News* 21 May 2001.)
- Mr. Siambala Bernard Manyena, an executive officer of the Binga Rural District Council, has defied an order from his superiors suspending him from duty over his membership of the MDC.
(Source: *Daily News* 7 June 2001.)
- The Deputy Minister of Education said that his Ministry would not provide security to teachers affected by violence perpetrated by ZANU (PF) supporters.
(Source: *Daily News* 13 June 2001.)
- War veterans and ZANU (PF) supporters in Buhera sacked thirty-two teachers and deposed eight headmen for supporting the MDC.
(Source: *Daily News* 20 June 2001.)

Section H - Purging the police force

- More than 30 police officers in Mashonaland West province were reportedly threatened with dismissal by allegedly attending a Christmas party hosted by an MDC politician in Chegutu.
(*Daily News* 9 January 2001.)
- In July 2001 Commissioner Chihuri told a government newspaper that police who are anti-government and support opposition political parties would be kicked out of the force. An undisclosed number of officers have already been dismissed on those grounds.
(Source: *Herald* 11 July 2001.)

Section I - Cases of violence in rural areas

The cases in this section are a selection of case reports taken from the files of the Human Rights Forum.

Case 1

It was on 16 July 2000 when I had gone to buy my groceries at a nearby shop. When I stopped ZANU (PF) supporters ordered me out of the car alleging that I was an MDC supporter. When I tried to resist they dragged me out and started assaulting me. They then took me to their base and I left the truck. When we arrived they took off my shoes and the assaults continued. I was taken to the sewage ponds and thrown into them. After that I was taken to the base and ordered to roll in the mud as they poured water on me. I was then released and told to go back to my home in the rural areas but I could not. I drove for 4 kms before I made a U-turn and went to report at Karoi police station who telephoned ZANU (PF) officials who came to the station. One of the officers went and had a brief conversation with them. After that I was told to go home and if need be I would be contacted. Up till now they have not contacted me. I went back to inquire on the 19th of July but I was told that the docket was with the magistrates court. On the 23rd I went back but to no avail. To date nothing has been done regarding my case.

Case 2

On 15 July 2000 I was at work on the farm. Moses Madzura, a self-styled commander of the war veterans camped on Protea Farm, approached me and instructed me to summon all the labourers at the base. At 12 noon I reported at the base as instructed. I was assaulted savagely with sjamboks. I was kicked with booted feet and punched with clenched fists. I was being accused of being an active member of the MDC. Further it was alleged

that I was in common purpose with the farm owner Alex Van Lever to remove the squatters from the farm. They further forced me into a nearby dam. The matter was reported at Karoi police station but no action has been taken to date. The complainant was given a crime report number and the police alleged that the crime book was unavailable. The complainant did not pursue the issue. The officer who attended to the complainant did not give further details. The complainant identified his assailants as: Revai Chirimo, Freddie Chidemo and Banda who are all from Chipatapata Village.

Case 3

I was working as a special constable at Karuru village. On 22 July 2000 I went to Kupeta Farm with my partner to arrest Taroora Kamunyoma who had stolen some maize from this same farm that they had invaded. When we arrived we were beaten together with our suspect. They alleged that we were MDC supporters and we should not interfere with anyone at their base. Also they said that we should not support white people and instead we should leave anyone who steals from the farms. We were forced to roll in the mud and about 12 buckets of water were poured on us. We were also threatened with death. They threatened to burn down our homes. The police came after our torture but took no action and instead Inspector Mabunda blamed us for interfering with the people at the base. We suffered bruises all over our bodies.

Case 4

It was on 2 August 2000 at around midnight when people came to sing Chimurenga songs at my place. They banged on my door several times but I did not respond. They went away and took my foreman who persuaded me to come out. When I did they started demanding MDC T-shirts and they started beating me. This group of war vets was being led by a man called Yona who is the one who assaulted me with booted feet and a whip. He ordered me to roll in the mud and poured water over me. The torture lasted for about two hours. They left and threatened to come back and kill me. I suffered facial and bodily injuries. I am currently experiencing problems with my teeth, one of which broke during the assault and my right leg is painful even if I walk a very short distance. The gang leader came back threatening me with death several times. I reported the matter at Karoi but Sgt. Sakupwanya attended to me and told me to go back home and that the police would come and attend to me. This was on 4 August 2000. On the 6th the police came and arrested me for assaulting one Stanley who was part of the group but I denied the charge. At one time they came to the farm numbering more than 100 demanding to see me and declared that no activity was going to take place at the farm but the police came to our rescue. I will be going for trial on the 17 October 2000 despite the fact that I was the one who was assaulted.

Case 5

It was at Nyadire College where my uncle stays. On 6 October 2000 I was wearing an MDC T-shirt when I left for Tamuka Business Centre. Four people wearing MDC T-shirts came and ordered me to remove mine and I refused. They accused me of being a traitor. They started assaulting me with booted feet and sticks. I suffered multiple injuries and I pretended to have lost consciousness. They removed my T-shirt and tore it and I fled the area. I went back home and reported the matter at Mutoko Police Station. No arrests have been made so far. I only know my assailants facially but I do not know them by name.

Case 6

I was kidnapped by ZANU (PF) thugs namely Elias Saidi, Joseph Chibanzi and Steven Chiweshe who drove a ford pick-up truck with registration number 526-776H. The vehicle belongs to the ruling party and the thugs were out on bail. I was severely assaulted with boots and fists but was later released. I reported the matter to the police and while I was there, the thugs arrived and started threatening him in front of the police. The police only sent the thugs out of the station but no arrests were made.

Case 7

I am a MDC Secretary in my area. A group of people came to my homestead on 8 May 2000. The group came chanting MDC slogans but my husband and I had fled into the nearby dark area. They asked for about me from her kids and started assaulting them. They had surrounded the whole village. I crawled for about 500m from the outskirts of my village where she noticed a ball of flames. My house had been torched. I spent the whole night in the village. I lost all the property in the house. I reported the matter at ZRP Chiredzi where I was referred to CID Chiredzi who came to the scene 2 days after because they claimed to have a shortage of fuel. They took statements and went back. The assailants are Chijange, Elastos and Mtemachani who were part of the

group. I fled the area 11 May 2000 and came back on the 24 July 2000. The above-mentioned trio came back and only Elastos assaulted me for allegedly belonging to MDC and also for fleeing the area. I went and reported the matter on 29 August 2000. I was assaulted on 28 August 2000. The assailants were arrested but benefitted from the presidential pardon.

Case 8

I am a teacher. I was threatened and assaulted by the headmaster and other assailants. I was forced to resign on 31 December 2000 after conditions had become unbearable and Regional Director had refused to transfer me. When I reported the matter the police it was alleged that I was the assailant and I was detained 43 hours. I was asked to pay \$500 as a fine. I reported the matter to the District Education Officer but he refused to attend to the matter. There were allegations that I had committed malicious injury to property on a senior teacher's house. It turned out that the headmaster had hired thugs to commit the offence.

