



**ZIMBABWE  
PEACE  
PROJECT**

**RUN UP TO 27 JUNE  
2008 PRESIDENTIAL RUN  
OFF ELECTION**



**HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS AND FOOD DISTRIBUTION  
MONITORING**

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# ZIMBABWE PEACE PROJECT

## OVERVIEW

### Introduction

This Report analyzes politically motivated and food-related human rights violations in the run up to the 27 June run-off of 2008. Since the release of the ZPP Post Election Violence Report No. 2 of May 2008 which had, among other things, postulated an escalation in election violence, questions have arisen about the extent to which these postulations have remained consistent with unfolding scenarios in the run up to the June election. Also of interest is how this presidential run-off (the first of its kind in Zimbabwe's post independence electoral history) will influence trends and patterns of violence.

In the wake of the 4<sup>th</sup> of June 2008 Government Order suspending the operations of a number of nonprofit food aid agencies (CARE, Save the Children) until after the 27 June 2008, interest has also arisen about the possibility of food politics in the election campaign. This interest is well-founded given that people in rural areas have three main ways of accessing maize, namely through government food for work program, buying it directly from the Grain Marketing Board (GMB), and through donor schemes for school pupils and the under fives- sources that are vulnerable to political manipulation.

### Trends and Patterns

Since January there has been an exponential increase in human rights violations. A shocking total of 16 400 cases were recorded with 593 in January, 685 in February, 806 in March, 4375 in April, 6288 in May, 3653 in June. While June records suggests a drop in incidents of violence, much should not be read from this drop as the nature of violence has sharply swung towards fatal forms of violence with 77 murder cases having been reported across the country by end of June, an almost double increase from the May record of 47. The table below portrays cumulative trends in violations since January:

## Cumulative Human Rights Violations: January-June 2008

CUMULATIVE VIOLATIONS TABLE 2008

VIOLATIONS	MONTH						
	January	February	March	April	May	June	TOTAL
Murder	0	0	7	26	47	77	157
Rape	1	1	4	4	1	3	14
Kidnapping/abduction	3	7	5	149	85	131	380
Assault	163	178	219	767	704	779	2810
Theft/looting	14	6	8	80	64	96	268
Malicious Damage to Property (MDP)	20	12	38	345	214	135	764
Torture	6	2	6	157	60	97	328
Unlawful Detention	18	8	6	125	114	93	364
Harassment/Intimidation	343	449	475	1484	4288	2086	9125
Displacement	15	12	23	1219	670	124	2063
Discrimination	10	10	15	19	32	24	110
Attempted Rape	-	-	-	-	5	6	11
Attempted Murder	-	-	-	-	4	2	6
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>593</b>	<b>685</b>	<b>806</b>	<b>4375</b>	<b>6288</b>	<b>3653</b>	<b>16400</b>

The nature of injuries sustained by victims of violence reveal chilling features characterized by lacerations, head injuries, gun-shot wounds/stabs, rib, leg, and arm fractures, severe burns, and severe tissue injuries-a poignant signal of possible increase in the use of knives, fire, sharp weapons, guns, metal rods, knobkerries and logs. These developments also suggest visible shift to terror tactics rather than the traditional political re-education.

Recurring experiences across the ten provinces reflect growing concern with increases in reports of night visits and abductions, torture, malicious damage to property, murder, evictions and rape. Narratives from victims point to unnerving cases of assaults with hammer on genital areas, sexual abuse, beating with hot metal rods, kicking of fire, people who had hot coals poured on their back, people beaten while hung upside down, among other cases.

The organization of post election violence has also visibly shifted from mere coordinated and organized violence to heavy military-style-retributive violence against known and unknown opposition characterized by brazen coercion, intimidation, beating and torching of houses and homesteads. The ferocity with which victims were targeted has no parallels other than those akin to a war situation.

In both rural and urban areas, the run-up campaign was relegated to a witch-hunting orgy characterized by sniffing for the presence of anything humanly, material or thought-wise that is directly and indirectly related the opposition politics. On the 2<sup>nd</sup> of June 2008, one Godfrey Shoko was severely assaulted in a shop in Mberengwa District Centre for allegedly “looking angrily” at the portrait of President Mugabe.

While initially election violence had an *individual* focus, by June, election violence had visibly assumed a collective and *national* focus- with the Zimbabwean electorate at large threatened with *war* if they do not “vote correctly”- a ruling party euphemism for voting for the ruling party candidate. In fact by the polling day, threats of war had become a publicly adopted campaign tactic with its echoes reverberating in new party slogans, party songs and public pronouncements. Threats of war resonated from the top leadership down to the grass-root structures of the ruling party.

While in May election violence had sought to induce fear in the ordinary MDC supporter, June election violence, in military-style, looked set to disable, maim, and suffocate the opposition campaign framework. The month of June witnessed upshots in cases of abduction and unlawful arrests of opposition elect MPs and councillors, polling agents and monitors. By the time of the run- off, close to 20 MDC MPs and councillors were reportedly arrested for alleged political violence.

Structures that were also viewed as indirectly oiling or giving oxygen to MDC structures were raided, their infrastructure impounded. A number of human rights organizations were raided and placed under an indefinite operational blanket ban.

Liberation-style ‘pungwes’<sup>1</sup>, initially restricted to the rural areas had by the time of the run-off become part and parcel of life in most urban high density areas with reports in Epworth and other high density areas of residents who spent the election eve at these pungwes and in the morning commandeered to polling stations. In Harare ruling party youths roam both city and residential areas, harassing the public with impunity.

In rural areas, villagers were reportedly forced to report at the base three times a day, at 6am, 1 pm and at 8 pm. Villagers were also asked to make a contribution of up to \$5 billion with businesspersons contributing \$20 billion dollars in some areas.

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<sup>1</sup> “Pungwes” these were all night gatherings by war liberators during the pre- independence Chimurenga 2 Guerrilla war.

Freedom of movement was curtailed with villagers being asked to carry passes and other authorizing letters if they intend to visit another village. Un-official curfews were set up and those not attending meetings were expected to explain themselves.

A number of bases that were set up in the pre-election period are still operational with reports of people being assaulted like what was happening before the election.

By early June 2008 post election violence had reportedly transformed into a highly retributive violence with the army, ruling party militia, war veterans and CID operatives abusing human rights with an impunity that was not even witnessed during the legendary war of liberation.

Cases of houses being petrol bombed were recorded in early June. On 4<sup>th</sup> June, MDC offices in Jerera Masvingo were reportedly bombed at around 3 am and two people died.

By 2<sup>nd</sup> June, Gweru residents had been subjected to new versions of fear-inducing antics which saw ZANU PF supporters' *toy-toying* within Gweru city centre, jet planes flying around the city and vehicles with water cannons strategically parked.

The election violence dragnet also roped in directors and managers of parastatals. ZBC went through a major shake-up which saw the firing of the Chief Executive Officer and a number of managers, reportedly for mishandling the coverage of the election campaign. Directors, Managers at ZISCO and Hwange Colliery were reportedly placed under political pressure to ensure they tell their subordinates to vote wisely in the presidential run-off or risk loss of their jobs if the opposition wins. Some ZESA and Hwange Colliery employees who had contested for councilor posts under an MDC ticket were either transferred or forced to resign.

On 4 June, police officers in the Midlands were reportedly asked to register their wives and children aged 18 and above as polling officers, reportedly in a bid to manipulate the vote in the form of a postal vote for all those who will be polling agents.

Mid June saw food politics worming its way into election campaign processes with government on 4<sup>th</sup> June ordering a number of nonprofit food aid agencies [CARE, Save the Children] to suspend distribution of food until after the 27 June 2008 accusing them of using food to undermine the government- a decision that generated much dust with fears that it was going to leave millions [especially children in schools, orphanages and the elderly in nursing homes] in drought-hit areas starving.

Displacements which had initially featured mostly in rural areas had on the eve of the run off become a common feature in most urban areas. In Mbare, a virtually no go area for the opposition, there were distressing reports of evictions [displacements] of suspected MDC residents from their Mbare rooms. In most high density areas, residents were reportedly forced to go for ZANU PF night and day party meetings. An MDC rally scheduled to be held in Harare on 22 June 2008 was reportedly disrupted by ruling party supporters, with heavy beating of MDC supporters and local and regional observers, all in full glare of the police!

In Mashonaland East, on 15<sup>th</sup> June 2008, vehicles travelling to Nyamapanda border post were reportedly stopped by war veterans who asked passengers to alight from the vehicles and attend a ZANU PF meeting. The meeting was held at Chikondoma Stadium at Mutoko centre in preparation for the President Mugabe's rally on 18<sup>th</sup> of June 2008. Villagers were informed that all persons with names appearing in the Herald as election agents would "disappear at night one by one". The war veterans were using a Mitsubishi truck and another written C.A.M without number plates.

Human rights abuse is increasingly becoming inhumane and immoral with disturbing cases of known or suspected HIV patients being denied access to their monthly courses.

On the polling day, voters were told to submit their ballot serial numbers, an outright abuse of voter secrecy. In Gwanda South on June 27, people were reportedly forced to go and vote at Bango primary school. It was also alleged that even those who were not registered as voters had to cast their votes in the company of the village head who was mandated with the responsibility of going to the polling station with all his subjects.

