



Zimbabwe
HUMAN RIGHTS
NGO Forum

***Their words condemn them:
The language of violence,
intolerance and despotism in
Zimbabwe***

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Introduction

The utterances of political leaders can be very revealing. Their commitment to democracy and human rights is most tested when there is a serious challenge to their continued hold on power or when they attract heavy criticism. At such times, the leaders either display political tolerance or they lash out at their critics and opponents. Leaders with repressive tendencies will turn to repression; leaders who respect democracy will not.

Over the years, and particularly in the past seven years, leaders of the ruling party in Zimbabwe (ZANU PF) have made many statements, often at times when the ruling party has been under attack or has faced serious challenge. It has used its control over the broadcast media to disseminate a constant stream of hate speech.

A selection of these statements is provided below. An analysis of these statements discloses the following characteristics of the ruling party:

- It is deeply antagonistic to all opposition and dissent.
- It is prepared to incite violence and vengeful action against its political opponents and critics.

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- It uses virulent language to condemn its opponents and critics, not infrequently stooping to racial and ethnic abuse, and the vituperation is aimed at intimidating and silencing these persons.
- It persistently attempts to suppress the independent media.

These statements constitute various types of hate speech. They were made at times when gross human rights violations were being perpetrated. Many of the statements incited these violations or sought to justify or condone them.

Note

It should be noted that some of these statements fall into more than one category. Where this is the case, the same statement will appear in each of the categories into which it falls.

Gukurahundi

“Gukurahundi” means “the spring rain that gets rid of the chaff from the last season”. The chaff that was being got rid of consisted of people.

The record of events around the Gukurahundi are amply chronicled by several important reports, and particularly the report produced by the Catholic Commission on Justice and Peace and the Legal Resources Foundation.¹ Briefly, however, it was a campaign conducted by the Government in 1982-4 to suppress a small number of guerrillas whose activities, it was feared, might lead to a wholesale uprising in Matabeleland. The Government sent military forces, most notoriously the Korean-trained Fifth Brigade, into Matabeleland to hunt the guerrillas. Whatever its initial purpose, the campaign resulted in a reign of terror directed mostly at the rural civilian population of Matabeleland.

During this campaign up to 20 000 unarmed civilians were killed and probably hundreds of thousands of others were tortured, assaulted or raped or had their property destroyed. Of the people who died, some were shot where they were found; some were “disappeared”, then executed and buried or thrown down disused mine shafts; some were taken to torture camps where some died under torture or were later executed.

The Catholic Church accused Mugabe and the commander of the army Perrence Shiri of conducting a reign of terror in Matabeleland that included “wanton killings, woundings, beatings, burnings and rapes [that had] brought about the maiming and death of hundreds of people who are neither dissidents nor collaborators”,

¹ See CCJP & LRF (1997), *Breaking the Silence-Building True Peace: A Report on the Disturbances in Matabeleland and Midlands 1980 to 1988*, Zimrights (1998), *Choosing the Path to Peace and Development: Coming to Terms with Human Rights Violations of the 1982-1987 Conflict in Matabeleland and Midlands Provinces*, Harare: Zimbabwe Human Rights Association.

Statements by Robert Mugabe

Mugabe warned Joshua Nkomo (whose PF-ZAPU party and its supporters were based in Matabeleland): "*If you try something I will crush you.*"

In a speech on his own Shona ethnic territory, Mugabe described Nkomo as "a cobra" whose head must be crushed along with its body.

"The situation is one that requires a change on the part of the people of Matabeleland. They must be reoriented. Nkomo has not accepted political defeat." (Source: Film footage from film entitled *Never the Same Again*.)

When Nkomo protested that the 5th Brigade was killing and beating up the civilian population, Mugabe told him that in dealing with an insurgency, "*it is difficult for the army to distinguish who is a dissident and who is not. People should not hide dissidents*".

In a speech to a rural Ndebele audience near Nkayi in April 1983 he spoke of Ndebele support for the dissidents and went on to say:

"We have to deal with this problem quite ruthlessly. Don't cry if your relatives get killed in the process ... Where men and women provide food for the dissidents, when we get there we eradicate them. We don't differentiate when we fight, because we can't tell who is a dissident and who is not." (Source: *The Times* 27 April 1983)

On 18 April 1983 he said:

"Obviously it cannot ever be a sane policy to mete out blanket punishment to innocent people although in areas where banditry and dissident activity are rampant, civilian sympathy is a common feature and it may not be possible to distinguish innocent from the guilty."

And in 1984, in an interview with Donald Treford, the editor of *The Observer* (UK), he said:

"The solution is a military one. Their grievances are unfounded. The verdict of the voters was cast in 1980. They should have accepted defeat then. ... The situation in Matabeleland is one that requires a change. The people must be reoriented."

Speaking at St Columbia Mission he said:

"Unless there are real incidents that are brought to my notice I cannot agree that they are carrying out any excesses at all. The dissident activity we will eliminate I can assure you, we have treated them with kid gloves all along but we are going all out now to crush them and we will crush them." (Source: Film footage in film entitled *A Place for Everybody*)

"Who is Nkomo? What is ZAPU after all? The dissident activity we will eliminate I can assure you." (Source: Film footage in film *Dancing Out of Tune*)

Speaking at the funeral of Moven Ndlovu in 1984, he said:

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"ZAPU is irretrievably bent on its criminal path. I'm sure the majority of our people will agree with me when I say that time has now come for us to show this evil party our teeth. We can bite and we will shall certainly bite."
(Source: Film footage from film entitled *A Place for Everybody*)

Responding to a question in Parliament about the possibility of negotiations with ZAPU, he said:

"ZAPU inspires dissident activities, inspires banditry, it inspires lawlessness in the country and then it comes to us and says let us talk about this banditry, this lawlessness – what is there to talk about? To talk about criminal activities that are deliberately caused by a political party? We cannot entertain that type of discussion at all ... It is in their power to bring an end to that banditry, just as it has been within their power to bring it about. Let them work and work alone to eliminate banditry in their own way. If they do not, we will eliminate that banditry and together with it, ZAPU." (Source: Parliamentary debate 7 August 1985)

Mugabe has refused to accept responsibility or apologise in full for Gukurahundi. Speaking at the funeral of Joshua Nkomo in October 1999 he did express regret for the Matabeleland violence. He announced the willingness of the Government to compensate the families of the thousands of people killed during the insurgency. Subsequently he has called the campaign "an act of madness" and has said the killings were wrong. No compensation has been paid by Government to any of the victims' families, despite President Mugabe's promise.

Statements by Minister Emmerson Mnangagwa

A few weeks after the deployment of the infamous Fifth Brigade in Matabeleland North, in his capacity as Minister of State Security he told a rally at Victoria Falls that the government was considering as one option the burning down of "all villages infested with dissidents". He added:

"...the campaign against dissidents can only succeed if the infrastructure that nurtures them is destroyed." The dissidents were, in his words, "cockroaches" and the 5th Brigade was the "DDT" brought in to eradicate them. (Source: *The Chronicle* 5 March 1983)

A few weeks later at another rally in Matabeleland North, he told a huge, forcibly assembled crowd that the Army had come to Matabeleland like fire, "*and in the process of cleansing the area of the dissident menace had also wiped out their supporters.*" He went on to say in a parody of the Scriptures:

"Blessed are they who will follow the path of the Government laws, for their days on earth shall be increased. But woe to those who will chose the path of collaboration with dissidents for we will certainly shorten their stay on earth."
(Source: *The Chronicle* 4 April 1983)

Statements by Enos Nkala

When he was Home Affairs Minister in the 1980s, he threatened to wipe out the ZAPU leadership, telling the nation:

“We want to wipe out the ZAPU leadership. You’ve only seen the warning lights. We haven’t reached full blast . . . the murderous organisation and its murderous leadership must be hit so hard that it doesn’t feel obliged to do the things it has been doing.”

Later speaking to ZAPU supporters, he said:

“ZANU (PF) rules this country and anyone who disputes that is a dissident and should be dealt with.”