Newspaper reports

There have been numerous press reports. These are two such reports.

- “Self-proclaimed war veterans are allegedly terrorising people suspected to be opposition party supporters in Mutoko, Dotito, Mt Darwin, Mudzi, Uzumba-Maramba-Pfungwe and Muzarabani. (Mashonaland Central Province). Last week, the war veterans beat up a headman and two villagers in Chindenga village in Chief Charehwa’s area in Mutoko on allegations they were members of the MDC. Villagers who came to the *Daily News* offices this week said a group of war veterans had established a camp at Kagande Primary School in Mutoko from where they were spreading terror campaigns in the villages, accusing people of supporting the MDC. Several other bases had been set up in the area. Morgan Gwati, the headman of Chindenga village, was allegedly assaulted by some war veterans on Sunday together with Tichafa Zaranyika and Shupikai Dzotizei of the same village. They all sustained injuries. ‘They are moving around the villages from their base at Kandenga and attacking all people suspected of supporting the opposition,’ said one of the villagers. The war veterans were coercing youths to join them in the terror campaign, which has spread to surrounding villages such as Kagande, Dande, Nyaukokova, Kukwenje and Makororo. The war veterans are allegedly forcing the villagers to pay \$10 a head to buy food for the former fighters and youths at their bases. The area is part of Mutoko North, one of the 37 constituencies whose results the MDC is challenging in the High Court. The war veterans have spread terror in Mutoko, Dotito and Mount Darwin where some civil servants have fled their jobs after the same allegations of supporting the opposition. Last week, Collins Chakakupa and Bernard Chinkonyora, clerks at the Mudzi district office of the Ministry of Education and Culture fled the district after war veterans ordered them to leave. They are now based at the regional office in Marondera.”
(Source: *Daily News* 30 March 2001.)
- “Mashonaland Central governor Elliot Manyika’s terror campaign has intensified in Bindura with the ruling party setting up bases throughout the constituency in an effort to eliminate opposition before the July 21/22 by-election to fill the post left vacant by the late Border Gezi. Reports reaching the *Zimbabwe Independent* say ZANU (PF) has set up bases at Kitsiyatota, Chiveso, Murembe, Mupandira, Maizeland Farm, Foothill Farm and Nyawa business centre. These are used as torture centres for captured opposition supporters. The bases also house war veterans and youths who use them as launching pads for raids on opposition supporters. Even the police are not allowed to enter the bases, the reports say. Thirteen people reported missing are believed to have been captured and are being held hostage at the various bases. Speaking to the *Independent*, some of the victims said the level of violence in Bindura is increasing every day. Visiting shopping areas has become dangerous because one can be attacked at any time. On Thursday last week, war veterans and ZANU (PF) youths attacked Uronga Primary School and severely beat up six teachers including the headmaster, forcing the school to close for three days. On the same day, Tadius Motsi Hongoro (62), an MDC village chairman for Chiveso was attacked by more than 15 youths at his home. ‘They attacked me together with my wife, demanding that we surrender our party cards and T-shirts. They also accused me of possessing arms of war,’ Hongoro said. ‘They beat me under the feet with baton sticks and planks - which had protruding sharp nails - and all over the body until I became unconscious,’ said Hongoro who was in great pain but recovering at Parirenyatwa Hospital. Hongoro said he had deserted his

home in fear of his life. ‘My property and livestock have no one to look after them because of Manyika’s terror. But let me assure you that beating me will not change my political stance. People will not accept anyone who beats them, they can only pretend as if they will rally behind you when you are present,’ he said. ‘For your own information, there are no more ZANU (PF) supporters in Bindura. Many have defected but they will not publicly say it for fear of the terror. The only ZANU (PF) supporters left are the squatters on the neighbouring farms,’ Hongoro said. On Sunday an MDC national youth executive member Philip Mabika (26) was attacked at his home soon after arriving from a rally. ‘They came in two twin-cab trucks and attacked me using broken bottles to cut my hands and baton sticks to assault me all over,’ Mabika said, showing his heavily bandaged hands which needed 14 stitches at Chachivile Clinic. ‘They wanted to take me to Kitsiyatota base but I managed to escape, jumping several walls until I get to Chiwaridzo police post. The policeman on duty had to cock his gun to prevent them from overrunning the post to get me,’’ he said. The gangs which are going around terrorising people are reportedly being led by Itai Dick Mafios who is vice-chairman of Pfura Rural District Council, and Jack Salim, a hardened criminal in the area who has 14 pending cases of assault and robbery and is on the police wanted list.”

(Source: *Independent* 6 July 2001)

Section J - Selective justice

Statements allegedly made by members of MDC inciting violence	
<p><i>Morgan Tsvangirai, President of MDC</i></p> <p>Addressing a large gathering of party supporters in Harare on 30 September 2000 Tsvangirai blamed the Mugabe government for the poverty in the country and said that the government was corrupt and incompetent. He urged the people to prepare for mass action against the government. He then said</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">“... what we would like to tell Mugabe today is that ... please go peacefully. If you don't go peacefully, we will remove you violently.”</p>	<p>For making this statement in February 2001 Tsvangirai was charged with committing an act of terrorism in contravention of s 51 (2) of the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act [<i>Chapter 11:07</i>], an offence which attracts a maximum sentence of life imprisonment. In the alternative he has been charged with contravening s 58 of the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act, that is with incitement of public violence.</p> <p>When the case started in the High Court the defence lawyer challenged the constitutionality of the act of terrorism offence. The High Court then referred the matter to the Supreme Court. This matter has not yet been dealt with by the Supreme Court.</p>
<p><i>Gibson Sibanda, Vice President of MDC</i></p> <p>Speaking a rally in Bulawayo on 5 February 2001 Sibanda allegedly told his supporters that they should beat up ZANU (PF) supporters during the campaign for the presidential election. Sibanda has denied that he made this statement.</p>	<p>Sibanda has been charged with incitement to public violence. On 7 March 2001 Sibanda was further remanded by a Bulawayo Magistrate.</p>
<p><i>Nelson Chamisa, the MDC youth secretary</i></p> <p>Speaking at an MDC rally in Harare on 2 February 2001, Chamisa allegedly incited party supporters to engage in violence against ZANU (PF) supporters. He denies that he so incited MDC supporters.</p>	<p>Chamisa has been charged with incitement to public violence.</p>

Statements allegedly made by members of ZANU (PF) inciting violence or inciting other illegal acts

President Robert Mugabe

In March 1990 during the election campaign he stated at a public rally that: “We are saddened that there are others who want us divided. But people must not listen to small, petty little ants which we can crush.”