Also disquieting were increases in reports of literate people [mostly teachers] being forced to profess illiteracy. Suspected opposition, human rights activists and teachers were expected to repent and that repentance had to be demonstrated by feigning illiteracy on the polling day and seeking assistance from polling officers, comprising mostly of ZANU PF youths and so called war veterans. A teacher from Sadza, who observed the elections under ZESN, reported that he had to be assisted to vote in his own classroom which was being used as a polling station. He even reported that the last essay he had done with the class was still on the board, yet on the voting day he had to profess illiteracy.

The post run-off era was also greeted with a new type of human rights violation code named *show the red finger* [mark of the indelible ink] as a strategy to detect those who had not voted. Not having voted in the 27 June election was akin to endorsing the MDC NO VOTE campaign. At Hopley farm in Harare, by 28 June, a witch-hunt for those who voted for the MDC had started with reports that those suspected to have voted for the MDC and spoiling ballots lost their lodgings. People who were found without the red finger were also victimized.

In Nyika area, villagers from Chikunguru village were reportedly beaten on the 30<sup>th</sup> of June 2008 by ZANU PF youths and war veterans allegedly to account for 6 votes which were cast for the MDC T presidential candidate at the local polling station.

Traditional leaders-chiefs, mostly out of fear of retribution have been turned into instruments of political displacements while local councillors are chief culprits in issues of food discrimination.

## **PATTERNS AND TRENDS OF POLITICALLY MOTIVATED HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS**

Human rights abuse trends continue to scale new heights. The impunity with which they are perpetrated is so alarming to the extent that the public have cynically questioned if the 27 June election is a *run-off* or *run-over*.

Consistent with past trends, human rights abuses have remained concentrated in the traditional hotspots of Manicaland, Mashonaland West, Masvingo, Harare, Midlands, Mashonaland East and Mashonaland Central.

Prime targets are those who participated as polling officers, presiding officers and polling agents in the 29 March harmonized elections. People are forced to attend pungwes, forced to denounce their support to the opposition, assaulted for celebrating March election victories, beaten for failing to produce ruling party cards and chanting the latest ZANU PF slogans and for failing to show the red finger, among others. While these abuses were initially restricted to the rural areas, by the eve of the run –off, they had become common features of urban life, day and night. In most provinces, bases that were set up in the pre-election period are still operational.

In stark contrast to regional and international calls for dialogue and a GNU between ZANU PF and MDC T- scenarios from the ten provinces indicate that it is generally business as usual as bases that were set up in the pre-election period have not been disbanded, the MDC T remaining the prime hunted game.

In the month of June, human rights incidence spread was as shown below:

### Incidence Analysis by Province [June]

JUNE 2008 INCIDENT TABLE

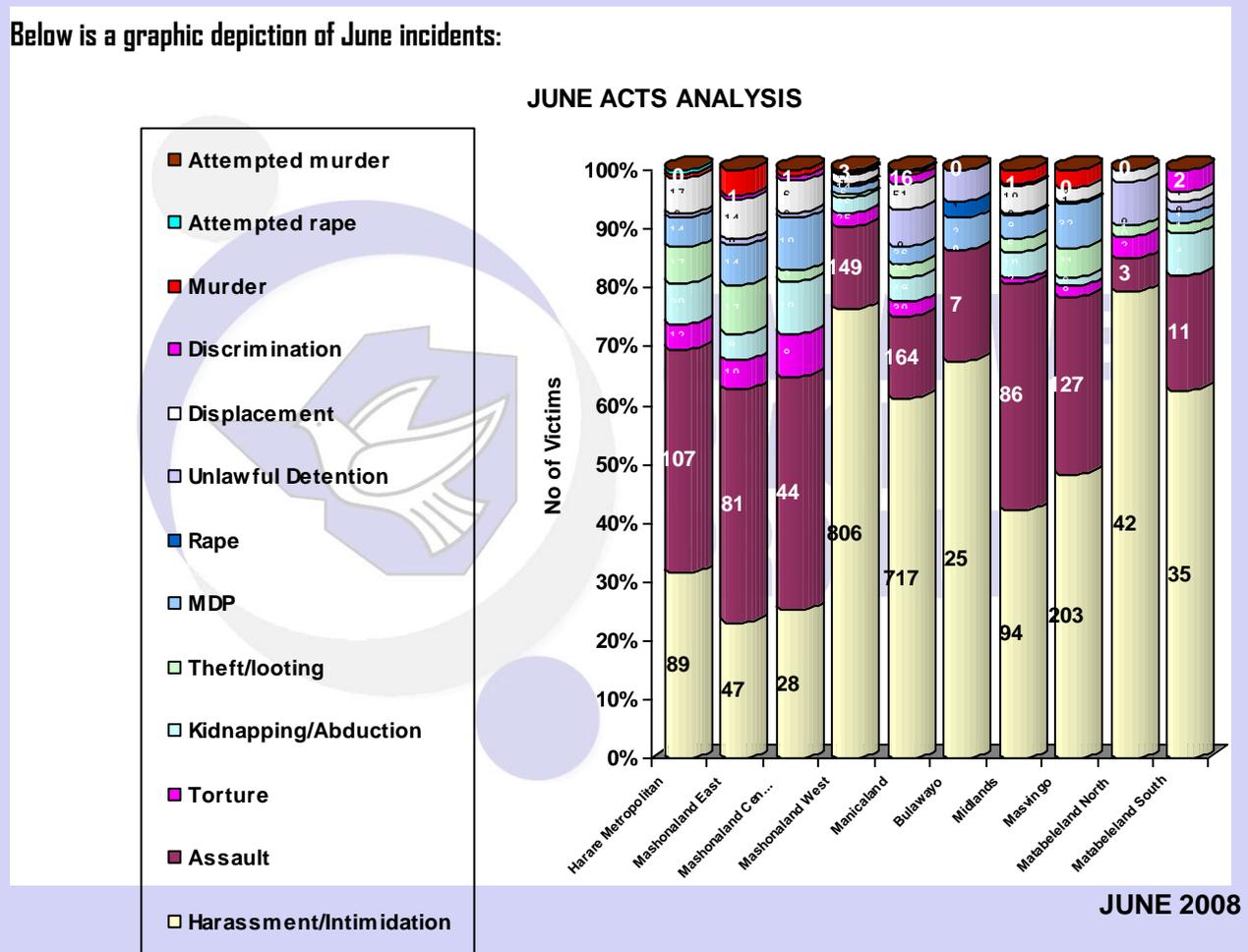
	MIDLANDS	BULAWAYO	MAT.SOUTH	MAT.NORTH	MASVINGO	MANICALAND	HARARE	MASH.EAST	MASH.WEST	MASH.CENTRAL	TOTAL
MURDER	7	0	3	0	24	12	13	11	6	1	77
RAPE	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	3
KIDNAPPING/ABDUCTION	10	0	1	0	6	49	20	9	26	10	131
ASSAULT	86	7	11	3	127	164	107	81	149	44	779
THEFT/LOOTING	5	0	1	1	21	26	17	17	6	2	96
MDP	9	2	4	0	32	36	14	14	14	10	135
TORTURE	2	0	0	2	8	30	12	10	25	8	97
UNLAWFUL DETENTION	1	2	1	4	1	74	2	2	5	1	93
HARASSMENT/INTIMIDATION	94	25	35	42	203	717	89	47	806	28	2086
DISPLACEMENT	10	0	1	1	9	51	17	14	15	6	124
DISCRIMINATION	1	0	2	0	0	16	0	1	3	1	24
ATTEMPTED RAPE	0	0	0	0	0	3	2	0	1	0	6
ATTEMPTED MURDER	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2
TOTAL	223	37	59	53	432	1178	293	206	1059	111	3653

Trends and patterns of election violence as gleaned from June records show that:

- There was a significant drop in gross total recording of violations from their May level of 6288 to 3473 cases- a statistical scenario that may be suspect given increases in reports of displacements, abductions, and attacks on election observers and monitors across the country. As was cautioned in May, we could be facing another case of declines in access to hot spot provinces rather than a case of declines in election violence! The possibility of cases going unrecorded cannot be ruled out.
- Consistent with past trends, human rights violations remain concentrated in Manicaland, Mashonaland West, Masvingo, Harare, Midlands, Mashonaland East and Mashonaland Central.
- June statistics point to a relatively calm region, however with 3 cases of murder in Matebeleland South.
- Harassment, assault, abduction, MDP, Displacement, looting and torture are among the top most forms of human rights violations with highest records in Mashonaland West, Manicaland, Masvingo and Harare.

- Fatal forms of human rights violations remain a major cause of concern with murder cases remaining above 40. Also disquieting is their spread across the country. Out of these 40 murder cases, 13 were recorded in Masvingo, 9 in Mashonaland East, 7 in Manicaland, 5 in Midlands, 3 in Matebeleland South, 2 in Harare and 1 in Mashonaland Central.
- While the incidences of violence remain concentrated in Manicaland, the June incidence show an almost even incidence spread with 1173 cases in Manicaland, 1056 in Mashonaland West, 421 in Masvingo and above 200 in the other 3 provinces of Harare, Mashonaland East and Midlands.

