

AMANI TRUST

**Organised Violence and Torture in
the Bye-Elections held in Zimbabwe
during 2000 and 2001.**

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1. Introduction

This monograph focuses on the electoral irregularities, including gross human rights abuses, during the bye-elections in the period following the June 2000 Parliamentary elections. The General Election marked the first time a strong opposition party, the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC), had challenged the ruling Zimbabwe African National Union – Patriotic Front (Zanu (PF)) in the political arena. In the General Election the MDC won 57 out of 120 contested seats but the price paid for these democratic gains was high. This was perhaps the most violent election in Zimbabwe's history, with killings, wide scale torture, threats and intimidation and property damage around the country. The organised violence and torture continued through the various bye-elections held in 2000, 2001, and persisted into the Presidential Election in 2002.

Following the General Election, the MDC brought legal challenges to the High Court of Zimbabwe in 38 constituencies in an effort to contest the election results in those areas. They alleged that the violence perpetrated by Zanu (PF) agents, with the knowledge or active participation of the Zanu (PF) candidate at the time, unfairly affected the outcome of the vote in these constituencies, and thereby violated the Electoral Act of Zimbabwe. The MDC asked in their petitions that the results be overturned, and that elections be held again in these 38 constituencies. The MDC additionally requested that, if any member of parliament was found guilty of election misconduct, that member be rendered ineligible to run for public office for five years.

The trial of 39 cases (Zanu (PF) submitted one case as the petitioner) began in February 2001, and, by December 2001, 15 petitions had been heard by a High Court Judge, and eight cases cancelled or withdrawn. First hand testimony was documented from all the election petition cases that were heard in the High Court of Zimbabwe from February to October 2001.

This present monograph concentrates upon the human rights violations that took place during the bye-elections that took place in 2000 and 2001. None of these bye-elections came about as a result of the election petitions, as all those cases decided were immediately appealed and are still pending in the Supreme Court. All the bye-elections took place due to the death of the incumbent. Zanu(PF) won all these elections, amidst continued allegations of gross human rights violations and electoral irregularities.

This monograph, and the others in this series, are based on detailed observation of the election petitions held in the High Court of Zimbabwe, as well as testimonies available from victims seen during the General Election and the subsequent bye-elections. A team of researchers attended all the court hearings, making notes of all proceedings, as well as studying the case notes held by the AMANI Trust and the Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum. There is a companion monograph on the organised violence and torture that took place during the General Election¹. As will be seen, the present report corroborates many of the earlier reports of the Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum², as well as the reports of international human rights organisations³. A bibliography of the reports available is given in Appendix 1.

¹ See AMANI TRUST (2002), Organised Violence and Torture in the June 2000 General Election in Zimbabwe, HARARE: AMANI TRUST.

² See ZIMBABWE HUMAN RIGHTS NGO FORUM (2000), Who is Responsible? A Preliminary Analysis of Pre-election Violence in Zimbabwe, HARARE: ZIMABWE HUMAN RIGHTS NGO FORUM; ZIMBABWE HUMAN RIGHTS NGO FORUM (2000), Report on Pre-election Violence in Mberengwa, HARARE: ZIMABWE HUMAN RIGHTS NGO FORUM.

³ See AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL (2000), Zimbabwe: Terror tactics in the run-up to the parliamentary elections, June 2000, LONDON: AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL. See also IRCT (2000), Organised Violence and Torture in Zimbabwe, Harare and Copenhagen, 6th June 2000, COPENHAGEN: IRCT.

Below we give brief descriptions of the bye-elections that took place. These are based mostly upon the cases seen by the AMANI Trust itself, both during and after the bye-elections. The cases seen by the AMANI Trust are given in Appendix 2. The names of all those victims seen by AMANI are abbreviated in order to protect the victims. The only names that appear have already appeared in the public domain, usually by reports in the national or international press.

2. Marondera West By-election – 25-26 November, 2001

The Marondera West by-election was held following the death of Zanu (PF) MP, Rufaro Gwanzura, who died in a car accident in September. It was the first bye-election to be held after the General Election. The MDC brought back losing parliamentary candidate Shadrek Chipangura, while Zanu (PF) ran local party loyalist Brigadier Ambrose Mutinhiri as its candidate.

Initial MDC reports from early in the campaign season indicate incidents where party supporters were shot at by Zanu (PF) supporters⁴. Zanu (PF) youth also reportedly chased away an MDC campaign team that consisted of a white member and was being followed by a white BBC reporter.⁵

The campaign turned deadly when Lemani Chapurunga was killed in political violence during the run-up. During the incident, an MDC mob approached Zanu (PF) supporters at a campaign meeting. Police stepped in and fired when the MDC advanced. The MDC supporters retreated and the ZRP followed them to a shopping center. Some witnesses said the police were shooting throughout the area and ‘bullets were just flying’. Chapurunga was sitting at a bar at the shopping center when a stray bullet hit and killed him. His younger brother Milton said, *“It was the police who shot my brother. It was not true that my brother was shot while with any of the political groups. Some soldiers in the area had been intimidating voters threatening reprisals if the MDC won”*.⁶

Across the constituency numerous other methods were reportedly used to impede the process of free and fair elections. Reports indicated that voters were told machines would be used by Zanu (PF) to review votes with the implication that those who did not vote for the ruling party would become further victims of retribution and violence. Other reports accused Zanu (PF) of illegally using government resources such as DDF trucks, army-issued tents and local council offices for campaign purposes.⁷

As the campaign wore on, Zanu (PF) resorted to its often-used tactic of funneling money into a constituency ahead of an election under the guise of development projects. Millions of dollars were funneled into the constituency through the Ministry of Youth, Gender and Employment Creation for income-generating projects. The funds were targeted at youth and distributed at Zanu (PF) rallies featuring party leaders and the by-election candidate. Minister Border Gezi explained the distribution of funds by saying, *“Yes, we gave money to Marondera West last Friday but this has nothing to do with the by-election to take place there. This was done as part of our national programme that has seen us giving out money to other areas and provinces.”*⁸

Prior to the election dates, the EU requested to be allowed to send monitors through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Councillor Jerome Sautier of the French Embassy in Harare said, *“The request for international observers was not accepted on the grounds that this was just a by-election and did not need the presence of international monitors”*. Only monitors from ZESN monitored the election.⁹

⁴ Financial Gazette, 2 November 2001

⁵ Financial Gazette, 9 November 2001

⁶ Financial Gazette, 23 November 2001

⁷ Financial Gazette, 14 December 2001

⁸ Financial Gazette, 23 November 2001

⁹ *ibid*

In the end, nearly 24,000 registered Marondera West voters cast their votes. It was noteworthy that 64% of the total number of registered voters failed to cast their ballots. Such a low turnout can suggest that powerful forces were at work to keep people away from the voting booths, but it is also common for very low polls in bye-elections shortly after general elections. Although Zanu (PF) won yet again, the MDC closed the gap, despite the reports of frequent intimidation against their supporters. In total votes, the MDC lost only by only 200 votes, finishing with 4,570 in the by-election. Zanu (PF) lost nearly 4,000 votes compared to the parliamentary election but still finished with 7,376. Free and fair conditions were not observed¹⁰.