In 1983, he said:

“It’s really ZAPU that provides the infrastructure for dissidents and violence. If you liquidate ZAPU, if the word liquidation means bringing to an end something, then it means you have no problem of dissidents.” (Source: Film footage from film entitled *A Place for Everybody*)

Statement by Nathan Shamuyarira, Publicity Secretary of ZANU (PF)

Speaking about the brutal Zimbabwe National Army crackdown in Matabeleland and the Midlands in the 1980s, he said it was “*not regrettable*”. “. . . *No, I don’t regret. They (the 5 Brigade) were doing a job to protect the people . . .*” (Source: *Financial Gazette* 5 October 2006)

Population size

In the context of a “complex emergency”, in which food security has been severely compromised and an extremely serious HIV/AIDS epidemic is raging, callous statements of unconcern for the ordinary people of Zimbabwe have a particular significance, as do statements suggesting that a reduction of the population is desirable if the remainder consist of ruling party loyalists.

Statement by Didymus Mutasa, Senior Minister

In 2002, when he was the Minister responsible for the distribution of emergency food aid, he said:

“We would be better off with only six million people, with our own people who support the liberation struggle. We don’t want all these extra people.” (Quoted by the UK *Sunday Times*.)

Threats against opposition and protestors and incitement to attack opposition supporters

Threats against the opposition and protestors are probably the most common of all the instances of hate speech and intimidation, and these must be seen against the background of an enormous number of reports of gross human rights violations issued since 2000.²

ZANU (PF) firmly believes that because it fought and won the liberation war it alone has the right to govern the country in perpetuity. Consistently with this view, 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 remains a *de facto* one-party State.

In the 1980s the Mugabe Government showed its preparedness to resort to violence on a large scale against political opponents. Its complete intolerance of political opposition and its willingness to use violence and intimidation against the political opposition has continued throughout its rule. During the 1990s, the political opposition was weak and posed no real threat. Nevertheless, in the 1990 and 1995 elections, ruling party supporters and State agents violently attacked members of the opposition before and after the elections. For example, Patrick Kombayi, the national organising secretary of an opposition party was shot and seriously injured by Central Intelligence Organisation (CIO) operatives on 24 March 1990. This shooting occurred just three days away from an election in which Kombayi was standing against Vice President Simon Muzenda for the Gweru Urban seat. President Mugabe pardoned the two government officers who attempted to kill Patrick Kombayi on the day that they were convicted of attempted murder.

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 was rapidly declining. It was faced with serious food riots and demonstrations, and then with the first major challenge to its stranglehold on power – the birth of the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC). When it became apparent that ZANU (PF) was in danger of being voted out of power, it responded with extreme violence and literally declared war on the MDC. In the run-up to the General Election in June 2000, it embarked upon a violent campaign to suppress political opposition, using the land issue to mask its true objective – the retention of power. From 2000 until the present, the ruling party has used violence as a political tool, conducting a widespread and systematic campaign of

² These reports are not mere allegations, and have even been validated by the Zimbabwean courts. Here see Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum (2006), *An Analysis of the Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum Legal Cases, 1998–2006*. Published by the Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum. (June 2006, Harare)

violent persecution directed against the MDC. The perpetrators of this violence have been ruling party supporters, war veterans, youth militia, intelligence personnel, members of law enforcement agencies and army personnel. In March 2007 the pensions for war veterans were substantially increased and it was also announced that war veterans would be recruited into the army as a reserve force. The war veterans association announced that it would continue to support the ruling party.

There are numerous instances of statements by leaders and officials in the ruling inciting violence against members of the opposition. The violence against the opposition has peaked at the time of Parliamentary and Presidential elections.

Statements by Robert Mugabe

In 1985, after the parliamentary elections, Mugabe made a speech in which he told the people of Harare to "go out and weed your gardens". Twenty civilians believed to support the then opposition ZAPU party, including a pregnant woman, were beaten to death by ZANU (PF) supporting crowds in the next few days, while scores of properties were burnt. (Source: Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace and Legal Resources Foundation, *Breaking the silence, building true peace: a report on the massacres in Matabeleland and the Midlands 1980-1988*, Harare, 1997,)

During the election campaign in March 1990, he said:

"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 April 2000, he urged war veterans to hit back at the opposition, saying:

"Let those in the MDC and their friends listen to this message. We can unleash greater violence than them." (Source: *The Chronicle*, 1 April 2000.)

Opening the Pungwe-Mutare pipeline in March 2000, he said:

"Those who try to cause disunity among our people must watch out because death will befall them..." (Source: *Daily News*, 17 March 2000)

In April 2000, warning the opposition leader, Morgan Tsvangirai that he was playing with fire he said: "*Let him not start the fire which may engulf him!*"

In its complaint in connection with the lawsuit against President Mugabe in America, the litigants 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 Tsuro was allegedly a clandestine operation set up to attack members of the opposition. It must be stressed, however, that there has been no independent confirmation that this statement was made. (Source: *Newsweek*, 11 December 2001).

Speaking at the ZANU (PF) Congress in December 2001, he said:

"This is a real physical fight and we have to prepare for it. I urge the party youth, women's league and every party member and worker to join the fight to protect our nation, our independence and our heritage. The nonsense that the MDC has resorted to, the acts of violence can be brought to an end. We have to be, to move like a military machine and you prepare in your own units to move forward. ... The MDC can never win these elections, never, never, never. Never, never, never. ... Tsvangirai, what would he know about the war of liberation? He ran away – fled the country, scared of fighting without being trained." (Film footage from film entitled *Fighting For Rights*)

On 31 March 2002, he said in Zvimba:

"No nonsense will be tolerated. Those who want to rebel and become lawless, we will deal with them firmly. We will make them run; if they haven't run before we will make them run now.... We will not pander to them any longer. That's gone. It's finished. We are now entering a new chapter, and there will be firm government, very firm government...." Robert Mugabe: extract from speech in English and Shona celebrating his re-inauguration and clarifying his policy towards the opposition MDC. (Source: Film footage from film entitled *Post Poll 2002* and *The Sunday Mail*, 19 May 2002.)

"*This is total war,*" said Mugabe at the close of his ZANU (PF) party congress in Victoria Falls. "*We will have a central command centre. This is war, it is not a game. You are all soldiers of ZANU (PF) for the people. When we come to your province we must see you are ready. When the time comes to fire the bullet, the ballot, the trajectory of the gun must be true.*" Mr Mugabe said that the authorities would be even more ruthless this time, at one time shouting "*Death to the tea boy*", a reference to Mr Tsvangirai, who he accuses of being too accommodating to whites.

"What we are now headed for is a real war, a revolutionary war. We have to move like a military machine and you must prepare your own unit to move forward. This is no longer a contest. This is a revolutionary war".

In 2002, at Cain Nkala's burial at Heroes Acre, he blamed MDC for the killing and said the killing proved that the MDC was a party of violence and urged party supporters to exact vengeance from the opposition party. Mugabe's rhetoric was followed by a series of violent mob attacks on the MDC, the burning of offices and assaults and abductions of hundreds of members in a wave of terror shortly before presidential elections in 2002. The MDC members arrested for this killing were all later acquitted, the court holding that the evidence against them was unworthy of belief.

Speaking at a rally in Nyamandlovu, Matabeleland, on 13 July 2003, he said:

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"Let the MDC and its leaders be warned that those who play with fire will not only be burnt, but consumed by that fire."

Speaking about the MDC's comments on the elections, he said:

"Shut your dirty mouths. We do not want to hear that (*i.e. that elections would not be free and fair*) from you. You are not our judges. You are not our keepers. Leave us alone. The MDC is a murderous party. They are murderers right from Tsvangirai to the lowest member in the party."

(Source: *The Herald*, 28 February 2002.)

Speaking at a party held in April 2002 to celebrate his election victory, he said:

"This was a difficult contest (*i.e. the March 2002 Presidential elections*) as [Ignatius] Chombo has said. It was the Whites who made the contest difficult. The Blairs. I am sure you saw how united the Boers were in what they saw as a do and die situation for them. We are the government and they can do nothing. Why are they refusing to accept the will of the people? The people elected ZANU (PF) to continue ruling and Mugabe to continue as president. And they want to be rebellious? Rebelling to cause chaos in the country? Do you think that's what we want?) This is a post election period and no nonsense will be tolerated. Those who want to rebel, to become lawless, we will deal with them firmly. We will make them run if they have not been made to run before. Do they think we will keep pleading with them. That's gone. It's finished. We are in a new phase; a new chapter and there will be a firm government, very firm!