Below is a graphic depiction of June incidents:



## PROVINCIAL EXPERIENCES

## **Manicaland**

Consistent with its traditional record, Manicaland emerged the lead hotspot province with a record of 1173 human rights violations featuring 7 murder cases, 717 harassment cases, 164 looting cases, and 51 displacements among others. Hotspot constituencies included Makoni North, Makoni South, Makoni West, Musikavanhu, Mutare South, Mutasa Central, Chipinge, and Buhera West. The nature of violence in terms of type, methods, victims and perpetrators generally take the pattern observed in other provinces-namely, a disturbing inclination towards fatal forms.

On 19 June 2008, the rural home of Dr Lovemore Madhuku, who is the Chairperson of the National Constitutional Assembly, was allegedly burnt together with 22 other homes in Chipinge. His father was reportedly abducted.

In Nyazura, Rukweza and Murahwa villages, villagers were reportedly subjected to a reign of terror by ruling party activists and war veterans, allegedly for having voted for the MDC in the area. The fact that some of the perpetrators were in army and police uniform were scenarios that left villagers with nowhere to report. Perpetrators had established a base in the village where they were forcing villagers to contribute chickens, goats and money for their upkeep.

The worst affected are known and suspected MDC members who were coerced to denounce their party and be “born again” as ZANU PF members. They were asked to pay fines of \$20 billion, 5 goats and two chickens. Failure to pay the fines results in serious beating and torture. Known or suspected MDC activists had their national identity documents confiscated. At least 50 goats and thirty chickens had been looted by 20<sup>th</sup> June. More than forty people, women, men and youths had been beaten-developments that saw villagers running away from the area out of fear.

On 9 June 2008, two ZANU PF members [Lovemore Simon and Boniface Chikasha] were reportedly slashed to death by a machete by an MDC activist named Justin Gundumurwa. The perpetrator was allegedly retaliating to an earlier attack by a group of ZANU PF activists who were going about beating people in the Mutambara area. ZANU PF activists had reportedly destroyed Gundumurwa’s DVDs, a generator and house. In a related incident, Maxwell Simon, who was attending the funeral of Lovemore Simon was allegedly attacked by ZANU PF supporters who suspected him to be an MDC member. Maxwell Simon died from injuries sustained in the attack. On 15 June, Farai Gombe of Makoni, Rusape [an MDC party official] was reportedly abducted from his home in Vhengere Township by ZANU PF supporters and shot in the chest, 100 km from his house. The victim died on the spot. The perpetrators, who are reportedly well known, four war veterans, are still roaming the streets.

On 20 June 2008, Nyamusosa residents of Makoni were reportedly denied medical assistance for not attending ruling party political rallies. On the day in question, ruling party militia controlling Nyamusosa clinic were allegedly selecting patients by checking their names on the register. Those whose names did not appear on the register were reportedly not given treatment, the assumption being that they are into opposition politics. Reports of partisan treatment were also reported at Weya clinic in Chiendabuya village, Makoni, where a group of mothers who went to the clinic with babies for scaling or for BCGs, Polio, DPT and measles treatment, were allegedly

ordered to introduce their ruling party cards first, upon which service was denied if there was no ruling party card. 10 mothers were reportedly denied access.

In Nyanga on 30 June 2008, at around 7.30 am, a bus load of police officers reportedly raided Saviour Chiodza's home in Mangondoza Township, Nyanga. Chiodza is the chairperson of the MDC in the area. The police officers were reportedly using an ISUZU bus. Four gunshots were allegedly fired and thirty four people who were seeking refuge at Chiodza's home were arrested and taken to Nyanga police station. The arrested people are still in police custody.

## **Mashonaland West**

Mashonaland West reported 1056 cases of human rights violations in June, making it the second hotspot province in June. As was generally the trend in other provinces, harassment, assault and kidnapping remain the most highly committed offences in the province. Those who had participated in the 29 March Election as polling agents, observers, monitors, or contested as MPs and Councillors remain prime targets.

Illegal road blocks and base camps that were established before the elections are still largely operational, with reports of suspected ZANU PF supporters moving around informing people that bases would remain because the vote was not 100% as campaigned for by ZANU PF.

In Fulechi, Hurungwe, since 29 March, war veterans were reportedly forcing villagers to attend daily meetings at base camps in Hurungwe and Fulechi under Chief Dandawa, allegedly terrorizing villagers suspected of having voted for the opposition. They reportedly moved around with registers of those who had acted as polling agents in the area. Villagers were forced to report at the base every day in the morning, noon and evening. Headmen were told to prepare a register of names of people living in their areas and also to bring one bucket of grain and five billion dollars to the base and punishment was meted out on those who failed to attend.

Houses of known and suspected opposition supporters were targeted. In Banket Township, the house of C. Chinanzwavana (wife of the MDC councillor for ward 23) was reportedly destroyed by suspected ZANU PF militia around the mid-morning of 19 June 2008. Although the matter was reported to the police, no arrests have reportedly been made.

People in the area were also reportedly harassed for not attending base meetings. On 9 June Silvia Maruta of Deve School, Dandawa village was allegedly assaulted for not going to cook at the introduced base camp. On 14 June, around 20 Rafingora residents were reportedly attacked at Rafingora Estate by suspected 80-100 ZANU PF militia on allegations that they are MDC supporters. Although the case was said to have been reported to the police, arrests are yet to be made. On 9 June, Mr B. Nyabanze, the headmaster of Saton Mine Secondary school (and also an MDC activist) was reportedly threatened with death by suspected ZANU PF supporters. The victim was forced to confess and surrender to the ruling party and upon refusal, was allegedly given a rope to hang himself on a tree in front of the school children.

A Zimbabwe Election Support Network Observer (ZESN) observer, Elliot Machipisa, was reportedly murdered by a

group of 20 Zanu PF members including Stella Kaimbwa and Zivanai Mapakati at his homestead in Karuru, Hurungwe North, during the harmonised elections and was suspected to be an MDC supporter. The perpetrators beat the victim until he was conscious and died.

## **Masvingo**

Masvingo with 13 murder cases led the provincial murder case race in June. While cases of assaults and intimidation are widespread, the province has also been home to new versions of human rights violations where HIV and sick patients reportedly access treatment at clinics on partisan lines.

### **Denial of Health Services to HIV patients**

On 18 June 2008, Susan Mutenha of Makoni North was reportedly denied access to her July course of tablets for HIV treatment at Gowakowa Clinic. It is reported that when she introduced her cards to the nurse on duty, a nurse aid on duty told her that there were no tablets for anyone from her family because her brother was a strong MDC activist. She was allegedly ordered to leave the clinic and get tablets from "MDC party medics". This system was reportedly also applied to sick patients.

### **Cases of Arson and Evictions**

MDC elect MPs and Councillors, polling agents, and teachers were common targets of retribution. In Bikita South, an MDC MP elect Jani Makuku was reportedly attacked and left with broken legs when youths and war veterans invaded his home on 12 June 2008. The alleged perpetrators also torched his house and looted food reserves. The victim is now hospitalized nursing amputated legs. On 17 June 2008, Marima of Ward 28, Bikita South was reportedly ordered to vacate his farm at Nyahunda for alleged involvement in opposition politics. Perpetrators reportedly looted his livestock and destroyed his house. In the same area, on the same date, Ndongwe T (a teacher) at Gumunyu School was chased away from the school house where he was staying and his property destroyed on suspicion that he was an MDC supporter. On 15 June 2008 the Gwariro family of ward 7 were reportedly forced to surrender their MDC material [party T/shirts cards] by party chairperson upon which they were ordered to go through "baptism" - a process that entailed heavy beating with logs by ruling party youths. On the night in question, the victim's houses were burnt down. On 8 June 2008, June Dubi, an agent for Simba Makoni in the 29 March elections, was reportedly beaten by ruling party youths at Nyika Growth Point, Bikita. After a severe assault, the victim was forced to march together with other ruling party youths. In Chikuku village, Bikita, June Tinarwo and his family were on 21 June 2008 forced to surrender their MDC material to the ruling party. On the night in question, their huts were burnt. When they reported the case to their kraal-head, the case was reportedly rejected.

Human rights violations were also committed in connivance with some kraal heads. On Election day, villagers in ward 13, Bikita West, who were suspected to be MDC supporters, were reportedly ordered by headman Mupakwa to shout loudly that "I am illiterate. I cannot read or write."

### **Murder cases**

As highlighted earlier, Masvingo is home to high incidents of murder. Perpetrators were both MDC and ZANU PF supporters, although in the case of MDC, offences tended to take a retaliatory course. Mabika Mudzingwa, a war veteran as well as a Councillor for the ruling party, was reportedly axed to death on 9 June 2008 by suspected MDC supporters. Mabika, accompanied by ruling party youths, had allegedly tried to disrupt an MDC meeting that was in progress. The perpetrator was arrested and is now in prison. In Nyajena village, Mr Jerera, a suspected MDC party member was reportedly abducted from his homestead at midnight on 12 June 2008 by unknown armed men. The victim was reportedly shot dead, his hands and legs cut while his house was burnt. In Bota, Ward 28, Zaka West, Mageria (an MDC known activist), who had been earlier forced to join ruling party youths, was later found dead in a stream in Makonese village. Police are still investigating the matter. On 16 June 2008, S. Chikomba, a teacher at Zaka Secondary was reportedly murdered by a fellow teacher who accused him of being an MDC member. On 24 June 2008, Chamba, a Secondary teacher at Chitenderano Secondary School reportedly died after being tortured at bases established at Wephanry and Portgietar Farm.

