

The role of militia groups in maintaining ZanuPF's political power.

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March 2003

1. Background

The violence that has afflicted Zimbabwe since the Constitutional referendum has received considerable international attention, mainly due to remarkable documentation from the press, the media and human rights groups. The findings of the human rights groups, and particularly the Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum, have additionally been corroborated by a number of the reports from international human rights groups. Finally, there has also been corroboration from a large number of election observer groups. However, despite sustained international pressure, organised violence and torture continues in Zimbabwe, and the violence associated with militia groups continues today: there are very recent reports of the youth militia – the “green bombers”¹ – operating with apparent impunity in Kuwadzana in Harare², as well as in Bulawayo³. The problem of the militia is however beginning to cause concern, as is evidenced by the recent statement of the South African Catholic Bishops Conference urging President Thabo Mbeki to intervene in Zimbabwe over the militia, as well a recent story in the London Sunday Times⁴.

The President and Government have made no credible attempt to end the violence, with the only defence being that this is either violence provoked by the original violence of the MDC and other groups, such as white commercial farmers, or that the violence is due to the frustrations expressed by ordinary Zimbabweans in their quest to acquire land that is rightfully theirs. At best the President and the government condone lawlessness and violence, but at worst they are guilty of planning, orchestrating, and implementing this violence against their own people⁵. It is relevant to point out that the situation today is little different to that pertained in May 2000 when a group of ZanuPF militia attacked the “Peace March” in the middle of Harare. And that the same comments could be made today as were made by the Human Rights Forum in its report on the violence that day:

The President, members of government and the police force have all abrogated their constitutional duty to uphold and enforce the law of Zimbabwe. Gross human rights violations are occurring and these are being instigated, encouraged or condoned by government. A lawless situation is being created in which the rule of law is being cast aside in favour of violent anarchy. Unless this situation is reversed and the rule of law is restored to its rightful place as a key component of a democratic state, Zimbabwe could descend into a state of chaos. The law must be respected and enforced. War veterans and other supporters of the ruling party must not be misled into believing that they can, with impunity, attack defenceless persons exercising their constitutional right to engage in a peaceful demonstration or unlawfully occupy farms and assault and intimidate the people who are lawfully on those farms. (Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum, The Unleashing of Violence: A report on violence against peaceful protestors in Harare. May 2000. HARARE: ZIMBABWE HUMAN RIGHTS NGO FORUM)

The violence began with the use of militia, both against the peaceful demonstrators in Harare and in the invasions of the commercial farms, and militia continued to be deployed in the 2000 Parliamentary Elections, the various by-elections in 2001, and the Presidential Election in 2002. The militia continues to be a significant factor in the violence to date, with reports from Zimbabwe continuously demonstrating the many ways in which militia are involved in both the violence and the ordinary lives of Zimbabweans. For example, a report in the Zimbabwe Independent recently shows militia imposing dusk to dawn curfew on the residents of

¹ The term “Green Bombers”, as they are colloquially known in Zimbabwe, is both a reference to the characteristic green uniforms that the youth militia wear and, reportedly, also a derogatory reference to the militia as a type of large fly – a bluebottle – that is frequently seen flying around ordure.

² See the statement from the Zimbabwe Civic Education Trust (ZIMCET), *Peace disturbed in Kuwadzana*, January 20, 2003.

³ See the statement from Christians Together for Justice and Peace, *The corrupting of Zimbabwe’s youth*, January 14, 2003.

⁴ See the Sunday Times, 9 February 2003; *Mugabe bends minds in hatred camps*.

⁵ See Reeler, A.P. (2003), *Who should be sanctioned?*, [www.zwnnews.net] for a report on the involvement of government officials and others in the organised violence and torture.

Kuwadzana, the latest constituency to face a by-election⁶. This curfew is imposed by a group that has no power to do this, in the absence of any declaration of martial law or the imposition of emergency powers, and without any interference by the police.

The use of militia has been a cornerstone of the campaign by Robert Mugabe and ZanuPF to maintain political power, but has to date this not been carefully investigated against the background of an enormous amount of documentary material. As will be seen from the following analysis, the evidence suggests a well-worked out strategy on behalf of the State, and this strategy has involved the use of both militia and the State security agencies, mainly the CIO and the Zimbabwe Republic Police, in complementary roles. Against this onslaught, the supporters of the MDC and the ordinary people of Zimbabwe have been victims on a very large scale. This is a factual assertion based on the evidence, which quite clearly shows who have been the primary targets, but this evidence cannot show the scale. However, some inferences can be drawn regarding scale, and one estimate put the number of victims of torture in 2000 alone somewhere in the range of 200,000 persons⁷.

The present analysis draws upon all the publicly available reports on the organised violence and torture over the past three years. It also draws upon a number of private sources and interviews that will remain anonymous for obvious reasons.

2. The Problem

Following the rejection of the draft Constitution in February 2000, Robert Mugabe is alleged to have told the Politburo that he would take a personal interest in the forthcoming Parliamentary Election and to show the ZanuPF party how a campaign should be run. This implicit reference to a poor campaign for the Referendum was justified, for, despite an extremely expensive publicity campaign, ZanuPF members were not conspicuous through the country in campaigning for acceptance of the Constitution. For whatever reason, ZanuPF seemed confident that the electorate would show its customary apathy and return whatever result ZanuPF wished. Certainly the electorate were apathetic in respect of the turnout, but the result was anything but apathetic: ZanuPF was handed out its first defeat at the polls in 20 years.

The results, which most commentators took to be mainly a test of popularity for Robert Mugabe, showed that Mugabe and his ZanuPF party had great cause for concern. Unusually for a referendum, the results were reported according to constituency, and the results showed a virtual rejection for the Constitution in all urban constituencies, and even some rejection from the rural areas. Projecting this into the scenario of a parliamentary election, this would translate into the MDC making an extraordinary entrance into parliament. More seriously, and particularly in a parliamentary election, this could result in ZanuPF not only losing its oft-abused power to amend the constitution, but, more frighteningly, could see ZanuPF swept from power if people in the rural areas also decided to make a shift of allegiance to the MDC.

Robert Mugabe and his faction were thus faced with their first serious challenge, but it was not the only challenge. In the previous two years, there had been mounting criticism not just of his leadership of the country, but also to his leadership of the party. This was not a trivial internal problem, since the reform process within ZanuPF had lead to remarkable changes in the internal leadership of the party. During the party elections in 1999, there had been resounding defeats for the Mugabe faction in most provinces, and most seriously in Masvingo, where the Zvogbo faction had taken every single seat in the Provincial Executive. When the challenge to his leadership from Dumisani Mavhaire came from the Masvingo power basis, this was not a trivial threat, and Mugabe fought back immediately: Mavhaire was disciplined, suspended from the senior councils of the party, and reportedly survived a number of attempts on his life. Small wonder that Mugabe was upset by the poor campaigning during the Constitutional Referendum, and no doubt was wondering how he personally might fare in the forthcoming Presidential election.

⁶ See Zimbabwe Independent, 31 January 2003, *Militia impose curfew in Kuwadzana*.

⁷ See Reeler, A.P. (2001), *State Sponsored Violence in Zimbabwe, Paper presented to "Crisis in Zimbabwe: Implications for South Africa and Southern Africa", South African Institute of International Affairs, 14 February 2001, Johannesburg, South Africa.*

Thus, Mugabe was faced not only with the possibility of his party losing power, but also with the possibility that he might lose power both in his own party and nationally as President. The scene was clearly set for a very exciting election. What was set in train was a strategy to address all these problems, and here Mugabe shows himself to be a strategist of uncommon skill, although his methods do not lend themselves too much to admiration. However, in politics generally, strategy is developed to solve a problem, and the issue is evaluating a strategy is how effectively does it resolve the problem, not whether it is moral or not. Power and morality are of course supposed to be correlated, but are usually imperfectly so in African politics and certainly so in Zimbabwe.

The current problem is now considerably more serious. Mugabe and ZanuPF have forced themselves into a position of "illegitimacy" as a consequence of two repudiated elections. The Government thus rules *de facto* and not *de jure*; has incurred widespread international opprobrium, with suspension from the councils of the Commonwealth, action under the Cotonou Agreement, personal sanctions, and the threat of further sanctions pending. There is a very serious election petition on the Presidential Election pending in the High Court, a petition that could, in a wholly independent judiciary, lead to the election result being overturned and even to Mugabe being prohibited from holding political office for up to 5 years. The question to be asked is whether the current dilemma will lead to a political solution – new elections, Mugabe's resignation, transitional government, or whatever – or whether the Mugabe regime will seek to fight this out in the logic of liberation struggle. In this second scenario, the role of the militia is crucial and extremely sinister.

3. The Strategy

A key to the Mugabe strategy was contained in the draft constitution; the controversial land clause that was inserted after the constitutional process was completed and the acrimonious meeting to agree the final draft. Bemused Zimbabweans saw in the final draft a clause requiring the United Kingdom to compensate commercial farmers for their land, failing which the State would be entitled to acquire these farms without compensation. This clause became the cornerstone for the electoral campaigns for the next three years as well as for the highly successful international campaign waged by Mugabe, a campaign that enabled him to return to the Liberation War, colonialism, imperialism and globalisation.

As with all good strategies, the land problem was very simple and capable of extension into a wide variety of other areas. It allowed for a wide variety of tactics to be employed in its pursuit, and, above all, could be maintained over a very long period. This last was the greatest value of the strategy: by changing the goals, refusing to allow its solution, and by dragging in an increasing number of protagonists, the land problem could be used infinitely⁸. Scarcely surprising that Mugabe had kept this problem in reserve for all the twenty years of his rule: it had been on the stove quietly simmering, never wholly turned off or completely cooked. The "obvious" strategy has been well-expressed in a report of the Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum:

[The Government] is fighting a Third "Chimurenga." This new "war" is a struggle to achieve economic justice for the black majority. The Second Chimurenga war was fought to liberate the country from the yoke of white minority rule. This armed struggle resulted in the political emancipation of the black majority, but not economic emancipation as after 1980 a tiny white settler community continued to dominate the agricultural and commercial economy. In particular, a small number of whites still owned a huge proportion of the most fertile farmland, with the black majority being relegated to poor quality land. This gross social and economic injustice could not be allowed to continue. Thus when the landless people "spontaneously" invaded white farmland to register their protest against this gross injustice, Government then felt compelled to act. It thus embarked upon its fast track resettlement programme. The new political party, the Movement for Democratic Change

⁸ So successful has been the land gambit that it still is referred to in the solution proposed by Presidents Obasanjo and Mbeki to the Commonwealth. This is outlined in the letter from President Obasanjo to Prime Minister Howard of Australia.

(MDC), was formed as a front for the whites to resist the moves towards the redistribution of the economic assets of Zimbabwe. Britain and other European powers are sponsoring the MDC because they wanted to protect the property rights of whites and are vigorously opposed to the expropriation of white-owned farmland. These Governments are also waging a vicious propaganda campaign against Zimbabwe. The Government was justified in taking all necessary measures to prevent the MDC and its Western allies from denying the black majority the economic justice they cried out for. It was perfectly justifiable to use necessary force to overcome resistance to the transformation of the economy in favour of the black majority to achieve economic justice. After all, the colonial regime had violently dispossessed the black majority of their land and had brutally suppressed them for many decades⁹.

It is noteworthy that this somewhat tongue in cheek characterisation of the ZanuPF strategy remains the strategy to date, and is seen still in elements of the analysis provided by Mr Obasanjo, the Nigerian President, in his reasons for discontinuing the suspension of Zimbabwe from the Commonwealth. Land, in Obasanjo's view, remains at the core of the crisis.

The “*land problem*” thus had the possibility of being linked to other problems in very useful ways, and the most important was its linkage to the war veterans, the Liberation War, and the colonial past. For this allowed Mugabe to insert the militia programme right into the centre of the election. Here it must be remembered that the war veterans had become deeply discredited in 1997 by the revelations of massive corruption in the pension awards under the War Victims Compensation Fund. The Chidyausiku Commission produced huge public interest, and the testimonies of those called to account before the Commission were undoubtedly humiliating to all those who felt that there had been great honour in fighting for the liberation of the country from colonial rule. When, after all the tackiness and humiliation of the Chidyausiku Commission hearings, the war veterans began to assert themselves against the party, Mugabe solved the problem in characteristic fashion: he paid them all a substantial pension. That the wage bill led directly to the collapse of the Zimbabwe dollar in November 1997 and food riots the following year was less serious than the binding of the war veterans to Mugabe directly. At the time, many speculated that there would come a time when Mugabe would demand payment for his support.

Thus, there was little surprise when the Zimbabwe National Liberation War Veterans Association declared that its members would be campaigning for ZanuPF in the 2000 Parliamentary Election. This perhaps was another indicator ahead of the Referendum that there was a strategy in the offing for this important election¹⁰.

The primary targets of the “*land reform*” were ostensibly the white commercial farmers, but in reality were the commercial farm workers in the three Mashonaland Provinces, since this group, under the auspices of the General Agricultural and Plantation Workers Union of Zimbabwe (GPWUZ) had been extremely active under the NCA in the constitutional process. GAPWUZ represented an substantial block of voters from amongst the 350,000 families working in agriculture, and a very large proportion of these were found in the three Mashonaland Provinces. Their votes cast in favour of the MDC would certainly have spelt defeat for ZanuPF in three crucial Provinces, and hence it was essential that this threat be neutralised. There was not an equivalent threat in the Matabeleland Provinces, where commercial agriculture was mostly livestock rearing and the number of workers involved was considerably lower. There were pockets of large numbers of farm workers down in the low veldt at Triangle and Chiredzi, and these areas did become targets too.

⁹ See *Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum (2001), Politically motivated violence in Zimbabwe 2000–2001. A report on the campaign of political repression conducted by the Zimbabwean Government under the guise of carrying out land reform, HARARE: ZIMBABWE HUMAN RIGHTS NGO FORUM.*

¹⁰ This early indicator was given in a Zimbabwe Broadcasting Service report on 12 January 2000, where it was reported that war veterans had demonstrated over a demand that the draft constitution deal with land redistribution. This was clearly an effort to bolster support for the notorious “fast track” land clause included in the draft constitution.

The strategy, like all effective strategies, was supported by a highly effective marketing campaign: the rhetoric of the Liberation War. The land issue was marketed as a liberation war, or rather the unfinished business of the Liberation War. The enemies were those who held the land, and coincidentally these were the “same people” against whom the original war had been fought. These “people” were supported by the age-old colonial and imperialist powers, and the two had now combined to set up a political party - the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) - to drive their interests. Thus, the struggle was against the old interests, now supported by their “sell out” supporters, evoking the problems of the 1970s and the roles played by Bishop Muzorewa and Ndabaningi Sithole. Thus, a liberation war campaign could be used internally against these enemies, and logically the “war veterans” were exceptionally well-equipped ideologically to drive this¹¹.