3. Bikita West By-election – 13-14 January 2001

The Bikita West by-election, held after MDC MP, Amos Mutongi, died from cancer in October 2000, was yet another opportunity for both parties to prove themselves after the parliamentary elections. It was the second bye-election to be held after the General Election in June 2000.

Early on in the campaign it was clear that this was much more than a simple parliamentary election. Bikita West had been relatively peaceful during the 2000 elections: there had been very few reports of human rights violations during the general election, and virtually no cases seen by the AMANI Trust during the same period. But with national and international attention upon the constituency, both parties pulled out all the stops to highlight the election's importance. For the MDC it was crucial to demonstrate that they could also hold on to a seat, just as Zanu(PF) had held on to Marondera West.

Zanu (PF) showcased its power most blatantly. It started by deploying national war veteran leader, Chenjerai 'Hitler' Hunzvi, and the war veteran militia to intimidate opposition supporters in the area. These militias joined with farm invaders shipped in from other constituencies to do the campaigning. The militias and invaders started by disrupting a number of MDC meetings, intimidating traditional leaders into supporting the ruling party, and forcing residents to attend party rallies. They also went to great lengths to destroy MDC posters, leaflets and other election materials.

Ruling party officials visited the constituency in droves and sent the message that all of Zanu (PF) was watching the election. Numerous members of parliament visited the constituency and Masvingo Provincial Governor, Josiah Hungwe, spoke at Zanu (PF) rallies. Minister for Youth, Gender and Employment Creation, Border Gezi, travelled around the region distributing money for development projects, a common Zanu (PF) practice before an election. Some residents were told that money they were to receive for drought relief and welfare was dependent on their support for the party. Zanu (PF) also used government resources such as vehicles during the campaign.

Zanu (PF) devoted part of its campaign to ensuring that only party loyalists could vote. No new voter registration was undertaken for the election. In addition, many residents were told that cameras inside the ballot boxes could be used to link a voter with his ballot. The implication that there would be serious consequences for anyone who voted against Zanu (PF) was obvious to all.

MDC members were also implicated in violence, but these acts, although worthy of condemnation, were largely unorganized and mostly committed in retaliation. According to the

¹⁰ See *Zimbabwe Election Support Network (2001), Marondera West Constituency By-Election, December 2000, HARARE: ZESN.*

party's spokesmen, MDC youth were deployed in the area to combat the rampant lawlessness and abuse of MDC supporters. This unusual step was taken primarily because the police were largely ineffectual in protecting local residents.

But the most troubling aspect of the campaign was the rampant violence that resulted in two deaths, numerous injuries, and vast property damage. The large number of party supporters that both major parties deployed to the constituency heightened the scale and ferocity of the violence.

The death of Zanu (PF) supporter, Bernard Gara, received more media attention than any other act of violence during the campaign. Gara was allegedly stabbed to death by MDC supporters at a Zanu (PF) rally at Baradzanwa business centre. He was apparently caught in a clash between party youth and was fatally injured in the melee. He died en route to the hospital.

Bikita West police launched into quick action after the murder. Forty-four MDC activists were arrested in the next few days, and eight were brought before the courts and charged. An arrest warrant was also issued for MDC MP, Job Sikhala, who also serves as his party's security director. He was alleged to have been present during the clash of party youths and was alleged by the ZRP to have taken a leading role.

A few days after the incident police raided an MDC hideout in Bikita and detained 97 party youth. Police confiscated short stabbing spears, South African-made butcher knives, axes and knobkerries. Hundreds of MDC youth reportedly were deployed to the area in response to the deaths of two MDC activists in the early run-up period.

MDC activist, Ropafadzo Manyame, of Warren Park in Harare was another victim, apparently due to Zanu (PF) retaliation after the death of Gara. A war veteran militia and Zanu (PF) supporters at Nyika growth point attacked her on 9 January 2001. At the time of the attack she was sitting in a car belonging to MDC Shadow Minister for Health, Tichaona Mudzingwa. The violators threw petrol bombs at MDC cars injuring several MDC supporters and burning three vehicles. Manyame died of her injuries a week later. It is alleged that Chenjerai Hunzvi ordered the attack. Yet, unlike the actions that followed the death of Gara, there was no mass police action and no arrests reported.¹¹

During that same period members of the CIO and ZRP allegedly tortured 50 MDC youths. After the youths were arrested and detained at Zaka police station, they were reportedly beaten with rifle butts and batons, shackled in leg irons, had their testicles compressed, and were burnt with cigarettes. They were also made to chew and grind MDC red cards and whistles with their teeth. The youths were then forced to strip naked, put on condoms, and lick them. Their money, IDs and party information was confiscated. They were eventually transported by men armed with AK-47s and hand grenades in an unregistered vehicle. The victims were eventually abandoned in the middle of the Gonarezhou game park.¹²

The Zimbabwe Election Support Network (ZESN) also reported other assaults during the run-up period. A woman with the surname of Chiumburikwa was beaten with an iron bar by Zanu (PF) supporters on 19 December 2000 and sustained injuries to her forehead. Zanu (PF) supporters and a war veteran militia beat Boniface Tauya three days later at his home. He and his mother were assaulted, and Boniface was struck in the face with a knife. Kenias Chikambure was abducted and assaulted by Zanu (PF) supporters and war veterans. During his assault he sustained back injuries and lost two front teeth. Charles Chinyinka was also beaten during this time. He was assaulted by Zanu (PF) supporters and hit on the nose with a hoe. He was referred to Silveira Hospital for treatment.¹³

¹¹ Daily News, 19/1/01

¹² See ZESN (2001), *Bikita West 2001 Parliamentary By-Election Report*, HARARE: ZESN; see also The Zimbabwe Standard, 14/1/01

¹³ *ibid.*

All of these incidents of violence had a serious impact on the populace. The total picture revealed door-to-door intimidation, assaults with knives, hoes, picks, sticks and guns, arson attacks, crushing palms, destruction of property, vandalism, confiscation of IDs, forced attendance at rallies and forcibly making residents wear party T-shirts. Many of the youth in Bikita West who were targeted as suspected MDC supporters fled into the mountains and did not vote. Members of the older generation, who are most susceptible to torture and intimidation because of their knowledge of previous waves of violence, reported voting so that the 'war' would be over and their children could return.