Cases where villagers were gathered by war veterans to witness how those who supported MDC supporters were punished were also recorded. In typical liberation style, villagers were asked to sing war songs while the beatings, usually heavy ones, were going on.

## **Harare**

Harare recorded 282 cases visibly featuring assaults, night abductions, harassments, looting and displacements, among others. There were also disturbing reports of houses of suspected and known opposition supporters being torched and petrol bombed of houses.

Base camps have reportedly been established in most high density areas where residents were forced to attend pungwes for daily doses of political re-orientation. In some areas like Epworth, residents allegedly spent the night at pungwes and were in the morning commandeered to polling stations where they were ordered to bring their serial numbers after voting.

Mostly prone to human rights abuse were Chitungwiza, St Marys, Zengeza, Kuwadzana, Rugare, Kambuzuma, Dzivarasekwa, Glen View, and Glen Norah, with most assaults reportedly taking place at shopping centres. Losing ZANU PF MPs and councillors, ruling party supporters, war veterans and youths militia were visibly involved in the campaign exercise. Youths took over the control of prices, an exercise that saw the mushrooming of youth's road blocks across Harare.

In high density areas, human rights abuses entailed youths going into night clubs, beating up people randomly accusing them of having voted wrongly. At Babylon Night Club, Mabvuku Constituency, 10 youths (in bandanas and, ZANU PF T shirts) reportedly assaulted revellers on 24 June 2008.

In Epworth, more than fifty people were reportedly assaulted and injured and houses destroyed in Overspill Epworth by ZANU PF youths on June 17. Epworth residents were forced to attend ZANU PF campaign meetings where all known opposition party members were assaulted at the designated ZANU PF bases and subjected to

threats of displacement if they voted wrongly. The youths mounted roadblocks after every 500 meters on to Overspill demanding that passers-by chant ZANU PF slogans, produce party cards and disclose their destination.

As in other provinces, the polling day in Harare had its own version of human rights violation. Known party activists were forced to submit their ballot serial numbers after voting- a strategy that was apparently crafted to ensure that known MDC supporters vote for the ruling party.

After the 27<sup>th</sup> June, most Harare residents reported being asked to show the red ink on their fingers- a device that was designed to detect those who had not voted. Not voting in the 27 June run-off was interpreted as heeding to the opposition *NO VOTE* call by the MDC and accordingly attracted a penalty from ruling party supporters.

In Mbare, about five hundred (500) ZANU PF militant youths under the leadership of Chipangano were reportedly marching in Mbare unleashing terror on all known and suspected MDC supporters, polling agents and observers.

#### Incidents of Kidnappings, Arson and Displacements

Harare province was also home to cases of night abductions and MDPs. On 19 June, Tendai Marindati, [an MDC Youth organizing secretary for ward 5] was reportedly kidnapped at Chigovanyiaka Shops, detained for 48 hrs, tortured and dumped along Beatrice Road. The victim is currently detained at the Avenues Clinics where he is said to be recovering. In Chitungwiza North, Godfrey Mangoma [an MDC running councillor candidate in Unit 0] was reportedly forced into a red car on 25 June 2008 and taken to an unknown place. His whereabouts are yet to be established. On 10 June 2008, Mai Yolanda [a tenant at a house owned by an MDC party member] in Epworth, Jacha area reportedly had her door forced open at night, assaulted, and ordered to remove all her belongings from the house by suspected ZANU PF supporters. The victim was accused of lodging at a house owned by an opposition member. The two roomed house was pulled down using sticks, axes, hoes and knobkerries.

In Kuwadzana, the Musonza family [suspected MDC activists] had their house stoned on 10<sup>th</sup> June by ruling party supporters. At Glen View Shopping Centre, Joel Chipoyera- a business man, had his music recording business destroyed on 26 June 2008 when suspected ZANU PF youths discovered that he was recording an MDC new album. The victim is reportedly on the run. In Epworth, Overspill, Magaba, Harare, Mr Zhou and his family were on 20 June 2008 reportedly awoken at night by suspected ZANU Pf supporters armed with knobkerries, axes, stones and sticks, ordered to remove property from their house and move out of the house and also from Epworth area. The house was torched and reduced to the ground, the stand reportedly confiscated by ZANU PF supporters arguing that they were "the rightful owners of Epworth".

At around 11 pm on June 17, 15 ZANU PF youths reportedly went to the home of the MDC Councillor Philemon Chipiyo of Ward 18, Chitungwiza with the aim of destroying his property. They allegedly petrol bombed the house and damaged property worth trillions. Four [4] MDC youths who were abducted at the house on the day in question, were reportedly found dead the following day. When ZPP visited the place, they saw Pan African Parliament observers at the scene and police only came to the scene after 5 pm, the following day.

In a similar case, in Ward 23, the winning MDC Councillor Wendy Chiriri's house in Unit N, Chitungwiza was reportedly destroyed and property worth trillions of dollars also destroyed on the same night of 17 June 2008 by about 200 suspected ZANU PF youths who reportedly visited the house.

#### **Cases of looting/Thefts**

Some residents also took advantage of prevailing lawlessness to loot property belonging to suspected or known MDC supporters. On 19 June, the merchandise of Moses Tukunye of Budiriro 2 Home Industry was allegedly seized by youths accusing the victim of "being an MDC supporter campaigning for his party through hiking prices". The matter was not reported to police as the victim feared victimization. On 23 June 2008, suspected ruling party youths, singing and chanting new ZANU PF slogans, reportedly looted sugar from a Gazaland Sugar Wholesale. In a closely related case, on 16 June 2008, suspected ruling party youths wearing 100% Total Empowerment regalia reportedly looted food stuffs that belonged to a vendor at Glen Norah Spacemen Shopping Centre "because she was not wearing ruling party regalia".

#### **Murder cases**

Murder cases were also reported in Harare. At Vision Complex, Mbare constituency, a Mr Booker allegedly died on 12 June 2008 allegedly from wounds sustained after being beaten for celebrating MDC victory in the 29 March elections. On 19 June 2008, four MDC activists were allegedly abducted and murdered by more than fifty ZANU PF activists in Chitungwiza.

#### **Midlands**

Consistent with its traditional hotspot track record, Midlands recorded 223 incidents of human rights violations with 5 cases of murder, 10 cases of abductions, 86 cases of assaults, 10 cases of displacements, 9 cases of Malicious Damage to Property and 94 cases of harassment, among others. Human rights violations are most prevalent in Mberengwa West, Chiwundura, Gokwe Kabuyuni, Gokwe Chireya, Gweru Urban, Gokwe Mapfungautsi, among others. Victims are targeted on suspicion that they are MDC supporters or sympathizers. Teachers, by virtue of having participated as polling officers, presiding officers and polling agents in the 29 March harmonized elections have generally borne the brunt of political abuse.

The month of June also witnessed an upshot in politically-motivated food-related human rights violations in the Midlands, with 60 out of the 106 gross cases having been recorded in June- a trend that is particularly disturbing given that the province is currently under a heavy bout of drought with looming threats of starvation.

Reports from the 4 Mberengwa constituencies show that the onslaught on opposition supporters continued unabated. The assault, displacement and torching of the homesteads and houses of known and suspected opposition members remained in force after elections. Bases that were set up in the pre-election period have not been disbanded.

In Mberengwa West, victimization of teachers was reportedly wide spread, a disturbing scenario that has seen most schools closing and learning sessions disrupted. In Chari village, Norman Chihora [a teacher] was chased

away from a local ZANU PF meeting on suspicion that he is an MDC sympathizer who leaks information to the MDC, a charge the victim vehemently denied. At Mabika Secondary School, Lovinah Matavire (a teacher and polling officer in the March 29 harmonized elections) and other teachers were allegedly assaulted on 7 June 2008 and 12 June 2008 by youths from the resettlements who were accusing teachers of directing the vote of those who were not able to write (elders) to vote for the opposition. This onslaught resulted in the injury and hospitalization of teachers at White hospital in Zvishavane. Schools reopened under police and army escort. In all the cited cases, there were no reports of the subsequent arrest of perpetrators of violence.

In Shurugwi, Mlingwa Albert of Boterekwa primary school, ward 3, was on the 10<sup>th</sup> of June 2008 forced to flee from his homestead allegedly by war veterans who got to his homestead at night singing and accusing him of being an MDC supporter. After his eviction, war veterans reportedly stayed at his homestead, converting his family food reserves and livestock to their own use. In Shurugwi South, Luke Shumba (a school teacher and a polling officer in the 29 March elections) was reportedly assaulted on 15 June 2008 for having “clapped hands and showing joy” after the announcement of the results of the 29 March poll. At Kandodo Hall in Zvishavane Ngezi, 19 teachers who had acted as presiding officers in the 29 March elections were reportedly replaced by ruling party activists on 18 June 2008 on allegations that they were sympathizing with the MDC.