4. The First Phase: using the “War Veterans”

The first phase of the militia programme involved the use of the “war veterans”. This first phase may have only been intended to last as long as the Parliamentary Election which ZanuPF considered they could win overwhelmingly, but the results of the election clearly indicated that the Presidential Election would be exceedingly difficult for Mugabe. Furthermore, the very large number of election petitions (39), with the possibility of a losing a large number of bye-elections if the MDC petitions were successful, meant that the hold on political power was still threatened seriously.

In 2000, this group operated militias comprising ZANU (PF) youths and other ZANU (PF) supporters, most of whom were not war veterans. The group leaders repeatedly stated that they would use violence to ensure the MDC never assumed power in Zimbabwe, as they regarded it as a front for the protection of white minority interests¹². They also vowed to take whatever measures are necessary to ensure that Mugabe won the Presidential Election in 2002¹³. The ruling party financed their operations and the security agencies supplied them

¹¹ All of this was supported by a strident propaganda campaign led by the Minister for Information, Dr Jonathan Moyo. The tactics are reminiscent of those used in Rwanda, as is shown in the Human Rights Watch report on Rwanda: *Propagandists developed the same themes over and over, both before and during the genocide. While some of the similarities in their messages may result simply from sharing the same cultural milieu, other similarities in technique suggest deliberate coordination among propagandists and between them and government officials. In a mimeographed document entitled “Note Relative à la Propagande d’Expansion et de Recrutement,” found in Butare prefecture, one propagandist tells others how to sway the public most effectively. Obviously someone who had studied at university level, the author of the note presents a detailed analysis of a book called Psychologie de la publicité et de la propagande, by Roger Mucchielli, published in Paris in 1970. The author of the note claims to convey lessons learned from the book and drawn from Lenin and Goebbels. He advocates using lies, exaggeration, ridicule, and innuendo to attack the opponent, in both his public and his private life. He suggests that moral considerations are irrelevant, except when they happen to offer another weapon against the other side. He adds that it is important not to underestimate the strength of the adversary nor to overestimate the intelligence of the general public targeted by the campaign. Propagandists must aim both to win over the uncommitted and to cause divisions among supporters of the other point of view. They must persuade the public that the adversary stands for war, death, slavery, repression, injustice, and sadistic cruelty. In addition to these suggestions, the propagandist proposes two techniques that were to become often used in Rwanda. The first is to “create” events to lend credence to propaganda. He remarks that this tactic is not honest, but that it works well, provided the deception is not discovered. The “attack” on Kigali on October 4-5, 1990 was such a “created” event, as were others—the reported discovery of hidden arms, the passage of a stranger with a mysterious bag, the discovery of radio communications equipment—that were exploited later, especially during the genocide. The propagandist calls his second proposal “Accusation in a mirror,” meaning his colleagues should impute to enemies exactly what they and their own party are planning to do. He explains, “In this way, the party which is using terror will accuse the enemy of using terror.” With such a tactic, propagandists can persuade listeners and “honest people” that they are being attacked and are justified in taking whatever measures are necessary “for legitimate [self-] defense.” This tactic worked extremely well, both in specific cases such as the Bugesera massacre of March 1992 described below and in the broader campaign to convince Hutu that Tutsi planned to exterminate them. There is no proof that officials and propagandists who “created” events and made “accusations in a mirror” were familiar with this particular document, but they regularly used the techniques that it described.*

¹² See Daily News, 16 March 2000, *Ex-combatants threaten war if ZANU PF loses*, on.

¹³ Thus the strategy had already shown its long-term goal: not merely the winning of the Parliamentary Election but also the return to power of Robert Mugabe in 2002. It can be seen therefore how crucial it was to maintain the land problem over an extended time.

with training and tactics. The leading members of this group of “war veterans” were Joseph Chinotimba and, until his death, Chenjerai Hunzvi.

Hunzvi was a Polish-trained medical doctor who claimed to have played a prominent role in the liberation struggle, although several war veterans have subsequently stated that these claims were false. His ascent to power began in 1997, when he led protests that forced Mugabe to grant war veterans lavish pensions; this despite the findings of the Chidyausiku Commission that he was the most conspicuous perpetrator of fraud upon the War Victims Compensation Fund through his false medical reports. These unbudgeted payments drove up inflation and pushed the economy into a downward spiral. After Mugabe’s defeat in the constitutional referendum, Hunzvi’s “war veterans” were asked to campaign on behalf of ZANU (PF) in the General Election. Hunzvi readily accepted this task, saying: “All revolutions require violence... No-one can stop the revolution we have started.” Prior to the 2000 election, his surgery in Harare was used as a centre for torturing numerous MDC supporters. His campaign to be elected as an MP was characterised by extreme violence. He organised the farm invasions and played a prominent role in the violent by-election campaigns in Marondera West and Bikita West and mayoral elections in Masvingo.

Chinotimba, a war veteran, was a low-level employee in the Harare City Council. He became Hunzvi’s right hand and played a pivotal role in the farm invasions, styling himself the Commander in Chief of Farm Invasions. In November 2000 he led a group of “war veterans” in storming the Supreme Court to protest against the court’s rulings on land reform and to demand the resignation of Chief Justice Gubbay. He accompanied Hunzvi in the campaigns in Marondera West, Bikita West and Masvingo. He repeatedly breached the bail conditions set by the court.

The rise of the “war veterans” to their current position of power can be simply chronicled¹⁴:

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

¹⁴ This outline is taken from the report by the Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum, *Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum (2001), Politically motivated violence in Zimbabwe 2000–2001. A report on the campaign of political repression conducted by the Zimbabwean Government under the guise of carrying out land reform, HARARE: ZIMBABWE HUMAN RIGHTS NGO FORUM.*

comprehensive budget and would be looking for at least Z\$1.5 million per province, a total of Z\$15 million; it would also lobby for a fleet of heavy-duty vehicles to use during the campaign.

At their core, the ZanuPF militias consisted of individuals with experience of organised violence, usually war veterans. The rank and file of the groups was composed largely of unemployed youths who were being paid for their support. Most people believed they were receiving cash on a daily basis, but it is certain that at a minimum they were being paid “in kind” they are given food, drink and accommodation and goods looted from houses, businesses or farms¹⁵.

For the most part, militias were armed with iron bars, sjamboks, axes, pangas, electric wires, bicycle chains. Some groups were in possession of one or more guns, but there were few instances of these being used in day-to-day operations. There were reports of hit-squads being formed for specific missions and these were generally armed. Here it should be noted that the killings of a number of key individuals – David Stevens, Martin Olds, Tichaona Chiminya, etc – was a considerable amplifier of the terror being produced by the campaign of individual physical torture and mass psychological torture. It was presumably the intention behind the strategic killings that the threats accompanying torture – of being killed or family members being killed – were plausible.

The size of the militia groups varied, although between 20-30 was an average figure for the core element in each group. These were supplemented by others during missions and several hundreds of ZanuPF supporters united to sweep through rural areas and carry out beatings. They established operational bases, usually in rural district council offices or buildings owned by ZanuPF members at growth points and also in some urban districts (see Section 8 on statistical data relating to militia). Camps were also established on occupied farms.

Sometimes these bases were little more than meeting points where local ZanuPF supporters congregated regularly, but, in the majority of cases, however, they become informal barracks, where youths were trained, provided with food and drink, and even slept at night. There were allegations that the youths were also being supplied with drugs. People from other areas were sometimes brought to stay at the bases and carry out attacks. The extent of the use of outsiders may have been a reflection of the inability of the team to drum up sufficient locals, but many witnesses believed it is part of a strategy designed to limit identification of the attackers.

Raiders were dispatched from the bases into surrounding communities to hunt down opposition supporters who were either brought back to be tortured, assaulted or intimidated or are brutalised in their homes, together with their families. There were often hundreds of participants in these raids, but there were indications that some may have been coerced into taking part and were not fully committed to violence. Several victims noted that the attackers were very young, possibly even school-going age¹⁶. The mass of the attackers were apparently being rounded up when needed by the militias to boost their impact, but the core members usually carried out the beatings and torture themselves.

¹⁵ This is remarkably similar to the process observed in Rwanda. As the Human Rights Watch report on Rwanda details: *Authorities offered tangible incentives to participants. They delivered food, drink, and other intoxicants, parts of military uniforms and small payments in cash to hungry, jobless young men. They encouraged cultivators to pillage farm animals, crops, and such building materials as doors, windows and roofs. Even more important in this land-hungry society, they promised cultivators the fields left vacant by Tutsi victims. To entrepreneurs and members of the local elite, they granted houses, vehicles, control of a small business, or such rare goods as television sets or computers. Many poor young men responded readily to the promise of rewards. Of the nearly 60 percent of Rwandans under the age of twenty, tens of thousands had little hope of obtaining the land needed to establish their own households or the jobs necessary to provide for a family. Such young men, including many displaced by the war and living in camps near the capital provided many of the early recruits to the Interahamwe, trained in the months before and in the days immediately after the genocide began.*

¹⁶ It is important to note the recruitment of the very young, since this has enormous implications for the longevity of militia groups. Here see *HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH (1994), Easy Prey. Child soldiers in Liberia, NEW YORK: HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH/AFRICA/HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH CHILDREN'S RIGHTS PROJECT.*

The extent to which the day-to-day activities of the militias were under direct control of the ZanuPF leadership was not certain. Nevertheless, the relationship between ZanuPF officials (including candidates) and the militias was strong, suggesting that the groups were implementing a policy under close guidance from members of the party¹⁷. Accounts of financial rewards being offered for carrying out acts of violence are clearly a signal of state involvement and the day-to-day costs of feeding and housing the militia were allegedly being met by ZanuPF candidates and senior party officials.

Regular reports of Central Intelligence Organisation (CIO) agents taking a direct hand in the violence reinforced the perception that the campaign was being led by the highest authorities in government. CIO members made themselves known to a number of victims and were accused of acts of torture, threats and participation in attacks upon MDC members. Members of the CIO were also observed organising the militias and transporting them from one place to another. There were also reports of Police Internal Security and Intelligence (PISI) involvement.

There were indications that individuals from the Zimbabwe National Army (ZNA) whose loyalty to the party has been assumed to be solid were selected and deployed as commanders of the militia, but there was no firm proof of this at the time. There were allegations that members of the army had been sighted at least one militia base: although in plain clothes they were recognised by locals who were themselves former soldiers. On the other hand, there were consistent accounts that the army took a firm hand to quell the violence in the Mount Darwin region in mid-April 2000.

Allegations that the army was giving rudimentary two-day training sessions to the militia were not proven, but there was strong reason to believe that the perpetrators of violence had been given some basic education in torture techniques. Militia in different parts of the country were carrying out beatings in a consistent style, with victims being ordered to lie face down and then being beaten on the backs. Electric wires were frequently used for beatings as were sjamboks and knobkerries. Another common torture was falanga [beating under the soles of the feet] and the use of electric shocks and cigarette burns. On several occasions victims were doused in petrol to burn them. Properties were also frequently petrol bombed.

There was consistency in the methods of psychological torture with victims being issued with similar threats to “cut off your head” and forced to go through similar rituals of humiliation. Forced attendance at the “pungwes” and political rallies inspires mass psychological terror which, in many people’s minds, was reminiscent of the terror inspired during the Gukurahundi campaign in the 1980s¹⁸. There is very clear precedent for the “mass psychological terror” tactics in the Gukurahundi period, which has been excellently documented in the report prepared by the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace and the Legal Resources Foundation¹⁹. It is evident that these tactics were a very unwholesome corruption of the mass mobilising tactics used by the guerilla armies during the Liberation War in the 1970s.

The use of rallies as forms of mass psychological terror has been well-documented in the testimonies of several victims. The following is illustrative, and, as pointed out above, is uncannily similar to the testimonies received in the 1980s:

¹⁷ See Reeler, A.P (2003), *Who should be sanctioned?*, [www.zwnnews.net] for a report on the involvement of government officials and others in the organised violence and torture.

¹⁸ The point about the use of mass psychological terror was made forcefully by 2 independent reports in 2000. Here see *Amnesty International (2000), Zimbabwe: Terror tactics in the run-up to the parliamentary elections, June 2000, LONDON: AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL*; also *IRCT (2000), Organised Violence and Torture in Zimbabwe, 6th June 2000, Copenhagen and Harare, COPENHAGEN & HARARE: IRCT & AMANI TRUST*.

¹⁹ See *Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace & Legal Resources Foundation (1997), Breaking the Silence-Building True Peace: A Report on the Disturbances in Matabeleland and Midlands 1980 to 1988, HARARE: CATHOLIC COMMISSION FOR JUSTICE AND PEACE IN ZIMBABWE & LEGAL RESOURCES FOUNDATION*.

Case 1: LT (May 2000)

*I am a member of the MDC based at (Hestcheth) farm. I had an MDC t-shirt and they came around 11pm and knocked at my door. They were being led by one **Netsai**. They demanded that everyone should attend a rally that evening at our football ground. I complied and when we arrived there we were ordered to sing Zanu (PF) praise songs and to toyi-toyi. They also told us to lie prone and roll over several times. If anyone did not do it to their satisfaction they would assault them. We did this for the whole night until about 8am when we were ordered to go and beat our employer but most of the people refused. This agitated them and they started beating us. During the night they were demanding MDC party cards and t-shirts but we refused to hand them over. I was assaulted on the back several times with a hoe handle. When they wanted to assault me for refusing to go and beat up my employer I managed to escape into my employer's house and they left. They later returned being led by one **Mashonga** demanding money and food. He was clad in army attire and we gave him and his colleague's food. Just before elections they came and forced us to attend a rally at one of the farms. Our employers were forced to give us transport. They accused us of being late and Mashonga, **Norman** and the others started assaulting us. We were ordered to lie prone and were assaulted on the back. We were ordered back home and no rally was held. After that they came several times threatening our employer. I could not go and report for two reasons: 1) the police were not taking any action even if reports were made. 2) I feared victimisation. I sought medication at our local clinic.*

The point to be made here about the involvement of the “war veterans” is that the tactics used in the first phase were wholly similar to those seen in previous eras, probably were delivered by men who had had experience during both previous eras, and provided a training model for all the young men cajoled or dragooned into accompanying the “war veterans”. The “training” was accompanied by a ferocious propaganda campaign, making all the necessary linkages with the Liberation War, and providing a war mentality for an election campaign.