One widespread tactic used by Zanu(PF) party supporters was a ruse to identify and assault opposition supporters. A popular tactic employed in the constituency entailed ruling party supporters waving an open hand, the MDC symbol, at passers-by. If a response was given, indicating support for the MDC, that person was beaten. Unproven reports exist which speculate that this method led to the death of Bernard Gara who allegedly misunderstood the hand signal. This goes against the popular notion that MDC extremists killed him¹⁴.

Many other incidents of violence were reported in the run-up period. In early January, 80 MDC supporters had their homes burnt down by Zanu (PF) supporters and war veteran militias.¹⁵ On 6 January, Zanu (PF) supporters assaulted MDC President Morgan Tsvangirai's driver, Mr. Sanganayi, while Tsvangirai was addressing a rally.¹⁶ A few days later the parents of MDC MP Job Sikhala, alleged to have been involved in the Bikita-West unrest, were assaulted at their home in St. Mary's.¹⁷ And in a sign of the chaos that gripped Bikita-West before the election, Zanu (PF) supporters, Priscilla Bengura and Tellme Chirume, were assaulted by other Zanu (PF) supporters and war veterans after they were mistaken for MDC youth. They were admitted to Silveira Mission and treated for their injuries.¹⁸ MDC candidate Bonnie Pakai survived an attempt on his life in early January, after his entourage was ambushed in Nyika by CIO members.¹⁹

A pre-election report issued by ZESN highlighted at least twenty attacks before the end of December. Most victims reported being assaulted during door-to-door campaigns of terror initiated by Zanu (PF) supporters and war veteran militias under cover of darkness. In one case, a victim had his door broken down at night and was assaulted in his own house. He was beaten, blindfolded, and dragged to a car. He was then taken to the mountains where he was beaten with tree branches. Finally, he had the palm of his hand crushed by assailants because they claimed it was used to flash the MDC symbol of the open hand.²⁰ In another incident unnamed MDC supporters were told by war veterans to get into a twin-cab driven by Zanu (PF) Chikomba MP and war veteran leader Chenjerai Hunzvi. The MDC supporters were then assaulted and thrown from the moving vehicle.²¹

As the campaign season wore on, lawlessness and violence continued. Teachers at the Gumunyu and Gwindingwi schools in Bikita refused to return to their jobs after being threatened with death by a local war veteran militia. The militias and Zanu (PF) supporters accused the teachers of campaigning for the MDC. Reports indicate that the militias tortured the teachers after the elections.²²

Activities at the Nerumedzo School in Bikita were also disrupted in January. Zanu (PF) supporters, war veteran militias and ZRP members came to the school in 15 twin-cabs and three ZRP Defender vehicles. Many young boys were beaten for being MDC supporters. They were

¹⁴ See ZESN (2001), *Bikita West 2001 Parliamentary By-election Report*, HARARE: ZESN.

¹⁵ The Zimbabwe Independent, 12/1/01

¹⁶ *ibid.*

¹⁷ Daily News, 12/1/01

¹⁸ The Herald, 16/1/01

¹⁹ Daily News, 9/1/01

²⁰ See ZESN (2001), *Bikita West 2001 Parliamentary By-election Report*, HARARE: ZESN.

²¹ *ibid.*

²² Daily News, 23/1/01

forced to attend a pungwe, and renounce their allegiance to the MDC. A bonfire was lit and all available MDC campaign material was burned.²³

This policy of forced support recurred many times during the campaign. In January 2001, many people in the Dungu rural area were forced to attend a Zanu (PF) rally. When the attendance fell short of expectations, herdsman were threatened and told that they would lose their positions if they did not rally residents behind the ruling party. During this period one man's car was torched and a petrol bomb was thrown into his business after he was forced to attend a Zanu (PF) rally. The petrol bomb did not explode. Other residents had their palms beaten with hammers, were told that cameras would monitor their vote and were forced to buy Zanu (PF) cards. All reported being threatened if they did not vote for Zanu (PF).²⁴

The result was not surprising: Zanu (PF) candidate, Claudius Makova, defeated the MDC's Bonnie Pakai by a margin of 63 per cent to 34 per cent. These results are radically to the results of the parliamentary election only seven months prior. In June 2000, MDC candidate, Amos Mutongi, won his relatively peaceful constituency by a margin of 49 per cent to 48 per cent or 7,726 votes to 7 445. Zanu (PF) nearly doubled its vote count, while the MDC declined in total votes. The MDC dropped from 7,726 in June to 7,001, presumably due to the high amount of violence and intimidation in the area. However, Zanu (PF) jumped from 7, 445 votes in June to an astronomical 12, 993 in January.

Without any new voters it is unlikely that almost 6000 people in the constituency, who had not previously voted in the parliamentary election, decided to vote for Zanu (PF). Numerous problems with voting procedure and the monitoring effort led to a perception by the MDC that the election was won dishonestly, either by violence and intimidation, or by allowing non-residents to vote. They also alleged rigging during the voting process. In its final evaluation, ZESN concurred, and declared that the process was not free and fair due to the numerous incidents of violence during the electoral process.²⁵

From the perspective of those monitoring human rights violations in Zimbabwe, the result was not surprising. During the 2000 Election, very little violence was reported in the constituency, and there were a number of problems for Zanu(PF), who had severe divisions in the supporters. There was a dispute over the Zanu(PF) candidature for the constituency, with the losing candidate deciding to run as an independent. There was some evidence of clashes between Zanu(PF) factions, and this space probably allowed the MDC campaign to proceed in a more successful manner than in other rural constituencies.

During the bye-election, however, these were problems no longer for Zanu(PF), and the campaign resembled the pattern seen so widely in the General Election. As was so clearly seen in the General Election, high rates of violence in areas of likely Zanu(PF) support brought Zanu(PF) victory. Few were surprised by the result, but there was one interesting finding, and this related to the number of voter disqualified. There was no data released by the Registrar-General's office in respect of disqualifications during the General Election, but, in the Bikita West bye-election, the office indicated that nearly 25% of the voters had been disqualified. This is a very high number, and occurs against the background of a voter's roll unchanged from the General Election. There must be speculation about the grounds for disqualification, which were not given in detail, and further speculation about which party these persons may have been supporting.

²³ The Standard, 21/1/01

²⁴ See ZESN (2001), *Bikita West 2001 Parliamentary By-election Report*, HARARE: ZESN.

²⁵ See ZESN (2001), *Bikita West 2001 Parliamentary By-election Report*, HARARE: ZESN.