In Mkoba 13, Gweru, F. Chibaya, an MDC activist and brother to the MDC Mkoba MP elect was reportedly abducted at night, blindfolded and taken to a ZANU PF base on 24 June 2008 where he was said to have been stripped, assaulted using falanga and blunt instrument, and also threatened with shooting by suspected ruling party supporters. Chibaya was later admitted at Gweru Provincial Hospital where he died from sustained injuries. In Mkoba 13, T. Njanji (ruling party youth leader) was fatally assaulted on 21 June 2008 by suspected MDC youths, reportedly in retaliation for torching MDC supporters’ houses, including the house belonging to the MDC MP for Mkoba. The deceased was reportedly abducted, tortured for four hours while blindfolded and handcuffed and left for dead. He eventually died four days later on the 27<sup>th</sup> of June 2008. Perpetrators were arrested but immediately released without charge. On June 30, police in Gweru raided shops and allegedly confiscated sugar which was later sold from the Central Police Station at \$600 million per 2kg instead of \$15 billion. Gweru residents were reported to be milling around shops anticipating other raids.

In Gokwe Mapfungautsi, two suspected MDC supporters (names available) of Gwenyika ward in Chief Njelele area reportedly fled to the nearby forests for fear of their lives. It is alleged that in that area, on the day of elections, ZANU PF polling agents were taking down ballot paper serial numbers to detect those who had voted for their party and those who had not. All those that had voted for ZANU PF were said to have submitted the serial numbers to the polling agents, an exercise that led to the discovery that the two had not voted for ZANU PF. The two were reportedly still in the bush at the time of printing. At Chitapo Business Centre, in Dengu village, Gokwe South, 28 village heads were allegedly called to a meeting where they were threatened with war and other dire consequences by the MP for Gokwe Mapfungautsi in the company of war veteran if they “vote wrongly” in the 27 June elections. Incidentally, Dengu area had voted for the MDC in the 29 March elections. In a move that was aimed at punishing Dengu villagers, on 1 June 2008, a prominent member of ZANU PF for ward 20 in the Dengu area reportedly removed from the ZUPCO queue people whose destination was Dengu village.

In Mberengwa East, on 26 June 2008, President Robert Mugabe, at a rally at Mataga Growth Point, reportedly urged ZANU PF supporters to weed out MDC puppets and NGO sell-outs. Incidentally, several homes were burnt soon after with over fifty people fleeing to Zvishavane and Gweru after savage assaults and destruction of homes.

### **Mashonaland East**

The atmosphere in the province was generally tense with threats of going back to the bush reverberating across the province. June alone witnessed 9 murder cases with high incidents of assault.

Villagers were reportedly forced to report at the base three times a day, at 6am, 1 pm and at 8 pm. An unofficial curfew was set up at 6pm and those not attending were expected to explain themselves. Villagers were also asked to make a contribution of \$1 billion and businesspersons contributing \$20 billion dollars for food for those manning the base. Freedom of movement was curtailed with villagers being asked to carry passes and other authorizing letters if they intend to visit another village.

Freedom of movement was severely restricted. In Mutoko North, on 15<sup>th</sup> June 2008, vehicles travelling to Nyamapanda border post were reportedly stopped by war veterans who asked passengers to alight from the vehicles and attend a ZANU PF meeting. The meeting was held at Chikondoma Stadium at Mutoko centre in preparation for the President Mugabe's rally on 18<sup>th</sup> of June 2008. Villagers were informed that all persons with names appearing in the Herald as election agents would "disappear at night one by one". The war veterans were using a Mitsubishi truck and another written C.A.M without number plates.

People were assaulted for failing to attend ZANU PF rallies and meetings, denounce and destroy any associations with the MDC T, sympathizing with the MDC, refusing to surrender to the ruling party, for celebrating March election victory. Assaults were done in townships, drinking places and base camps, assault modes involving receiving a prescribed number of wooden strokes on the buttocks, beaten by sticks, heavy wires, heavy logs, sjamboks and metal rods while lying fully stretched on the ground. Victims suffered broken legs, arms, head injuries, fractured ribs. After being punished, some were forced to profess illiteracy and ask for assisted voting.

As in other provinces, chiefs, village heads and kraal heads had also become willingly or unwillingly part of the human rights abuse network. In some cases they, like their subjects, fell victim to assaults by either the youth militia or war veterans. In Ketero village, Goromonzi, kraal head Ketero was allegedly assaulted on 15 June by Mai Mudhara, a war veteran for failing to identify MDC supporters in his kraal. In Chikwati Village, Ward 15, Musami, Mrewa West, a Peter Murirwa was on 24 June 2008 reportedly assaulted at night and forced to vacate his homestead on allegations that he was one of the MDC election agents in the 29 March 2008. His eviction was allegedly enforced by the village headman because the victim was "an unwanted element in society". The victim has reportedly sought refuge in Harare.

Some were assaulted on apparently flimsy reasons. On 19 June, Julie Munetsi of Munetsi village, Goromonzi, was allegedly assaulted and injured by Kenneth Nemhara, a war veteran for behaving in "an MDC party manner". Others were assaulted for failing or refusing to chant latest ruling party slogans. On 28 June 2008, Annah Juru of Mupingidza village, Mudzi was assaulted by 3 unknown boys when she refused to chant the slogan *Pamberi na Va*

*Mugabe–Pasi ne Chamatama* (down with Tsvangirai of chubby chicks). In yet other cases, people were assaulted for being seen in the company of incorrect people. On 10 June, Mrs Abgail Museyamwa of Chidawaya village in Ward 14 of Musami was abducted, assaulted, allegedly for having been seen some time last year in the company of Women Rights Activists in the area. She was attacked with wires, chains and heavy logs. The incident was reported at Msami police, however no arrests have been made so far. In Mhembere Village, Murehwa North constituency, 5 ZESN Observers had their livestock [hens and goats] taken to the base and slaughtered by ZANU PF youths allegedly to fix them for “being MDC observers” - a charge they vehemently deny.

### **Murder Incidents**

Mashonaland East also has a high record of murder cases. With 9 cases of murder, the province is only second to Masvingo with 13 incidents under her belt. On 27 June 2008, Manhenga Trevor of Chipfunde village, Uzumba was allegedly murdered on election night by a group of youths based at Chimhodzi Business Centre. Trevor was on the wanted list for supporting MDC party during the harmonized elections. On 16 June 2008, Charles Kamugoti of Chanetsa village, Musami Rodzi Area, Mrewa West [an MDC activist] was abducted and fatally assaulted by suspected ruling party youths militia for his active involvement in opposition politics. While a report was made to the police at Musami, perpetrators are still to be arrested. On 16 June 2008, two Mtoko ruling party chairpersons, Mrs R. Chapfika and T. Chidzidzi were reportedly shot by unknown assailants. On 13 June 2008—Mr Chen- an MDC supporter and also headmaster at Katsukunye Sec was abducted from school at around 1300hrs and was found the following day dead near the 2.1 Infantry at the side of the road, his head reportedly shot and cut off. Being a suspected or known MDC T supporter could be a recipe of death. In village 26, Murehwa South, four [4] MDC activists were reportedly murdered at Changwe farm on 26 June 2008, allegedly by suspected war veterans and ZANU PF youths who were still camped at Macheke Grain Marketing Board [GMB] base camp. The perpetrators reportedly ordered people not to bury the dead. Although the police were reportedly aware of the incident, arrests are yet to be effected.

### **Displacements**

Known and suspected MDC supporters were common targets for arson, assault and displacement. On 11 June 2008, Sarudzai Murangariri of Magobo village, Wedza [an MDC party secretary and youth activist] was reportedly harassed, intimidated and displaced from her homestead by the ruling party youth. Youths reportedly arrived at her homestead at 4pm and told her that she had an hour to prepare and leave, to which she complied. Her whereabouts are not known to this day. Nothing was done to the perpetrators. On 7 June 2008—Misheck Shoko of Sable Range, Marondera had his letter of offer for a 6 hectare piece of land withdrawn, allegedly by the leadership in the area. On the day in question, the local MP was leading a group of senior party officials from the provincial head office when the victim allegedly uttering sentiments that “who-ever wins in the run-off should be accepted as the leader of the country” -a statement that did not go down well with the provincial leadership.

On 15 June 2008, Duncan Chipiso and Ngwarai Masviba, teachers at Machinjike Secondary School, Murewa North had their property destroyed allegedly by ZANU PF youths on allegation that they are MDC party supporters. The teachers have since fled from the school. On 21 June 2008, Katsande of village 22, Mutoko South, was allegedly

assaulted by a group of suspected ruling party youths led by 4 war veterans who were moving around the village with the list of names of people suspected to be MDC party activists. The perpetrators reportedly gathered at his house singing and chanting liberation songs and telling him to “go to Britain” before torching his house. On 20 June 2008, Tendai Mbidzo of village 20, Mutoko South, [a known MDC activist] was reportedly harassed, beaten and had his house burnt down by ruling party youths reportedly led by war veterans from Mutoko Centre. The victim has since fled from the area.

### **Mashonaland Central**

As reported in most provinces, known and suspected opposition members, polling agents, ZESN observers and monitors, elect opposition MPs and Councillors remained prime targets of victimization. Assisting displaced or injured relatives was akin to sympathizing with opposition politics. Cases of retaliatory violence have also been reported.