4.1 The Bases

“Bases” are a very important part of the Liberation War rhetoric. The bases were the places from which the guerillas launched operations against the Rhodesian forces and Rhodesian “strong points”, and these latter were frequently farms. They were also the places where training and mobilising occurred, discipline was enforced against “sellouts”, and the places where the young men and women – “mujibas” and “chimwidos” - would report with information and supplies.

The Forum had consistent reports of farms, offices and businesses being used as bases in which to house militia or as meeting points from which raids into surrounding communities were planned and launched. In many of these, the militia were sleeping and being fed and provided with drink, in others they were simply being paid or gathering for transport. Some of the members of the militia were locals, while others were said to be brought from elsewhere to the bases.

Information about the bases came from assault victims who reported their cases to the Forum and in many cases monitors from the Forum were able to independently verify them. The list of bases in the 2000, seen in Appendix 1, was by no means exhaustive. It did not include all the camps on farms which were used as centres for violence against farm workers in particular, nor did it cover every region.

It is important to note that the militia were moved out from some of these places by police or army at one time or another and in some places they were shifted several. In some cases the camps were at buildings traditionally used as polling offices, or they were near to polling stations. This was certain to affect the ability of people in the areas concerned to freely cast their vote. Even if militias had moved on at the time of voting, the buildings themselves were linked to violence in the minds of local residents, and they would obviously fear visiting them.

This is illustrated very well by the statement of one victim who was abducted to a militia base, the notorious Zexcom base in Murehwa²⁰:

Case 2: FM (25 April 2000)

*On the 25th of April, they came to my house, but I had been informed that they were coming. I hid somewhere, and they beat my wife with axe handles. My children saw what happened, but they were not beaten themselves. On the night of the 26th or 27th of April they came again, but I was not there again. My wife told them that I had gone to a nearby village, and they followed me there. They found me on my way home. I was almost home when I bumped into them. This was at about 8 or 9 pm. They only identified me as we were about to cross paths, and they threw a rock at me, which hit me in the mouth. I fell down unconscious. I came around in the hospital. I think they carried me to the nearby bus stop, and then took me to the hospital. They had to take me to the police first, though, so that they could get a police report. They said that I had been assaulted, and the police wrote a letter allowing hospital treatment. I think they took me to the hospital because I was seriously injured. I couldn't walk, and my body was aching. I was treated the next day, and then they took me back to their base at the Zexcom Offices. They took me each day for bandaging until the treatment was over. I was kept at Zexcom from April to mid May. The war vets at the Zexcom offices addressed each other by their Chimurenga names. They promised that if I joined Zanu (PF), they would do away with the MDC cadres, and I would get something after the elections – I would have some proper employment. All I had to do was to tell them the names of all the MDC supporters that I knew. I just told them I had been approached by some people from Harare, who I did not know, and I could tell them their names, but I did not know where they were. In truth, I had recruited a lot of MDC supporters, since I had started campaigning between February and March. Many of them were colleagues of mine at Chitimbe School. The rest of the MDC supporters that were captured had their cards taken and were beaten. The cards that were captured all had my name on them as the person who had distributed them. These people were often beaten up in front of the rally. The one who did this the most was **Zhanda** (Paddington Zhanda, known as Marondera, is the Zanu (PF) Mashonaland East Chairman). He was the one telling the youths "If you see an MDC supporter, you must kill him" (I overheard the war vets at Zexcom saying that he had told them this). Every day the people at Zexcom would be chanting slogans, and every night when they were resting they would sing Chimurenga songs and chant slogans. There were many Zanu (PF) supporters there. Some of them had homes nearby, and would come in every day, whilst others were staying there. Every day groups of 20 to 30 would go out in one direction. The war veterans would do some duties while they were there. During the day there were over 100 of them, and they would take turns to address their people. Some of them were from Nhehweyenbwa. I am from Uzumba, which is just over the river from that place, and I know them. Their names are T Chifamba, Marungire, and Kativu, to name a few. They would come back at about 6 in the evening. They were provided with mealie meal and matemba. I heard some of them saying that their chairman, Mr. Zhanda, gave them money. They did some duties and some of them go to the beer hall, and when they came back, another group would go. This happened every day, but I didn't see who came and went. They said that they were given a lot of money. About once a week they would go for drinking, and they were really happy. It happened many times, and usually if they were drunk they would say, "Our party has lots of money". I overheard some of them saying that they had raped women in Uzumba I heard also that there were people beaten at Zexcom in a building with a big yard and walls around it. Many of them were saying that they had beaten people, and that the MDC people would regret being MDC. They might bring the people to the Zexcom offices, or they might just beat them at home. The police at Murehwa were told, and they said that they could not intervene in political issues. Many cases were reported, but no action was taken. I didn't know who was the leader. They kept me in a small room that they used for keeping clothing in. There was no bed, and I was given one blanket. It was in a small building with 3 or 4 rooms. Often some of them would sleep in the same room as me. I was given very little food – we had two meals a day, of sadza and vegetables, and sometimes matemba as well. I was always locked in. It's like torture... prison would have been better. I had to knock on the window when I needed the toilet. They told me that I could go back to my*

²⁰ This case is taken from the Human Rights Forum report, Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum (2001), *Who was responsible? A consolidated analysis of pre-election violence in Zimbabwe*, HARARE: ZIMBABWE HUMAN RIGHTS NGO FORUM.

village after the elections. They moved me to Musami in early May. I had told them that I was on my way to Musami when they bumped into me – that's where my mother lives. They asked me if I would like to go to Musami, and I said yes, so they took me, but they did not let me see my mother. There were lots of youths at Musami, being led by the war veterans. There were hundreds of them there during the day, but at night there were only 80 to 100 Zanu (PF) people. I attended 4 rallies. Zhandu and (Joel B.) Matiza led one each, and the Chairman and Zanu (PF) members from Marondera addressed the other two. Once Matiza addressed a rally when I was there. He said, "I have offered all schools in Murehwa North \$15 000 for school fees for children of war veterans. I have told the headmasters to nominate 3 children each". There were many people at the rally, which was held at Mabika School. Musami was almost worse than Murehwa. The same system was used there, but the room was very small. We were locked in all the time, unless we were taken out to go beating people. I was given a Zanu (PF) card and a Zanu (PF) data form. They began to trust me a little bit, and thought that I had come over to their side. I was in there, and taken out to go for beatings 5 or 6 times a week. If we went out in the morning, we would come back in the afternoon. They used to board free transport. I went with them to Munamba School, and also to Manjorjo School (along the Marondera Rd). We also went to the villagers surrounding Mabika School. Two or three of them would wear Zanu (PF) t-shirts, with the rest of them wearing MDC t-shirts. If they came across someone, they would greet him with "Chinja!". If he responded positively, they would then beat him. I was given a Zanu (PF) t-shirt. The group was mixed boys and girls, some of whom were quite young (23-25 yrs). They would get most of their information from the headmen. They would ask them whether there were any MDC supporters there (most headmen are Zanu (PF) supporters). The headman would just write out the names and give them to the youths, who would go with the list into the village and look for people. If they found him he was beaten and told to surrender all MDC campaign material. If he did so, he was beaten even more. Every day that they went out, they would beat people. Some people used to stay in the townships during the weekends. The youths would find someone who had just gotten off the bus and say that he was a real MDC supporter from Harare. I saw three guys beaten up like that. I think I must have seen about 100 beatings in total. They would beat anyone, men, women, and children. They thought that I had really changed, and I pretended to be a Zanu (PF) supporter. I was forced to beat about 5 people, all strangers. We were very far from my home area. They were given money to go to the township and drink, so that they would be drunk when they went out beating people, and I was even forced to drink. I don't know how much money they were given, but they always had enough that they were drunk. I think some of them smoked mbanje. When they beat someone, they would chant "Jambanja", which is an MDC slogan, which means fighting with a bully. If they captured an MDC supporter, they would say "nakonoro", which means to beat him until he gets air in him. The operation was called Operation Chatsva ("Destruction"). If you come in a big number, they would force the people to beat each other. If you beat them lightly, then they would beat you. Some of them were intending to kill others, whilst others were just trying to frighten them. If a group had the spirit to kill someone, then I'm sure many were killed. While I was there I heard of one person who was killed in Musami (Rusike). The group, which went there, came back and said that they had heard that the person they had beaten was now dead. They didn't care... they just said that they were going to kill more people. There is a man who was at Musami, brown in complexion, who used to walk with a pistol. He used to often wear a "red card" MDC t-shirt. He is a war veteran called MuChatsva. I could identify him if I saw him. There is also another one called Shorty, who is a leader of the youths. There are many others that I can identify. I was in Musami for longer than I was in the Zexcom offices. I was held captive for about six weeks in all. There were only two of us who had been kidnapped – I left the other one there. He came from Manjorjo School, and he was beaten up and kidnapped after me. He was still under tight security when I left. We were escorted at all times by about 5 or 6 people, even when we went to the toilet. Often they tied us up with a rope while we were in the toilet, so that they could tell we were still there. The rope was tied around our waist or our legs. As they came to trust me, they stopped tying me up when I went to the toilet, and one day I managed to escape from them by running away when I went to the toilet.

This case quite graphically illustrates the operating of the bases and the kinds of activities and actions associated with the bases. There are many other illustrations of this in other cases reported by the Human Rights Forum.

With the completion of the Parliamentary Elections in June 2000, the activities of the militia seemed almost to come to a halt. What was evident was that the violence and the militia had

been worst in the 3 Mashonaland Provinces, and Provinces where the MDC hardly won a seat. Now it may well be the case that the seats were won through electoral fraud, but it is also the case that the violence delivered by the militia had an effect. The MDC mounted 39 electoral petitions following the election, and the use of organised violence and torture was a major component in the petitions²¹.

5. The Second Phase: Training and Recruiting

The second phase was mostly a formal consolidation of the processes involved in the first phase. It was evident from the scanty information available that a degree of training had been given to the young men recruited into the militia groups during the Parliamentary elections. This training was mainly in the nature of modelling through exposure: that is, the youth were exposed to methods of torture, running *pungwes* and rallies, carrying out military-type actions in the community, using mass psychological techniques such as slogans and songs. From the reports this exposure strongly resembled the types of tactics seen both in the Liberation War and also in the Gukurahundi period in the 1980s.

Thus, a core of young men, with varying degrees of experience of organised violence and torture, was created during the Parliamentary elections. As indicated above, it appeared that these groups were disbanded immediately after the elections in June²², but, very shortly after, it was announced by the Government that a national youth training scheme would be set up²³. Border Gezi, the Minister responsible for youth, was tasked with this initiative, and this was significant since evidence from reports given to human rights groups indicated that Gezi had run the entire election campaign in Mashonaland Central Province. This was indicated in the Forum report on the pre-election violence in the 2000 Parliamentary Elections:

Case 3:

According to the MDC candidate for Bindura, John was also a member of a "committee" whose task was to kill him on the orders of Gezi.

"Border Gezi and others had plotted to kill me. There was a meeting at Tendai Hall in Bindura which lasted two hours in early April. There they were drawing up a hit squad and making a list of priorities. They didn't agree at that meeting so they had another one at the Kimba Relief Hotel. This was a four hour meeting. Apparently they finally agreed and high on the list was my head and whoever killed me was to get \$300 000."

The MDC candidate learned of the plan when Tinashe, one of the men who had been assigned the task of killing him, refused to take part and came to warn him of the plan. This person joined the MDC and is himself now in fear of his life because, he says: "I have all the information about Zanu (PF)". The candidate believes his brother was murdered in his place.

²¹ See Amani (2002), *Organised Violence and Torture in the June 2000 General Election in Zimbabwe*, HARARE: AMANI TRUST; Amani (2002), *Neither Free nor Fair: High Court decisions on the petitions on the June 2000 General Election*, HARARE: AMANI TRUST; Amani (2002), *Organised Violence and Torture in the Bye-Elections held in Zimbabwe during 2000 and 2001*, HARARE: AMANI TRUST; Amani (2002), *Heroism in the Dock: Does testifying help victims of organised violence and torture? A pilot study from Zimbabwe*, HARARE: AMANI TRUST.

²² This disbanding was not without acrimony however, and there were stories in the Zimbabwean press of disaffected youths from the militia groups complaining about not being paid or promises not being kept. For example, see the Zimbabwe Independent, 24 May 2002, *Zanu PF militia confront Msika over allowances*.

²³ Again there are uncomfortable similarities with Rwanda. As the Human Rights Watch report on Rwanda details: A government program of civilian self-defense offered a simpler, cheaper, and perhaps equally effective way of mobilizing civilians for eventual action against the "enemy." ...It required citizens to man blockades on roads and to carry out patrols at night.... In late December 1990, a group of university faculty including Vice-Rector Jean-Berchmans Nshimyumuremyi and Professor Runyinya-Barabwiriza proposed that the minister of defense establish a "self-defense" program for all adult men. Citing the adage, "He who wishes for peace prepares for war," the group advocated a population in arms as a way to "assure security" inside the country if the army were occupied in defending the frontiers. It suggested that men be trained locally, within the commune, under the command of soldiers, and that they should particularly learn to fight with "traditional weapons," because they were cheaper than firearms.

Two training camps were set up initially by Border Gezi: one in Mount Darwin and another in Kariba. The Government was unashamed in explaining the curriculum for this training, which would include elements of patriotism, discipline, and para-military training. It was also evident that preference would be given to those youth who had provided support for ZanuPF during the elections. Thus, those who had already been exposed to mass violence were the core recruits for the training. The number of camps has been expanded in recent months, and it is now estimated that there are currently five youth training centres in the country: Guyu in Matabeleland South, Border Gezi in Mashonaland Central, Kamativi in Matabeleland North, and Mushagashi and Dadaya in Midlands province²⁴. The first group of graduates from the training camp formally passed out in November 2001.

One newspaper report has summarised the experience of the youth in these camps²⁵:

... a vocational training centre at Guyu in Matabeleland South province has been turned into a militia training camp. Here, about 100 students who were studying subjects like secretarial studies, business management and carpentry have been forcibly conscripted into the notorious youth brigade - nicknamed "green bombers" because of their green uniforms. The students have also been forced to share their dormitories with another 1 500 recruits. Some of the youths this week said they were promised jobs, only to find themselves undergoing rigorous military drills.

"We are no longer allowed to write letters to our families or receive telephone calls," said one of the youths, who asked not to be named for fear of victimisation.

He said those who tried to leave were assaulted by trainers or punished by being forced to jog distances of up to 50km. One former student, who managed to escape by scaling a fence, said when the college term began on May 2, all the students were told they were now part of the youth brigade and ordered to shave off their hair. He said they were bombarded each day with the ruling party's propaganda, which included hatred for whites.