The rest of the country, which surrounds them (urban dwellers). You are the ones who won and rule in those areas). Let them dwell in their islands of Harare and Bulawayo. They are a closed island. If they move out of Harare where do they go? Can Harare produce maize? All the food -- cabbages and even onions -- come from Goromonzi and some from Seke. So the people of Harare should know where their livelihood comes from. Not the sugar that has confused them. I have never heard that sugar intoxicates people". (Source: ZBC 2/04/2002 transcribed by the Media Monitoring Project, Zimbabwe.)

In May 2002, he said:

"We will not tolerate the nonsense and rubbish that preceded the election, ... that was allowed in the past; that freedom to get people into the streets to destroy homes and destroy businesses will not be there in future. Never! Never! Never shall we allow that to happen. Secondly, they think they can take to violence, which may be one and the same thing as mass action, but this number two is an option that is accepted by the MDC and we warn them here that ZANU (PF), which is ruling today, comprises a membership and leadership that has gone to the school of both war and peace. ... When there are forces that want to take to war, to violence, they will be dealt with effectively and we will deal effectively ... There won't be any nonsense about that anymore. They of course think that their masters will come to their rescue. We are revolutionaries and when we are called to act by the demand of the situation we will act truly and faithfully to the principle that force can only be dealt with by force. We have done it in the past. That's how we brought about the liberation of the country. If there are those amongst them who want to talk peace we are open. We say 'Yes', if you want to talk peace.

So there it is. Our neighbours have been saying it's all better for us to go into talks. Let them come) and they started talking nonsense that ZANU (PF) is on its knees. I'm on my feet. Two feet." (Source: ZBC 18 May 2002 – transcript from Media Monitoring Project – Zimbabwe.)

Addressing ZANU(PF) youths at ZANU (PF) headquarters in Harare in March 2003, he said:

"I want to start by congratulating you on your vigilance and the good work you did during the so-called MDC stay away. It was a failure, a complete flop. They can't tell the world that they succeeded because their target was to overthrow our government. Their target was to get us to say 'Yes, we shall do what the MDC wants us to do'. We have said who are you? Stooges of White man? You don't have voices of your own. Yes, you wear our skins but below that skin you are White men. The Black skin that you have is just a gift from our ancestors but their thinking below their skins is White ... There is no room for violent people, no room for [such] people in Zimbabwe. Let them go to Europe. Let them go where their masters are. We want peace, peace, peace and stability in Zimbabwe. And from now on, that message which we are sending to them will translate itself into greater vigour, greater vigilance and greater action by my government. We shall not treat them with soft gloves anymore. They are our enemies. (Source: ZBC 22/03/2003 transcribed by Media Monitoring Project, Zimbabwe)

In July 2005, Mugabe told the youths at the rally held to celebrate the ruling party's victory in the disputed March 31 parliamentary election:

"There is no way I can take it that some of the ZANU (PF) youths can be beaten by those from the opposition.... You have to fight back, why are you so lazy (to fight),"

Speaking at the burial of Swithun Mombeshora, a former Minister, he said:

"I address you hardly two days after a violent campaign by traitors and enemies of our country who claim they are fighting for a democratic order. In an effort to enforce, I repeat, to enforce the success of their so-called mass action, they engaged in the violent intimidation of our peace loving citizens who wanted to go about their lawful daily pursuits. The money used to organize the pretended stay away to pay our youth to self-destruct and turn them into career-purveyors of violence came from the so-called democracies of the West. The West pays for the violence meted amongst our people here. They give the money. It came from Britain, from the United States of America, from countries like Holland and Germany through their ostensibly humanitarian or civic organizations or foundations. All these nations were united in sponsoring violence here. They were urging the MDC to do something. Anything that would spark out some resistance, some fireworks. Even a death would count and be seen as opposition to the party and ruling party in Zimbabwe. These nations that sponsored violence are the same nations that opposed our fight of freedom and we remember that very well. ...And we were seen as the violators of the rule of justice and Ian Smith as the upholder of those rules. ...

I remember when in 1976 we met with the British at the Geneva Conference. The press in Britain were (*sic*) focused on Robert Mugabe and Joshua Nkomo. I was the Hitler of the times. I am still the Hitler of the times. If Hitler had fought for the justice of mankind, many nations would not have fought against him. This Hitler has only one objective; justice for his people,

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sovereignty for his people, recognition of the independence of his people and their right over their resources. If that is Hitler like, then let me be a Hitler ten fold, ten times. That's what we stand for, that's what the party stands for, that's what the ruling party stands for, that's what the present government stands for. What persons would we be if we allowed our will to be subjected to the will of Britain, the will of Blair, the will of Bush? So read us correctly. We stand for justice. ...

But when freedom of expression that is supported by the West is one to promote violence and terrorism, then to us that freedom of expression will have turned against the rights and lives of our people. They also have the right to live, the right to remain unassailed by other individuals. Your right of expression does not extend to the right of interference with the lives of others. If it does then it becomes criminal. It becomes an offence and my government cannot stand aside and allow you to unleash that kind of violence. Our law enforcing agents we have said must react promptly and with vigour in providing appropriate responses to dangerous mischief-makers. Someone told me, because I don't read the rubbish press. But some of my people read (the private press) and say that there is an ultimatum. Ultimatum from whom? A sellout? Tsvangirai saying Mr. Mugabe do this! My foot! Let him measure his size. Even by height I am taller. He may have a bigger belly than mine I concede that. By intellect I don't know. I leave the people to make their judgment. But you have seen what intellect they have, the MDC. They think only of violence, stay aways. But what policies do they have for the development of this country? What do they have for the people on the plate? For the development of the country, the construction of the economy? We are yet to see their constructive thinking. It's negative, negative, negative. They tell me two negatives make a positive but these are not two. They are three, four, five, six, ten! Those create chaos. (Source: ZBC 21/03/2003 transcribed by Media Monitoring Project, Zimbabwe.)

In April 2006, he threatened to bring down "the full wrath of the law" against anyone who disturbs Zimbabwean peace and stability. The threat came after calls by the country's main opposition leader, Morgan Tsvangirai, for street protests to topple Mugabe's 26-year rule.

"Anyone who dares go against the law, ... dares lead any group of persons to embark on a campaign of violence or terrorist activity, will be inviting the full wrath of the law to descend mercilessly on him and, or on those who follow him." (Source: *Mail and Guardian* 19 April 2006.)

In July 2006, he said that the police should be given extra powers to deal with the protesters whom he said were being sponsored by foreigners to destabilise the country. He was addressing his party's Central Committee meeting at the party's headquarters in Harare. He said:

"Let them take heed of our free advice that any sinister efforts designed to challenge the authority of Government through any illegal way will meet the full wrath of our law. Those who will engage in it will naturally be dealt with. We shall not sit back and allow any group of persons to circumvent the democratic process and aspire to power through illegitimate and unconstitutional means. Those who seek to run the country must get to the seat of government by engaging the people through an election. Any other means is rebellious and shall be treated as such." (Source: *Zimbabwejournalists.com*, 15 July 2006)

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On 18 May 2006, speaking at the country's 26th birthday celebrations, President Mugabe threatened MDC leader Morgan Tsvangirai, saying any effort to force him out of power would be "*dicing with death*". Security forces were placed on high alert. (Source: *Zimonline* 11 April 2006)

On 30 May 2006 in response to MDC plans to stage peaceful mass protests he said:

"We hear others say we want to go into the streets to demonstrate, to unseat a legitimately elected government. It will never happen and we will never allow it. If a person now wants to invite his own death, let him go ahead." (Source: *Zimonline* 1 April 2006)

On 15 August 2006, speaking in praise of the army during the Defences Forces Day in Harare, he warned protestors that Zimbabwe's army stood ready to "*pull the trigger*" against anyone seeking to topple him as a mounting political and economic crisis raised fears of unrest. (Source: *Independent (Zim)* 18 August 2006)

In February 2007 he intimidated that his government would not tolerate protests against plans to extend his rule, saying such actions were being spearheaded by "deranged" people. When asked to comment on opposition threats to mount peaceful anti-government protests Mugabe said: "The deranged ones? ... they are in the wilderness. We will not allow that." (Source: *Reuters* 7 Feb 2007)

On 16 March 2007 in President Mugabe urged youth leaders to "get prepared for a fight" and to defend the people. He told them to organize and defend the revolution. He said:

"The people require protection from you and protection means fighting for them, defending them. After this experience we have gone through, we expect our youth will gear themselves now to the defence of our people, our children, our communities, our resources."

