

## **EXECUTIVE SUMMARY**

#### **Austerity for WHO?**

#### Introduction

In November 164 human rights violations were recorded, a sharp decline from the 235 violations recorded in the month of October. This is the lowest number of violations recorded in 2018.

There were 21 assault violations and 33 related to discrimination. The majority of the violations were of intimidation and harassment standing at 93. These were linked to perpetrators violating freedoms of

### **ABOUT ZPP**

The organisation was founded in 2000 by church-based and human rights organisations. The current members of ZPP are Evangelical Fellowship of Zimbabwe (EFZ), Zimbabwe Council of Churches (ZCC), Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace in Zimbabwe (CCJPZ), Counselling Services Unit (CSU), Zimbabwe Human Rights Association (ZimRights), Civic Education Network Trust (CIVNET), Zimbabwe Lawyers for Human Rights (ZLHR) and Women's Coalition of Zimbabwe (WCoZ).

ZPP was established with the objective of monitoring, documenting and building peace and promoting the peaceful resolution of disputes and conflicts. The Zimbabwe Peace Project seeks to foster dialogue and political tolerance through non-partisan peace monitoring activities, mainly through monitors who document the violations of rights in the provinces. The monitors, who at full complement stand at 420, constitute the core pool of volunteers, supported by four Regional Coordinators. The Regional Coordinators relate with the national office headed by the National Director and programme officers in various units.

association, expression, and assembly of political opponents or ordinary citizens. Forty percent of the perpetrators were affiliated to the ruling Zanu PF while most of the victims were female. The Zimbabwe Republic Police (ZRP) made up twenty five percent of the perpetrators of human rights violations, one of the highest figures by the ZRP in 2018. The ZRP in conjunction with the Municipal police made a continued crackdown on vendors and informal traders resulting in running battles being recorded in Harare Central Business District (CBD). Tear gas canisters were fired in the night during the ZRP led raids as one of the several methods that they used to intimidate vendors.

Mashonaland Central had the highest number of violations at 41. Mashonaland East had 25 violations in October compared to 28 violations in November. Despite crippling water shortages in Rushinga, Mashonaland Central not many socio-economic violations were recorded in November. Not many socio-economic rights violations have been recorded in Mashonaland East despite a cholera outbreak and adverse economic conditions. In Mashonaland West, violations went down from 24 recorded in October to 15 this month.

There was a decrease in violations in Harare, while Bulawayo and the Matebeleland provinces also recorded few violations.

#### **Observations**

The human rights situation in the country is stable but far from ideal as envisaged by the Constitution. Cases of political intolerance were also noted to target people with disabilities. Nyasha Nhau an activist with disabilities was manhandled by Harare City Council officials who were holding a meeting at the hotel in Mutare after he presented a petition for them to stop abusing public funds on expensive hotel stays at the expense of service delivery.

The Mutoko North by election demonstrated how elections remain a source of human rights violations with freedoms of expression and association being the most violated. The socioeconomic rights situation is dire with government intensifying its crackdown on livelihoods: for example money changers face a 10 year jail sentence if caught and convicted yet pharmaceutical shops demand United States dollar payments for medical supplies for the majority of Zimbabweans who are not paid in foreign currency. The 2019 budget was presented under the theme 'Austerity for Prosperity' with a proposal to cut government spending but in reality it will result in decreased spending on social clusters that are key for the realisation of socio-economic rights. The budget aims to increase government revenue through hiking taxes meaning citizens will have less to spend on social services such as health and education.

Freedom of expression came under attack with the manhandling of Nyasha Mukapiko a journalist in Parliament as he recorded the ejection of opposition parliamentarians. It also came as threats after government threatened to hold the opposition accountable if they went with ahead their picketing on 29 November. Civil political rights continue to be elusive for people in rural areas as demonstrated in the Mutoko North by election as traditional chiefs coerced their subjects into supporting the ruling party while village heads were Zanu PF polling agents. Vulnerable citizens are also at the mercy of corrupt political leaders who

demand political allegiance in exchange for food aid or farming inputs bank rolled by the government.

Acute water shortages were reported in Rushinga Mashonaland Central and a cholera outbreak was reported in Uzumba Maramba Pfungwe and Mount Darwin which has seen 191 cases being recorded.

#### **Intra-party conflict**

In November conflict was recorded within the Zimbabwe National War Veterans and Liberators Association (ZNWVLA) as Secretary General Victor Matemadanda and Chairperson Chris Mutsvangwa openly clashed after two provinces passed a vote of no confidence in Mutsvangwa. In Lupane, a Zanu PF meeting perceived to be factional was reportedly poorly attended with some supporters being blamed for undermining and intentions of removing President Emmerson Mnangagwa from power.