In March 2000 he publicly stated that: “Those who try to cause disunity among our people must watch out because death will befall them.”

(Source: *Daily News* 17 March 2001)

In April 2000 he warned the opposition leader, Morgan Tsvangirai, that he was playing with fire. “Let him not start the fire which may engulf him!” said Mr Mugabe, to cheers of approval.

14 December 2000: President Mugabe tells the ZANU (PF) congress that the commercial farmers have “declared war” on the people of Zimbabwe. He says that the white man is “not indigenous” to Africa and is part of an “evil alliance.” He tells his audience “we must continue to strike fear into the heart of the white man, our real enemy.” His audience reply with chants of “hondo” (war). The courts can do whatever they want, but no judicial decision will stand in our way . . . My own position is that we should not even be defending our position in the courts. We cannot . . . brook interference court impediment to the land acquisition programme.”

(Source: *Independent* 15 December and *Financial Gazette* 14 December 2000.)

In its complaint in connection with the lawsuit against President Mugabe in America it is alleged that Mugabe told Operation Tsuru operatives “We are at war again . . . If one of you is asked why you are killing, you say, it is not us, it is the President.” Operation Tsuru was allegedly a clandestine operation set up to attack members of the opposition. There has been no independent confirmation that this statement was made.

(Source: *Newsweek* 11 December 2001)

No charges have been brought in respect of these statements.

<p>Minister Sidney Sekeremayi</p> <p>In May 2000 Sekeremayi who was then the Minister of State Security commended white farmers and farm workers for attending the ZANU (PF) rally but he said he hoped the surrender of the t-shirts showed they really meant they had left the MDC. “I would want to hope that they are telling the truth and that even their workers are telling the truth. If not, the truth will always come out.” “After the votes we will see who has been cheating us and we will deal with each other.” (Source: <i>Daily News</i> 22 May 2000.)</p>	<p>No charges have been brought in respect of these statements</p>
<p>Minister Moven Mahachi</p> <p>In its complaint in connection with the lawsuit against President Mugabe in America the plaintiffs allege that Moven Mahachi the Minister of Defence told a crowd on 2 June 2000 that “we will move door to door, killing like we did to Chiminya. I am the minister responsible for defence therefore I am capable of killing.” (Source: <i>Newsweek</i> 11 December 2001.)</p>	<p>No charges have been brought in respect of these statements</p>
<p>Minister Mudenge</p> <p>In July when speaking to staff and students at teachers colleges in Masvingo the Minister said the only way teachers and students could guarantee their safety was to support Zanu PF. Mudenge said: “You are going to lose your jobs if you support opposition political parties in the presidential election. “As civil servants, you have to be loyal to the government of the day. You can even be killed for supporting the opposition and no one would guarantee your safety.”</p> <p>In June Aeneas Chigwedere, the Deputy Minister of Education, Sports and Culture, last month said his ministry would not provide security to teachers affected by violence perpetrated by war veterans and Zanu PF supporters for supporting the opposition.</p> <p>(Source: <i>Daily News</i> 18 July 2001)</p>	<p>No charges have been brought in respect of these statements</p>

<p><i>Dr Chenjerai Hunzvi</i> (Member of Parliament for Chikomba)</p> <p>On 10 December 2000 he said</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">“We are not afraid of the High Court . . . this country belongs to us and we will take it whether they like it or not. The judges must resign. Their days are numbered as I am talking to you . . . I am telling you what the comrades want, not what the law says.”</p> <p>On 14 December 2000 he said “whosoever is killed , it’s tough luck.”</p> <p>On 3 March 2001 he said that all white judges must leave. “If they want us to use violence we are gong to use that.”</p> <p>In late March 2001 he said that ZANU (PF) will establish ‘mobilisation bases’ in Zimbabwe’s cities as part of “an aggressive plan.”</p>	<p>No charges were brought in respect of these statements</p>
<p><i>Minister Jonathan Moyo</i></p> <p>Moyo threatened to close down the Daily News a short time before the paper’s printing press was bombed. He is quoted as saying: “<i>The Daily News</i> is not going to survive as long as I am alive. You ain’t seen nothing yet</p> <p>He threatened to carry out unspecified action against individual journalists. He said: “We are going to target individual journalists.” This was primarily directed at Sandra Nyaira of the <i>Daily News</i>.</p> <p>Whilst briefing the Co-ordination Committee of the Press Freedom Foundation Moyo warned that Zimbabwe’s independent media must expect violence for “provoking” supporters of President Robert Mugabe’s regime. He said it was “understandable” that journalists who were seen as supporting an anti-ruling party agenda would be threatened with violence. (Source: <i>Standard</i> 13 May 2001.)</p>	<p>No charges have been brought in respect of these statements</p>

<p>Governor Josaya Hungwe</p> <p>In May 2000, Hungwe, who is the Governor of the Masvingo province threatened white commercial farmers with war if they did not vote for the ruling party. He said he was not happy with the attitude of some of the farmers who were supporters of the MDC. They should vote for ZANU (PF) if they wanted peace. He said “We do not want another war. If you want peace you should support me and the ruling party . . . If you want trouble vote for another party.” (Source: <i>Daily News</i> 12 May 2000)</p> <p>Addressing about 1 000 people gathered at the Masvingo Civic Centre hall to receive cheques from Gezi, Hungwe said a war would be declared if Zanu PF lost the mayoral election. Hungwe said: “If you do not vote for Zanu PF in the coming mayoral election, people are going to be killed. I want to tell you, someone is going to die.” The MDC called for the immediate arrest of Josaya Hungwe, the Masvingo provincial governor, for threatening Masvingo residents with death ahead of the mayoral elections scheduled for next month. (Source: <i>Daily News</i> 4 April 2001)</p>	<p>No charges have been brought in respect of any of these statements</p>
<p>Didymus Mutasa a high ranking ZANU (PF) official</p> <p>“Those who do not understand must be beaten until they do understand” (Referred to in MDC advert.)</p>	<p>No charges have been brought in respect of these statements</p>
<p>Andrew Ndlovu (War veteran leader)</p> <p>On 15 March 2000 Ndlovu who is one of the leaders of the National Liberation War Veterans Association threatened to use violence to overthrow the MDC if it won the upcoming election. He said that the war veterans would never allow the country to go back to Smith and if the MDC did come to power the war veterans would declare a military government. He said: “We will get arms to defence the government of ZANU (PF). We will invade military camps just as we have gone to the farms.” (Source: <i>Daily News</i> 16 March 2000)</p>	<p>No charges have been brought in respect of these statements</p>