He was reported to have told the Youth League that it has a "blank cheque" to deal with the MDC leadership in the high-density areas. He told them "ZANU(PF) has a big, hard-knuckled fist which it can summon effectively, once challenged." He warned the West that he wants "no monkey business" and told them to "check our record when we are challenged". The U.S. Ambassador to Zimbabwe, Christopher Dell, told the BBC that Mugabe authorized the youth wing of his party to use any means available against the opposition. The youth stated that they were fully behind the President and were confident he would win the 2008 presidential election. (Sources: *Zimonline* 19 March 2007, *International Herald Tribune* 20 March 2007, *The Guardian* 19 March 2007, *The Chronicle* 17 March 2007 MDC Information department report 19 March 2007.)

On 18 March 2007 he was reported to have said: "We have given too much room to mischief makers and shameless stooges of the West. Let them and their masters know that we shall brook none of their lawless behaviour." (Source: *The Chronicle* 18 March)

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On 23 March 2007 President Mugabe said he hoped the opposition had learned that violence did not pay following the police crackdown on the recent disturbances that were sponsored by the MDC and some sections of the civic society. He said:

"Our arms of Government, the police will act very vigorously and severely on those who go on a defiance campaign. We hope they have learned a lesson. If they have not, then they will get similar treatment."

These remarks followed the arrest and brutal torture of leaders of the opposition and civic organisations when they sought to defy a ban on a "prayer meeting". (Source: *The Herald* 24 March 2007)

Statements by Didymus Mutasa

In 2000 referring to an MDC campaign advertisement he is quoted as having said:

"Those who do not understand must be beaten until they do understand."

In August 2001, he warned civil servants in Chimanimani that they risked being shot dead if they supported the MDC. (Source *Daily News*, 11 August 2001)

"The MDC people come at night, they distribute their literature simply leave it dumped on the road and our people go and collect it and burn it because it is really dirt. Incidentally, I've given a new name to the MDC I do not really call them a movement for democratic change, I call them mentally deficient children. They haven't got any minds at all because anyone who knows the history of this country will not behave as the MDC is behaving at the moment." With all the rubbish that Tsvangirai is talking about people nonetheless will still go and vote for him and would you really think that these people are voting correctly? And are these people worth listening to?" (Source: Film footage from film entitled *Fighting For Rights*)

In April 2006, in response by the threat by the MDC to peaceful mass protests, he said:

"Anyone, particularly Tsvangirai who threatens peace and stability in this country will get capital punishment ... and we mean it. We maintain organs of national security such as the army to protect the stability and integrity of our country. They will be instructed to use all resources at their disposal, including guns (to stop protests). We have shed blood before to achieve independence. So let no one be fooled that we will fold our arms while they (the opposition) cause mayhem and violence to remove democratically elected governments. They will pay and pay dearly." (Source: *Zimonline*, 12 April 2006)

In April 2006, in his capacity as State Security Minister, he said that armed soldiers and police would crush mass protests and that protesters would be shot. He said that no one should expect the government to "*keep its security organs in the camps*" in the face of opposition-instigated protests meant to oust it.

"We will not fold our arms while the country burns. Organs of security are there to maintain security and no sane government in this world will keep its

Their words condemn them:
The language of violence, intolerance and despotism in Zimbabwe.

security organs in the camps while some mischievous elements destabilise the country, even threatening to remove a democratically elected government by force."

When put to him that security commanders might refuse to order their men to fire at civilians, he responded:

"Do you think disciplined forces like the CIO, the army and the police would not listen to orders or let Tsvangirai have his way?" "If Tsvangirai is brave as he says he is, then he should march alone, along Samora Machel Avenue to the Head of State's offices. Then he shall see that we mean business."
(Source: *Zimonline* 25 April 2006)

Statement by Minister Moven Mahachi [The late Minister of Defence]

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: *Newsweek* 11 December 2001.)

Statement by Elliot Manyika [Political commissar for ZANU(PF)]

On 28 March 2007 Elliot Manyika called on party youths and war veterans to prepare for a campaign of violence against the opposition, which he said had to be "silenced at all costs". Speaking at a hotel in the farming town of Karoi about 180km north-west of Harare, he said the MDC had to be taught that Zimbabwe's independence "was won through blood". The youths and veterans of the country's 1970s independence war would spearhead ZANU (PF)'s campaign for next year's election while the army and police would back the ruling party, according to Manyika. He said: "We have to gear up for violence against the opposition and we have to silence them at all costs especially here in the home province of our President (Karoi is in Mugabe's home province of Mashonaland West). We have the army, police on our side and let's teach them lessons that this country was won through blood." War veterans and the youth militias have been the centrepiece of Mugabe and ZANU (PF)'s electioneering machine since 2000, unleashing violence, terror and murder against MDC supporters to ensure victory for the ruling party. On the other hand, the army and police have been accused of either aiding ZANU (PF) youth militias or war veterans in committing violence against government opponents or simply turning a blind eye. (Source: *Zim Online* 30 March 2007).

In April 2007 it was reported that Elliot Manyika told party members at gatherings in the Mashonaland West Province towns of Zvimba and Karoi that they should not tolerate opposition parties in their areas and they should "beat up" opposition members and silence them in the approach to the presidential, parliamentary and rural council elections slated for

March 2008. He exhorted them to ensure that ZANU (PF) won these elections. (Source: *Voice of America* 24 April 2007)

Statement by Samuel Mumbengegwi

During the Bikita West by-election, the then Minister of Education told villagers that ZANU (PF) would find out from voting registers how people had voted. He went on to say:

"We will not be fooled. We will be able to find out who our enemies are and we will ruthlessly deal with them. We want to cleanse this area of all anti-ZANU (PF) elements. Chiefs and headmen were warned that they would lose all their privileges unless they organised people in their areas to vote for ZANU (PF). Teachers, civil servants and nurses were told they would be sacked if they supported the MDC. (Source: Martin Meredith *Mugabe Power and Plunder in Zimbabwe* p 215).

Statement by Patrick Chinamasa

The Justice Minister said in September 2003

"A party that seeks to subjugate national interests to foreign powers and interests is a traitor and should be treated as such". (Source: *The Herald*, 4 September 2003)

Statement by Nathan Shamuyarira [former Minister, now the ZANU (PF) Secretary for Information]

In June 2003, he said:

"Foreign powers especially Britain and America, and their Zimbabwe puppets can not and will not change that (the people's election of Mugabe as president). The time has now come for showdown with the MDC. Their activities can no longer be tolerated. They must be confronted and taught the lesson that Zimbabwe is a sovereign nation." (Source: *The Herald*, 2 June 2003)

Statement by Minister Sidney Sekeremayi

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: *Daily News* 22 May 2000.)

Statement by Abednico Ncube, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs

In July 2004 the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Abednico Ncube, told villagers in Matabeleland that maize "will be available only to those who dump the opposition and work with ZANU (PF)". The party would "start feeding its children before turning to those of the MDC".

Statement by Chen Chimutengwende (an ex-Minister of Information)

"MDC is both waging a war and preparing for escalation of that war against the government of Zimbabwe and ZANU (PF)." (Source: Film footage from film entitled *Never the Same Again*)

Statement by Phillip Chiyangwa [former ZANU (PF) MP for Chinhoyi]

Television footage recorded Chiyangwa inciting party youths during the August 2001 on commercial farms in his constituency. Shot by ZTV, but screened on BBC Channel 4. What he told the youths was:

"If you get hold of MDC supporters, beat them until they are dead. Burn their farms and their workers' houses, then run away fast and we will then blame the burning of the workers' houses on the whites. Report to the police, because they are ours." (Source: *Standard* 9 September 2001)

In October 2001 he and Minister Chombo addressed a meeting of farmers in Banket. In the course of the meeting, in front of 200 witnesses, Mr Chiyangwa said "...*anyone who supports the MDC will be eliminated.*" (Source: *The Standard* 18 July 2004)

Statement by spokesman for President Mugabe

Mugabe's chief spokesman George Charamba, writing under the pen name of Nathaniel Manheru in the *Herald*, warned activists that angry police and troops were ready to violently curb their activities. He said: "*Woe betide the unfortunate back on whom the blows will land.*"

Statements by Governor Josaya Hungwe

In May 2000, Hungwe, who was then the ZANU (PF) 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: *Daily News* 12 May 2000)

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 his immediate arrest for threatening Masvingo residents with death ahead of the mayoral elections. (Source: *Daily News* 4 April 2001)

Statement by Simon Maluma, the district chairman of ZANU (PF)

Sitting on top of the pile of grain, Maluma told villagers that food aid would only go to ZANU supporters. He told opposition supporters to move out of the queue instead of embarrassing themselves. (Source: *The Guardian* 26 March 2005)

Statement by Augustine Chihuri [Commissioner of Police]

In December 2000, the Commissioner of Police said:

“The police will be out in full force ...to deal with this sickness of society in a ruthless manner. Security forces will not brook coup plotters or coup makers who are bent on disorder. The right measure of force shall be used if the so-called mass action goes ahead.” (Source: *The Daily News*, 6 December 2000.)