4. Bindura By-election – 27-28 July 2001

The Bindura by-election took place on 27-28 July in one of the bloodiest and most contentious constituencies in the country. The election was held after Zanu (PF) MP, Border Gezi, died in a car accident, and pitted previous MDC candidate, Elliot Pfebve, against the incumbent Provincial Governor of Mashonaland Central, Elliot Manyika. Manyika had taken over the Governorship from Border Gezi, when the latter won the parliamentary seat of Bindura. Dubbed the 'Battle of the Elliots' by the press, the election built on a history of severe violence that was established during the parliamentary pre-election period.

Despite the high level of violence and constant intimidation, Elliot Pfebve decided to build on his popularity and run for the seat again. Though losing to Zanu (PF) a year earlier, the MDC had made an unexpectedly strong showing in the election, with Gezi winning by a very small and highly disputed majority. In fact, this petition had been challenged in the courts, but Gezi died before the courts could hear the challenge. The MDC desperately wanted to prove that it could win in a Zanu (PF) stronghold. Zanu (PF) on the other hand, could not afford to lose a key constituency with a high-profile candidate. Both parties were eager to demonstrate their influence in Bindura as it consists of rural, urban, peri-urban, communal, commercial and resettled areas. In essence, Bindura is a microcosm of the entire country.

During the General Election, massive violence had enveloped Bindura, a traditional Zanu (PF) stronghold, and resulted in many deaths and injuries. Perhaps the most widely covered act of violence was the death of Matthew Pfebve, brother of MDC candidate Elliot Pfebve, at the hands of Zanu (PF) supporters. Zanu (PF) supporters kidnapped Matthew at his brother's house thinking he was the candidate. His attackers refused to believe that he was not Elliot Pfebve and beat him to death.

During the bye-election, both parties pulled out all the stops to campaign by holding rallies addressed by their national party leadership. With so many high-profile visitors and the attention of the entire nation, the pre-election period felt like much more than a parliamentary by-election. One of the more serious incidents involved an attack and reported assassination attempt on MDC President Morgan Tsvangirai, Pfebve, and other high-ranking MDC officials. During a campaign swing through the constituency, their convoy was attacked by 100 Zanu (PF) youths wearing party t-shirts. The mob attacked the convoy with stones and sticks, and tried to torch the vehicles. Some of the vehicles, including one belonging to the independent Daily News newspaper, were set ablaze. The convoy managed to escape without sustaining any serious injuries.

Though this was perhaps the most serious incident of the campaign, numerous other acts of violence occurred. Reports indicate that opposition supporters were the most frequent targets of assaults. They were often attacked with chains, axes, stones and sticks. There were many reports of looting and destruction of property, including acts of arson against homes, vehicles and stores of food. Zanu (PF) supporters were allegedly the main perpetrators, yet the majority of the 40 people arrested in the pre-election period for political violence were MDC supporters.²⁶

Due to the high levels of violence, the election results are difficult to read accurately with regards to the true will of the people. The official results had Zanu (PF)'s Manyika the winner with 15,864 votes compared to 9,456 for the MDC's Pfebve. According to official reports 3,500 new voters registered in Bindura compared to the June 2000 elections, and there was an increase of 2.5 per cent of eligible voters who cast a ballot. On the whole the MDC lost about 1,800 votes from the previous year's total while Zanu (PF) gained 2,500.

²⁶ See ZESN (2001), Bindura By-election Report, HARARE: ZESN.

Pervasive violence undoubtedly reduced the demand to vote, and indeed the percentage of registered voters was slightly down on the General Election. More troubling were the reports of electoral irregularities. The independent press reported that close to 4000 new voters were moved into Bindura and registered to vote for the ruling party.²⁷ This practice has been alleged in other constituencies across the country. It is unlikely that Bindura would have seen a 6% rise in eligible voters in a single year without some sort of forced resettlement exercise. In addition to the rise in voters there were also reports that Zanu (PF) officials were taking roll calls of resettled farmers nightly to make sure they had voted for the ruling party. The increase could have, however, been a consequence of the land re-settlement process, and the probability that many new persons had moved into the commercial farms to take up re-settlement offers, or were invaders of commercial farms.

With the continuation of mass violence and allegations of severe electoral improprieties, the Bindura by-election was flawed in many ways. Numerous MDC supporters reported that they did not cast their ballots out of fear. Incidents of violence were well publicized throughout the constituency, and many residents feared retribution if they voted against the ruling party. On election day, Pfebve and other MDC supporters were detained by the ZRP for two hours. Several MDC vehicles were impounded, thus impeding the MDC's ability to monitor the elections. With these factors in consideration, the Bindura by-election cannot be seen to have been free and fair. This was the comment of those who observed the by-election, such as ZESN. MDC did not enter an electoral challenge to the result.

5. Makoni West By-election – 8-9 September 2001

The Makoni West by-election was necessitated by the death of Zanu (PF) MP and Minister of Defence, Moven Mahachi, who died in a car accident. Ironically, his death came in the middle of an election challenge brought against Mahachi by the MDC for violent and fraudulent tactics allegedly employed during the run-up to the 2000 parliamentary election.

During the pre-election cycle of that election, opposition supporters alleged that Mahachi had engaged in mass violence, forced registration of voters, and roll calls of voters. The violence got so bad that the MDC encouraged its supporters to destroy their party cards in order to save themselves from attacks by Zanu (PF) youth and war veteran militias. While Zanu (PF) was able to hold mass rallies during this time, the MDC was reduced to low-profile door-to-door campaigns and secret rallies at night to reduce the possibility of violence against its members.

The pre by-election cycle was no different. Reports came out of ZRP-Rusape that officers would be transferred if they were found reading the Daily News. Both parties forced opposite party supporters to destroy their party cards, although reports implicated Zanu (PF) on a much higher scale. Zanu (PF) supporters and war veteran militias established bases around the constituency that were used to launch both campaign activities and waves of violence. Incidents of arson against opposition party supporters began emerging and villagers were told repeatedly that they would be answerable to war veteran militias and Zanu (PF) youth if the ruling party lost the election.

Zanu (PF) seemed intent on mandating support. Numerous reports allege forced purchasing of party cards and forced attendance at rallies and pungwes. Zanu (PF) youth groups were given \$13 000 by party leaders, while village elders affiliated with the ruling party were promised loans. Local leaders promised maize if residents voted for Zanu (PF). At one point ZESN members trying to monitor a Zanu (PF) meeting were abducted, force-marched, and forced to chant Zanu (PF) slogans.

²⁷ See ZESN (2001), Bindura By-election Report, HARARE: ZESN.