<p><i>Edmore Hwarare (War veteran leader)</i></p> <p>In June 2000 this commander of the war veterans occupying farms in Masvingo West and parts of the Midlands, said that the ex-combatants would not accept election results if any opposition party won the elections. He said the president of the MDC should train its own soldiers to fight ZANU (PF) if he wants to rule the country. “This country was won through the loss of blood and not elections. Therefore, if anyone wants to take it he should go to war with the ruling party. Even if other people accept the results, we will not. “We are married to this country and Mugabe. We are going to support Mugabe until we bury him.” He said that teachers who support the MDC must resign from the civil service and go full-time into politics. War veterans would ensure that salaries of teachers supporting MDC were cut before the elections.</p> <p>(Source: <i>Daily News</i> 5 June 2000)</p>	<p>No charges have been brought in respect of these statements</p>
<p><i>Comrade Zimbabwe (War veteran leader)</i></p> <p>In May 2000 this commander of the war veterans occupying farms told farm workers that the opposition would pay dearly if it won the elections. He said “If ZANU (PF) loses this election, you will not say that I did not warn you. If we lose, we will get out our guns. We cannot allow the MDC to sell our country.” He also said “We will be at the voting stations. If ZANU (PF) loses, the way forward will be filled with war. You will witness our strength in the coming weeks.” He wore a T-shirt marked “No Monkey Business - Vote ZANU (PF)”</p> <p>(Source: <i>Daily News</i> 8 May 2000)</p>	<p>No charges have been brought in respect of these statements</p>

<p>Murder and other crimes allegedly perpetrated by MDC members</p>	
<p><i>Murder</i></p> <p>A number of ZANU (PF) supporters have been killed in clashes between MDC supporters and the ZANU (PF) supporters.</p> <p>Attempted murder of Chief Chiweshe. The Chief is a staunch supporter of ZANU (PF). He allegedly disrupted a funeral service for an MDC supporter who had been killed as a result of inter-party violence. After this incident the Chief was waylaid and badly beaten up.</p>	<p>In most of these incidents the alleged culprits have been quickly apprehended by the police and are facing trial for murder.</p> <p>Several MDC supporters were arrested soon after this incident.</p>

Crimes alleged to have been perpetrated by members of ZANU (PF)

Murder, assaults and other crimes	
<p><i>Matabeleland</i></p> <p><i>Murders</i></p> <p>Patrick Nabanyama, MDC election agent for the 2000 general election who was kidnapped and is presumed dead.</p> <p>Martin Olds gunned down at his farmhouse by a large group of armed persons. These persons were allowed to go through a police road block. Some of the attackers sustained injuries during the gun battle with Olds. The police visited these injured persons in hospital and must therefore know the identities of these attackers.</p> <p>Mr Ndebele</p>	<p>Some persons have been charged with kidnapping but no one has been charged with murder in connection with this case.</p> <p>No persons have been arrested or tried in connection with this murder.</p>
<p><i>Mashonaland Central</i></p> <p><i>Murders</i></p> <p>Mathew Pfebve Doreen Marufu Edwin Gomo Robert Musoni Mr Banda Peter Karidza Peter Mararuse Mr Chinyere Robson Tinarwo</p>	<p>The suspected killers of Pfebve and Marufu were put on remand last year and the cases were reportedly still on. No persons have been arrested or tried in respect of the other murders.</p>
<p><i>Mashonaland East</i></p> <p><i>Murders</i></p> <p>David Stevens</p> <p>Police admitted “some people took the law into their own hands and forcibly took him away. Stevens was taken from a police station and executed in the presence of another white farmer. This was done during in broad daylight. The police who were at the police station know who the war veterans were who kidnapped Stevens from the police station. The farmer who was taken together with Stevens was also an eyewitness to the murder of Stevens.</p> <p>Alan Dunn</p>	<p>The police finally arrested one person in connection with this murder but the prosecution was withdrawn “for want of evidence.”</p>

<p>John Weeks This murder may not have been politically motivated. Wilhelm Botha Mr Zembe Onias Mashaya Simon Mbewe</p>	<p>No persons have been arrested or tried in connection with these murders.</p>
<p><i>Mashonaland West</i> <i>Murders</i> Lucky Kanyurira Nicols Chatitama</p>	<p>No persons have been arrested or tried in connection with these murders.</p>
<p><i>Midlands</i> <i>Murders</i> Fainos Zhou, an MDC supporter was killed after being viciously tortured. Mr Simudananhu Zeke Chigagwa Mandishona Mutyanda</p>	<p>Kufa Chitoro, alias Biggie Chitoro - Chitoro and two other members of his gang, Steven Hove and Francis Ncube, have been in custody since last June after being arrested in connection with this murder. Their case has been remanded several times but the case has now been set down for trial on 6 June 2001.</p> <p>No persons have been arrested or tried in connection with these murders.</p>
<p><i>Manicaland</i> <i>Murders</i> Tichaona Chiminya Talent Mabika</p>	<p>Murder of Chiminya and Mabika Joseph Mwale, a CIO operative and Tom Kitsiyatota Zimunya, a war veterans have been named as the suspects. They were arrested by the police but subsequently released. The persons suspected of committing this crime have not been put on trial</p> <p>27 March: Joseph Mwale of the CIO and Kainos Zimunya a war vet, named in the High Court as the killers of two MDC activists, failed to appear in the High Court to give evidence in their own defence, in the ongoing MDC election appeals. The MDC activists were killed when a petrol bomb was thrown into their car. A warrant for their arrest was issued but these arrests have not been made.</p>

	<p>High Court judge, Justice James Devittie, has ordered that the record of the case involving the challenge to the constituency challenge in Buhera North be sent to the Attorney- General with a view to a possible prosecution of the alleged murderers of Tichaona Chiminya and Talent Mabika. The court heard testimony from an eyewitness that Chiminya and Mabika were killed by Joseph Mwale, of the Central Intelligence Organisation (CIO), and Kainos Tom “Kitsiyatota” Zimunya, a war veteran. The judge said: “The killing of Chiminya and Mabika was a wicked act.” Judge orders trial of Chiminya killers (<i>Daily News</i> 28 May 2001.)</p>
<p>Harare Province</p> <p>Murders</p> <p>Takundwa Chapunza Messiah Mufandaedza</p>	<p>Suspects were picked up in the case of Chapunza but nothing further seems to have transpired by way of bringing to book those responsible.</p>
<p>Attempted murder of a female MDC by war veteran leader, Joseph Chinotimba</p>	<p>Joseph Chinotimba is on remand out of custody in connection with this crime.</p>
<p>Assault</p> <p>On 6 February 2001 MDC MP for Chitungwiza, Job Sikhala, is assaulted by two truckloads of army personnel at 4am in the morning, while at his house. His pregnant wife and domestic worker were also assaulted.</p>	<p>No arrests have been made in connection with this incident.</p>
<p>Assaults, threats of assaults and extortion of money from employers by war veterans and their supporters</p>	<p>Only a few low-level ZANU (PF) thugs have been charged in respect of these offences. None of the higher-level war veterans who are thought to be behind these crimes and have obtained large sums of money as a result of these crimes have been brought to trial.</p>