These fault lines have been said to represent simmering factional fights between President Mnangagwa's aspirations for two presidential terms and Vice President Constantine Chiwenga's ambition to take over in 2023. The second source of factionalism is the attempt to flash out G40 faction members who are accused of sabotaging president Mnangagwa's campaign within the ranks of the party and government at large.

The MDC Alliance Vice President Elias Mudzuri was openly ridiculed by junior members of the party who accused him of being a 'sell out' after he attended a Parliamentary function at State House as the leader of the opposition in the Senate and met President Mnangagwa. The MDC Alliance continues to dispute the outcome of the Presidential elections. Mudzuri and the Secretary-General Douglas Mwonzora also faced accusations of being 'sell-outs' after they reportedly apologised to Chief Justice Luke Malaba who was heckled in Parliament a few months ago when President Mnangagwa officially opened parliament. The power struggles within the MDC Alliance leadership also played out in Bulawayo, Victoria Falls and Chitungwiza local councils and instigated the ordering of mayoral candidates to vacate their posts but have now been reinstated.

Inter-party conflict has been recorded through social media, rallies and regrettably through the Commission of Inquiry (CoI) on post-election violence which has become a platform for mudslinging. President Mnangagwa's legitimacy which is being disputed by Nelson Chamisa has led to a fall out notably at parliament where MDC Alliance MPs where forcibly, ejected from parliament after failing to rise as President Mnangagwa entered the House. Some members of parliament were injured and hospitalised after what happened. Vice President Chiwenga described Chamisa as a 'little bishop' who would never rule Zimbabwe. This prompted Chamisa to escalate the hostilities through social media. President Mnangagwa also for the first time in many months chanted the infamous inflammatory 'pasinemhandu' (down with enemies) slogan at a rally at Murombedzi and described Chamisa as immature. This marks the return of hate speech through political rhetoric despite elections having ended. Both the main parties have also embarked on 'thank you' rallies which have been transformed into platforms of attacking political opponents. The sharp polarisation has also shown through heckling at the CoI on post-election violence where supporters of the two main parties have heckled witnesses and commissioners.

The CoI also became a subject of tribal contestation as some people in Bulawayo led by radical activist group Mthwakazi disrupted proceedings at the hearing. After failing to guarantee protection for witnesses as demanded by the Zimbabwe NGO Human Rights Forum some witnesses have been threatened after appearing before the CoI.

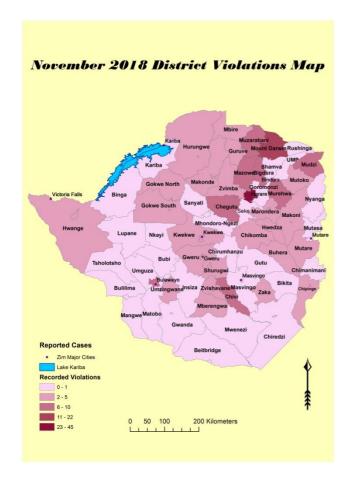
ZPP verified cases of partisan food distribution through a pilot Focus Group Discussion (FDG) held with 16 villagers from Uzumba Maramba Pfungwe. Villagers reiterated that government projects meant to benefit all villagers were being hijacked by Zanu-PF senior officials and opposition supporters were being excluded as beneficiaries in these schemes. There is continued partisan distribution of food, inputs and other social amenities with only Zanu-PF supporters benefiting in areas such as Gwanda, Insiza, Umzingwane and Hurungwe. The Zimbabwe Human Rights Commission in its latest report noted with concern the continued existence partisan food aid distribution.

There was a by-election in Mutoko North in which Zanu-PF had a landslide victory polling 11 141 votes. Only Zanu-PF, MDC Alliance and NCA participated with the rest of the parties and independent candidates that participated in the harmonised elections opting out. There were suspicious high numbers of assisted voters who were attributed to 'paddocking' where villagers in wards opt to be assisted for fear of victimisation if the results are against the ruling party. The ward based voting system makes it easy to identify voting patterns in a specific area. Unlike in the harmonised elections where there was an elections command centre, there was no such mechanism in the by-election leaving villagers with nowhere to report cases of intimidation and harassment. There were cases of vote buying through food and other aid distribution that is partisan, Traditional leaders openly took political sides by being polling agents and wearing Zanu PF regalia.