The extent of forced attendance at Zanu (PF) meetings was especially apparent in August. At the end of the month, two persons were beaten at Gwangwadza for not attending a Zanu (PF) rally.²⁸ A few days later, 24 people attending a funeral at Chakuma were forced to leave the body behind and attend a Zanu (PF) rally. During that same period, MDC youths were attacked and beaten by Zanu (PF) youth in the constituency. The local MDC leader was forced to attend numerous Zanu (PF) rallies from then on. Some of the MDC youth had their party T-shirts ripped off and were forced to polish the shoes of Zanu (PF) supporters. Reports also emerged of huts being burnt and threats by the ZRP against MDC officials trying to hold a rally.²⁹

On 17 August, a local MDC vice-chairperson was attacked, along with his wife and son, by Zanu (PF) youth, armed with pickaxe handles and sticks. Three other children escaped direct attack, but the entire family, except the father, was in the house when Zanu (PF) supporters set it alight. A one-year old baby was saved only when his mother rescued him from the burning house. No one was injured in the blaze, but \$600 000 worth of property was destroyed in the attack.³⁰

Later in August, Zanu (PF) supporters and a war veteran militia followed MDC supporters in the Mushangwe resettlement area. The militia was searching for MDC members who were on their 'hit list', but failed to locate them. Instead they torched a church after they saw posters for MDC candidate Remus Makuwaza at a nearby farm. In addition, there were reports of torture bases set up by the militias in the area.³¹

The results of the by-election seemed consistent with the period of brutalization that preceded it. Whereas the June 2000 election saw a 54 per cent to 35 per cent win for Zanu (PF) amid massive violence, the by-election results favored Zanu (PF) by an increased 60 per cent to 33 per cent for the MDC. By all accounts, the violence, intimidation and forced registration were more severe and targeted during the by-election. Though 48 per cent of registered voters cast their ballots in the June 2000 elections, only 40 per cent dared to do so in September 2001. That is a significant decline in a little over a year, and can most likely be attributed to the atmosphere of fear pervasive in the constituency during that time.

Given the lack of acceptable electoral conditions on nearly all fronts, ZESN determined that the 'freeness and fairness of the Makoni West By-election was compromised.'³² Again the ruling party used battle-tested tactics of vote manipulation with success. With the nation watching, Zanu (PF) augmented its typical violence and intimidation by enlisting local leaders to force residents to cast their vote for the ruling party.

6. Chikomba By-election - 22-23 September 2001

The second by-election of the month was held in the Chikomba constituency, following the death of Zanu (PF) MP, and Zimbabwe National Liberation War Veterans Association (ZNLWVA) leader, Chenjerai Hunzvi. It seemed inevitable that violence would yet again be employed to affect the outcome of the election. Hunzvi himself was known for notorious acts against opposition groups³³. He is alleged to have operated torture centers during the 2000 parliamentary elections and built up war veteran militias nationwide that have been the main catalyst for violence across the country. Clearly this was a constituency that Zanu (PF) was not willing to lose.

²⁸ See ZESN (2001), *Makoni West Constituency By-election*, HARARE: ZESN.

²⁹ *ibid.*

³⁰ HRLU Statement

³¹ HRLU Statement

³² See ZESN (2001), *Makoni West Constituency By-election*, HARARE: ZESN.

³³ See *Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum (2001), Who was responsible? A consolidated analysis of pre-election violence in Zimbabwe*, HARARE: ZIMBABWE HUMAN RIGHTS NGO FORUM.

The campaign for the by-election began very quietly with public statements from all parties that the election would be peaceful. This did appear to be the case for the early weeks, and there were no reports of violence or intimidation.

From 30 August, the peaceful nature of the campaign was altered. A vehicle, clearly marked with ZANU (PF) (Mashonaland East), was seen driving around the constituency. In the vehicle were 17 men, including two locals from Chikomba who were identified by local people. This vehicle was reported at the scene of several abductions of MDC supporters, and at least four of MDC supporters abducted were subsequently tortured. Details of these cases are given below in Appendix 2.

Subsequently, Victor Mugazi, headmaster of Maronda Mashanu Secondary School, fled into hiding after his wife was severely tortured by suspected ZANU (PF) supporters, and Felix Mazava, another headmaster, was murdered, again by suspected ZANU (PF) supporters.

Dr Ndanga, the MDC candidate, received credible information that there would be an attempt made on his life, and went into hiding on 8 September. He was informed that Phillip Bako, a war veteran related to him, had been instructed to lure him to Bako's home where the assassination was to have taken place. Subsequently, Bako visited the Ndanga homestead, seeking to see the candidate, but was prevented from doing so by relatives of Dr Ndanga. Bako has subsequently filed charges of assault against these family members, but these charges are denied by all the accused. Various members of Dr Ndanga's family were subsequently arrested by the ZRP in a very hostile arrest during which the ZRP fired shots in the air despite there being no provocation. The accused were taken to Chivu and Sadza police stations, and all but two have been released³⁴.

Dr Ndanga subsequently received further information that he was still being sought by ZANU (PF) supporters and that his life remained in danger. ZANU (PF) held a rally about 500 metres from his family home this past weekend (16-17 September), and members of his family were pressured to attend. During this time, the ZRP entered his home and searched the premises without a valid search warrant.

As indicated above, it initially looked as if the Chikomba by-election would herald in a new era of peaceful co-existence between the two major parties. Zanu (PF) party leaders announced that they would discourage party activists from outside the constituency from taking an active role in pre-election activities. This was done ostensibly to quell pre-election violence. Previous by-election violence had been exacerbated by the presence of activists from outside the contested area. In addition, local Zanu (PF) youth and MDC youth shared a social gathering early in the pre-election period. This was an absolutely unprecedented event for both parties.

However, this atmosphere of cooperation was quickly dissipated as violence and intimidation again became the order of the day. Reports emerged that area residents were forced to purchase Zanu (PF) cards. These allegations were also made against the MDC resulting in local residents rushing to purchase a card of each party. Soon rumors began to circulate that only people in possession of Zanu (PF) party cards would be eligible for resettlement, government jobs, loans or self-help projects.

Pre-election activities took a turn for the worse when Zanu (PF) conducted a door-to-door campaign on 2-3 September. This exercise focused mainly on discovering and intimidating opposition party supporters. Party cards were routinely checked and opposition party supporters were either threatened or assaulted. Residents were also told that 'machinery' would be used to discover votes with the implication that there would be retribution for anyone who did not support

³⁴ See *Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum (2001), Report on Election-Related Political Violence in Chikomba, HARARE: ZIMBABWE HUMAN RIGHTS NGO FORUM.*

Zanu (PF). Forced attendance at rallies and other intimidation similar to that used in Makoni West was also reported widely.