Statements by General Vitalis Zvinvashe [Commander-in chief of the army at the time]

Made in the period leading up to the 2002 elections:

“The highest office of the land is a strait-jacket whose occupant is expected to observe the objectives of the liberation struggle. We will therefore not accept, let alone support or salute anyone with a different agenda that threatens the very existence of our sovereignty, our country and our people.” (Source: Film footage from film entitled *Fighting For Rights*)

Statement by Didymus Mutasa

“General Vitalis Zvinvashe said that many many of us did not go to fight the second Chimurenga in order to install the British puppet like Tsvangirai. That under those circumstances if there were to be a coup we will support it, very definitely.”

Statements by the late Dr Chenjerai Hunzvi, war veteran and Member of Parliament for Chikomba

On 10 December 2000 he said:

Their words condemn them:
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"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."

On 14 December 2000 he said "whosoever is killed, it's tough luck."

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.*"

In late March 2001 he said that ZANU (PF) will establish 'mobilisation bases' in Zimbabwe's cities as part of "an aggressive plan."

Statement by Andrew Ndlovu [War veteran leader]

In March 2000 Ndlovu, who was 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 defend the government of ZANU (PF). We will invade military camps just as we have gone to the farms." (Source: *Daily News* 16 March 2000)

Reiterating this threat in August 2001, he said:

"We will not accept an MDC victory. If they win we will go back to war."

Statement by Comrade Zimbabwe [War veteran leader]

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)." (Source: *Daily News* 8 May 2000)

Statement by Edmore Hwarare [War veteran leader]

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. (Source: *Daily News* 5 June 2000)

ZANU (PF) Campaign Advert 1990

(Car crash scene) This is one way to die, another is to vote ZUM. Don't commit suicide. Don't be foolish. Vote ZANU (PF) and Live! (Source: Film footage from film entitled *Keeping a Loud Voice*)

Threats by chiefs

Chief Charumbira, who is president of the pro-ZANU (PF) Chiefs' Council and a former junior member of Mugabe's Cabinet, threatened to evict villagers who supported the opposition told villagers that those evicted from his area for backing the opposition would have nowhere to go as other chiefs across the country had also adopted the same policy of banning supporters of the opposition United People's Party and Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) parties from their areas.

Charumbira, who spoke in the vernacular Shona language, said:

“I have some names of UPP (United People's Party) and MDC supporters whom I have already earmarked for eviction. The position is that only ZANU (PF) supporters will be allowed to reside in my area. I want my (village) headmen to take note of this position.

If you are an opposition supporter this is the time to mend your ways before we come for you and ask you to pack your bags. I don't know where you will go because other chiefs will take a similar stance.”

He made the threat at a function organised by the United Nations' Food and Agriculture Organisation in rural Masvingo province to mark World Food Day. (Source: *Zim Online* 24 October 2006)

Food riots 1998

Statement by Dumiso Dabengwa

"We have been left with no choice but to bring in the army in the execution of our obligations. And they will carry arms and live ammunition and will not hesitate to shoot any people who are trouble causers and who are engaged in looting."

Threats against judges

Starting in 2000, but following on a serious conflict between the government and the judiciary over the torture of journalists Mark Chavunduka and Ray Choto,³ a fierce campaign was waged against certain judges. Among other senior politicians, the Minister of Justice repeatedly attacked the judiciary in the state-controlled media and in Parliament. He was quoted as saying that the government would not rest until there was a complete overhaul of the judiciary. "Eurocentric" judges regarded as being in conflict with the other arms of government and perceived as constituting "*the main opposition to the ruling party*" would have to go. Judges should be politically correct, and if they behaved like "*unguided missiles, I wish to emphatically state that we will push them out*".

Although every member of the judiciary had been appointed to his post with Mugabe's approval after Independence, he added:

"The present composition of the judiciary reflects that the country is in a semi-colonial state, half free, half enslaved."

In November 2000, several hundred war veterans stormed the Supreme Court building, led by war veteran leader, Joseph Chinotimba. Chitotimba made various threats and he spoke to the then Chief Justice, Anthony Gubbay, on the phone. He told reporters afterwards that he had told Gubbay:

"I have told him in no uncertain terms that he is putting his life at risk by remaining in office when we have made it clear we no longer want him. I told him to vacate his office today. If he does not go, we will declare war."

The Minister of Justice, Patrick Chinamasa, subsequently told the Chief Justice that unless he resigned, his safety could not be guaranteed. Similar threats were made against Judge McNally and Judge Ebrahim. Judge Gubbay and Judge Ebrahim retired as a result of intimidation and political pressure. This included frank statements by Chinamasa that ridding the Supreme Court of established judges served to 'exorcise . . . the racist ghost of Ian Smith'. (Sources: *Guardian Special Report: Zimbabwe* 13 February 2001; *The Toll of Impunity*

³ Chavunduka and Choto were viciously tortured after a story was published in the Zimbabwe Standard alleging a coup plot in the military forces. Senior army officers and government officials blatantly ignored court orders for the journalists' release.

n 15 at 53). Chinamasa subsequently told church leaders that "*Violence is a necessary tool for a successful land reform programme.*"

Statements by Dr Chenjerai Hunzvi

Dr Hunzvi was a war veteran and the late Member of Parliament for Chikomba. On 10 December 2000 he said:

"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."

Another war veterans' leader noted:

"The judiciary must go home or else we will chase them and close the courts indefinitely until President Mugabe appoints replacements." (Source: *The Star* 4 December 2000)

This was followed by a threat to remove judges by force if they did not resign within a fortnight.

Murambatsvina

Murambatsvina is a Shona verbal noun which breaks down to "muramba" meaning "one who refuses" and "tsvina" which means "dirt" or "filth". In this sense, Murambatsvina would mean "the one who refuses dirt". The operation was named in this way to indicate that dirt was being cleaned out of the cities.

Starting in May 2005 the urban poor all around the country fell victim to a devastating military style operation that left some 700 000 men, women and children homeless or without a source of livelihood, or both. A further 2.4 million people were adversely affected. Large numbers of dwellings and market stalls were destroyed and people were left without shelter in mid-winter.

Large forces of armed police carried out this campaign backed up by army personnel who were ferried in large troop carriers. This was an awesome force to be deployed against poor unarmed people who included women and children and sick and disabled people. During the campaign it was publicly proclaimed that no resistance to the action would be tolerated. Local Government Minister Ignatious Chombo said, "We are simply restoring order. Yes we expected some resistance but the security forces are on hand to crush any hooliganism. It is these people who have been making the country ungovernable by their criminal activities actually." (Source: *Zimonline* 28 May 2005)

One news agency alleged that the police were under orders to use live ammunition against civilians attempting to resist. It said that "sources" had told it that the Harare police commander said to about 2 000 police officers at a police depot in Harare about to be deployed:

"Why are you letting the people toss you around when you are the police? From tomorrow, I need reports on my desk saying that we have shot people. The President (Mugabe) has given his full support for this operation so there is nothing to fear. You should treat this operation as a war. Those people fighting back need to be taught bitter lessons because that is the only way to avoid further confrontation." (Source: *Zimonline* 28 May 2005)

The Police Commissioner, Augustine Chihuri, went so far as to say that Operation Murambatsvina was meant to "clean the country of the crawling mass of maggots bent on destroying the economy". *Times* (UK) 17 June 2005.