Endnotes

- 1 *Chimurenga* is a Shona word derived from the word *murenga*, meaning “rebel” or “fighter.” It was first applied to the uprisings of the indigenous blacks against the white settlers in 1896–1897. The guerrilla war against the settlers became known as the Second Chimurenga war. ZANU (PF) has referred to its present campaign to redistribute land and other economic assets to the black majority as “the Third Chimurenga”.
- 2 It has been estimated that up to 83% of commercial farms in Zimbabwe have changed ownership since 1980. Many farmers have therefore acquired their farms after the Mugabe Government came to power. Some commercial farmers invested large sums of money into their farms after receiving no-interest certificates from the Mugabe Government, meaning that they had been told that Government had not earmarked these farms for acquisition.
- 3 See:
Statement of the National Democratic Institute (NDI) Pre-Election Delegation to Zimbabwe issued in Harare on 22 May 2000;
Amnesty International report entitled *Zimbabwe Terror Tactics in the Run-up to Parliamentary Elections June 2000*;
Report of the European Union Election Observation Mission on the Parliamentary Elections dated on 4 July 2000;
Report of Commonwealth Observer Mission published on 11 July 2000
Report of International Rehabilitation Council for Torture Victims dated 4 June 2000
Report of the Zimbabwe Human Rights Forum entitled *Who is Responsible? A Preliminary Analysis of Pre-election Violence* issued on 20 June 2000.
- 4 Later in 2001 the ruling party similarly tried to exploit the failure of its own labour dispute mechanism for political purposes.
- 5 It is estimated that Zimbabwean security forces killed at least 10,000 people. See *Zimbabwe Wages of War* (1986 Lawyers Committee for Human Rights) and *Breaking the Silence Building True Peace* (1997 Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace and the Legal Resources Foundation) and Joshua Nkomo *The Story of My Life*.
- 6 On the other hand, it has placed all possible obstacles in the path of opposition parties. The latest obstacle is an amendment to Political Parties (Finance) Act passed in May 2001 that stops the MDC and other political parties from receiving foreign funding. In flagrant violation of these restrictions in July 2001 at the request of President Mugabe, the Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi promised to inject about US\$900 000 to the party for Mugabe’s presidential campaign. Gaddafi also recently donated 29 Cherokee Jeeps to be used in the presidential campaign. *Independent* 20 July 2001.
- 7 The loss of popularity of the Government was further manifested in the towns and cities when in early July 2001 huge numbers of workers stayed away from work in response to a call by the ZCTU for a 2-day work boycott. The ZCTU said more than 80% of the country’s businesses and factories were closed during the strike and 95% of the country’s 1.2 million workers stayed at home. This happened despite the Government having declared the stay-away illegal and urging workers to go to work.
- 8 The violence of ruling party agents and supporters against members of opposition parties before and in the aftermath of earlier elections is documented in the following publications:
In relation to the 1985 and 1990 elections:
Welshman Ncube *State Security, the Rule of Law and Politics of Repression in Zimbabwe* (1990 University of Oslo, Third World Seminar Series);
J Moyo *Voting for Democracy Electoral Politics in Zimbabwe* (1992 University of Zimbabwe Publications, pp 77–80)
In relation to the 1990 elections:
J Makumbe and D Compaignon *Behind the Smokescreen: The Politics of Zimbabwe’s 1995 General Elections* pp 147–154 (2000 University of Zimbabwe Publications)
In relation to the 1995 elections, one particularly blatant incident of violence is worth relating. In Gweru just before the 1990 elections two assailants Elias Kanengoni, the head of the CIO for the Midlands Province, and Kizito Chivamba, a senior official in the ZANU (PF) youth league, shot a

leading opposition party figure, Patrick Kombayi, badly injuring him. Kombayi was lucky to survive. This case was not covered by the 1990 amnesty relating to politically motivated crimes committed after February 1990 because the crimes of murder and attempted murder were expressly excluded from this amnesty. Eventually Kombayi's assailants were convicted of attempted murder and sentenced to a term of imprisonment. In his judgement the magistrate severely criticised the conduct of one of the law enforcement agencies, saying that it had behaved in a manner that was entirely partial towards the ruling party. He said that the perception of members of opposition parties as enemies who must be eliminated was an extremely dangerous one and one which was entirely contrary to the Constitution which guaranteed freedom to form, join and campaign on behalf of any political party. A few days after the Supreme Court dismissed the appeal against conviction, the President pardoned these criminals.

- 9 The MDC won a slight majority of the total votes cast but ZANU (PF) captured 62 constituency seats and the MDC won 57 seats. ZANU (Ndonga) won the remaining seat.
- 10 The ruling party tries to portray the main opposition party, the Movement for Democratic Change, as a party set up to protect white interests. However, the MDC has repeatedly stated that it is committed to land reform but that it must be carried out in a planned and legal fashion.
- 11 One major constraint that existed from 1980 to 1990 was the entrenched constitutional provision requiring the Government to pay fair compensation to landowners when their land was expropriated for resettlement. On request this compensation was payable outside the country in foreign currency.
- 12 See *Who is Responsible? A Preliminary Analysis of Pre-election Violence* issued on 20 June 2000 by the Human Rights NGO Forum.
- 13 See Section C of the Case Studies the end of this report for further examples of attacks upon MDC party officials.
- 14 *Daily News* 19 June 2001.
- 15 At the end of this report in Section J of the Case Studies there is a more complete listing of such statements.
- 16 *Daily News* 17 March 2001.
- 17 *Newsweek* 11 December 2001
- 18 *Daily News* 4 April 2001.
- 19 *Daily News* 18 July 2001.
- 20 For a full details of how the law has been employed on a selective basis see Case Studies Section J.
- 21 See, for instance, Case Studies Section F for a report on the incident involving a Harare lawyer assaulted at a police station in Chikomba after he had gone to Chikomba to investigate reports that witnesses in an MDC constituency challenge had been assaulted by ZANU (PF) supporters.
- 22 CNN report June 2001.
- 23 CNN report June 2001.
- 24 *Standard* 1 July 2001.
- 25 *Standard* 1 July 2001.
- 26 *Daily News* 17 February 2001.
- 27 *Financial Gazette* 5 April 2001. Joseph Chinotimba, the self-styled "commander in chief of white farm invasions" moved into established a base at one of northern suburbs in Harare and was seen drilling about 100 ZANU (PF) youths on the streets. The youths were chanting ZANU (PF) slogans.
- 28 See Case Studies Section D.
- 29 *Daily News* 6 July 2001. The same newspaper also reported that on 5 July 2001 an author, George Mujahati who lives in Glen Norah in Harare was severely assaulted by seven men in army uniform because he had heeded the call to stay away from work.
- 30 *Standard* 15 April 2001.
- 31 *Herald* 26 April 2001.
- 32 *Herald* 21 May 2001.
- 33 *Independent* 24 May 2001.