More serious incidents began to emerge in late August and September. A ZESA employee in Chivhu, who was suspected of supporting the MDC and NCA, was abducted from his home in the Northwood suburb by war veteran militia. He was then taken to the Council Community Hall where he was stabbed in the head. He was also beaten and told to renounce both the MDC and NCA. Luckily his wounds were not serious though he required five stitches on his head.³⁵ During that same period members of the ZNA, who were also employed by the Chivhu town council, abducted and beat four young MDC supporters from the Marondamusha Communal Lands.³⁶ In addition, Mike Mamire Nyashanu, a Zanu (PF) member and Chairman of the Chikomba Rural Council, was abducted and beaten by other Zanu (PF) supporters. Nyashanu was an old rival of Hunzvi in the area. He was allegedly beaten for not supporting the local Zanu (PF) candidate and not attending local party rallies.³⁷

Violence and intimidation intensified in early September. On 2nd September, three MDC youths were abducted by Zanu (PF) youths and war veterans in Sengwe town. They were then taken to Chinyamungororo Heroes Acre and beaten. The assailants left the victims for dead, and they were eventually rescued by other MDC youth hours later. In the nearby Diura village, about 15kms from Chivhu town, nearly all of the residents fled due to intimidation by local war veteran militias. Reports of violence and running battles between party youth were rampant in the early part of the month. Although Zanu (PF) had pledged to keep non-resident party supporters out of Chikomba, MDC supporters saw a government bus ferrying Zanu (PF) supporters into Chikomba from Marondera. This mobilization was undertaken to continue the campaign of violence already underway.³⁸

Campaign activity in Chikomba came to a head on 11 September, when Felix Mazava, the headmaster of Mboe Primary School, was beaten to death by unknown assailants travelling in a white twin-cab. Mazava was known to hold both party cards. Both major parties claimed him as their supporter. After that events in the constituency seemed to have hit a point of no return. Days later an MDC supporter expressed his political affiliation when questioned by Zanu (PF) youth. The MDC supporter was then forced to attend a Zanu (PF) meeting where he was severely beaten and stabbed in the head. He was hospitalized for profuse bleeding but recovered and was released. After his release he was again abducted and threatened by Zanu (PF) supporters and CIO members.³⁹

One of the more high-profile human rights violations involved assaults against lawyers. The Chairperson of Zimbabwe Lawyers for Human Rights (ZLHR) was assaulted along with a witness in the parliamentary election petitions in ZANU (PF) instigated violence in the Chikomba constituency on Saturday, 7 April. Two lawyers working for the Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum narrowly escaped. In a letter to the Commissioner of Police in Harare, Mr. Tawanda Hondora, of ZLHR, stated that members of ZANU (PF) assaulted him while police watched. Mr. Gabriel Shumba and Mr. Godfrey Mupanga, both of the Forum, managed to escape but were threatened with assault when they arrived at the local Sadza Police Station to make a complaint.

The three had travelled to Chikomba, in the Mashonaland East province, to investigate allegations of intimidation and assault directed at witnesses in the election challenges currently before the High Court. Mr. Hondora was representing Peter Kaunda, the MDC candidate for Chikomba, who was contesting the result. The full details are given in Appendix 2.

³⁵ See ZESN (2001), *Chikomba Constituency By-election*, HARARE: ZESN.

³⁶ *ibid.*

³⁷ *ibid.*

³⁸ See ZESN (2001), *Chikomba Constituency By-election*, HARARE: ZESN

³⁹ *ibid*

Later in the month, a mob of approximately 80 Zanu (PF) supporters attacked the house of an MDC supporter in the area. The owner reported thousands of dollars worth of damage. The rhetoric during this time was consistent and violent. Zanu (PF) supporters told Chikomba residents repeatedly during public speeches that there would be severe retribution if they did not support the ruling party. Up to the day of the election, ZESN and ESC monitors were sometimes detained by local militias and were accused of being MDC members.

By election day, Chikomba had descended from an area with a significant possibility for free and fair conditions into a virtual war zone. Many residents had fled the constituency or gone into hiding. Others were subjected to repeated threats if they supported an opposition party. Many experienced assaults and torture to coerce them into supporting the ruling party.

Not surprisingly Zanu (PF) won the bye-election by a margin of 71 per cent to 23 per cent. Overall they gained 10 percentage points while the MDC lost 7 per cent compared to the June 2000 elections. While the total number of votes was nearly identical to the previous poll, 2,500 more people registered to vote bringing the total to 52 774.⁴⁰ With a rise in violence it could be expected that many opposition supporters decided to stay home. That being the case such a significant increase in the total number of votes by Zanu (PF) reflects the efforts undertaken by the ruling party to get the vote at any cost. The ruling party's efforts appeared to have paid off.

Nonetheless, given the levels of violence and intimidation the bye-election cannot be seen as free and fair. The entire constituency was operating in a state of fear and threats of retribution for supporting the opposition were rampant. It is unclear why Zanu (PF) departed so severely from their initial peaceful statements but once they did, they ensured a victory at all costs.

7. Conclusions

As will be seen from the summaries above, a clear pattern emerges in respect of all the bye-elections. The pattern is little different from that observed in the June 2000 Parliamentary Elections, showing significant violence, vote-buying through selective distribution of development funds (but perhaps on a far greater scale), voter intimidation, and a highly partisan role on the part of the Electoral Supervisory Commission. The findings of the AMANI Trust were corroborated by other organizations, and, in particular, the findings of the Zimbabwe Election Support Network (ZESN).

It is evident that the MDC found it difficult to campaign in most constituencies. This was overcome to some extent by the deployment of MDC youth groups in the early bye-elections, but it became clear in the Bikita bye-election that these groups became special targets for the violence. In subsequent bye-elections, the reliance by the MDC upon youth cadres seemed to diminish, most probably because these youth seemed to attract such violence. This is not to suggest that the MDC youth were blameless in the violence in the two early elections – Marondera West and Bikita West – but the evidence does not support the view that they were the major perpetrators. In both these two bye-elections, and, in all the subsequent bye-elections, supporters of Zanu (PF) were the overwhelmingly perpetrators of organised violence and torture.

Perpetrators according to case reports.

War veterans	19%
Zanu (PF) youth	8%
Zanu (PF) supporters	35%
ZRP	14%
CIO	10%
ZNA	1%
MDC	2%
Unknown	11%

⁴⁰ See ZESN (2001), *Chikomba Constituency By-election, HARARE: ZESN*

As can be seen from the Table above, the vast majority of the violence recorded from the cases seen by the Trust is alleged to be at the hands of Zanu (PF) supporters, but a distressingly large percentage (24%) is alleged to have occurred at the hands of the ZRP or the CIO. The ZNA do not appear to be implicated in any significant numbers.