Harassment generally entailed forcing people to attend ruling party rallies and meetings, confess and denounce their affiliation with MDC politics, surrender MDC items. Perpetrators, mostly youths led by war veterans, approached the homes of suspected or known MDC suspects in groups, mostly at midnight singing revolutionary songs and denouncing the target. In some cases, mock coffins were reportedly placed in the suspect’s yard, usually after issuing threats of destroying the homestead and crops in the field. The placing of the coffin was meant to scare and subsequently displace victims.

On 7 June 2008, two Makotore brothers from Howard, Chiweshe reportedly suffered intimidation, victimization, torture, and threats at the hands of suspected ZANU PF youth militia on allegation that they were recruiting residents of the area into MDC activities and issuing MDC party cards and T shirts. In Bindura District, Nyasoka Tichaona of Chirikadzi village was reportedly abducted on the 7<sup>th</sup> of June 2008 by a group of suspected 60 ruling party youths stationed at Chirikadzi Shopping Centre. The victim was heavily assaulted and driven to Bindura Police Station where false charges were allegedly laid on him. The victim is still in police custody.

Cases of displacements and Malicious Damage to Property were also very visible. On 5 June 2008 Manyika Crispin of Shonhiwa Village, Mt Darwin South, was reportedly threatened with eviction from his lodgings by ruling party militia, allegedly for staying with his uncle who had attended MDC meetings. The victim has since fled from the area. On 9 June 2008, unknown assailants visited Siyavhuma [a suspected ZANU PF member] at his homestead in Chawanda village, Mt Darwin West and burnt his homestead during the night. The act appeared retaliatory as the victim had reportedly been perpetrating violence in the area. In Chadzimba village, unknown assailants reportedly killed four oxen belonging to Edward Chadzimba on the night of 9 June 2008 apparently in retaliation as the victim was alleged to have influenced ZANU PF supporters to victimize MDC members. On 6 June 2008, Silvia Forsta of Corncorpio Farm was forced to move from the farm house, allegedly by a group of ZNA members, on suspicion that she was a suspected MDC supporter. The victim had reportedly distributed MDC T shirts during the 29 March MDC campaigns. On 16 June 2008, Isaac Gandari, village head of Kapfudzaruwa village, Mt Darwin was left homeless when unknown people burnt his homestead. The victim had also acted as an election observer in the 29 March elections.

## **Matabeleland South**

Consistent with earlier ZPP warnings, violence is slowly creeping into Matabeleland South - a not so surprising development given the competition that is raging on between the ruling party and the MDC T.

ZANU PF losing MP and councillors are engaged in retributive violence against rural villagers. Chiefs, village heads and kraal heads, possibly out of fear rather than outright co-optation are reportedly involved in these acts of human rights violations.

War veterans were reportedly forcing recruited civilians to base camps that have been established in most parts of the province. In the rural areas like Wenlock Communal lands, Wabayi village, Sigodo Village, Sitezi, Dwala and West Nicholson, there is a war veteran base in almost every village of the ward where people are required to spend 48hrs undergoing political re-orientation. Women were reportedly ordered to these camps to cook and wash, among other things. This tight schedule reportedly had its toll on married women who, because of these obligations, no longer had enough time to look after their children as refusal to serve in these security duties immediately invited an opposition tag. A number of villagers reportedly fled to Botswana.

In Ward 22 and 23, Gwanda, villagers have reportedly deserted their homes for Bulawayo, Gwanda and Beitbridge because of the two camps [ruling party campaigning headquarters] established in Gwanda Central farms at Dwala and West Nicholson. Dwala villagers are a group of resettled farmers who were strongly suspected to be opposition supporters.

In Mtshabe village, Ward 6, Gwanda District, losing Gwanda constituency candidate and losing councillor of ward 6 reportedly established camps [commanding centres] in the Wenlock Communal land with Chief Mathema's consent where they are intimidating members of the winning party, forcing people to meetings, conducting door to door campaigns, ordering people to surrender their cards and threatening villagers with displacements and starvation. At most meetings, villagers were ordered to register with their kraal heads in preparation for the 27 June elections. The perpetrators allegedly threatened to deny villagers access to buy cheap grain from the GMB if the ruling party loses in the 27 June presidential run-off. Most villagers have reportedly fled to town leaving their homes, properties and livestock.

In Waboyi village, ward 6, Gwanda District, a kangaroo court was reportedly set up at the Sofa Business Centre where members of the winning MDC party were allegedly harassed and tortured by war veterans for voting for the opposition. They were reportedly told to abandon the winner of the 29 March harmonized election. Bases have also reportedly been set at Sofa, Mtshaza and Sigodo.

In Maphane village, ward 7, Gwanda District, Chief Khulumane Mathema reportedly convened a meeting on the 11<sup>th</sup> of June where he told villagers that he was employed by the ruling party and not the government and as such the ruling party can take back the vehicle it gave to him if the party loses the presidential run-off. The Chief allegedly then told the village heads to ensure that their communities vote wisely.

Teachers and students are also reportedly bearing the brunt of human rights abuse. In Umzingwane, teachers and A-level students were reportedly forced to attend a campaign meeting which was convened at Swazi High School where they were roundly threatened for voting wrongly. Teachers, in contravention of their code of professional ethics, were reportedly told to campaign for the ruling party and tell people to vote correctly.

The MDC presidential candidate and his campaign entourage (on tour of Matebeleland South), were reportedly detained on 6 June 2008 for four and half hours at Esigodini Police Camp allegedly for failing to produce a clearance letter. They were then forced to go back to Bulawayo under police escort.

In Sitezi village, Gwanda, Juliet Nkiwane, an MDC candidate in the March elections had her home set ablaze on 13 June 2008 by members of the ruling party who had earlier issued her with threats and intimidation for her role in the MDC. Property worth trillions of dollars was burnt. No arrests were made despite the case being reported to the police.

### **Matabeleland North**

Human rights violations in the province entailed forcing people to join solidarity marches, forcing people to attend political meetings, threatening villagers with war, reminding villagers how sell-outs were punished during the liberation struggle.

Parastatals in the region also bore the brunt of the 27 June run-off. Since the 29 March elections, management positions at ZESA and Hwange Colliery have allegedly been held by political appointees of ZANU PF. The parastatals are under pressure to dismiss employees who are perceived to be politically incorrect.

In No 5 village, Hwange Colliery, Robert Ndhlovu (an MDC councillor elect) for Sinderrella No 1 North was intimidated and allegedly displaced from his place after receiving threats of gross harm from unknown people. The victim is traumatized, harassed, displaced and unsure of his security of employment.

On 19 June, Hwange Dlakama, a ZESA [ZPC] employee (councillor elect for MDC) for ward 1, Hwange, was forced to transfer to Munyati with immediate effect allegedly for his "un-patriotism". The victim has since been transferred to Munyati Power Station.

In Hwange Central, two MDC supporters, Cosmas Ndhlovu and Admire Munhenga [ZESA employees who in March contested and won the Hwange Local Board Council elections on an MDC ticket] were reportedly intimidated, harassed and threatened with dismissal by suspected ZANU PF supporters. Perpetrators allegedly forced them to resign on 20 June from their place of employment before the 27 June run off. They were accused of "misleading other workers---a bad influence to the Hwange community as a whole".

Rallies in Tsholotsho resonated with threats of "going back to the bush" and "burning of homesteads" if villagers do not vote correctly. In Tsholotsho, the ZANU PF presidential candidate, addressing villagers at Tsholotsho Business Centre on 19 June 2008 reportedly told Tsholotsho villagers telling them that although he is old he will not leave the office as he has a job to do.

On 23 June 2008, MMPZ officers and committee members were rounded by CIOs, while they were having a workshop at Binga Rest Camp. The officers and committee members were handed over to the police and were locked up for three days. They were released with no charges levelled against them.

## **Bulawayo**

The province witnessed a visible decline in election violence. It recorded 37 cases of human rights violations, a drop from the May record of 44 cases. When compared with other provinces, Bulawayo casts a stark and even incomparable contrast to scenarios in Manicaland (1173 cases), Mashonaland West (with 1056 cases). This is however not to imply that the province has not been with its own gray areas as some pockets of human rights abuse have been witnessed in some parts of the province.

In Luveve constituency, Bernard, a disabled and blind ZANU PF supporter was on 30 June threatened with food denial for telling ZANU PF party members that he had voted for the MDC. He was also reportedly threatened with assault until his eyes open.

In Mpopoma/Pelandaba Constituency, around 30 MDC members wearing party T/shirts and singing aboard a bus campaigning for their MP candidate were on 26 June stopped by the ZRP and ordered to disperse, accused of disturbing traffic flow.

On election-day, residents in some constituencies like Luveve were reportedly forced to vote and show their red fingers to the local ruling party councillor as confirmation that they had voted. On the same day in Pumula East constituency, ZANU PF supporters and war veterans were reportedly campaigning within 80m of the polling station with radio on full blast in apparent breach of the 100m threshold provided for in the Electoral Act. This was reportedly in full view of ZRP officers.

## **INCIDENTS OF FOOD DISCRIMINATION BY PROVINCE**

The run-up to the June run-off witnessed unbelievable cases of political motivated food-related human rights violations. Experiences from all provinces point to a tight, partisan and highly centralized food distribution network. Access to Government Subsidized Food, agricultural inputs, tillage support, agricultural credit, food loan, irrigation is through a tight vetting process in which village kraal heads, village chairpersons, ward councillors, war veterans, and ruling party youths are involved.