- 34 *Financial Gazette* 28 June 2001.
- 35 *Daily News* 30 June 2001.
- 36 *Independent* (UK) 4 July 2001.
- 37 *Financial Gazette* 26 April 2001.
- 38 *Business Day* (SA) 29 April 2001.
- 39 *Daily News* 5 May 2001.
- 40 The report of Amani Matabeleland covering the period up to the end of May 2001 gives these estimates: 71.5% of the violence was carried out by ZANU (PF) supporters such as war veterans and youths, 4.4% by army personnel, 0.2% by personnel from the Central Intelligence Organisation, 2.2% by MDC supporters and 7.3% by persons whose political affiliation is unknown.
- 41 Section 158(1) of the Electoral Act [*Chapter 2:01*].
- 42 *Movement for Democratic Change & Anor v Chinamasa NO & Anor* Supreme Court Case No 7 of 2001.
- 43 See the following:
Statement of the National Democratic Institute (NDI) Pre-Election Delegation to Zimbabwe issued in Harare on 22 May 2000;
Amnesty International report entitled *Zimbabwe Terror Tactics in the Run-up to Parliamentary Elections June 2000*;
Report of the European Union Election Observation Mission on the Parliamentary Elections dated on 4 July 2000; Report of Commonwealth Observer Mission published on 11 July 2000;
Report of International Rehabilitation Council for Torture Victims dated 4 June 2000.
- 44 The Electoral Act [*Chapter 2:01*] stipulates that election petitions have to be disposed of expeditiously. Despite this the Judge President at that time Judge Chidyausiku seemed deliberately to delay the hearing of these cases despite repeated requests by the MDC that the hearings be expedited and that more judges be assigned to hear these cases.
- 45 See Case Studies Section E for some examples of this.
- 46 See Case Studies Section E.
- 47 See Case Studies Section F for full details of this case.
- 48 The constituencies involved are Buhera North, Hurungwe East and Mutoko South.
- 49 *The Eastern Star* 4 May 2001.
- 50 *News24* (SA) 15 June 2001.
- 51 *Daily News* 21 June 2001; *Financial Gazette* 21 June 2001.
- 52 *Daily News* 11 May 2001.
- 53 *Herald* 11 May 2001.
- 54 *Standard* 1 July 2001.
- 55 *Independent* 6 July 2001.
- 56 *Daily News* 9 July 2001.
- 57 *Daily News* 16 June 2001.
- 58 *Financial Gazette* 2 July 2001.
- 59 *Daily News* 22 July 2001
- 60 Foreign journalists have also been assaulted. On 18 October 2000 in Dzivarasekwa in Harare members of the army assaulted four journalists working for the foreign media. The four work for CNN, SABC and AP. They were pulled out of their vehicle, were forced to lie down on the road and were brutally beaten. They also had money and cell phones stolen by the army.
- 61 The bombing of the printing press of the *Daily News* occurred soon after a Government Minister had issued threats against the newspaper. The same Government Minister then stated that no stone would be left unturned in bringing the bombers to book. Months after the event no one has been arrested in connection with this bombing.

- 62 BBC's Harare correspondent Joseph Winter was given 24 hours to leave Zimbabwe by the immigration office. Six men who tried to force their way into his home at 2.00 a.m. Winter phoned journalist friends, and when they arrived, the invaders ran away. It is believed they were trying to kidnap Winter. *Daily News* 17 February 2001.
- 63 BBC 14 June 2001.
- 64 The reporter is David Blair, a reporter for the London *Telegraph*. He had been in Zimbabwe for two years. *The Times* 28 June 2001.
- 65 *Herald* 26 June 2001.
- 66 *Commercial Farmers' Union v Minister of Lands & Ors* Supreme Court case No 132 of 2000.
- 67 *Daily News* 18 February 2001.
- 68 See Feltoe "The onslaught against democracy and rule of law in Zimbabwe" *Zimbabwe Human Rights Bulletin* Issue No 4 2000 p 30 and Report of International Bar Association on Zimbabwe Mission 2001 issued on 23 April 2001.
- 69 An agreement was finally reached between the Government and the Chief Justice about his early retirement. Under this, Gubbay agreed to resign early and not to oppose the immediate appointment of an Acting Chief Justice up to the time his resignation period expired and the Government agreed not to interfere with the judiciary or to make further attempts unlawfully to remove any of the remaining judges. Government also agreed to withdraw all demeaning statements previously made by officials about Gubbay, and not to repeat such statements. Dr Hunzvi immediately said the war veterans would not recognise this agreement but would intensify their efforts to kick out the whole Supreme Court bench and white High Court judges. Hunzvi said the war veterans would use violence if it was necessary to do so. He said no one could stop them from denouncing those judges.
- 70 In its report on its mission to Zimbabwe in March 2001 the International Bar Association made a key recommendation that the Zimbabwean Government should "zealously protect judges against threats of physical violence". It also urged the Minister of Justice, the Attorney-General and the police to investigate all reported threats to the judges without waiting for formal complaints to be lodged. Events subsequent to this visit clearly show that these recommendations have not been followed and that the Government has not taken adequate steps to protect the judges against harassment from the war veterans.
- 71 In early June 2000 Amnesty International's Africa Director, Maina Kiai, stated at a press conference that the violence was part of a deliberate plan by the ruling party and that the violence was State sponsored. See Reuters report 8 June 2000.
- 72 In recent years he seems to have become increasingly paranoid. He blames everyone else but himself for the grave problems besetting the country. The list of scapegoats is almost endless. It includes white farmers, white business persons, urban blacks, the international financial institutions and the British and American Governments. Mugabe has declared war on all persons and institutions critical of his policies.
- 73 Other participants in the liberation war have cast considerable doubt upon the liberation war credentials of some of the members of this group, such as Dr Hunzvi.
- 74 For more details on these statements see Case Studies Section J.
- 75 Another prominent member of this group of war veterans is Andrew Ndlovu. Ndlovu is a rehabilitated former anti-Government dissident who fought to destabilise Zimbabwe during the mid-1980s. He operated as a dissident in Matabeleland until he received a Government amnesty in 1987. He is alleged to have been involved in the kidnapping and murder of four tourists. He is also alleged to have been involved in a number of murders of DDF workers and a number of rapes.
- 76 Dr Hunzvi was tried on criminal charges of fraud in which he is alleged to have defrauded the War Victims Compensation Fund of Z\$361,620. Although he was acquitted by the High Court of these charges because the State failed to prove its case, the judge said that Hunzvi had been up to some mischief or no good, as there were a number of unsatisfactory features in his evidence and conduct. He has also appeared in court on a charge of defrauding war veterans companies of Z\$3 million. Serious allegations have also been made that he had misappropriated funds from the ex-combatants' company, Zexcom. At one stage it was reported that the police said they were keen to interview him in connection with allegations of fraud. Hunzvi's Polish ex-wife has alleged that Hunzvi used to beat

her when they were married. Before the June election his surgery in a high-density suburb in Harare was used as a torture centre. In the lead up to the Bikita West by-election in January 2001 allegations were made that Hunzvi participated in the petrol bombing of some MDC vehicles and that he personally beat some alleged MDC supporters.