Violence was common in all these bye-elections, and it was evident from the cases seen by the AMANI Trust that very few were the product of what might be termed “political violence”; that is, violent clashes between supporters of rival political parties. Most conformed to the definition of torture contained in United Nations Convention Against Torture. In this definition, torture is defined by the following:

1. *Severe **pain and suffering**, whether physical or mental;*
2. ***Intentionally** inflicted;*
3. *With a **purpose**;*
4. *By a state official or another acting with the **acquiescence** of the State.*

According to the statements given and the medical examinations undertaken, there was clear evidence of severe pain and suffering, both physical and psychological, accompanying the injuries. The statements taken confirm that these injuries were deliberately inflicted with the purpose of influencing the victims to not support another political party, or, most frequently, to merely terrorise them. In 87% of the cases, the perpetrators were Zanu (PF) supporters, “war veteran” militia, CIO and the ZRP, with Zanu (PF) supporters being in the vast majority. It may seem far-fetched to argue that Zanu (PF) supporters are either state officials or acting with the acquiescence of the State, but it is the case that there have been a very large number of statements by Government Ministers and senior Zanu (PF) officials openly expressing support for the actions of their supporters. There were also many statements that can only be seen as encouragement for violence, and an equally large number of statements that were overt hate speech or racism. There were some statements repudiating violence, but these were not translated into firm policy on the part of the police, and, as is seen from the cases reported, far too many cases in which the police or the CIO were themselves implicated in violence and torture. It is thus not too difficult to conclude that these actions were carried out with the acquiescence of the State, and that therefore all 4 components of the definition of torture are fulfilled in virtually all cases. As will be seen from the Table below, torture was the most common human rights violation.

Types of human rights violations in cases seen⁴¹.

Physical torture	85%
Psychological torture	20%
Abductions	20%
Deaths	1%

There were reports of previously identified perpetrators being involved. This was clearly related to the amnesty of October 2000. In Chikomba, for example, a number of perpetrators were identified during the 2000 General Election. The most notorious of these was the deceased MP for Chikomba, Dr Chenjerai Hitler Hunzvi. Not only had Dr Hunzvi been mentioned by victims from Chikomba constituency, but he was also mentioned in connection with torture in Budiro. Dr Hunzvi was directly implicated in the torture that took place in Bikita West, and this was torture

⁴¹ The percentages reported do are the result of overlapping categories. For example, a victim may have been abducted and tortured. Additionally, the percentage of psychological torture is obviously low, but represents cases where no physical torture occurred. In general, it is extremely rare for victims who have been physically tortured not to have been psychologically tortured too.

not covered by the Clemency Order of October 2000. No charges were brought in respect of this second set of violations against Dr Hunzvi.

At least three other names re-emerged subsequent to the election. Assistant Inspector Majora and Constable Cuthbert Mapfumo were both named as being involved in the unlawful arrest and assault of lawyer Tawanda Hondora (see page 30), whilst CIO operative Masocha was named as being involved in the torture of TD (see page 27). In Makoni, Nathaniel "Punish" Mhiripiri, previously mentioned in the 2000 General Election, was again mentioned in two more incidents of torture⁴².

In the Bindura bye-election, the candidate, Elliot Manyika, was mentioned as being directly implicated in two violent assaults, and charges have been preferred in both of these cases. The notorious Joseph Chinotimba, self-styled *war veteran* and now the leader of the Zimbabwe Federation of Trades Unions (ZFTU), was also mentioned in two incidents in which torture took place.

There were incidents in which the MDC was implicated in violence, but not in torture. Members of the MDC were the most common victims seen, but, as can be seen from the Table below, Zanu (PF) supporters were also victims. In a high percentage of cases, the victims were merely ordinary citizens and not members of a political party. Most of these were the victims of Zanu (PF), presumably because they were perceived as MDC supporters.

Affiliations of victims from cases recorded.

MDC	66%
Zanu (PF)	12%
Ordinary citizens	22%

Overall, it is safe to conclude that organised violence and torture characterized the bye-elections that took place in 2001. The pattern strongly replicated that seen during the June 2000 Parliamentary Elections. It thus possible to make similar statements about these bye-elections, and to conclude that the conditions did not approach the kinds of standards that should operate in democratic elections. In particular, the levels of organised violence and torture recorded are inimical to free and fair elections, irrespective of the climate that pertained on the actual polling days.

⁴² See *Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum (2001), Who was responsible? A consolidated analysis of pre-election violence in Zimbabwe*, HARARE: ZIMBABWE HUMAN RIGHTS NGO FORUM.

Appendix 1.

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In addition there are the monthly reports of the Human Rights Forum on the political violence during 2001:

Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum, Monthly political violence reports from February to June 2001, HARARE: ZIMBABWE HUMAN RIGHTS NGO FORUM.

Appendix 2.
Human rights violations [Organised Violence and Torture] reported during bye-elections in 2000 and 2001.

Marondera West

The AMANI Trust did not receive any cases for medical care during the Marondera West bye-election, and the cases reported above are taken from statements given to lawyers or from the public domain.

Bikita West

- **GC [4th January 2001]**
 Male, aged 31.
 Tortured in Mazungunye village, Bikita, by members of the police force. He was beaten all over his body and experienced falanga. He was beaten because he was a suspected member of the MDC. He suffered injuries to the hands, knees, chest, cheeks and the soles of the feet.
- **TS [4th January 2001]**
 Male, aged 32
 Tortured by beating at police station by members of the police force. Injured on head and chest.
- **FN [7th January 2001]**
 Male, aged 22.
 Tortured at Bikita Minerals along the main road. The perpetrators were members of ZANU (PF) led by Chenjerai Hunzvi, who was present during the torture. It was also alleged that members of the police were involved. The victim was targeted because he refused to participate in a ZANU (PF) rally. He was assaulted on both legs with an iron bar. He has suffered injuries to both legs.
- **L S [12th January 2001]**
 Male, aged 25.
 Threatened with torture at Nyika Growth Point, Bikita. The perpetrators were reported to be members of ZANU (PF) led by Chenjerai Hunzvi. They were armed with guns, iron bars and knobkerries. The victim was allegedly targeted because he was campaigning for the MDC. He was injured on the right arm whilst escaping.

Note : About 20 persons were injured at the same time. They could not seek medical treatment because of the hostile situation in that area. The AMANI Trust assisted some victims.

- **R R [13th January 2001]**
 Male, aged 21.
 He was attacked at Nerunedzo School, Bikita. The perpetrators were ZANU (PF) supporters, backed by members of the police. The victim also alleged that his perpetrators may have been war veterans clad in police attire. They were armed with guns, iron bars, and knobkerries. He alleged that guns were fired more than 10 times, but no one was injured. He was injured under his right foot whilst trying to flee. The victim made no report of the matter, nor did he seek medical attention for fear of further victimisation.