The training camps have caused concern not only in Zimbabwe²⁶. Another report, from the MDC, puts the figure of the number of youth who have passed through training as very high indeed: 20,000 to 50,000²⁷. However, there are no definitive figures, and, furthermore, it would be nearly impossible to estimate the numbers that might have been trained during the deployment of the youth militia to the bases during the Presidential Election.

During this second phase, which was mostly focused on the Presidential Election, the process conformed to the process described above for the Parliamentary Elections: bases manned by a core of trained persons, often under the control of a senior "war veteran", with active recruiting of supporters, and evidently active training from the core staff. However, this time round, the youth frequently were the active trainers. There seemed to be some experimental trials during the bye-elections that were held in 2001, and there were frequent reports of the youth militia being involved in the violence and torture that accompanied these elections. However, the massive deployment of the youth militia took place in the run-up to the Presidential Elections, and the Political Violence Reports of the Human Rights Forum showed a steep climb in the number of reports being received from June 2001 up to March 2002. In fact, climb in the number of the reports continued for nearly 2 months after the March election.

Shortly after the passing out of the youth militia from the training camps – the first intake "graduated" in November 2001- reports came in of their involvement in organised violence and torture. The following case illustrates this:

²⁴ This information was provided recently in the Zimbabwe Independent, 20 December 2002. The article points out that more training camps are to be commissioned, with a probable budget of Z\$2 billion.

²⁵ Sunday Times, 16 June 2002, "Mugabe's 'green bombers' disgruntled".

²⁶ Amnesty International, Mugabe Opponents Disappear in Apparent Campaign of Terror, May 20, 2002

²⁷ See MOVEMENT FOR DEMOCRATIC CHANGE, Preliminary Report : Second Working Draft Presidential Elections of Zimbabwe 9-11 March 2002.

• **Case 4: Trymore Midzi (23 December 2001)**

Trymore Midzi, the MDC vice chairperson for Bindura district, was abducted from Chipadze Bottle Store by Zanu-PF youths who were assisted by National Service youths. Midzi was attacked with chains, sticks and knives. A post mortem confirmed that Midzi died of multiple bruises, stab wounds, abrasions and a skull fracture sustained during the attack. Nine suspects were arrested including Joseph Washington Mandundu, Zachariah Matuta, Chareka Khumbukani, Emergency Chiwawa, Shepherd Gomo, Lastino Ngulube, Chasi Roy, Cain Kajokoto, Disto Wadi. They were remanded in custody to 11 January 2002.

This was one of the more notorious cases reported by the Human Rights Forum, but there were many others, and immediately raised questions about the nature of the training that these young men had received. As the following recent newspaper report indicates, the early suspicions that recruits are being taught torture techniques and being increasingly confirmed by the recruits themselves²⁸:

"They teach political orientation and history of the liberation struggle," a young man who went to one camp said. "They do teach some skills, like carpentry, but we did lots of military training and physical exercise. We learned songs. In military training we learned methods to interrogate and beat people."

The reasons for their training became increasingly apparent with their deployment into the communities around Zimbabwe, as the following case illustrates:

Case 5: January 2002

Approximately 5000 villagers were force-marched to Lutsha Primary School in Nkayi to attend an all day rally conducted by ZanuPF supporters and war veterans. Buses in the area were also being stopped and ZanuPF cards demanded of the passengers therein. Youths in Nkayi are also being made to attend 're-education' classes. Police are said to be inactive against the war veterans and ZanuPF militia.

As can be seen from this case, the pattern observed during the Parliamentary Elections with the "war veterans" was being repeated around the country.

6. The Third Phase: Deployment into the communities

Although the third phase seemed initially to be wholly concerned with the Presidential Election, it is evident that the militia have remained a cornerstone in the Mugabe regime's strategy for maintaining political control in the aftermath of highly discredited election. During the Presidential Election, the relationship between the militia, both "war veterans and youth militia, and the bases was once again seen. As the Zimbabwe human Rights NGO Forum has commented²⁹:

Reports have shown that most (97) of the bases were established by ZANU PF supporters of militia with a few (24) of them being established with the help of war veterans. The establishment of the bases seemed to have been a calculated move to quell opposition support in the areas where the bases were set up. The mere presence of the bases was enough to intimidate the electorate not to support the opposition. So established were these bases that they had commanders or leaders who were in charge of particular bases. The methods of torture that were often used at these bases point to the fact that the militia was given at least rudimentary training in organised violence. At times the militia groups were made up of youths that did not reside in the area concerned. Youths were brought in from other outside

²⁸ See Mail & Guardian, 19 February 2003, *Living in fear of Mugabe's green bombers*.

²⁹ See Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum (2002), *"Are They Accountable?: Examining alleged violators and their violations pre and post the Presidential Election March 2002"*, HARARE: ZIMBABWE HUMAN RIGHTS NGO FORUM.

areas. This effectively meant that in some cases the victims could not identify their violators because they were unfamiliar to them. Apart from creating difficulties for victims to identify perpetrators, the bringing in of youths from external area may have been used to instil fear in the prospective electorate. Familiarity may not have bred the required fear in victims and thus the bringing in of 'unknown' individuals may have been used to do this. The bringing in of people from other areas can be used to explain the need for the establishment of bases. Since the militia did not reside in the areas that they were operating in they could not gather from their homes whenever the attacks were carried out and they therefore needed somewhere to operate from.

Militia bases were again strategically located around the country, and there evidence showed a similar pattern of establishment: growth points, townships, business centres, resettlement and mining areas. Within these places, bases were located at schools, community halls, farms, council offices, war veterans' offices ZanuPF offices and at times at individuals' residences. Bases were also reported to exist in major cities such as Harare and Bulawayo. A list of bases identified during the Presidential Election from victim statements is shown in Appendix 3. The training camps were identified in some case as being under the control of notorious "war veterans" as an article from the Daily News describes³⁰:

Mushagashe training centre, about 20 kilometres north of Masvingo town, has been turned into a ZanuPF training camp, where scores of youths are being churned out every week. Retired army captain Francis Zimuto, also known as Black Jesus, is leading the training exercise

As was the case in the Parliamentary Elections, some bases were located at places that were later used as polling stations. Some polling stations were even located next to the militia bases. The election's 4,689 polling stations were generally in public places, but were situated alongside ZANU PF militia camps in several areas. The location of bases next to police stations must show, at the least, knowledge on the part of state agents of the existence and operation of these bases, but there is little evidence that any moves were made to disband these groups. Rather there were again many reports that state agents, especially the police, reportedly aided the militia.

- **Case 6: PM (13 January 2002)**

PM together with four members of her family including her mother, aged 60, and her nephew, aged 7, were stopped at a roadblock by ZanuPF militia between Bindura and Madziwa. The militia was dressed in ZanuPF t-shirts and caps and were armed with sjamboks, knobkerries and thick sticks. The group of about 30 youths demanded them to produce their ZanuPF cards. When they told them they did not possess any they ordered PM and her family out of the car and began to push and shove them around. PM's sister was pushed to the ground by one of the youths and sustained a bad bruise on her left side. Her 7-year-old nephew was also harassed. They were told to give very good reasons for not having ZanuPF cards on us failing which it was possible this would be their 'last day on earth'. There were also buses that had been stopped at the roadblock from which all the passengers were being made to disembark. Each person was asked for his or her ZanuPF card. Those that produced a valid party card were allowed to re-board the bus. However, those without harassed and detained while the buses they had been travelling in were allowed to proceed. Some of them were badly beaten. Whilst this was happening, a police vehicle with two police officers in it passed by. They made no attempt to stop and render any assistance but instead hooted and made a ZanuPF fist sign at the militia as they went by. The militia eventually let PM and her family go after they had pleaded with

³⁰ See Daily News, 2 April 2002, 1 000 Flee ZanuPF Terror in Zaka, Gutu.

them and convinced them that they actually were ZanuPF supporters and would purchase party cards as soon as they returned to Harare.'

It was evident from the many reports to the Forum, as well as reports in the press, that the militia were "recruiting" young men and women to the bases, where training would take place in a macabre re-enactment of the Liberation War. The monthly Political Violence Reports of the Forum contain many reports about the bases, both involving the youth militia and the "war veterans".

What is difficult to ascertain from the many reports is the exact relationship between the youth militia and the "war veterans" around the bases. It is also difficult to ascertain the relationship between the youth militia and officials of the state, but there are enough cases to suggest that the actions of the militia were condoned and even directed by officials of the state. The following case reported by the Human Rights Forum indicates the involvement of the CIO and the police, but also a senior government official- Solomon Mujuru – the former commander of the Zimbabwe National Army.

Case 7: LZ (11 February 2002)

LZ was leaving Phillips Farm when he was stopped by 3 men who ordered him back to the farm. He refused but they dragged him into a green Land Rover full of ZanuPF youths. Solomon Mujuru was present and he ordered LZ to get into the car. They searched his bag in the car whilst driving to Goromonzi youth base. Mujuru left and ordered that he be interrogated but not beaten. They questioned him and beat him all night. At one time he fell unconscious. When he came to they burnt him with a flaming Daily News that he had been carrying. On 12 February Mujuru came back with bread. They assured him that they had not beaten him. At about 11am, 2 men who said they were C.I.O then ordered him stand on one leg until he fell. They left and came back at 1pm and took him to Marondera CID Section. At 5pm he was taken to the Police Station and kept there overnight. He collapsed in the cell and the police phoned the C.I.O. who took him to their office where they gave him a drink and tablets. At about 11am they interrogated him again and released him at 2pm, warning him not to report. LZ suffered severe physical torture and has numerous burns on his back and chest. He had been beaten on the head, had a burn on his right ear and is suffering from impaired vision and headaches. His mid finger on his right hand is swollen and painful, and he was beaten on the soles of his feet.

We will return later to the role of the police, because it is clear that the militia could not operate so openly without tacit or explicit support of the authorities, and the police are the primary state organ that could control the militia but have not done so. It is first worth looking at some of the statistical information relating to the militia.

7. Why the "youth"

Since 1980 the demographic character of Zimbabwe has shifted very dramatically. Notwithstanding the depredations of HIV and AIDS, more than 50% of the population is under the age of 18, which means that a very large proportion of the population was not alive during the Liberation War, and has no recollection of either the racism of the previous government nor the effects of colonial policies. Since 1980, education, at least for primary school, has largely been free, but the promises of an education have not been matched in the aspirations of most young Zimbabweans. During the 1900s, under the economic structural adjustment programme voluntarily enforced by the Mugabe regime, the situation worsened considerably, especially for the young and the rural. The proportion of school leavers obtaining jobs has shrunk annually, as has the economy. The reality for most young Zimbabweans is the prospect of leaving school without a job, and little likelihood of getting one. In effect, there has been a huge disaffected population, without any basic allegiance to the philosophy of "liberation", and amenable to the persuasions of any opposition group. And certainly, since the government of the day always bears the responsibility for the misfortunes of the country, this was a group that might well turn against ZanuPF.

In the first phase, described above, the target for the militia strategy was the rural unemployed youth. There were clearly great advantages for this group in joining the militia, and, as has been described in other African settings, much of the recruiting did not have to rely upon force since the excitement and power that came with being associated with the militia was inducement itself³¹. There are good reasons for using the young, as has been described in Liberia:

I think they use kids because the kids don't understand the risks. And children are easier to control and manipulate. If the commanding officer tells a child to do something, he does it. In this society, children are raised to follow instructions.

Similar comments could be made about Zimbabwe. The strength of a patriarchal, commandist society puts young people in a position where they are amenable to control and adult authority. However, this is only part of the story: the susceptibility to authority and control was complimented by excitement and inducements. This too has been seen in other African settings³²:

Food was very scarce; some joined to get food for themselves and their families. Some joined from peer pressure; they saw their friends join. Some joined for adventure. Most of them joined voluntarily. Sometimes they were promised money or told they would learn to drive.

There were many reports that the young men that joined the militia would get jobs, be paid, or get further education. This is evidenced not only by these reports, but also by the reports indicating that the youth were very disgruntled by the failure of ZanuPF to make good on its promises after the Parliamentary Elections and the Presidential Election. In one story carried in the Zimbabwean press, Vice-President Msika was confronted by angry youth demanding payment for their "support" during the Presidential election³³.

"We worked for you and you should pay us because we sacrificed our lives campaigning for the party in dangerous conditions but some of the people who were supposed to pay us put the money to their own use," the youth said.

Loyalty is not merely bought by inducements however. The militia, and certainly the adults in the "war veterans" and ZanuPF Youth, must all have been aware that many of the activities in which they were engaged were criminal, but the rationale – another "Chimurenga" – helped overcome many of the militia's scruples. For the young though, there was no prima facie allegiance to the rhetoric of the Liberation War: these were the stories of the previous generation. Thus, other methods must have come into play, and the most likely method was compulsion, which operated in two ways.

Both methods use well-known psychological techniques. The first revolves around creating a forced commitment: quite simply, get someone to participate in an act and they will be more likely to continue to do so. The process of commitment will be stronger if such commitment is done publicly, and putting young men in the situation where they commit actual violence is well known as a form of recruiting in many countries, as has been shown in Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Rwanda. This will be more effective if allied to a strong psychological induction process. The second method also relies upon compliance, and is produced again through exposure to violence: witnessing the torture of others for their political or religious beliefs will produce a strong self-protection motive, identification with the aggressor, and at the least compliance to the aggressor.

³¹ See again HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH (1994), *Easy Prey. Child soldiers in Liberia*, NEW YORK: HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH/AFRICA/HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH CHILDREN'S RIGHTS PROJECT.

³² See again HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH (1994), *Easy Prey. Child soldiers in Liberia*, NEW YORK: HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH/AFRICA/HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH CHILDREN'S RIGHTS PROJECT.

³³ See the Zimbabwe Independent, 24 May 2002, *ZanuPF militia confront Msika over allowances*.

However, it is probable that the strongest motive for young men, and occasionally young women, to associate with the militia was community pressure, and some evidence for this comes from the reports on the organised violence and torture by the Human Rights Forum. Analysis of the perpetrators shows a very high proportion of family names amongst the perpetrators; 608 names were given in this report³⁴. If one sorts through the names given as the worst perpetrators, and leaves in the data only names that match with another, then one is left with a total of 322 names for which one other match can be found. These names can be examined to see whether they have any geographical correspondence; that is, do the names match and do they come from the same area.