- 77 *Sunday Mail* 15 October 2000.
- 78 Clemency Notice No 1 of 2000.
- 79 *Financial Gazette* 31 May 2001.
- 80 *Daily News* 16 January 2001. In making this statement Chihuri had in fact committed an offence in terms of the Police Act [*Chapter 11.10*]. Under this Act (s 48 in the Schedule) it is an offence for a police officers actively to participate in politics.
- 81 Senior officers Chimwanda and Ncube were quarantined in the “Commissioner’s Pool” introduced by Chihuri to monitor senior officers about whom he is distrustful. Both decided to leave the force. Former Assistant Commissioner Simbi said: “I need not pretend that all is well...The ZRP is going through a very bad patch and some unprofessional fingers that are raised have taken advantage of this.” *Independent* 11 May 2001.
- 82 *Financial Gazette* 4 June 2001.
- 83 *Sunday Mail* 7 June 2001.
- 84 *Herald* 11 July 2001.
- 85 *Daily News* 7 March 2001.
- 86 *Financial Gazette* 24 May 2001.
- 87 *Financial Gazette* 18 July 2001.
- 88 *Herald* 12 April 2001.
- 89 See Case Studies Section G for further details of the scale of this campaign.
- 90 In its report upon its visit in May 2001 to Zimbabwe to assess the situation the International Rehabilitation Council for Torture Victims had this to say: “The types of torture seen were very similar to the torture seen in June 2000. Severe beatings all over, threats (including death threats), threats to give up political beliefs, threats with guns, mock executions, witnessing the torture of other persons, threats to family members, and humiliations. Thus, there were both physical and psychological forms of torture seen again. It was observed in June 2000 that mass psychological torture was occurring, and several cases again illustrate this deplorable situation.” See its report *Organised Violence and Torture in Zimbabwe* issued on 24 May 2001.
- 91 In its report *Organised Violence and Torture in Zimbabwe*, the International Rehabilitation Council for Torture Victims says: “The forced attendance at political meetings, public humiliation of people for their political beliefs, threats and intimidation of family members, and being forced into hiding due to threats, all are forms of psychological torture. There is persuasive evidence from many sources that this has occurred and still continues to occur. Such torture must be condemned in the strongest possible terms, and the Government and political parties must make every effort to put an end to this outrageous human rights violation.”
- 92 In recent incident four volunteer doctors from the French organisation, Medecins Sans Frontières (MSF) fled Inyathi, about 30 km outside Bulawayo, after being threatened by war veterans. The war veterans accused the doctors, who were working on an HIV/AIDS support programme in the area, of being linked to the opposition Movement for Democratic Change (MDC), the report said. The doctors, together with four local field officers and a co-ordinator, fled to the safety of Bulawayo. *UN IRIN* 30 June 2001.
- 93 In a number of areas paralegal workers have been threatened and in some areas such as Mount Darwin and Guruve the paralegal scheme has had to be suspended.
- 94 The hugely expensive military involvement in the Democratic Republic of the Congo is just one of many decisions that have had highly negative economic consequences.
- 95 The latest annual Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI) compiled by Transparency International, an international anti-corruption body, shows that Zimbabwe remains one of the most corrupt countries in the world. This year, the country remained the 26th most corrupt, out of the top graft-riddled 91 countries worldwide. *Standard* 2 July 2001. In this report a Zimbabwean political scientist, Dr

- Mukumbe, attributed the deepening of corruption to the ruling elite who, facing a possible election defeat, have engaged in an asset-stripping spree to enrich themselves before being removed from power.
- 96 Official Government statistics for the year ended March 2000 disclose that unemployment has risen by 22% and put the unemployment rate at between 35 and 40%. However since the farm invasions started at least another 75,000 jobs have been lost. Most of the early job losses were in construction, mining and manufacturing, but this has since carried through to commercial agriculture, where output is estimated to have fallen by a third in the past two years. *Financial Times* 3 July 2001.
 - 97 It is estimated that 130,000 of the 300,000 farm workers have been put out of work and rendered homeless, together with their families, as a result of the farm invasions. Only a few of these displaced workers have been settled on acquired land. Some estimates give a lower figure of 40,000 as the number of farm workers who have lost their jobs.
 - 98 According to 1998 Central Statistical Office figures, 63.3% of Zimbabweans were poor and 47% were very poor, whereas in 1991 40.4% were poor and 16.7% were very poor. In October 1998 the Minister of Finance stated that 75% of Zimbabweans were poor and 47% were very poor. Since then poverty has become far more acute. See also the UNDP Human Development Reports.
 - 99 *Business Day (SA)* 3 July 2001.
 - 100 Fuel prices rose by 73%. There has been massive corruption and gross mismanagement in the State-owned oil procurement company, Noczim. In early July 2001 Noczim revealed that more than half the cost of fuel is due to overhead expenses including debt service, a loan amortisation levy and foreign exchange losses. Its debt is estimated at \$500m or 6% of GDP. *Financial Times* 3 July 2001.
 - 101 The Zimbabwean Government owes more than \$4.5 billion to the African Development Bank, the European Investment Bank, the World Bank and a number of Western countries. It had also defaulted in debt repayments to the International Monetary Fund. BBC report 13 June 2001.
 - 102 According to statistics issued in January 2001 by the State-run investment promotion agency, the Zimbabwe Investment Centre, foreign investment dropped by 89% in 2000 compared with 1999. Instability and refusal to uphold the rule of law in relation to property rights scared off investors. Pana News Agency report 24 January 2001.
 - 103 According to the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) the country will need to import about 579,000 tonnes of maize and wheat. The Commercial Farmers Union has estimated that the country will have to import a minimum of 200,000 tonnes of maize. (*Financial Gazette* 21 June 2001.) Agricultural Technical and Extension Services (Agritex), the country's sole provider of crop forecasting figures, has dismissed Lands and Agriculture Minister Joseph Made's claims that the country has enough food stocks. Agritex has defended its forecasts as accurate and says they should be relied on if Zimbabwe is to survive the looming food shortages. Agritex said estimates were that Zimbabwe would have a maize deficit of 154,570 tonnes by March 2002 and needed to import 654,570 tonnes, 500,000 of which should constitute the strategic reserve. An expert in the department said Agritex used six methods of crop forecasting and the resultant figures presented to the Government were the consensus of a number of expert inputs. "We have come up with these figure after using crop sample surveys, simple eye estimates, Central Statistical Office crop estimates, Commercial Farmers Union surveys, the SADC Early Warning Unit's remote sensing, and the Scientific & Industrial Research & Development Centre (SIRDC) model. So our figures should be considerably accurate," he said. (*Independent* 22 June 2001.) SADC's food security unit says Zimbabwe will harvest 1.5 million tonnes of maize in the 2000–2001 crop year, compared with 2.04 million last season. According to a report in *Insider* 27 June 2001, the problem will be compounded by the fact that a large proportion of the commercial maize crop is of poor quality and can only be used for animal fodder. The quarterly bulletin of NMB Bank for May reports that maize production is expected to be about 1.03 million tonnes, a 33.3% drop from last year. The bulletin says that on this basis the country is likely to have a deficit of between 400,000 and 600,000 tonnes. This is in contrast to a surplus of over 300,000 tonnes that was experienced in most years in the 1990s. Although the country had reserves of 525,000 tonnes at the end of January, according to the bulletin, utilisation of the reserves had increased from 20,000 tonnes a month to over 60,000 tonnes, which meant that the reserves would be exhausted by mid-June. Reports from South Africa say it will also have a reduced yield. It is likely to harvest nearly 7 million tonnes down from last year's 10.1 million tonnes. It also has reserves of 2 million tonnes and has only provided for 300,000 tonnes to be sold to Zimbabwe. A