Police Commissioner Augustine Chihuri is quoted, when addressing a workshop jointly organised by the ZRP and the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe in Harare, as saying:

"I would want to warn any miscreants within our society who may wish to show their discontent against the current clean-up operations to stop the day-dreaming forthwith.... Let no one be used as cannon fodder by criminals whose illegal source of livelihood has been haemorrhaging the economy."

Court orders and the rule of law

Statements by Robert Mugabe

In his independence speech in 1980, Robert Mugabe said:

"Only a government that subjects itself to the rule of law has any moral right to demand of its citizens obedience to the rule of law. Our Constitution equally circumscribes the powers of the government by declaring certain civil rights and freedoms as fundamental. We intend to uphold these fundamental rights and freedoms to the full."

In 1999, after two journalists had been tortured by army personnel, an order was sought from the High Court for the release of the journalists from detention. The Permanent Secretary for Defence retorted that the military did not take orders from the court. Members of the judiciary led by the Supreme Court then sent an open letter to the President requesting him to reaffirm that the rule of law would be adhered to in Zimbabwe. The President refused and instead suggested in a televised address that the judges who had signed this letter had committed "*an outrageous and deliberate act of impudence*" and they should resign if they wished to enter politics.

In Parliament he said:

Their words condemn them:
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"We will respect judges where the judgments are true judgments. We do not expect that judges will use subjectivity in interpreting the law. We expect judges to be objective. We may not understand them in some cases but when a judge sits alone in his house or with his wife and says 'this one is guilty of contempt' that judgment should never be obeyed. I am not saying this because we would want to defy judges. In fact we have increased their salaries recently. But if they are not objective, don't blame us when we defy them." (Source: *The Herald* 27 July 2002)

After the land invasions began in 2000 he repeatedly said the government would ignore court judgments declaring illegal any aspects of land seizures of white owned farms. Addressing the ZANU (PF) Central Committee he warned the judges that they would not be allowed to "go against our quest for full sovereignty." He said the "*land question is a deep political question that no judge can hope to solve through laws of trespass or court orders.*" He went on: "*Let it be known that the courts in independent Zimbabwe do belong to the people for whose convenience and protection they were set up in the first instance.*" (Sources: *Business Day* (SA) 14 December 2000 and *Houston Chronicle* 15 December 2000)

Whites, white farmers, Jews and homosexuals

Note. It is an offence under s 6 of the Prevention of Discrimination Act to make any statements reasonably likely to encourage discrimination against any class of persons on grounds of race or ethnic origin.

Statements by Robert Mugabe

In 1992, he said that white farmers are "*hard-hearted, you would think they were Jews.*"

In April 2000, he said whites had declared themselves enemies of the country by rejecting a clause in the draft constitution to enable government to acquire land for resettlement.

"Until the whites transform positively and really show that they are allies who are prepared to live side by side with us, we will consider them as enemies"
(Source: *The Chronicle*, 19 April 2000.)

In December 2000, he told the ZANU (PF) congress that the commercial farmers have "*declared war*" on the people of Zimbabwe. He said that the white man is "*not indigenous*" to Africa and is part of an "*evil alliance.*" He told his audience "*we must continue to strike fear into the heart of the white man, our real enemy.*" His audience replied 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."

On the murdered white farmers:

Their words condemn them:
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"For them to have banded together to [a] man in opposition to government, and for that matter to have gone much further in mobilizing, actually it's coercing their labour forces, you see on the farms to support the opposition to government has shown them, agh, exposed them as not our friends but enemies." (Source: Film footage from film entitled *Never the Same Again*)

"Let us bring home to the commercial farmers of the CFU that they have declared war against the people of Zimbabwe who have every determination to win it and will no doubt win that fight." (Source: *The Daily News*, 14 December 2000.)

"Their (the whites) demonstration of their support for Tsvangirai and others, and the fact of the rejection during the referendum of the draft constitution and all to the man, the whites voted against it." (Source: Film footage from film entitled *Never the Same Again*)

"They (MDC) are not themselves; they are agents of the white settlers, the Rhodesians have been organizing themselves clandestinely since 1980." (Source: Film footage from film entitled *Fighting for Rights*.)

"How can we support the MDC when you know the MDC was formed by the boers, Selous Scouts and Rhodesians who don't want to be called Zimbabweans. They are aided by the British to disrupt the governing of our country." (Source: Film footage from film entitled *Fighting for Rights*.)

"Our party must continue to strike fear in the heart of the white man, they must tremble.... The white man is not indigenous to Africa. Africa is for Africans." (Source: *The Daily News*, 15 December 2000.)

Speaking in Bulawayo in September 2001 he said:

"Yes, there are hardships, but if they (white industrialists) leave, it's a good thing, because we will take over the companies. To those of you who support whites, we say down with you."

Speaking in September 2001 at a textile company, owned by a prominent Jewish family in Bulawayo he said, "*Jews in South Africa, working in cahoots with their colleagues here, want our textile and clothing factories to close down.*" When these remarks drew accusations of anti-Semitism, he refused to apologise.

In an impromptu speech in Bulawayo city centre in September 2001, he urged people to back his bid to seize white-owned land and declared: "*To those of you who support whites, we say down with you.*"

In February 2002, he said:

"The problems with dealing with the Blair government is that it is a government made up of homosexuals and people who were the truant boys in high school. I wonder why this boy (Blair was called by that name, but his behaviour does not surprise me because his mind is like a Blair toilet.⁴" (Source: *The Chronicle*, 2 February 2002)

⁴ A Blair toilet is a form of pit latrine widely used in rural areas in Zimbabwe.

Speaking about the independent press in Zimbabwe, he said:

"They are filthy tabloids, clearly of the gutter type are edited and run through fronts of young Africans that they have employed as puppet editors and reporters. In some cases these are also their homosexual partners, and this is true." (Source: Film footage from film entitled *Dancing Out of Tune*)

In February 2002, he said: "He challenged Blair to parade his cabinet against that of Zimbabwe and said the Zimbabwean government had doctors, married man and women with families, while Blair had homosexual ministers.

"We were laughing yesterday and saying was it lack of knowledge of biology that led these people to do what my dogs and pigs know. My dogs and pigs know which one is female and which one is male and it is never the other way among them." (Source: *The Sunday Mail*, 3 February 2002.)

In September 2002, he said:

"These do not deserve to be in Zimbabwe and we shall take steps to ensure that they are not entitled to our land in Zimbabwe. These like (MDC MPs) Bennett and Coltart are not part of our society. They belong to Britain and let them go there. If they want to leave here we will say 'stay', but your place is in prison and nowhere else. Otherwise your home is outside this country...we say no to beggars and no to puppets. We have many puppets here in the MDC led by their leader. Even in Parliament they will listen to what their white master Coltart tells them to do. We said we don't want that kind of partnership." (Source: *The Herald*, 5 September 2002.)

He has branded gays "*un-Christian*" and "*un-African*" and as "*lower than pigs and dogs*". He attacks his most hated foreign enemy, Tony Blair, by calling him a "*gay gangster*" and blasting him for having homosexuals in his cabinet while boasting in Shona that his own cabinet is full of *amadoda sibili* (real men) who can distinguish between "Adam and Eve and Adam and Steve". He once said, "*Homosexuals have no rights whatsoever. If pigs and dogs don't do it, why must human beings?*"

Statement by Didymus Mutasa

In September 2005, he said:

"Operation Murambatsvina should also be applied to farms that are still in the hands of the whites. White farmers are dirty and should be cleaned out. The government will not hesitate to take their farms to resettle the black people who failed to get land during the distribution exercise. They (whites) are similar to the filth that was in the streets before Operation Murambatsvina." (Source: *The Standard*, 18 September 2005.)

Statement by the late Witness Mangwende (former Minister)

"Where is rule of law Bennett?" "Flash (sic) Bennett into the Blair toilet." "We want the head of Bennett now." "We do not want to see Bennett here. We are going to advise all the police that Bennett is no longer welcome here. He

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was lucky that we did not retaliate in the house, but if we see him walking the streets of Harare, we will revenge." (Source: *The Herald*, 21 May 2004.)