On the first run – merely examining the data for names that match – the data generated 322 names in total, which was 53% of the total number of serious perpetrators. As can be seen from Table 1 (over), the vast majority of these were ordinary ZanuPF supporters, but the percentage was markedly higher than those previously observed for ZanuPF supporters as a category.

Table 1.
Matching names only of the most serious perpetrators.
(n=322)

Category	Number	%
ZanuPF (Supporter)	282	87.5
War Veterans	9	2.8
CIO	3	0.9
Government official	2	0.6
MP	5	1.6
ZanuPF (Youth)	3	0.9
Zimbabwe Prison Service	1	0.3
Zimbabwe Republic Police	17	5.3

The second run – matching names and places – was more interesting, and, as can be seen from Table 2, came up with a list of 108 names that were matched with places. The matchings can be seen in Appendix 4. As can be seen, there are changes in both the number of categories and in the constitution of the categories, but ZanuPF supporters remain still the largest grouping by far. It is within this category that militia are likely to be found.

Table 2.
Matching names and places of the most serious perpetrators.
(n=108)

Category	Number	%
ZanuPF (Supporter)	97	89.9
CIO	2	1.9
MP	2	1.9
War Veteran	2	1.9
ZanuPF (Youth)	1	0.9
Zimbabwe Republic Police	4	3.7

However, it is interesting that there is a match between names, but not between the same person, and places. For example, in Mberengwa, the name “Hove” comes up 9 times, and since it is commonly known that Rugare and Joram Gumbo (both MPs) are also related to the Hove’s, thus we end up with 11 names matching in one area. Staying with the Mberengwa example, we thus have 11 names, with 2 MPs and a former Minister (Richard Hove) who is also a councillor. Here, it seems very plausible that there was a family and community process of recruitment into the militia and the consequent violence, and it becomes important to examine this further. This cannot be done with the data available, but would undoubtedly be adequately tested by a commission of inquiry.

The suggestion that recruiting to the militia operated through family and community pressure is perhaps different to other settings. The point here is that not all situations in which militia

³⁴ See Reeler, A P (2003), *Who should be sanctioned?* [www.zwnnews.com].

operate are the same. Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Rwanda are distinct in many ways. Recruitment of the youth in the first two countries was in the context of civil wars, involving massive internal disruption and destruction of communities: children and young people were dragged in by force of circumstances, although their individual motives for joining an armed group may have varied greatly, as suggested above. In Rwanda, there was a deliberate process of recruitment along ethnic lines, backed by a ferocious propaganda campaign to foster recruitment.

Zimbabwe does not have either a civil war or a major ethnic conflict at present, and hence recruiting seems to have followed a different pattern: using party loyalties and family allegiance, a core of militia was created capable of exerting peer and community pressure on others to join the militia. This was then bolstered by inducements – money, jobs, and even excitement. The final stage was making youth service compulsory, where no access to education and training courses offered by the state could be undertaken without having attended a national service training programme and receiving certification. This national service might be termed the “normalisation” of the militia³⁵.

Clearly there is insufficient evidence to draw any but the most tentative conclusions here, but the tentative evidence is disturbing and deserves a commission of inquiry. It should also be borne in mind that there has rarely been any investigation of militia ahead of genocide or politicide for obvious reasons, and all evidence to date has been derived from situations after the event.

8. Statistical data on militia

Unfortunately few of the reports on Zimbabwe provide detailed enough information on the breakdown of the perpetrators by category other than gross political affiliation, and thus it is hard to determine trends in any statistical fashion. However, there are a number of reports that provide sufficient information in order to examine trends and the like.

Regarding the identification of the perpetrators of organised violence and torture, virtually no reports show the changes over time in this, part from very gross indices. One report, relying wholly on medical examinations and affidavits, showed that “war veterans” and youth militia were a very significant proportion of the total (33%). This is shown in Table 1 below.

Table 3.

Perpetrators identified by victims.

(Taken from Amani Trust, “Beating your opposition. Torture during the 2002 Presidential Election in Zimbabwe”, 25 June 2002)

Perpetrator	Percentage
ZanuPF supporters	46%
Youth militia	29%
Zimbabwe Republic Police	12%
MDC	5%
War veterans	4%
Zimbabwe National Army	2%
Unknown	2%

However, the assertion here has not been that the youth militia were the organisers of the organised violence and torture rather than they were the “foot soldiers” under the control of other leaders (see above). In 2000, these were assumed to be “war veterans”, and this assumption seems to be held by a recent analysis of the worst perpetrators³⁶. This recent analysis showed relatively stable numbers of perpetrators being reported per category – MP, police, “war veterans”, etc – between the two elections, but, interestingly, when the data was sorted according to frequency of mention, then “war veterans” and ZanuPF youth were much less frequently mentioned. “War veterans” however were a very high percentage of the top 50

³⁵ There can be little doubt that the national service training is primarily para-military and involves ideological components. Here see the London Sunday Times, 9 February 2003, *Mugabe bends minds in hatred camps*. See also Zimbabwe Independent, 20 December 2002, *Government is setting up more national youth service training centres across the country as it steps up measures to institutionalise its militias*

³⁶ See Reeler, A P (2003), *Who should be sanctioned?* [www.zwnnews.com].

worst offenders, and some “war veterans” were the most frequently mentioned of all. When ZanuPF MPs, many of whom make much of their “war veteran” credentials, are added to the “war veteran” category, then these two categories make up 15% of the total of the worst perpetrators mentioned by victims.

It thus is not difficult to see a link between the youth militia and their likely leaders. In fact, given the decision by the Mugabe government to constitute both “war veterans” and the youth militia as official auxiliary forces, this link must be denied rather than proven. Here the similarities with the use of militia in Rwanda become particularly chilling (see footnote 16 above).

Another interesting use of the data is the examination of the use of the bases and their association with militia and the violence. Using the reports of the Human Rights Forum, it is possible to see some trends and some changes over time. As is seen from Table 2 overleaf, there are some marked changes. It is clear that no strong statement can be made about the overall number of bases operating at any time, but it can be seen that there is a reported increase in the number of bases identified in the reports of victims. There is nearly a four-fold increase in the number of bases, which clearly correlates with the many reports from human rights groups and the increased number of gross human rights violations attributed to the youth militia. It is also evident that there is near-national spread of the bases: there are no reports from Matabeleland South, but reports of bases from every other Province in Zimbabwe.

Table 4.

Number of bases identified by victims of gross human rights violations.

	2000	2002
Bulawayo	0	14
Harare	3	3
Manicaland	3	2
Mashonaland Central	12	26
Mashonaland West	4	18
Mashonaland East	12	21
Masvingo	0	3
Matabeleland North	0	30
Midlands	5	6
Total:	39	123

A considerably more sinister change is reflected in the actual positioning of the militia bases, and, as can be seen from Table 3 below, there was a very dramatic shift towards using schools as bases. The use of official buildings – government offices, council offices, etc – and farms does not change very much, but the shift to schools is dramatically large.

Table 5.

Positioning of militia bases in Parliamentary [2000] and Presidential Elections [2002].

	Schools	Official building	Public building	Farm
2000	0	22%	61%	17%
2002	41%	18%	19%	22%

The use of schools must be read together with the blatant campaign to target teachers as potential MDC supporters. As was seen in an earlier report of the Forum, teachers became increasingly targets during 2001 and 2002³⁷. The effects upon the personal lives of the teachers and their families are only part of the story, as the attacks and subsequent displacement had powerful effects upon their pupils and the communities in which the schools

³⁷ Here see *Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum (2002), Teaching them a lesson. A report on the attack on Zimbabwean teachers, HARARE: ZIMBABWE HUMAN RIGHTS NGO FORUM.*

were placed³⁸. Closure of schools and the consequent disruption of pupils' education was one obvious consequence, but added to this was the effect of pupils witnessing the humiliation and torture of their teachers.

Case 8: 16 January 2002

Abais Dambuza, the headmaster of Simbaravanhu Secondary School in Bikita, was beaten up in front of the children at his school. Suspected ZanuPF youths beat up the Simbaravanhu headmaster for supporting the MDC. He was stripped naked and the group of about 40 people took turns to assault him with iron bars and sticks. The headmaster later took refuge in Masvingo.

Case 9: 21 June 2002

At Mapanzure Secondary School in Masvingo, suspected war veterans led a rowdy mob of ZanuPF supporters in an alleged attack on houses belonging to teachers suspected of supporting MDC. The teachers were ordered to leave the area by the group that later went into a number of teacher's houses, seizing all their property before confiscating office and house keys. The property was thrown out of the houses and the teachers were told to leave the area within twenty-four hours. The incident was reported at Muchakata Police Station; however no arrests have yet been made.

There was also the consequence of pupils being "taught" political correctness, and the very high possibility of them experiencing considerable fear if their parents were teachers or supporters of the MDC. It is not difficult to appreciate all the possible consequences of targeting teachers and using schools as places of torture and political indoctrination. Whilst this might be acceptable in the old style communist regimes, it is wholly out of place in the modern political dispensations that favour democracy: it is even out of place in the former communist bloc countries!

9. The police and the militia

From the very beginnings of the crisis in February 2000, it was evident that the role of the police was critical. By acting proactively within the terms of the Police Act and the Constitution, the Zimbabwe Republic Police (ZRP) in a position to easily curb public violence and control violent groups. However, it is abundantly clear from all the evidence that the ZRP have shown a distressing tendency to inaction and even partisan action. The various reports of the Human Rights Forum document very well the movement of the ZRP in recent years to active involvement in the organised violence and torture itself³⁹. As the Forum commented in 2001:

In this respect, we reiterate our concern over the failure by the government to ensure that the police carry out their duties in terms of the Constitution of Zimbabwe and the Police Act. During the year, the failure by the police to provide protection to victims of gross human rights violations was a continuing cause for concern. Partisan policing must end and all Zimbabweans must be afforded the equal protection of the law.

³⁸ The Daily News, for example, carried stories on the attacks on teachers. On 20 June 2001, the newspaper reported that 32 teachers had been fired and 8 headmen deposed in Buhera by war vets and ZanuPF supporters for supporting the MDC. Later, the same newspaper carried a story on a report from the Progressive Teachers Union of Zimbabwe that teachers forced to pay protection fee, with 107 000 affected, and thousands had been reported kidnapped or raped (Daily News, 5 September 2002).

³⁹ See the various conclusions and recommendations in the following reports: *Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum (1999), A Consolidated Report on the Food Riots 19–23 January 1998, HARARE: ZIMBABWE HUMAN RIGHTS NGO FORUM; Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum, (1999), Organised Violence and Torture in Zimbabwe in 1999, HARARE: ZIMBABWE HUMAN RIGHTS NGO FORUM; Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum (2000), Organised Violence and Torture in Zimbabwe in 2000, HARARE: ZIMBABWE HUMAN RIGHTS NGO FORUM; Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum (2001), Organised Violence and Torture in Zimbabwe in 2001, HARARE: ZIMBABWE HUMAN RIGHTS NGO FORUM.*

However, despite these reports chronicling well the spiralling down of the ZRP into a wholly partisan force, they do not show clearly the linkages between the role of the police and the militia. However, some reports have examined the linkages, and, in particular, report of the Legal Resources Foundation – *Justice in Zimbabwe* – chronicles well the development both of the partisan behaviour as well as the placement of “war veterans” in positions of authority in the ZRP. We can merely quote from this report to illustrate the point:

After the General Election the police force became increasingly partisan in favour of the ruling party. Police and army personnel were reported to have attacked people in urban areas to punish them for voting for the MDC. Police officers seen reading independent newspapers were regarded as disloyal; those who tried to enforce the law on a non-partisan basis were transferred or demoted; and some senior officers left in disgust over the political abuse of the police force. One senior officer who took action to save a foreign businessman's enterprise from “war veterans” was told to pack his bags and report to a police station. To justify his purge of senior officers, Commissioner Chihuri alleged that there were reactionary elements in the force, remnants of the Rhodesian Selous Scouts and the British South Africa Police. In July 2001 he told a government-controlled newspaper that police officers thought to support opposition political parties would be sacked; an undisclosed number of officers have already been dismissed on these grounds. “War veterans” in the police force received rapid promotion and more were recruited into the force. In March 2001 it was reported that more than 300 war veterans were promoted, some of whom were said to be illiterate. A number of these war veterans have been placed in effective charge of rural police stations. Selective enforcement of the law seems to have become frequent in political cases, with the police arresting persons connected with the MDC for offences such as inciting or committing public violence, but ignoring similar offences committed by ZANU (PF) supporters. The police regularly carry out raids on MDC party offices and arrest MDC members on apparently flimsy charges.

What is of consequence here is the evidence that there were decidedly suspicious interactions between the militia – whether “war veterans”, youth militia, or ZanuPF youth – and officials of the state – whether police, CIO, MPs, and others. This ranges from quite open assistance by the state officials to the militia, as the case below illustrates, to rather more covert and worrying assistance:

Case 10: WM (9 February 2002)

WM was assaulted by war veterans who asked him to produce a ZanuPF membership card. When he was unable to produce it he was labeled a sell-out. WM was then taken to the ZanuPF base at Jaji. He was taken there by a police officer who was using a police vehicle. He was locked up in a room by the police officer. Other suspected MDC supporters were also brought there and locked up. The group was then taken to Chombira police station where they were locked up and detained overnight. WM managed to escape the following morning. He sustained injuries to his ribs and right hand. He managed to identify one of his assailants, Usayi, who works at Chikurubi Prison. Usayi is the one who assaulted him the most.

The covert complicity between the various players is more worrying in other ways, since it avoids identification of the militia in many actions, and more strongly suggests an organised interaction between the police, for example, and the militia. This is illustrated by the case below:

Case 11: RM (16 June 2002)

RM was assaulted by people clad in police uniforms. Suspects that they are youths at Border Gezi training centre. They were using baton sticks

to assault him all over the body except for his head and his chest. Client was alleged to be holding a post within the MDC hierarchy and that he was going to receive a truck from the opposition party. 15 people came to the school where he stays. They were all armed with rifles and asked client what his name was and what post he held within the MDC. When he denied that he held any post, he was ordered to lie down and was assaulted. He was left for dead. The youth barred anyone who wanted to render assistance to client who could not even walk to the hospital. Client's wife and child witnessed the assault and escaped through the window. Client couldn't identify anyone amongst the group. Case was not reported.

It gets considerably more serious when there is interaction between the security agencies – police and CIO – the militia, and the justice machinery, as the case below illustrates, for then there is no escape for the ordinary citizen, and forced compliance with the ZanuPF agenda is inevitable.