To access subsidized maize or mealie-meal at GMB depots, one has to be on the village register which had to be vetted and endorsed by the ward councillor in consultation with war veterans and ruling party leadership. To qualify for such registration, one has to be in possession of a ruling party card and also a regular attendance of ruling party meetings. In addition to this, in most provinces, GMB Maguta programs are headed by either army officers or retired army officers or war veterans. Most millers are reportedly ZANU PF supporters. Suggested by this network is that access to buying food is not dependent on possession of money but access to political networks.

Selection of food beneficiaries is the preserve of ruling party structures. Councilors, ruling party chairpersons make decisive decisions on who and who not to benefit.

Reports from all provinces show that people (both urban and rural) are reportedly denied access to Government Subsidized Food (GSF), seeds and fertilizer, tillage support, agricultural credit, food loan and irrigation cases, among other reasons, for being known or suspected MDC supporters, for failing to attend ruling party meetings, failing to produce party card, voter registration receipt, failing to chant the latest ZANU PF slogans and failing to denounce one's party. Residents/villagers from areas that were suspected to have voted for the opposition were subjected to *community-targeted food sanctions*-scenarios that seriously exposed villagers to starvation given that most provinces are currently under drought.

In the post run-off era, food discrimination revolved around the red ink requirement.

### **Matebeleland South**

Drought prone, Matebeleland South was home to nine cases of food discrimination in the month in question. Reports indicate that access to food relief, food loan scheme, tillage support, agricultural inputs is heavily partisan. Villagers were reportedly forced to attend political meetings, ordered to produce party cards, forced to chant party slogans, forced to denounce one's party, in order to access relief food.

The perpetrators are district party members, traditional leaders, war veterans and losing councillors. On 24 June 2008, Njabulo Moyo of Mtshabezi village, ward 8, Gwanda North was reportedly denied access to agricultural Credit, forced to attend political meetings and ordered to produce party card in order for him to get agricultural credit forms. In this incident, the perpetrators were reportedly village secretaries and other ruling party members. Most violations occurred at GMB depots and shopping centres.

After the run-off, those who did not have red ink mark on their fingers were reportedly chased away from queues for buying subsidized grain at GMB depots.

### **Harare**

ZPP Reports to widespread politically-motivated food-related human rights violations in Harare Metropolitan, recording a total of 32 cases. Even access to scarce and basic food stuffs such as sugar and cooking oil is largely partisan as most queues at shopping centres where such commodities will be available is largely monitored by party structures. Cases where soldiers and ruling party activists access scarce commodities while residents go empty handed have in fact become so regular that they risk being viewed as a right of the perpetrators.

In Glen View Shopping Centre, Phylis Chataika (an MDC activist and HIV volunteer for Chiedza Home of Hope) was on 3 June 2008 allegedly denied access to mealie-meal meant for those affected with AIDS. On the day in question, people were reportedly forced to chant slogans or produce ZANU PF party cards before being sold mealie-meal. On 14 June 2008, Chimbwanda, a resident of Caledonia Transit farm Camp and a well known MDC supporter was allegedly denied food relief at Juru Growth point.

In Old Canaan, Highfield, Home Based Care Kits, medicine belonging to an AID Counselling Trust (ACT) were ransacked by youths demanding a register of all people who receive food AID from her organization. The volunteer (Mandy Gwenzi) was forced to attend a lunchtime “base” meeting at Zororo Centre. The Home based Care was perceived to be used to woo voters for the MDC. At a Roman Catholic Church in Highfield East, Noel Chikata was on 3 June 2008 ordered to chant the latest ruling party slogans and produce party card. When he failed to meet the order, access to subsidized food was allegedly denied to him. In Highfield West, Thompson Warikandisi [a volunteer at Mashambanzou] reported that Children Living with HIV/aids at Roman Catholic Church in Zororo had their food looted by ruling party youths to an unknown destination on 20 June 2008.

## **Midlands**

The Midlands province recorded 60 cases of politically motivated food-related human rights abuses, the highest record in the country. This record is not surprising given that most parts of the province are drought-prone areas. As was the trend in other provinces, victims were denied access to cheap food for a variety of politically-motivated reasons that included coming from a constituency that was suspected to have overwhelmingly voted for the MDC, refusing to attend ruling party/base meetings, failing to produce voter registration receipts, failing to surrender MDC regalia, or seen in association with known or suspected MDC supporters, among others.

Victims were allegedly subjected to public humiliations such as being shouted at, chased away food queues or advised to “get food from England”. Notable havens of these violations were constituencies in Gokwe, Mberengwa, Kwekwe, and Zvishavane. Most offences were committed at business shops and at GMB depots with kraal heads, village heads, councillors, war veterans, ruling party youths and GMB officials as main perpetrators.

In Kwekwe, Ventura Farm, Gilbert Shoko was on 18 June 2008 reportedly refused to buy agricultural inputs and threatened with beating on allegations that he was an MDC supporter. The victim stays in Torwood, Redcliff, an area labelled as an MDC stronghold. At the Roasting Plant Compound Shopping Centre, Kwekwe, Judith Mwanza [a well known MDC activist] was on 22 June allegedly denied access to subsidized maize sourced from Blackman Millers [a company owned by a ruling party activist] allegedly for refusing to surrender her MDC garb. The victim had earlier been advised to surrender T/shirt, card, wrapping material. At Gwedza Primary School, Mbizo, Kwekwe, Susan Zulu [an MDC activist] was on 21 June 2008 denied access to subsidized maize meal because “the cheap maize was for ruling party supporters” as it was sourced from a ruling party activist.

In Zhombe constituency, Anna Zinyama was on 23 June 2008 reportedly denied access to cheap GMB mealie-meal at Chiroro Business Centre by the local leadership, headman Farson Masvosve, allegedly for “not attending ZANU PF village meetings”. The victim was also not on the ZANU PF food register.

In Mberengwa West, Jonathan Nhliziyo was on 17 June reportedly denied to buy subsidized GMB mealie-meal at Nyororo Business Centre because “his son had been an MDC party agent” in the 29 March elections. At Mahindi Primary School- Gumbo Mufaro [a widow] was on 16 June 2008 denied to buy cheap mealie-meal by the headman, allegedly for failing to call back her son working in Harare to “join others in the rural areas that are fighting for the soil”.

In Gokwe Kana, Mharadze villagers were on 21 June reportedly denied access to cheap GMB maize delivered at Gawa Business Centre, allegedly by the kraal head for “not attending party meetings”. Failure to attend village party meetings was equated with supporting the opposition. Teachers at Gawa Primary School, Gokwe Kana were also on the same day reportedly denied access to buy subsidized GMB maize by the ruling party chairperson arguing that maize was for “the ZANU PF campaign and not for MDC sympathizers”.

## **Masvingo**

Food-related violations in drought prone Masvingo was generally consistent with experiences in other provinces. Access to government subsidized food was largely through ruling party vetting processes in which kraal heads, war collaborators, party chairpersons, village heads, councillors, party youths and war veterans, among others were visibly involved. In some Wards, kraal heads were reportedly ordered to register the names of those suspected to be into opposition politics. Most food-related human rights abuses occurred at local business centres, notable among which were Mavhiringidze Township, Nyamakwebi Township and Chibi Growth Point.

Just after the run-off, on 28<sup>th</sup> June, Masvingo Urban residents reported selective supply of sugar to ruling party supporters by army, war vets and party youths at Tsungai Shop and Mutema Brothers Shop (shops allegedly owned by ruling party supporters). On 6<sup>th</sup> of June, Shumba Lawrence, a losing ruling party councillor reportedly told villagers, suspected to be mostly MDC supporters that they were going to vet villagers who are going to buy maize seed from GMB. On 28<sup>th</sup> of June, some residents of Runyararo, Ward 4, Runyararo West, Masvingo Urban, were reportedly severely prejudiced when cheap mealie-meal sourced from a local grinding mill was allegedly diverted to ruling party youths as a token of appreciation for their participating in the run-off campaign- a campaign that had reportedly entailed force marching residents of ward 4 to go and vote in the one-man contested presidential run-off. On 10 June, Zimuto villagers were reportedly denied access to subsidized GMB maize at Mazambara Business Centre, allegedly for “campaigning for an opposition councillor in the 29 March election”. In some cases, suspected MDC supporters simply had their names skipped or removed from the list to buy GMB mealie-meal.

At Chivi Growth Point, on 19<sup>th</sup> June, GMB officials (led by a known army captain who heads Operation Maguta at Chivi Depot) reportedly denied GMB food to villagers from Mawararire and Muvhundisi accusing them of being MDC supporters. On 3 June, villagers from Gova, ward 33 were reportedly cancelled from the *Food for Work Program* list allegedly by kraal head Nyengeri on suspicion that their ward had voted for the MDC. On 14 June, in Ward 3, teachers at Saint Staurkans primary and secondary schools were reportedly denied access to subsidized GMB food at Mushagashe by soldiers in the constituency allegedly accusing them of having “campaigning for the opposition”.

## **Bulawayo**

While the province was relatively calm, its food-related human right record was not that impressive. With 15 recorded cases, Bulawayo emerged second in terms of food related violations. As in other provinces, food denials were based on party card issues, party meeting attendance record and on the red finger requirement, especially

after elections. Perpetrators included army and police officers, Task Forces, councillors [most of which were losing councillors] and ruling party supporters. Mainly affected were Pumula, Nguboyenja, Makokoba and Luveve constituencies.