Statement from Vice-President Msika

"Whites are not human beings . . ." (August 2001)

Statement by Absalom Sikhosana, Secretary for Youth in the Politburo,

"Youths have discovered the opposition for what it is; that it has nothing to offer a black person. ...white men are deceitful. ... We have managed to expose all the trickery of the white man." (Source: *The Chronicle* 27 August 2001)

Statement by Chen Chimutengwende (the ex-Minister of Information)

"It is all racist, network of racists led by the Rhodesian Network International Inc. which is based in the US and with branches in Australia and other countries. They're spearheading that and they have chosen MDC as their front." (Source: Film footage from film entitled *Never the Same Again*)

Statement by Elliot Manyika, ZANU (PF) Mashonaland Central Province chairman, and then later Minister of Youth, Gender and Employment Creation

The youth training programme is "*telling our youths that they must change their mind set ... and not aspire to be a servant of the white man. Whites are going where they came from*". (Source: *The Chronicle* 27 August 2001)

Statement by Isaac MacKenzie (ZANU (PF) MP

A ZANU (PF) MP said in the wake of the rejection of the Government proposed constitution in the referendum:

"Let me assure you whites here, that once you support MDC, ZANU is not going to treat you as business people, but as politicians. Then if you are treated as politicians, it is like signing your own death warrants. The political storm will not spare you. Let you be informed that our reserve force, the war veterans, will be set on you." (Source: Patrick Bond & Masimba Manyanya, *Zimbabwe's Plunge, Exhausted Nationalism, Neoliberalism and the Search for Social Justice* 82 (pub. Africa World Press, Inc. 2002).

Statement from Stalin Mau Mau (former MP)

"We say *pasi nemabhuru* (down with the whites) and we still say that. It is a particular class of white people who continue to be intransigent who have not changed at all and who do not want to change. We just go to the extremes during this election period. So really to be honest with you it's not racial. When I say 90% of whites voted MDC I'm not talking from a racial point of view it's just coincidental." (Source: Film footage from film entitled *Never the Same Again*)

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Archbishop Pius Ncube

The Archbishop has been a stern critic of the Mugabe regime, and has hence attracted a continuous flow of invective from the government.

Statement by President Mugabe

"Archbishop Ncube has gone too far. If he continues with his political stance we will challenge him as politicians. We will respect him if he remains within the confines of the church but once he shows his political tentacles and if those tentacles are harmful, we will cut them short...I don't know whether we pray to the same God with this man, because we don't understand why he doesn't want people to be assisted. . . . Angizvisisi ukuthi ingqondo yakhe injani." (I don't understand how his mind works) (Source: *The Chronicle*, 22 February 2005.)

Statement by Minister Jonathan Moyo

"This time they are trying to prevent our economic independence by using the recklessly tribal Pius Ncube, who is destined to follow Muzorewa in the dustbin of history while the rest by the British cronies will be flushed down the Blair toilet." (Source: *The Herald*, July 23 2004)

Chronicle editorial

In its editorial on 7 March 2002 it was said in the Chronicle:

"...and Archbishop Pius Ncube who should know better than to allow yet another war, is linked to this sin. We say to you Father, you will burn in hell for allowing the holy church to be used for actual crimes against humanity. The Archbishop has told the world that he is after the justice and we ask: Is an attack on two superpowers the justice that he has been barking about? We need answers as this is no joking matter."

Threats against teachers

Teachers are obviously a serious threat to any regime that seeks to control the minds and behaviour of its populace, and here Zimbabwe has been no exception. The intelligentsia is often seen by repressive regimes as being supporters of the opposition ⁵

Statement by Stan Mudenge and Samuel Mumbengegwi

In July 2001, when speaking to staff and students at teachers colleges in Masvingo the then Foreign Minister [Mudenge] and the then Education Minister[Mumbengegwi] said the only

⁵ See, for example, Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum, *Teaching them a lesson. A report on the attack on Zimbabwean teachers* (Harare 2002)

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.”

The Minister of Education, Sports and Culture told the meeting that:

“We cannot continue to pay our enemies. People have to know which side of their bread is buttered.” (Source: *Daily News* 18 July 2001)

Statement by Aeneas Chiwedere

In June 2001 the then Deputy Minister of Education Aeneas Chigwedere (now a full Minister) said his ministry would not provide security to teachers affected by violence perpetrated by war veterans and ZANU (PF) supporters for supporting the opposition. (Source: *Daily News* 18 July 2001)

Statement by Abednico Ncube

Teachers from Gwanda North who fled their schools after political threats, report that at a meeting with two senior government officials, they were told their safety could only be guaranteed if they supported ZANU (PF). In October 2002 the then Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs is reported as having said: “*If you want to be in politics, join ZANU (PF) because it is the government. If you want to join another party, wait until it is in government.*”

Media and journalists

As with teachers, independent journalists provide a severe threat to a repressive state, and Zimbabwean independent journalists have been under continual threat since 2000, and perhaps even before, as was illustrated by the torture of the Zimbabwe Standard journalists in 1999.

Statements by Robert Mugabe

Speaking about the torture of two journalists by army personnel he said that the response of the army to the coup plot story published by the journalists was understandable and he went on to say:

“The publishers of the *Standard* knew that the story was blatantly untrue. Their heinous objective was to instil alarm and despondency. If the *Standard* had not behaved in such a blatantly dishonest and unethical manner the

Their words condemn them:
The language of violence, intolerance and despotism in Zimbabwe.

army would not have acted in the way they did." (Source: Film footage from film entitled *Dancing Out of Tune*)

Despite independent medical verification that the journalists had been severely tortured the Defence Minister, Moven Mahachi, made the ridiculously suggestion in a High Court case that the two journalists had "*scratched themselves*."

Speaking about the independent press in Zimbabwe, President Mugabe said:

"They are filthy tabloids, clearly of the gutter type are edited and run through fronts of young Africans that they have employed as puppet editors and reporters. In some cases these are also their homosexual partners, and this is true." (Source: Film footage from film entitled *Dancing Out of Tune*)

Statements by Minister Jonathan Moyo

In May 2001, briefing a press freedom group, the then Information Minister 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. (May 2001)

On 28 January 2001, a powerful bomb extensively damaged the printing plant of the *Daily News*. This closely followed upon a warning by Information Minister, Jonathan Moyo, that it was only a matter of time before Zimbabweans put a stop to the newspaper's "madness". No arrests have since been made of any of the persons involved. The previous year the newspaper's town office was bombed. In 2002 a powerful bomb was detonated at the offices of private radio station.

In June 2003, the then Minister of Information said:

"The time has come for British media mouthpieces and puppets that are being used by Rhodesian Selous Scouts running the MDC to get it in their thick heads that President Mugabe's legitimacy as Head of State is not subject to any negotiation".

He referred to independent newspapers as "*sellouts*." (Source: *The Herald*, 18 June 2003.)

Statements by Minister John Nkomo

"Even the press are now regulated because you know, you have a tendency of the press, the print media and so on of inciting people to violence. Those who want to condemn Zimbabwe for coming up with these pieces of legislation are themselves interested in creating violence or a violent environment in Zimbabwe." (Source: Film footage from film entitled *Fighting for Rights*)

Statement by Emmerson Mnangagwa

"Unrestricted freedom would lead to disorder and anarchy and it would harm our social and national interests." (Source: Film footage from film entitled *Dancing Out of Tune*.)

Statement by Charles Ndlovu [Editor of People's Voice, a pro-ruling-party publication]

"We knew the danger of cosmetic change and that if we don't move in a revolutionary fashion and ensure that we truly take over the reigns of power in terms of the broadcasting station we would have really sold the revolution down the drain." (Source: Film footage from film entitled *Dancing Out of Tune*)

Statement by Chen Chimutengwende

"In reality there is no media which is independent because he who owns it controls it. If you are owned by the Ministry of Information the Minister will be very pleased to own you." (Source: Film footage from film entitled *Dancing Out of Tune*)

Statement by Paul Mangwana

In October 2006, Mangwana, the Acting Information Minister, complained that government was getting too much bad press both locally and abroad because journalists were unpatriotic and were selling out the country for donor trinkets.

He warned the journalists, drawn mainly from the private press, against "endangering national interests." "*Journalists should not be misled by rich media houses that are financed from abroad within the context of neo-colonialism and contribute to the destruction of the economy for the sake of money;*" he said. (Source: *The Zimbabwean* 19 October 2006.)