Case 12: (1 March 2002)

Client's home was burnt down on the 17th of June 2002 by ZanuPF youths who were under the leadership of B. Makuve (war vet). Client's two roomed house and one thatched house worth \$600 000 perished. The police took no action. He was forced to flee his home because of some threats from ZanuPF youths and war veterans. All these threats affected him mentally and physically. Client was assaulted by a group of war veterans. He was a youth chairman at Ward Level for the MDC. Was at the local shops with a friend when he was struck on the head with a brick and fell down. They men disappeared from the scene. The perpetrator is by the name Nomore Hokonya who stays in the neighbourhood. Was denied medication at first but given pain killers only. On 26th May 2002, the client and his friend were taken by police for contravening the POSA. They were held at Buhera Police Station for four days, while in cells. These 4 days were some of the hardest ones the client had ever encountered in his life. They were called one by one into the torturing cells where client was told to strip off all his clothes and lie on his stomach for the heavy lashings with baton sticks and naked wires with nuts at the end. The war veterans were directing the orders to the riot police and CID for the torture mainly because his colleagues were of the opposition faction who has shaken everyone even the top officials of the ruling party. They were not given food or medical aid for the injuries sustained. Client even urinated blood for about 5 days but the officials were adamant not to have him treated. On the 30th May 2002, they were taken to court on allegations of contravening POSA. Client was charged and labelled against for committing murder, accounts, attempted one, 3 rape cases, H.B, armed robberies, arson to mention but a few. There were no victims, no witnesses to testify that the victims had committed these false allegations - these allegations were all imposed on them for being supporters of the opposition and being denied the right to claim their stolen vote of March 2002. In the court were served with 24 days in remand. In remand life was again sour for them because they were regarded as dangerous citizens/ devils. The prison cells were overcrowded and food was little. They were then given bail on the 12th of June. Their bail was then paid on the 17th of June 2002 and they were delayed only to be released at around 9pm. Officials refused to give them travelling warrants from Rusape so they walked from Rusape to Buhera. Because of the bail condition they had to leave Buhera fearing the danger and riot that could be caused by the police. Client went to the headquarters for assistance as they had many problems with shelter, food, medical aid etc. Things did come to client's expectations as they were from prison and had no fixed decent place to stay. Client feels his life is still threatened as he is now a destitute and a refugee in his own country. Whilst they were in remand, client's wife was beaten up and

forced to flee her home to seek her refuge in Bulawayo with her young sister. She miscarried due to beatings from the riot. Client was told that his wife had to seek medical attention from a private doctor and the bills are not yet paid; only consultation fees were paid. She also wrote a letter saying their young son was sick (chivanhu). She also said life has become so harsh. She was forced to stop her career as a temporary teacher because she is an MDC activist.

10. The “rape” problem

The association between militia groups and rape is well established, and has been reported widely from many countries undergoing civil wars of internal upheavals⁴⁰. However, as well as the problem might be known, there are considerable difficulties in documenting rape for a wide number of obvious reasons, and this is especially so whilst the violence is still continuing. There are also some difficulties in determining various categories of rape, although it must be said that rape, irrespective of the motive of the perpetrator, is the same for women: it matters little whether the rape was politically or personally motivated. However, it is nonetheless important to categorise different form of rape, for the intentions behind rape are an important clue to the nature of the violence and whether the sexual violence is part of planned programme as in Bosnia or Rwanda.

There are four broad categories that can be distinguished here:

- Genocidal rape where the intention is to destroy an ethnic or political group;
- Political rape, where there is intention to use sexual violence against women as a tool to punish individuals, families, or communities; or to create fear in individuals, families, and communities; or to force individuals, families, and communities to accept a particular political power;
- Forced concubinage, where women are forced into sexual relationships for their and their families survival, usually occurring during wars, civil wars, or in situations of massive internal conflict;
- Opportunistic rape, which usually occurs during wars and the like, where military personnel or militia take advantage of the destabilised situation and lack of civilian control to rape women.

There is no assertion here that the first category has been found in contemporary Zimbabwe, although there are assertions that this might have occurred during the Gukurahundi period in the 1980s. However, there have many reports of rape since February 2000, and these reports illustrate all the latter three categories. It is worth firstly noting that women have not been spared from torture during the violence that has occurred since February 2000. One study, of commercial farm workers, showed firstly a very high prevalence of torture, but also that women were a substantial percentage (42%) of the total⁴¹. Where women and girls are not exempt from torture, then rape is more probable.

The prevalence of political rape is unknown, but several reports quite clearly indicate political rape has occurred. The rape described over is clearly politically motivated, and related to the victim's perceived allegiance to the MDC.

⁴⁰ See Human Rights Watch (1996), *Shattered Lives. Sexual Violence during the Rwanda Genocide and its Aftermath*, NEW YORK: HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH. As this report notes: "During the Second World War, some 200,000 Korean women were forcibly held in sexual slavery to the Japanese army. During the armed conflict in Bangladesh in 1971, it is estimated that 200,000 civilian women and girls were victims of rape committed by Pakistani soldiers. Mass rape of women has been used since the beginning of the conflict in the Former Yugoslavia. Throughout the Somali conflict beginning in 1991, rival ethnic factions have used rape against rival ethnic factions. During 1992 alone, 882 women were reportedly gang-raped by Indian security forces in Jammu and Kashmir. In Peru in 1982, rape of women by security forces was a common practice in the ongoing armed conflict between the Communist Party of Peru, the Shining Path, and government counterinsurgency forces. In Myanmar, in 1992, government troops raped women in a Rohingya Muslim village after the men had been inducted into forced labor. Under the former Haitian military regime of Lt. Gen. Raoul Cédras, rape was used as a tool of political repression against female activists or female relatives of opposition members".

⁴¹ See Amani (2002), *Preliminary Report of a Survey on Internally Displaced Persons from Commercial Farms in Zimbabwe*, HARARE: AMANI TRUST.

Case 13: TM (11 March 2002)

On 11/03/02 a group of youths went to the house of T.M. in Gandanzara Village and burnt two of the huts at the homestead and assaulted the couple with sjamboks. Her husband ran away on 12/03/02, leaving T.M. with a new baby. On 14/03/02, six men returned to T.M.'s house at 02.00h. She was asked why she had not left yet and threatened to rape her. She was then gang-raped by four of the men. After the assault they told T.M. that they would return the next day and kill her if she was still there. She then fled to Harare. On clinical assessment 2 months after the event she was very tearful and admitted to major sleep disturbance with difficulty in falling asleep and early morning wakening. She expressed anxiety about HIV and pregnancy, and was concerned about her lower abdominal pain and abnormal vaginal discharge. On examination she had mild pelvic inflammatory disease, which was treated and she had psychiatric counselling, and counselling for HIV and pregnancy tests, which were subsequently done. On psychiatric examination two months after the trauma she had recurrent intrusive thoughts of the traumatic events and had recurrent dreams of the same. She reported having feelings of reliving the trauma at times and also had flashbacks. She related that she tried to avoid thinking about the traumatic events and going to places that aroused recollections of the trauma. She had lost interest in previously pleasurable activities. Her sleep was disturbed by nightmares and she admitted to poor concentration and had an exaggerated startle response. She was worried that she may have contracted HIV as a result of the rape. Mental state examination revealed a lady who looked older than her stated age, who had a depressed mood and admitted to suicidal ideas. She had had thoughts of hanging herself or taking poison. She had insomnia, poor appetite, loss of energy, loss of interest and feelings of hopelessness and helplessness. She also had auditory hallucinations –hearing voices saying the things that her attackers were saying when they were raping her. The voices were not those of the attackers, they just repeated the same words. A diagnosis of post traumatic stress disorder and major depressive disorder was made and management included antidepressants and psychotherapy.

It should not be thought that sexual violence is confined to women, although it is rarely reported that men are sexually assaulted. The following case is thus unusual, but illustrates sexual violence aimed at both men and women, and seems a combination of both political and opportunistic rape.

Case 14: AG (2 January 2002)

AG was abducted from his home at night by 4 men and taken in a car to a farm (thought to be called 'Chidikamwedzi' in the MZB forest). He was beaten with sticks all over his body, particularly on his buttocks and put with a group of about 50 others who are made to work in the fields and deprived of proper food. He was forced to have sex with a woman whilst the others were watching. They were also forced to watch war veterans having sex with some of the women in the group and men were made to have sex with other men. He was kept at the base for 2 weeks then they took him and left him on the road to Centenary. He found his way home, but fearing for his life he sought refuge in Harare. His wife has now joined him and tells him that his house has been burnt down. AG was very tearful and disturbed at the interview, had bad chest pains and an STD.

The issue of forced concubinage has generated enormous controversy in Zimbabwe during the past year. With both young men and women being forced to attend meetings at militia bases, there have been continuous allegations of young women being forced to undergo intercourse. In a parody of the Liberation War, women have been forced to live at the bases and provide cooking and other domestic duties for the men. This has led to one highly

publicised protest by the mothers of young women, and continual comment in the pages of the local press⁴².

It is apparent that sufficient evidence exists to raise concerns about the militias and rape in all the categories described above, and, given the enormous problems in documenting rape and in women being able to make reports about rape, this becomes one of the most urgent areas for a commission of inquiry⁴³.

11. The current situation

The militia remain deployed throughout the communities of Zimbabwe, both urban and rural. Training camps have been increased, and there have increased intakes for all camps. The reports of militia-driven violence are increasing, but the most sinister development in the current time frame is the involvement of militia in food related activities. There are now numerous reports of militia determining who shall have access to food and other scarce commodities. This has been a feature of all the recent reports of the Food Security Network (FOSENET), an alliance of NGOs concerned with the humanitarian crisis. In their most recent report, FOSENET makes this comment⁴⁴:

Reported political interference in commercial sales has also increased compared to November reports, with reports of youth militias and police controlling food queues also making decisions on access or claiming preferential access for some. The reported control by police of food queues for commercial supplies appears to have been a response to the tensions generated by scarcities, but has also brought increased report of political bias through militias. Political barriers have superseded cost as the major reported barrier to accessing commercial supplies.

Similar comments were made in the November 2002 report issued by FOSENET, but this report did not identify militia as primary offenders, rather making the comment that there was political interference with food access in 38% of the districts surveyed⁴⁵. There are also allegations that the militia are being given preferential access to food and other scarce commodities, and that they have hence become deeply involved in black market activities.

This adds a whole new dimension to the already serious problems, and raises the concerns about possible genocide. Whilst this may seem a little dramatic, it should be borne in mind that genocide, as defined by the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Genocide, does include the withholding of access to crucial vectors of support under the definition of genocide. Amongst the other acts or behaviours that constitute genocide, the Convention includes “*deliberately inflicting conditions of life calculated to destroy a group*”, and this includes the deliberate deprivation of resources needed for the group’s physical survival, such as clean water, food, clothing, shelter or medical services. Here it should also be pointed out that conspiracy to commit genocide is as punishable under the Convention as actually committing genocide, so it becomes very important to disentangle ZanuPF merely condoning the militia interfering with food access from actually encouraging this. Here evidence that the government and ZanuPF are taking active steps to control the militia or disband the militia would be necessary to rebut the view that they are encouraging them.

⁴² See Daily News, 16 April 2002, *Women vow to expose sexually abusive political thugs* ; see also Daily News, 5 December 2002, *Women protest against abuse in Zanu PF camps*

⁴³ These concerns have already been raised by Amnesty International. See *Amnesty International, Zimbabwe: Assault and sexual violence by militia*, 5 April 2002.

⁴⁴ See *NGO Food Security Network (2003), Community Assessment of the Food Situation in Zimbabwe, December 2002 / January 2003*, HARARE: FOSENET.

⁴⁵ See *NGO Food Security Network (2002), Community Assessment of the Food Situation in Zimbabwe November 2002*, HARARE: FOSENET.

12. Conclusions and Recommendations

It is evident that a strong case can be made, albeit on the partial information available, that the militia area significant threat to peace and security in Zimbabwe, and furthermore that a strong *prima facie* case can be made for the militia's deployment being state-condoned and state-controlled.

A strong case can be made that ZanuPF and Robert Mugabe have been using militia groups to influence elections and maintain political power. It is argued that land reform was and is a pretext for a variety of unlawful activities, but most importantly as a cover for the moving around the country of militia groups. This strategy can be seen most clearly during the two major elections that have taken place since February 2000, but it is evident that the recourse to using land reform has had to be maintained outside of elections. This is mainly due to the fact that the strategies for winning elections have been very qualified successes, resulting in a strong parliamentary opposition, and continued legal threat through election petitions in the Zimbabwean courts, international repudiation, and the near melt-down of the economy due to massive misappropriation of the fiscus in the efforts to maintain power. The only strategy remaining to ZanuPF is the use of the land issue internationally and the continuance of the policy of forced compliance via the militia internally.

Sophisticated as this strategy has been, and it continues to befuddle senior African political leaders even today, there is sufficient evidence to confront all with an alternative hypothesis: this is not about land, but about political power, and the use of militia is the crucial component in the strategy to hold onto political power. However, the strategy is dangerous in the extreme, and there are many signs that the beast is no longer leashed.

Since there is no evidence that the Mugabe regime has taken any credible steps to deal with the militia, it is therefore a matter of urgency that the international community take strong steps to act upon this situation. The following would seem to be the minimum steps required from the international community:

- ***Demand the immediate removal by the government of Zimbabwe of all statutes of impunity in order to give the strongest signal that organised violence and torture shall be repudiated, and to signal commitment to the rule of law;***
- ***Demand the immediate disbanding of all militia groups – the youth militia, the “war veterans”, and ZanuPF youth;***
- ***Demand that the Zimbabwe Republic Police take immediate action to take control of the civilian situation in order to ensure that all violence ceases, that all cases of public violence are immediately investigated, and that all investigations into organised violence and torture take place with urgency;***
- ***Demand the setting up of an international commission of inquiry into the operations of the militia;***
- ***Demand the setting up of another international commission of inquiry into the allegations of widespread sexual violence against women, and this commission should be women-driven;***
- ***Failing any response from the government of Zimbabwe to these demands that the international community insist that the matter be placed before the forthcoming session of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, meeting in Geneva.***

To delay now, especially in the face of the massive humanitarian crisis in Zimbabwe, will be a dereliction of international responsibility, and a total abrogation of the duties required by responsible nations under the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant of Civil and Political Rights, the United Nations Convention Against Torture, and the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Genocide to mention but a few. The presence of outlaw bands is always a significant threat to peace, not merely within a nation, but for all the surrounding nations. Sovereignty must always be respected in responsible

nations, but there are times when the international community must seriously question the limits of national sovereignty: sometimes good neighbours do and must complain.