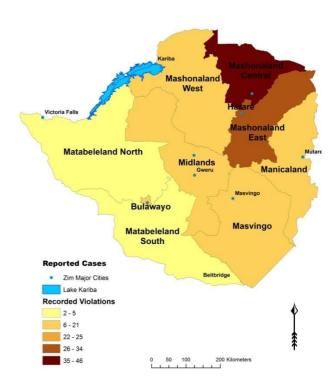
## Distribution of Violence By Type Across Provinces

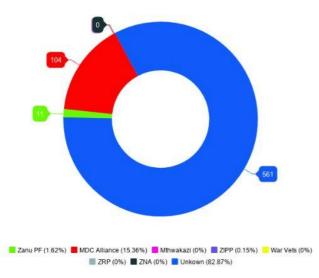
	Midlands	Вуо	Mat. South	Mat. North	Masvingo	Manicaland	Harare	Mash. East	Mash. West	Mash. Central	TOTAL
Recorded Cases	9	2	2	1	9	8	12	6	4	21	74
ACTS											
Murder	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Rape/Sexual Harassment	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Kidnapping/abduction	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Assault	3	2	0	0	0	0	8	2	3	3	21
Theft/looting	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	3	5
Discrimination	3	0	1	1	4	5	0	6	4	9	33
MDP	0	0	0	0	1	0	4	0	0	1	6
Torture	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Unlawful Detention	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	3
Intimidation /harassment	9	3	1	1	7	8	12	20	8	24	93
Displacement	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Attempted Murder	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Attempted Rape	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Banned Political Party Mtg	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Disrupted Political Mtg	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	15	6	2	2	12	15	28	28	15	41	164

#### **November Dashboard of Statistics**

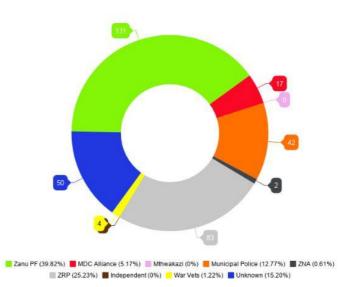


#### **November 2018 Provincial Violations Map**



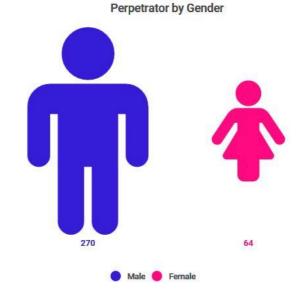


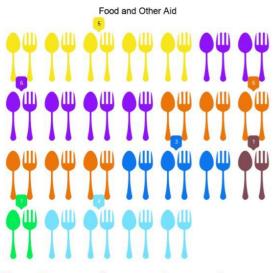
Victims By Affiliation



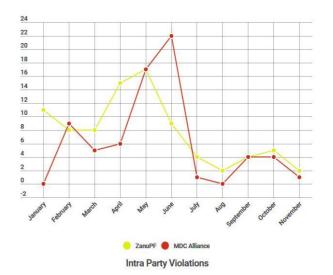
Perpetrator by Affiliation







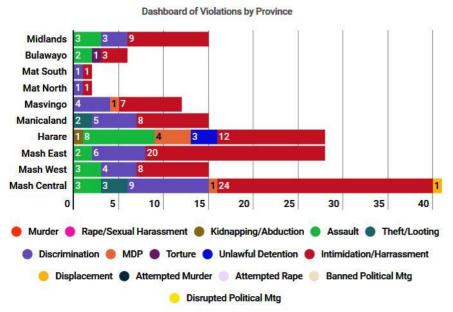








## November2018 HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS



### **Analysis**

While the numbers show a downward trend in violations, the nature of violations show that this is just 'false peace' as matters may erupt if the issues are not resolved. Violations of political rights may have gone down due to a de-escalation of political activities but the impending congress of the MDC Alliance and by – elections may result in an increase in violations. The low number of socio-economic rights violations reported points towards possible lack of awareness by citizens of these rights. The sharp increase in the number of perpetrators of human rights violations by the police (from 6% in October to 25% in November) contradicts undertakings by the Commissioner General of Police to align the operations of the police service with the Constitution. ZRP officers have been prominent in the removal of vendors from the central business districts of most cities, such as Harare, Mutare and Gweru as well as suppressing some planned marches. For example, a march organised by the MDC Alliance was allowed to proceed in Harare while a march in Bulawayo by families of Gukurahundi victims of the 1980s who are seeking justice was not permitted as this was seen in the light of a threat to peace and stability by the police.

An austerity budget means citizens' unrest in the future and widespread demonstrations may be expected in the future. Almost in all instances where austerity has been introduced such as the Economic Structural







# November2018 HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS



Adjustment Programme (ESAP) nicknamed Ever Suffering African People in the 1990s it brought hardships that escalated protests as well as gave rise to opposition politics.

In a surprising move, over 3000 Youth Officers were awarded terminal benefits by Treasury despite their well-documented human rights violations against them amounts to encouragement of impunity and undermines efforts of healing and reconciliation.