Statement by Dr Mahoso (Chairman of the Media and Information Commission)

In his column in the government-controlled *Sunday Mail*, Mahoso has described "*neo-liberal journalists*" as "*moral parasites*" and said white people were "*not human*". (Source: *Mail & Guardian* (SA) 19 July 2005)

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Condoning torture

Statements by Robert Mugabe

Speaking about the torture of two journalists in 1999 by army personnel he said that the response of the army to the coup plot story published by the journalists was understandable and he went on to say:

"If the Standard had not behaved in such a blatantly dishonest and unethical manner the army would not have acted in the way they did." (Source: Film footage from film entitled *Dancing Out of Tune*)

Despite independent medical verification that these journalists had been severely tortured the Defence Minister, Moven Mahachi, made the ridiculously suggestion in a High Court case that the two journalists had "*scratched themselves*."

In September 2006, speaking about the police assaults upon the ZCTU leaders who were trying to engage in a peaceful public demonstration, President Mugabe said: "*They [protesters] will be beaten up, so there is no apology for that ... We cannot have a situation where people decide to sit in places not allowed and when the police remove them, they say no.*" He continued:

"We can't have that; that is a revolt to the system. Others are crying that we were beaten up, yes you would be beaten up. When the police say move, move. If you don't move, you invite the police to use force." (Source: *Herald* 25 September 2006)

On Sunday 11 March 2007 leaders of the opposition and civil society leaders sought to defy a police ban on holding a "prayer meeting". Several of these people were arrested by the police, including Morgan Tsvangirai, the leader of the main opposition party. Most of these persons were severely tortured whilst in police custody. Many had bone fractures. President Mugabe was completely unrepentant about this torture, stating publicly: "*If they [protest] again, we will bash them again.*" (Source: *Zimonline* 19 March 2007) He said a continued campaign of defiance or protests by opponents and civic and church groups would be met "very vigorously" by security forces. "We hope they have learned a lesson. If they have not, then they will get similar treatment." (Source: *International Herald Tribune* 31 March 2007)

On 30 March 2007 President Mugabe told supporters that MDC leader Morgan Tsvangirai had deserved a recent beating by police. He had told fellow African leaders at a summit last week that his arch rival had deserved to be assaulted. Addressing a rally in Shona, Mugabe said of the summit of the Southern African Development Community in Tanzania: "Yes, I told them he was beaten but he asked for it. We got full backing, not even one (leader) criticised our actions." "Yes, I told them the African heads of state he was beaten, but he asked for it. I

told the police, beat him a lot.' He and his MDC must stop their terrorist activities." (Source: *Sunday Herald* UK 31 March 2007.)

In April 2007, President Mugabe said "*These things happen. It happens in war. It happens everywhere. If you challenge the police don't think they are going to be merciful with you,*" he said, alleging that Tsvangirai supporters had beaten a group of police. "*So the police had that grudge also. They are also human beings. Let us bear that in mind,*" he added, warning opposition supporters that "*if they dare challenge the police they will get more Tsvangirais beaten up.*" *Yahoo News* 27 April 2007.

Statements by Didymus Mutasa

"Provoke the police and they will beat you"

Interviewer: Why are police beating up people?

Mutasa: Police don't just beat up innocent people randomly. The people are being beaten for provoking the police. You should know that police are human beings too and they will respond accordingly. Even you will respond like that if you were provoked.

Interviewer: No minister, I would not be violent if provoked. I will let the law take its course.

Mutasa: Ah, then we are not on the same wavelength.

Interviewer: But is that the way police or any law-enforcement agents are supposed to behave — responding violently to provocation?

Mutasa: Yes, that is the right thing to do. If anyone provokes them they should not complain when they are beaten. Indeed, that is how we will respond to the provocation especially when we have the machinery to deal with such provocation. In Latin there is a saying which means that no one provokes me (and goes) unpunished. So if they are beaten, then so be it.

Interviewer: The leader of the opposition, Morgan Tsvangirai, and his party members were thoroughly beaten for trying to attend a prayer meeting under the "Save Zimbabwe Campaign". Was that an act of provocation too?

Mutasa: Yes, what Zimbabwe were they trying to save? We are the ones who renamed this country Zimbabwe. We fought for (the liberation of) this country and I don't believe we need anyone to save it from anything. It has already been saved.

Interviewer: But minister you still have not answered my question. Is a prayer meeting an act of provocation?

Mutasa: Young man, it is all to do with the agenda. As long as it is a regime change agenda we will deal with it, especially when we have the machinery.

Interviewer: By machinery you mean the police, the army and CIO?

Mutasa: Yes, I mean everything that can be used to deal with this regime-change agenda which they are planning. All those people that you mention (CIO, police and army) are part of the security personnel that we have. They are there to preserve law and order.

Interviewer: Does preserving order also include beating up innocent commuters at bus termini like the police did a week ago at Fourth Street?

Mutasa: I don't know that people were beaten at Fourth Street. But if they were indeed beaten then I would assume that the police were responding to provocation. I think it was a genuine response to a genuine threat to public security. I am happy with the work they did.

Interviewer: Minister, you were not there when it happened. I was there and I can tell you that there was no provocation. People were waiting for transport to go home after work when the police pounced.

Mutasa: If you were there, were you beaten, do you have any scars?

Interviewer: No, minister, the fact that I was not beaten does not mean that people were not beaten. I am merely saying I witnessed it happen.

Mutasa: So you see, police don't just beat up people. You were not beaten because you did not provoke them and you were not loitering aimlessly. Those who were beaten had obviously provoked the police. Police are not mad. I believe they are doing a very good job in that regard. It is you journalists from the independent media who are trying to damage the reputation of this country. Every week your paper demonises the government giving a negative impression about this country.

(Source: Interview with reporter of Zimbabwe *Independent* 20 April 2007)

Statement by Nathan Shamuyarira

Speaking about the torture in police custody of the leaders after their arrest on 11 March 2007, he said: "*The beatings are a function of the interaction of the police.*" (Source: Interview with SA FM on 13 March 2007)

Political discrimination in food distribution

Statement by Abednico Ncube

The Deputy Minister told villagers in Matabeleland that maize "will be available only to those who dump the opposition and work with ZANU (PF)". The party would "start feeding its children before turning to those of the MDC". (Source: *Standard* 23 July 2002)

Statement by Chief Charumbira

Speaking in Masvingo in January 2007 Chief Charumbira said that the Zimbabwe's Council of Chiefs has ordered traditional leaders in rural Chiredzi South constituency to deny state-supplied food aid to opposition supporters.

Chief Charumbira said in addition to denying food to opposition supporters - who he described as the enemy - chiefs had also been instructed to campaign for ZANU (PF), adding that the traditional leaders should know "*which side their bread is buttered*". He went on to say

"We have advised all chiefs in Chiredzi south to campaign for the ruling party. We have also ordered them that they should consider only ZANU (PF) supporters on programmes initiated by the government (including food aid). We cannot afford to continue feeding the enemy because they are sellouts," he added, virtually confirming the use of food aid as a political weapon to coerce villagers to support the governing party." (Source: *Zim Online* Wednesday 31 January 2007)

Non-governmental organisations

Statement by Patrick Chinamasa to the UN Human Rights Council in June 2006

Chinamasa claimed civic groups operating in Zimbabwe are set up and financed by developed countries as instruments of their foreign policy. He went on to say:

"Their objectives include destabilisation and interference with the evolution of our political processes, undermining our sovereignty, creating and sustaining opposition groups that have no local support base, and promoting disaffection and hostility among the local population against their popularly elected government."

Human rights

Statement by Robert Mugabe

On 20 April 1989, addressing the second judicial colloquium on the domestic application of international human rights norms, held in Harare.

"Human rights and fundamental freedoms allow us fully to develop and use our human qualities, intelligence, talents and conscience to satisfy our spiritual and other needs. It follows, therefore, that the denial of human rights and fundamental freedoms is not only an individual and personal tragedy but also creates conditions of social and political unrest, sowing seeds of violence and conflict within and between societies and nations."

Speaking in February 2007 President Mugabe said the Blair government was hiding behind accusations of lawlessness, human rights abuse, dictatorship and lack of democracy.

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"I would like to see an African country that has gone this length in those directions . . . abiding by the rule of law, accepting the reign of human rights and establishing democracy. (Source: *Herald* 17 February 2007)

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