In Pumula East, Pumula constituency, Sharon Sibanda, a ZANU PF member was on the 28<sup>th</sup> of June reportedly denied registration for mealie-meal because “there was no sign of ink on her finger to show she had voted”. In the post 27 run-off period, failure to vote was viewed as a serious betrayal of the ZANU PF cause. In fact it was tantamount to an endorsement of the MDC *NO VOTE* call in the run-up to the 27<sup>th</sup> June presidential run-off. In the same constituency, Teresa Mugago was reportedly denied access to buy subsidized mealie-meal by war vets on 17 June-because the “mealie-meal was for party supporters and those who attend party meetings”.

Even in ordinary shops, suspected opposition supporters were reportedly denied access to scarce basic food stuffs. At Chigumira Shops in Luveve, B. Mpala was on 9 June reportedly denied access to buy scarce mealie-meal by ZANU PF supporters because “she had no party cards”. In Nguboyenja, Makokoba constituency, Soshongane residents were reportedly denied access to scarce and subsidized mealie-meal, sugar, and cooking oil at Nguboyeja Grocery [Mumba Store] on 5 June 2008. In Richmond, J. Mhungira, an elderly widow was reportedly refused to buy scarce, subsidized GMB mealie-meal at Richmond Falls Garage shop because “she did not have a party card”.

### **Mashonaland East**

Consistent with its poor track record of politically motivated violence, access to Government Subsidized Food was largely through party structures. People were denied access for failing to produce voter registration receipts, names not appearing at the base camp register, for staying/associating with MDC supporters/relatives, among others. Cases where suspected and known MDC supporters were chased away from queues for subsidized mealie-meal and basic food stuffs and coldly advised to buy “food from their own party” were reportedly widespread.

In Dombotombo, Marondera, a Mrs A Manzungu was on the 4<sup>th</sup> June reportedly told point blank by a ruling party losing councillor that she was not going to get maize from GMB because “she had voted for the MDC”. At Cherima Township, Marondera, Mr Muswere Bernard was on the 10<sup>th</sup> of June reportedly denied access to subsidized maize from GMB *Maguta* by losing councillor E. Tsuru, who was in charge of food distribution in ward 5 on grounds that he was “politically suspect”. At Rusike Park in Marondera, Mrs S Phiri was on the 9<sup>th</sup> of June reportedly denied access to subsidized maize from GMB *Maguta* by ruling party councillor Kwaramba, allegedly for “staying with an MDC supporter”. At Dorset Farm, Marondera, villagers who were suspected to be MDC supporters were on 13<sup>th</sup> of June 2008 reportedly discriminated against in the selection of people to benefit from the Government Maize Aid delivered by Mr Jeché, the chairperson of the ruling party and responsible for the selection of beneficiaries.

In Chitanda Village, Mahusekwa, John Maoneka was on the 9<sup>th</sup> of June denied access to buy some maize meal at the local shop by village headman because he was “seen wearing MDC regalia and also celebrating the March 29 harmonized elections”. The victim was chased away from the mealie-meal queue. In Marondera, John Matiza [a school teacher] at Chitanda School was on the 17<sup>th</sup> of June denied access to buy scarce basic food stuffs and

mealie-meal at the local shops by local villagers because “he was seen moving together with MDC members in the ward”. The perpetrator allegedly directed the shopkeeper not to sell mealie-meal to “sell-outs” before proceeding to grab and push the victim out of the shop promising to beat him.

### Concluding Remarks

Highly centralized food allocation systems are prone to political abuse during election time. The risk of political abuse is even worse when elections are conducted under highly polarized contexts. The risk is worst where traditional supplementary sources have been disbanded. The risk is even most threatening when elections are conducted under contexts of drought and a general economic meltdown characterized by scarcity of basic food stuffs. Such scenarios characterized Zimbabwe in the run-up to what later turned out to be a one-political contender run-off.

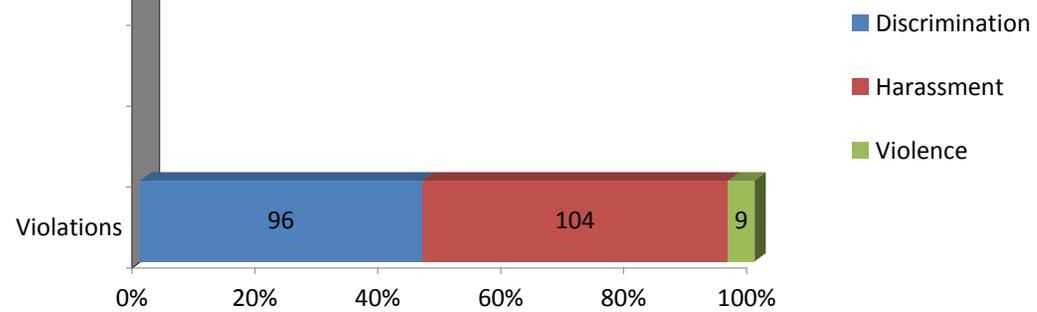
Against this backdrop, when the Government of Zimbabwe, on the 4<sup>th</sup> of June 2008, ordered a number of nonprofit food aid agencies (CARE, Save the Children) to suspend distribution of food until after the 27 June 2008 accusing them of using food to undermine the government-the decision naturally generated heated debates within and outside Zimbabwe, with most people expressing fear that the decision would see millions [especially children in schools, orphanages and the elderly in nursing homes] in drought-hit areas starving.

These fears were indeed well-founded given that people in rural Zimbabwe have three main ways of accessing maize and mealie-meal, namely through government food for work program, buying it from the GMB, and through donor schemes for school pupils and the under fives- sources that are vulnerable to political manipulation.

The June food-related human rights violation incidence spread was as shown below:

Food Distribution Analysis June 2008											
HARASSMENT	Masvingo	Harare	Manicaland	Mashonaland East	Mashonaland West	Mashonaland Central	Bulawayo	Matabeleland North	Matabeleland South	Midlands	TOTAL
Forced to attend political meetings	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	4	7
Forced to produce voter registration slips	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Ordered to produce party card	4	1	2	0	1	0	8	0	0	3	19
Ordered to take off party regalia	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4
Forced to chant party slogans	2	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	2	8
Ordered to denounce one's party	0	4	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	6
Summoned to meeting	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other	1	3	1	1	0	0	5	0	0	49	60
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>104</b>
<b>VIOLENCE</b>											
Abduction/unlawful detention	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sexual violence	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Malicious Damage to Property (MDP)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
Physical Attack	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	5
Grievous bodily harm	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>9</b>
<b>DISCRIMINATION</b>											
Denied access to GSF	0	6	7	18	1	0	3	0	0	0	35
Denied seeds & fertiliser	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Denied tillage support	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Denied agricultural credit	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2
Denied food loan	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
Denied food aid	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Denied irrigation	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other	10	0	2	0	0	0	10	0	1	29	52
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>96</b>

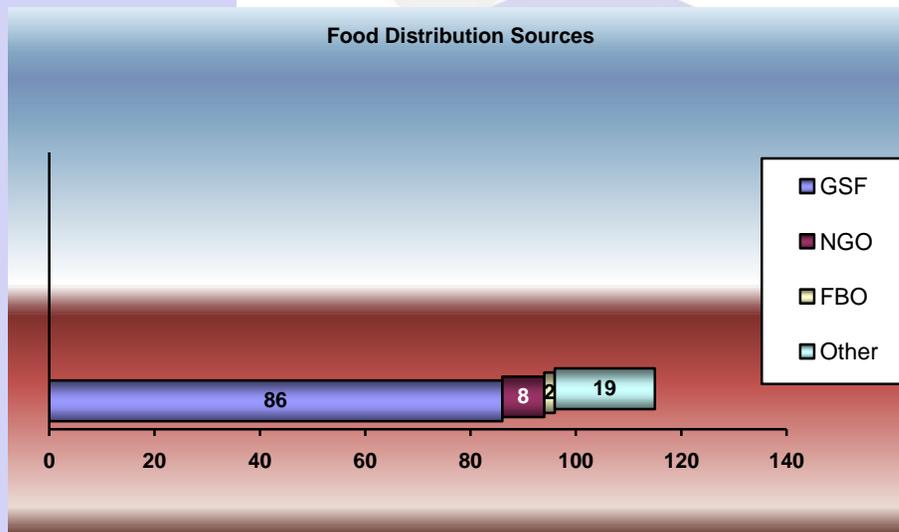
## PREVALENCE OF VIOLATIONS



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## FOOD DISTRIBUTION SOURCES

Source	Masvingo	Harare	Manicaland	Mashonaland East	Mashonaland West	Mashonaland Central	Bulawayo	Matabeleland North	Matabeleland South	Midlands	TOTAL
GSF <sup>3</sup>	15	6	7	18	1	0	3	0	4	32	86
NGO <sup>4</sup>	0	4	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	8
FBO <sup>5</sup>	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Other	8	0	0	1	0	0	10	0	0	0	19
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>115</b>



<sup>3</sup> Government Subsidised Food

<sup>4</sup> Non-Governmental Organisation

<sup>5</sup> Faith Based Organisation



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