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Appendix 2

Militia bases identified in 2000 Parliamentary Elections

Province	Constituency	Base place
Mashonaland Central	Shamva	Rural District Council Office
Mashonaland Central	Mount Darwin North	Homestead of Chief Gomo
Mashonaland Central	Centenary	Farm Health Scheme offices
Mashonaland Central	Centenary	Shop owned by Border Gezi
Mashonaland Central	Bindura	Feathers Inn, Manhenga
Mashonaland Central	Bindura	Sashi Farm
Mashonaland Central	Mount Darwin Centre	Bus terminus
Mashonaland Central	Madziwa	Building owned by Nicholas Goche
Mashonaland Central	Mazoe East	Nzvimbo Guest house
Mashonaland Central	Glendale	Council Beer Hall, Tsvungubve township.
Mashonaland Central	Guruve	Council Beer Hall
Mashonaland Central	Lower Guruve	ZanuPF offices, Bakasa Shopping Centre
total Mash Cent	12	
Mashonaland East	Mutoko	Community Hall, Mutoko Country Club
Mashonaland East	Mutoko South	Corner store township,
Mashonaland East	Mutoko	Nyadire Mission Farm.
Mashonaland East	Murehwa South	St Paul's Mission, Musami.
Mashonaland East	Murehwa North	Muparadzi grinding mill, Mukurazhizha
Mashonaland East	Murehwa	ZexCom
Mashonaland East	Murehwa	Fault Farm, Marimatombo.
Mashonaland East	Chikomba	Sadza beer hall
Mashonaland East	Chikomba	Tatenda restrooms.
Mashonaland East	Goromonzi	Zhanda Farm.
Mashonaland East	Marondera	Nehanda Hall.
Mashonaland East	UMP	Community hall, Nakiwa.
total Mash East	12	
Midlands	Mberengwa	Texas Farm
Midlands	Mberengwa	Bara Farm,
Midlands	Gokwe	Rural District council offices, Gokwe centre
Midlands	Gokwe North	Council offices, Mutora Nembudziya growth point.
Midlands	Gokwe East	Home of ZanuPF candidate, Mrs Buka, a headmistress.
total Midlands	5	
Manicaland	Mutasa	Camp at Gatsi Township.
Manicaland	Inyati Mine	Base near to the police support unit Manicaland Headquarters. Zanu (PF) offices, Helani's business premises, Birchenough Bridge
Manicaland	Buhera	
total Manicaland	3	
Mashonaland West	Karoi	Zanu (PF) offices, Chikangwe Township
Mashonaland West	Karoi	Shop owned by Mark Madiro, Magunje growth point.
Mashonaland West	Karoi	Mudzimu Township.
Mashonaland West	Karoi	Zanu (PF) offices, Kanzangarare Township.
Total Mash West	4	
Harare	Budiriro 4	Dr Chenjerai Hunzvi's surgery, Budiriro 4 .
Harare	Budiriro 1	Home of Zanu (PF) candidate Gladys Hokoyo.
Harare	Mufakose	Gwonyambira bar
total Harare	3	

Appendix 3

Militia bases identified in 2002 Presidential Elections

Province	Constituency	Base place
Bulawayo	Bulawayo North East	Hugh Beadle Primary School
Bulawayo	Bulawayo North East	Jairos Jiri, Burnside
Bulawayo	Bulawayo South	Nketa 8 Hall
Bulawayo	Lobengula-Magwegwe	Fusi Primary School, Gwabalanda
Bulawayo	Makokoba	Davies Hall, 6th Avenue
Bulawayo	Mpopoma	Information Centre, Block 59, Mpopoma
Bulawayo	Mpopoma	War Vets Offices, Esiporweni, Entumbani
Bulawayo	Nkulumane	Sizinda Hall
Bulawayo	Nkulumane	Sizinda Hall
Bulawayo	Nkulumane	Yellow House, Nkulumane 12
Bulawayo	Pelandaba	Salikazi Beer Garden, Njube
Bulawayo	Pumula Luveve	Venture Camp-South Pumula
Bulawayo	Pumula Luveve	Methodist Camp (Between Pumula and Gwabalanda Bush)
Total Bulawayo	14	
Harare	Hatfield	Green Valley Farm, Epworth
Harare	Hatfield	Chiremba Shopping Centre
Harare	Mbare West	Frank Johnson Primary School
Total Harare	3	
Manicaland	Buhera North	Murambinda Growth Point
Manicaland	Mutare	Laverstock Farm
Total Manicaland	2	
Mashonaland Central	Bindura	1716 Chiwaridzo Township
Mashonaland Central	Bindura	Nyava Growth Point
Mashonaland Central	Bindura	Murembe Township
Mashonaland Central	Bindura	Gorwa Township
Mashonaland Central	Bindura	Miupandira Township
Mashonaland Central	Bindura	Chiwaridzo Council Bar
Mashonaland Central	Guruve North	Bakasa Township
Mashonaland Central	Guruve North	Mushumbi Pools
Mashonaland Central	Guruve South	Mudhindho Growth Point
Mashonaland Central	Mazowe East	Glendale Township
Mashonaland Central	Mazowe East	Mazowe Council Bar
Mashonaland Central	Mazowe East	Nzimbo Guest house
Mashonaland Central	Mount Darwin North	Kamutsenzere School
Mashonaland Central	Mount Darwin North	Mavuradonha High School
Mashonaland Central	Mount Darwin North	Mukumbura Growth Point
Mashonaland Central	Mount Darwin South	Chikwira in Nembire
Mashonaland Central	Mount Darwin South	Dande
Mashonaland Central	Mount Darwin South	Dotito Growth Point
Mashonaland Central	Mount Darwin South	Home of Sara Kasukuwere (Mt Darwin MP's Sister)
Mashonaland Central	Muzarabani	Mucheya Secondary School
Mashonaland Central	Muzarabani	Chidamakwenzi (along Centenary Road)
Mashonaland Central	Rushinga	Mukosa School
Mashonaland Central	Shamva	Chindunduma Secondary School
Mashonaland Central	Shamva	Wadzanai Township, Council Offices
Mashonaland Central	Shamva	Madziwa Township
Total Mash Cent	26	
Mashonaland East	Chikomba	Zvichemo Business Centre
Mashonaland East	Chikomba	Gokomere Hall
Mashonaland East	Goromonzi	Ruwa Rehabilitation Centre
Mashonaland East	Hwedza	Chudleigh Farm
Mashonaland East	Marondera East	Dombotombo Township
Mashonaland East	Marondera East	Nyagumbe Farm
Mashonaland East	Marondera West	Mahusekwa Growth Point
Mashonaland East	Murehwa South	Irene farm (Macheke)
Mashonaland East	Murehwa South	Igava Farm (Macheke)
Mashonaland East	Murehwa South	PONDEROSA Farm (Macheke)

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Mashonaland East	Murehwa South	Michel Farm (Macheke)
Mashonaland East	Murehwa South	Gumbeze farm (Macheke)
Mashonaland East	Murehwa South	Sheba Farm (Macheke)
Mashonaland East	Murehwa South	Nyagambe Farm (Macheke)
Mashonaland East	Murehwa South	Safari Farm (Macheke)
Mashonaland East	Murehwa South	TRANQUILLITY Farm (Macheke)
Mashonaland East	Murehwa South	Mohoroza Farm (Macheke)
Mashonaland East	Murehwa South	
Mashonaland East	Murehwa South (Macheke)	Twist Farm
Mashonaland East	Mutoko South	Masvitsa School, Hoyuyu Resettlement Area
Mashonaland East	Seke	Dema Business Centre
Mashonaland East	Seke	Charakupa
Total Mash East	21	
Mashonaland West	Chegutu	The Grove, Lot 1A
Mashonaland West	Chegutu	Shingwiri
Mashonaland West	Chegutu	Rock Farm
Mashonaland West	Chegutu	Pickstone
Mashonaland West	Chegutu	Katawa
Mashonaland West	Chegutu	Alpha Farm
Mashonaland West	Chegutu	Mopani Farm
Mashonaland West	Chegutu	Selous Town
Mashonaland West	Chinhoyi	Belltrees Farm
Mashonaland West	Chinhoyi	Nyamgomba Farm
Mashonaland West	Chinhoyi	Chinoyi Old Hospital
Mashonaland West	Chinhoyi	Chikonohono Township
Mashonaland West	Chinhoyi	Alaska Mine
Mashonaland West	Chinhoyi	Shackleton
Mashonaland West	Hurungwe West	Zvipane Growth Point
Mashonaland West	Makonde	Lions Den
Mashonaland West	Zvimba North	Machiroli Farm
Mashonaland West	Zvimba South	Murombedzi Growth Point
Total Mash West	18	
Masvingo	Gutu North	Guzhe Business centre
Masvingo	Zaka	Chinyabako Township (Macheke)
Masvingo	Zaka West	Jerera Growth Point (Macheke)
Total Masvingo	3	
Matabeleland North	Hwange West	Sipepa Business Centre
Matabeleland North	Nkayi	Setshanke Primary School
Matabeleland North	Nkayi	Gwelutshena Primary School
Matabeleland North	Nkayi	Bhubhu Primary School
Matabeleland North	Nkayi	Ingwalathi Primary School
Matabeleland North	Nkayi	Sebhumane Primary School
Matabeleland North	Nkayi	Mathetshaneni Primary School
Matabeleland North	Nkayi	Guwe Primary School
Matabeleland North	Nkayi	Zenka Primary School
Matabeleland North	Nkayi	Fudu Primary School
Matabeleland North	Nkayi	Nkayi Community Hall
Matabeleland North	Nkayi	Tohwe Primary School
Matabeleland North	Nkayi	Zinyangani Primary School
Matabeleland North	Nkayi	Gampinya Primary School
Matabeleland North	Nkayi	Bhodoobhodo Primary School
Matabeleland North	Nkayi	Lukona Primary School
Matabeleland North	Nkayi	Mkalathi Primary School
Matabeleland North	Nkayi	Komayanga Primary School
Matabeleland North	Nkayi	Mbuma Primary School
Matabeleland North	Nkayi	Gwiji Primary School
Matabeleland North	Nkayi	Mdlawuzeni Primary School
Matabeleland North	Nkayi	Magazi, along Mvuma Road
Matabeleland North	Tsholotsho	Khumbula Secondary School
Matabeleland North	Tsholotsho	Mgomeni School
Matabeleland North	Tsholotsho	Tsholotsho Training Centre
Matabeleland North	Tsholotsho	Tsholotsho Rest Camp

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Matabeleland North	Tsholotsho	Dlamini Business Centre
Matabeleland North	Tsholotsho	Mgodi Masili
Matabeleland North	Tsholotsho	Matshangane Business Centre
Matabeleland North	Tsholotsho	Jimila Business Centre
Total Mat North	30	
Midlands	Kadoma Central	Rimuka Township
Midlands	Kwekwe	Torwood, Redcliff
Midlands	Kwekwe	Near Senkwasi Irrigation Scheme
Midlands	Kwekwe	Amaveni Community Hall
Midlands	Kwekwe	Chara Primary School in Mbizo
Midlands	Mberengwa East	Inyala Mine + Mketi Primary School
Total Midlands	6	

Appendix 4.
Family names recurring in reports of the Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum.

Banda, Masauso (2)	Kwekwe	ZPF
Banda, Mr (3)	Kambuzuma	ZPF
Chanyarova	Murehwa South	ZPF
Chanyorowa	Mutoko North	ZPF
Chawarura, Force	Bindura	ZPF
Chawarura, Jack	Bindura	ZPF
Chifodya, L	Mutoko South	ZPF
Chifodya, R	Mutoko South	ZPF
Chigega, Blessing	Bindura	ZPF
Chigega, Gilbert	Bindura	ZPF
Chigega, Never Noel (4)	Bindura + Shamva	ZPF
Chigubu, Themba	Guruve South	ZPF
Chigubu, Themba	Murehwa North	ZPF
Chigwizura, Adam	Mutare West	ZPF
Chigwizura, Samuel (2)	Mutare West	ZPF
Chijange, E	Chiredzi North	ZPF
Chijange, K	Chiredzi North	ZPF
Chikono, Godfrey	Guruve South	ZPF
Chikono, Godfrey	Murehwa North	ZPF
Chikono, Godfrey(3)	UMP	ZRP
Chikono, Kudzanai	Bindura	ZPF
Chikono, Nelson (2)	Bindura	ZPF
Chimbwanda, Doben	Murehwa South	ZPF
Chimbwanda, Durban	UMP	ZPF
Chimombe, Chimwanza	Murehwa North	ZPF
Chimombe, Chimwanzi	Makoni East	ZPF
Chimutashu	Mount Darwin South	ZPF
Chimutashu, Nicholas	Mount Darwin South	ZPF
Chimutsa, Anyway	Mount Darwin South	ZPF
Chimutsa, Lovemore	Mount Darwin South	ZPF
Chinaka, Ben Dzingai	Bikita East/West	ZPF
Chinaka, Macdonald	Bikita East/West	ZPF
Chinembiri, Constable	Chimanimani	ZRP
Chinembiri, Elliot (5)	Zhombe	ZPF
Chingosho, Mr	Murehwa North + South	ZPF
Chingozho, Gilbert	Murehwa North + South	ZPF
Chingururu, J	Mudzi	ZPF
Chingururu, R	Mudzi	ZPF
Chinomona, Ignatius	Mutoko North + South	ZPF
Chinomona, Trancis(2)	Mutoko North + South	ZPF
Chinyani	Mount Darwin South	ZPF
Chinyani, Jona Murape	Bindura	ZPF
Chinyoka	Zvishavane	ZPF
Chinyoka, Chief Inspector	Chipinge South	ZRP
Chinyoka, H	Zvishavane	ZPF
Chinyoka, R	Mberengwa East	ZPF
Chiota, Cephas (2)	Murehwa North	ZPF
Chiota, Kurai	Murehwa North	ZPF
Chisango (3)	Hurungwe East	ZPF
Chisango, Douglas	Gokwe North	ZPF
Chisango, S (2)	Gokwe North	ZPF
Chisango, Simba	Gokwe North	ZPF