spokesman for Grain South Africa said if Zimbabwe needed more than that, that would leave their kitty empty. But the bigger problem for Zimbabwe will be how to get the foreign currency to import the maize. The country has failed to build up any foreign exchange reserves and is saddled with a problem of procuring enough fuel which means even if the maize were obtained, there might be problems distributing it.

- 104 Reuters report 6 July 2001.
- 105 *Guardian* 3 July 2001. A Commercial Farmers Union spokesperson said that farms owned by 95% of the group's 4000 members are now listed for confiscation without compensation.
- 106 *Daily News* 10 July 2001.
- 107 *Business Day* 10 July 2001.
- 108 *Independent* (UK) 10 July 2001.
- 109 *Cape Argus* 10 July 2001.
- 110 In May 200 the Zimbabwean Parliament passed an Act entitled the Rural Land Occupiers (Protection from Eviction) Act [*Chapter 20:26*]. This Act blocks legal action to evict persons illegally occupying land in anticipation of being resettled by the land-acquiring authorities.
- 111 The rule of law helps protect democracy by providing a shield against the exercise of extra-legal arbitrary power. The rule of law requires the following:
- power be exercised in accordance with the law;
 - everyone must be equally subject to the law and no one should be above the law;
 - law enforcement agencies and the courts must enforce and apply the law impartially;
 - the law must protect everyone equally against illegal action causing harm.
- 112 In its report *Zimbabwe in Crisis: Finding a Way Forward* issued on 13 July 2001, the International Crisis Group describes the situation in Zimbabwe thus: "The crisis in Zimbabwe has negatively affected virtually every aspect of the country and every segment of the population. It has exacerbated racial and ethnic tensions, severely torn the country's social fabric, caused fundamental damage to its once strong economy, dramatically increased the suffering of Zimbabwe's people, accelerated a damaging brain drain and increased the use of State-sponsored violence, the perpetrators of which operate with impunity."
- 113 One large group of voters that the Mugabe Government will probably try to exclude in the presidential poll is the many Zimbabweans living outside the country. These people will probably not be allowed to cast postal votes because it may be felt that they may vote for the MDC.
- 114 Paying tribute to Hunzvi, Mugabe said that Hunzvi's quest for a just and final settlement of the historical land imbalance had consumed all his energy. "His leadership was particularly inspiring in that it came at an historic time when some people were beginning to waver, viewing our veterans as objects of contempt. Predictably, comrade Hunzvi was demonised and disparaged by a hostile and vicious local and international campaign that sought ... to preserve the iniquitous colonial land ownership imbalance in Zimbabwe." BBC report 5 June 2001.
- 115 Mugabe also urged Hunzvi's followers not to relent in their campaign to seize white farmland. He said: "The greatest tribute we can pay [Hunzvi] is to give back the land to the people. We must see this through to its glorious finish." *News24* (SA) 3 June 2001.
- 116 A day after the death of their leader, self-styled veterans of Zimbabwe's independence war vowed on Tuesday not to relent in their campaign to seize white-owned farms, AP reported. Patrick Nyaruwata, a spokesman for the Zimbabwe National Liberation War Veterans' Association (ZNLWVA), said the death of Chenjerai Hunzvi strengthened what he called the "commitment to land reform" of ruling party militants, State radio reported. He said the veterans' organisation, which claims to have 50,000 members, would continue fighting Hunzvi's cause to hand over white-owned farms to landless black Zimbabweans. Nyaruwata said the veteran's organisation had requested the ruling party's politburo, its top policy-making body, to declare Hunzvi a national hero and accord him a full state burial alongside ruling party politicians and fallen guerrilla leaders. (Source: *IRIN* report 5 June 2001.)
- 117 *News24* (SA) 3 June 2001. In one case a group of war veterans surrounded a farmhouse into which four white farmers had fled and threatened to kill them. They also badly beat up one of the farm workers on this farm. One of these farmers inside the farmhouse had been seriously injured as a

result of being beaten up by war veterans before the June 2000 general elections. *Standard* 8 July 2001.

- 118 In condemning political violence in their Pastoral Letter of May 2001 entitled “Tolerance and Hope” the Zimbabwe Catholic Bishops Conference had this to say: “Violence, intimidation and threats are the tools of failed politicians.”
- 119 *Independent* 28 June 2001. This delegation will have in it five African Ministers and three others including Britain. The Ministers will be drawn from Nigeria, Britain, South Africa, Kenya, Australia, Jamaica and Zimbabwe. The meeting is scheduled to take place in South Africa in August 2001. It will report back before the meeting of the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting in October in Brisbane. This group is a replacement for the Commonwealth Ministerial Action Group (CMAG) team, which Mugabe barred in March from visiting Zimbabwe to investigate attacks on the judiciary and the media.
- 120 This was said by Thomas Nyuke of Bindura, a victim of ZANU (PF)-orchestrated political violence in Mashonaland Central. In mid-July 2001 he was beaten up by a mob and suffered serious head injuries. He is recovering at Bindura Hospital. This story was related in the Editorial in the *Independent* 20 July 2001.