The Mutoko North by-election won by Zanu PF still fell short of the electoral regulations of the country and failed to heed the recommendations made by the European Union<sup>1</sup>, SADC and AU reports produced after the July harmonised elections. The failure to make improvements as recommended in the various reports signals an intention by the government to continue mismanaging elections to maintain the ruling party advantage. In their report on section 1.7 the SADC Observer Mission noted that traditional leaders "were using their influence to intimidate or coerce the rural population into supporting the ruling party. The Constitution of Zimbabwe prohibits traditional leaders from furthering the interests of any political party or acting in a partisan manner. Furthermore, the Mission noted the High Court of Zimbabwe judgment, which ordered the leadership of the traditional leaders not to be partisan." ZPP filmed traditional leaders in Zanu-PF regalia as well as recorded headmen who worked as polling agents for the ruling party in clear disregard of the Constitution as well as the recommendations made by SADC.

In section 2.7 the SADC observer mission noted that ZEC needed to provide for people with disabilities but in this by election most polling stations were not disability friendly. The political party liaison committees were not operational for the Mutoko North by -election. There was a regression or no improvement at all factoring in the recommendations made by various election observers.

The two main political parties have remained in perpetual election mode through their 'Thank You 'rallies which in reality have been platforms to attack political opponents. The rhetoric emanating from the rallies has worsened polarisation and escalated conflict. In Mashonaland East, the increase in human rights violations indicated how the toxic nature of Zimbabwean politics continues to be breeding ground for conflict. Elections continue to be associated with human rights violations.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>https://eeas.europa.eu/election-observation-missions/eom-zimbabwe-2018/51946/eu-election-observation-mission-presents-final-report-23-recommendations\_en







## November2018 HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS



Distribution of food and other aid continues on a partisan basis despite several reports by the Zimbabwe Human Rights Commission<sup>2</sup>condemning the practice. In its Preliminary Election Monitoring Report the ZHRC found that the environment was marred by numerous reports of partisan food aid distribution and many cases witnessed were reported in Mashonaland East. The recurrence of the issue in Mutoko North another area in Mashonaland East shows that no action was taken to respond to these findings. Inaction against the culprits has fostered a culture of impunity.

Intra-party conflict in the two main political parties is fuelled by power ambitions with congress beckoning in the MDC Alliance. Chamisa supporters have made pronouncements that he will not be contested in the congress while Mwonzora who is suspected of harbouring Presidential ambitions has declared that all positions will be contested. The issue of leadership contestation within the MDC Alliance has been simmering since the death of Morgan Tsvangirai. There is contestation on what the constitution demands with some saying the Congress is due in October but others saying the Congress is due within a year of a President passing away or stepping down. The correct position of the party Constitution is now being interpreted in a factional manner. Chamisa who is popular nationally is said not to have a firm grip of the party structures after he allegedly purged many opponents in his days as organising secretary. The conflict has resulted in those opposing Chamisa being branded Zanu PF agents and earning the 'sell out' tag. The contradictions within Zanu PF have not been as pronounced mainly because the congress for the party is only due in 2022 but there have been public fall outs of officials over competition of who controls economic opportunities offered by the state.

Contestation on the legitimacy of the outcomes of the presidential election has been the main driver of interparty conflict.

A series of favourable court decisions for activists and opposition parties' points towards strengthening of the doctrine of separation of powers even though this may be token as courts are becoming less influenced by politics. This development is positive for the future in terms of opening up of the democratic space.

With regards to the CoI, the alleged abduction of Elliot Piki who intended to give evidence a day before his appearance casts doubt on the work of the commission. While the spokesperson of the CoI revealed that Piki

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>file:///C:/Users/Administrator.AOO-PC/Downloads/ZHRC%20Preliminary%20Report%202018%20Elections.pdf











was not listed to give testimony ZPP believes that all cases of this nature should be investigated. Social media threats against another witness, journalist Maynard Manyowa exposed the commission's refusal or reluctance to guarantee the safety of witnesses as highlighted by the Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum. These incidents bring into question the work of the commission as the fear may have deterred would be witnesses.

### Recommendations

- ✓ The findings of the Zimbabwe Human Rights Commission must have legal force and government through the police must immediately act on them
- ✓ The government should enforce the recommendations made by SADC, AU and European Union on the harmonised election in July 2018.

#### Conclusion

Austerity measures are expected to be a source of discontent and civil unrest giving rise to protests or other political conflict. The issue of president Mnangagwa's legitimacy in the eyes of the MDC Alliance will continue to be a point of inter-party conflict but also a source of intra-party conflict in the MDC Alliance as those who attempt to engage Mnangagwa face backlash. The perpetual election mode of political parties has resulted in by-elections being hotly contested and disputed. Lack of improvements in by-elections as recommended by election observers' points towards more contested elections in future.

If you are concerned about acts of violence in your community ZPP encourages you to get in touch on WhatsApp numbers: +263 774 883 406 and +263 774 883 417 and Toll free number 080 80199