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Chitsa, Panganai (2)	Mutare South	ZPF
Chitsa, Prisca	Mutare South	ZPF
Chiutsi, T (5)	Gokwe North	ZPF
Chiutsi, Taurai (2)	Gokwe North	ZPF
Chiwara	Shamva	ZPF
Chiwara, Artwell	Shamva	CIO
Chiwara, Goddie (4)	Gokwe North	ZPF
Chiwara, Lucky (4)	Gokwe North	ZNLWVA
Dube, E	Mberengwa East	ZRP
Dube, Felix(3)	Gokwe North	ZNLWVA
Dube, H	Mberengwa East	ZPF
Dube, James	Buhera North	ZPF
Dube, Lot (2)	Umizigwane	ZPS
Dube, Manuel (3)	Unknown	ZNLWVA
Dube, Mapungwana	Buhera South	ZPF
Dube, Mr	Shurugwi	ZPF
Dube, Ndabezimhle	Unknown	ZPF
Dube, S	Gokwe North	ZPF
Dube, Seargeant	Bulawayo South	ZRP
Dube, Victor	Bulilimangwe North/South	ZPF
Dzvairo, Cathbert	UMP	ZPF
Dzvairo, Constable	UMP	ZRP
Garan'anga, Nicodimus	UMP	ZPF
Garan'anga, Tafireyi	UMP	ZPF
Gava, Simon (5)	Zhombe	ZPF
Gava, U (3)	Gokwe Central	ZPF
Gode, Godfrey	Mount Darwin South	ZPF
Gode, Godfrey	Mt Darwin North/South	ZPF
Gumbo, Benard	Guruve North	ZPF
Gumbo, Constable	Chimanimani	ZRP
Gumbo, Joram	Mberengwa East	MP
Gumbo, Rugare	Mberengwa East	MP
Gumbo, T	Gokwe North	ZPF
Gutsa, Paul (2)	Bindura	ZPF
Gutsa, Savha	Bindura	ZPF
Hodzi	UMP	ZPF
Hodzi	Mutoko North + South	ZPF
Hodzi, M	Mutoko North	ZPF
Hove, D	Mberengwa East	ZPF
Hove, Gan'eni	Mberengwa East	ZPF
Hove, Josikia (3)	Mberengwa East	ZPF
Hove, Judson (2)	Mberengwa West	ZPF
Hove, Kennedy (2)	Mberengwa East	ZNLWVA
Hove, Portia (2)	Mberengwa East	ZPF
Hove, Richard	Mberengwa East	COUNCILLOR
Hove, Simba (4)	Mberengwa East	ZPF
Hove, V.	Mberengwa East	ZPF
Hove, Z	Mberengwa East	ZPF
Hungwe, Philip (2)	Mberengwa East	ZPF
Hungwe, S	Mberengwa East	ZPF
January, Itai (2)	Gokwe Central	ZPF
January, Katande (2)	Gokwe West	ZPF
January, Makomo (2)	Gokwe West	ZPF
Jisi, Mr	Murehwa North + South	ZPF

Jiti, Mr	Murehwa South	ZPF
Jongwe (Inspector)	Hurungwe East	ZRP
Jongwe, Petros (2)	Marondera East	ZPF
Jonhasi, Christopher	Guruve North	ZPF
Jonhasi, Koshiwe (4)	Guruve North	ZPF
Juru, Boster	Goromonzi	ZPF
Juru, O	Goromonzi	ZPF
Kagodo, Exidos	Muzarabani	ZPF
Kagodo, Ivo (2)	Muzarabani	ZPF
Kagodo, Last (3)	Muzarabani	ZPF
Kambazvi, Godfrey	Guruve North	ZPF
Kambazvi, Jerina	Guruve North	ZPF
Kamhaka, Albert	Mudzi	ZPF
Kamhaka, Joe	Mudzi	ZPF
Kamunhukamwe, Peter	Guruve South	ZPF
Kamunhukamwe, Peter	UMP	ZPF
Kandoro, Mufundirwa	Guruve South	ZPF
Kandoro, Mufundirwa	Bikita East	ZPF
Kanokanza, Simba	Mount Darwin South	ZPF
Kanokanza, Trackfone	Mount Darwin South	ZPF
Kasambarara	UMP	ZPF
Kasambarare	UMP	ZPF
Kasambarare, Givemore (7)	Goromonzi	ZPF
Kasambarere, Collins	Hwedza	ZPF
Kasambarere, Esam	Hwedza	ZPF
Kavhumbura, J	Murehwa South	ZPF
Kavhumbura, P	Murehwa South	ZPF
Kazembe (6)	Hatfield	ZPF
Kazembe, Mrs	Hatfield	ZPF
Khumalo (2)	Mazowe West	ZPF
Khumalo, W	Mberengwa East	ZPF
Kufuka, Abel	Marondera east	ZPF
Kufuka, Mande Cleopas	Marondera West	ZPF
Mabhena	Mberengwa East	ZPF
Mabhena, R	Mberengwa East	ZPF
Mabhunu, Luke (2)	Chipinge	ZPF
Mabhunu, Tongai	Chipinge	ZPF
Machakaire, Alois	Buhera North	ZPF
Machakaire, Batsirai	Buhera North	ZPF
Machakaire, Simon	Buhera North	ZPF
Madiro, F	Hurungwe West	ZPF
Madiro, Mark (4)	Hurungwe East	MP
Madzikatire, John	Chimanimani	ZPF
Madzikatire, Silvester	Chimanimani	ZPF
Madzudzo, Alfonso	Bindura	ZPF
Madzudzu, Alfonse	Bindura	ZPF
Mahoza	Mutoko North	ZPF
Mahoza, T	Mutoko North + South	ZPF
Makaye, Farirai	Bikita East	ZPF
Makaye, Sylvester	Bikita East	ZPF
Makaza, Lakeness (3)	Goromonzi	ZPF
Makaza, Robert	Hurungwe East	ZPF
Makaza, Wirimai	UMP	ZPF
Makiyi	Hurungwe East	ZPF

Makiyi	Mudzi	ZRP
Makombe (4)	Mberengwa East + West	ZPF
Makombe, P	Marondera East + West	CIO
Makombe, Tendai	Mazowe West	ZPF
Makoni, (Councillor) (3)	Chikomba	COUNCILLOR
Makoni, Gerald	Gutu North	ZPF
Makoni, Kennedy	Gutu North	ZPF
Mangondo, R	Gokwe South	ZPF
Mangondo, Rainos (2)	Gokwe West	ZPF
Manyame, Dominic	Murehwa South/North	ZPF
Manyame, John	Murehwa South/North	ZPF
Manyanga, Ernest	Guruve North	ZPF
Manyanga, Mrs	Guruve North/South	ZPF
Mapaunzi, Guilt	Bikita West	ZPF
Mapaunzi, Sungisai	Bikita West	ZPF
Mapfumo, Cuthbert(2)	Chikomba	ZRP
Mapfumo, G	Gokwe North	ZPF
Mapfumo, Given (3)	Gokwe North	ZPF
Mapingire, Mai	Mberengwa East	ZPF
Mapingire, S	Mberengwa East	ZPF
Marodza	Mount Darwin North	ZPF
Marodza, R	Marondera East + West	ZPF
Marodza, Terry(4)	Mount Darwin South	ZPF
Masaka, Jasman	Mutare South	ZPF
Masaka, Onias (2)	Mutare South	ZPF
Mashanda, Crispen	Bikita East	ZPF
Mashanda, Mambunya	Bikita East	ZPF
Mashanda, Saliwe	Bikita East/West	ZPF
Masiyaneya, Godfrey	Chipinge North	ZPF
Masiyaneya, Pardon	Chipinge North	ZPF
Masonda, P	Mberengwa East	ZPF
Masunda	Mberengwa East	ZPF
Masvusvu, James	Gokwe Central	ZPF
Masvusvu, Ramios	Gokwe Central	ZPF
Mataka, Sikhangezile (4)	Mberengwa East	ZPF
Mataka, Sithabile (3)	Mberengwa East	ZPF
Matangira, Rengio	Bindura	ZPF
Matangira, Tawanda	Bindura	ZPF
Matavire	Mazowe west	ZPF
Matavire, Mai	Mberengwa East	ZPF
Mazinyani, Sgt. (3)	Shurugwi	ZRP
Mazinyari, Cst.	Shurugwi	ZRP
Mhaka	Harare North	ZRP
Mhaka (2)	Mount Darwin South, Bindura	ZPF
Mhiripiri, Mr	Makoni East	ZPF
Mhiripiri, Punish (3)	Makoni West	ZPF
Mhonyera, Felix	Murehwa South	ZPF
Mhonyera, M	Murehwa North + South	ZPF
Moyo (2)	Hurungwe East	ZPF
Moyo, hH (2)	Mberengwa West	ZPF
Moyo, Lovemore	Unknown	ZPF
Moyo, M	Mberengwa East	ZPF
Moyo, Manjanje	Guruve South	ZPF
Moyo, P	Unknown	ZPF

Moyo, Peter Danida (3)	Shurugwi	ZPF
Moyo, Thando (3)	Matobo	ZPF
Mpandawana, Farai (2)	Gutu North	ZPF
Mpandawana, Steven (2)	Gutu North	ZPF
Mpofu, E (2)	Zvishavane	ZNLWVA
Mpofu, George (2)	Zhombe	ZPF
Mpofu, J	Gokwe East	ZPF
Mpofu, S	Gokwe East	ZPF
Muchingami, Adam (2)	Mutare West	ZPF
Muchingami, Nyasha	Mutare West	ZPF
Muchingami, Samuel	Mutare West	ZPF
Mudiwakure, Bornface	Mudzi	ZPF
Mudiwakure, M	Mudzi	ZPF
Mudiwakure, T	Mudzi	ZPF
Mudiwakure, W	Mudzi	ZPF
Mudziwapasi (Member In Charge)		ZRP
Mudziwepasi, Edward	Chimanimani	ZPF
Mujuru (8)	Mudzi	ZPF
Mujuru, Joyce	Mount Darwin North	MP
Mujuru, M	Murehwa South	ZPF
Mujuru, Mr	Hatfield	ZPF
Mujuru, Solomon	Marondera East/West	ZPF
Mukoka, James	Rushinga	ZPF
Mukoka, Tapiwa	Rushinga	ZPF
Mukwena, Chrispen (2)	Kwekwe	ZRP
Mukwena, Tichaona (2)	Kwekwe	ZRP
Munotengwa Max (4)	Gokwe north	ZPF YOUTH
Munotengwa, Mabasa (4)	Gokwe North	ZPF
Munotengwa, Mabasa (4)	Gokwe North & Zhombe	ZPF
Murosa, Big	Murehwa North/South	ZPF
Muroza	Murehwa North/South	ZPF
Musauki, Joseph (6)	Guruve North	ZPF
Musauki, Nyande (3)	Guruve North	ZPF
Musauki, Peace	Murehwa North/South	ZPF
Musauki, Pius (3)	Guruve North	ZPF
Museruka, Itai	Guruve North	ZPF
Museruka, Public	Guruve North	ZPF
Mushonga, (2)	Murehwa North	ZPF
Mushonga, Joseph	Marondera East/West	ZPF
Muskwe, (Mrs) Mission	Hwedza	ZPF
Muskwe, Aaron	Hwedza	ZPF
Muskwe, Claus	Hwedza	ZPF
Muskwe, Tanyanyiwa	Hwedza	ZPF
Mutema (3)	Chinhoyi	ZPF
Mutema, Tompson (3)	Gokwe North	ZPF
Ncube	Hurungwe East	ZPF
Ncube (war veteran) (3)	Murehwa South	ZNLWVA
Ncube, Christina	Mberengwa East	ZPF
Ncube, F (2)	Mberengwa West	ZPF
Ncube, M	Hurungwe East	ZPF
Ncube, S	Mberengwa East	ZPF
Ncube, V	Mberengwa East	ZPF
Ndlovu	Budiriro	ZPF
Ndlovu (4)	Hatfield	ZPF

Ndlovu, Leonard (3)	Bulilimamangwe North/South	ZPF
Ndlovu, Mrs (3)	Hatfield	ZPF
Ndlovu, P(2)	Hurungwe East	ZPF
Ngezenyu, V (2)	Mberengwa East	ZPF
Ngezvenyu	Mberengwa East	ZPF
Ngwenya	Hurungwe East	ZPF
Ngwenya, T	Mberengwa East	ZPF
Nhaudzawanda, Wilbert	Gokwe West	ZPF
Nhaudzawanda, William	Gokwe Central	ZPF
Nherera, R(2)	Murehwa South	ZPF
Nherera, Ro	Murehwa South	ZPF
Nkomo, Jezeni	Mberengwa East	ZPF
Nkomo, Lesson	Mberengwa East	ZPF
Nkomo, lyford (2)	Mberengwa East	ZNLWVA
Rwodzi (10)	Hurungwe East	ZNLWVA
Rwodzi, Knowledge	Bindura	ZPF
Shiri, Elias Masendu (2)	Mberengwa East	ZPF
Shiri, Elly (3)	Mberengwa East	ZNLWVA
Shiri, M	Mberengwa East	ZPF
Shiri, F	Mberengwa East	ZPF
Shiri, F	Mberengwa East	ZPF
Shoko, E (2)	Mberengwa East	ZPF
Shoko, Gilbert (2)	Makoni West	ZPF
Shoko, Lock	Mberengwa East	ZPF
Shoko, Shepherd (3)	Buhera North / South	ZPF
Shumba Josphat	Mberengwa East	MP
Shumba, K	Mberengwa West	ZPF
Shumba, Lifa	Mberengwa East	ZPF
Shumba, Sergeant	Buhera North	ZRP
Sibanda, D (3)	Zvishavane	ZPF
Sibanda, Godwell(3)	Hwedza	ZPF
Sibanda, Percy (2)	Chegutu	ZPF
Siziba, B(3)	Gokwe Central	ZPF
Siziba, Bernard (4)	Gokwe Central	ZPF
Siziba, Chinyama	Gokwe North	ZPF
Tanyanyiwa	Mutoko South	ZPF
Tanyanyiwa, Boster	Goromonzi	ZPF
Tapfumaneyi, McLean	Mazowe East	ZPF
Tapfumeneyi, Henicha	Mazowe East	ZPF
Tavaruya Tawanda (2)	Gokwe North	ZPF YOUTH
Tavaruya, Tarisai (2)	Gokwe North	ZPF YOUTH
Tindike, C	Guruve North	ZPF
Tindike, Justice	Guruve North	ZPF
Tsavanhu, Collen (3)	Chinhoyi	ZPF
Tsavanhu, Thomas (3)	Chinhoyi	ZPF
Zaranyika, Jesika	Hatfield	ZPF
Zaranyika, Mr	Hatfield	ZPF
Zhou, B	Mberengwa East	ZPF
Zhou, Canaan	Mberengwa East	ZPF
Zhou, Fana	Mberengwa East	ZPF
Zhou, K	Mberengwa West	ZPF
Zimunya, Aaron	Mutare South	CIO
Zimunya, Kainos(3)	Buhera North	ZPF
Zvakamwe, M	Chikomba	ZPF

Zvakamwe, M

Chikomba

ZPF