- **E C [15th January 200]**
Male, aged 23.
He was assaulted at Mutikizizi Business Centre, Bikita, with sticks, boots, baton sticks and gun butts by members of the police. He suffered multiple injuries, especially to his left cheek, back, and buttocks.
- **L M [18th January 2001]**
Male, aged 63.
He was assaulted with baton sticks by members of the Zimbabwe National Army. Soldiers accused him of blocking roads into the suburbs during the food riots. He suffered multiple injuries. The soldiers broke his left index finger and dislocated his left wrist. The matter was reported to the local police station.

The following victims were all detained together by police in Zaka.

- **B C [4th January 2001]**
Male, aged 24.
Members of the riot police and the CIO at Zaka Police station tortured him. He was placed in a cell for 4 days, deprived of food, and only brought to court on 8th January. He suffered from multiple beatings, including falanga. His personal belongings were taken away including the business cards of his doctor and lawyer. He suffered multiple injuries to his fingers, hands, back, head, legs, chest and the soles of the feet. 8 people witnessed the incident No medical report was made due to intimidation.
- **I K [4th January 2001]**
Male, aged 28.
He was detained with BC above. His clothes were burnt and he was beaten with sticks, kicked, slapped and punched . He also had his genitals pulled. He suffered injuries to his chest, and suffers pain on his stomach and genitals.
- **L F [4th January 2001]**
Male, aged 27.
He was blindfolded and beaten under the soles of the feet with a gun butt. He was also beaten with a baton stick on his ribs. The torture lasted almost 45 minutes. He received no medical treatment despite his requests.
- **L C [4th January 2001]**
Male, aged 23.
His personal documents - photos and a diary - were taken away. He was severely beaten all over his body whilst handcuffed. His assailants also put a mop into his mouth to prevent him from screaming.
- **K C [4th January 2001]**
Male, aged 28.
His diary taken away when he was detained. 11 different perpetrators beat him. The beatings were conducted mainly with a baton stick, whilst the victim was handcuffed and in leg irons. During this time he was a victim of falanga. He was also suspended by the hands and forced to put on a condom. He was threatened by the riot police before handed over to the CIO. The victim received no medical treatment and was denied access to a doctor. He received injuries on his chest, genitals, face, wrists, back and soles of the feet.

- **G M [4th January 2001]**
Male, aged 23.
His personal notebook and business cards were taken away in detention. He was severely beaten all over his body. He was also humiliated by being forced to eat a dirty cloth used to mop floors. The victim received no medical treatment until the day of the trial. He was detained in prison for a week with little food.
- **N S [4th January 2001]**
Male, aged 30.
The victim was severely beaten all over his body. He reported being beaten on the forehead and back of the head, chest, back, stomach, genitals and both sides of the hands. He was also beaten on the knees and feet (falanga). He received no medical treatment until the day of his trial.
- **M A [4th January 2001]**
Male, aged 26.
The victim had his personal belongings, including a diary, business cards, and photos, were taken in detention. He was severely beaten with baton sticks, fists, and booted feet. He was suspended by his handcuffs, beaten whilst in leg irons – including falanga - and forced to chew condoms. He suffered injuries to sides of his body, head, neck, back, hands, and the soles of his feet.
- **D T [4th January 2001]**
Male, aged 23.
He was beaten all over his body, including falanga. He was also burnt with cigarettes on his genitals. He suffered injuries to his chest, back, ears, hands, back of the knees, and both sides of his feet.

The following cases were also widely reported in the press. The victims were arrested and handed over to the CIO. They all reported torture, and were released on the 9th of January into Gonarezhou National Park. They were each dropped 10 km from the others. They had been placed in a vehicle, which they were told would take them back to Harare. They did not return until the next day. The victims were allegedly targeted because they were MDC supporters.

M	- Male, aged 23.
C C	- Male, aged 30.
T S	- Male, aged 32.
F H	- Male, aged 26.
D M	- Male, aged 21.
G C	- Male, aged 31.
M J	- Male, aged 28.

The members of this group reported severe beatings and falanga whilst handcuffed and in leg irons. They also reported being burnt with cigarettes, threatened and intimidated. One victim was forced to eat MDC cards and a whistle.

Bindura

- Kelvin Mutede, a form 3 student and MDC member, was assaulted on 26 May by ZANU (PF) supporters during an attack on a home belonging to a suspected MDC supporter. He lost a lot of blood, sustained a fractured right arm and suffered blisters all over his body.
- ZANU (PF) supporters destroyed the shop and car of MDC member Joseph Mashinya on 30 May at Chidembo Shopping Centre in Bindura.

- Felix Kunaka, an MDC district chairman, was assaulted by a group of ZANU (PF) supporters and war veterans that included Elliot Manyika. Manyika assaulted Kunaka and then held him at gunpoint whilst the war veterans assaulted him. The matter was reported at Nyawa Police Station.
- On 2 June, six unnamed ZANU (PF) supporters who were driving a Land Rover Defender vehicle, assaulted MDC supporter, Cephas Madzongere and left him beaten and unconscious. Madzongere is now recovering at the Avenues Clinic in Harare.
- On 21 June, MDC supporter Mukundwei Motsi Muzavazi was assaulted in Imbwanhema Village with chains and sticks by ZANU (PF) supporters driving a Land Rover Defender vehicle. He was taken to Makumbe Mission Hospital and transferred to Parirenyatwa.
- Francis and Wadzanai Mukwasha's property and maize were burnt on 6 June. ZANU PF youths descended on the Imbwanhema Village, visiting each house looking for specific people whom they claimed belonged to the MDC.
- Several MDC supporters were assaulted during an MDC rally at Trojan mine by ZANU (PF) youths who arrived in a lorry. Elliot Manyika, Provincial Governor of Mashonaland Central, was present and arrived at Trojan mine ahead of the youths in a Defender with registration 750-009B. He allegedly ordered the youths to disembark before they attacked the MDC supporters.
- On 5 July, unnamed Zanu (PF) supporters abducted and assaulted MDC supporter, Smail Matola. Matola was abducted in a government vehicle and released six hours later.
- On 7 July, unnamed Zanu (PF) youths invaded the home of MDC supporter Felix Kunaka Shangwa. Shangwa's property was looted, his cattle slaughtered and meat stolen. The youths who attacked Shangwa's home are based at Chiveso Primary School and are said to have harassed villagers from Manhenga, Chiveso, Mupandira and Shangwa villages.
- 'War veteran' militias and other Zanu (PF) supporters kidnapped 13 unnamed MDC supporters. The thirteen were reported missing and held at the various Zanu (PF) bases throughout the constituency. Zanu (PF) set up bases at Kitsiyatota, Chiveso, Murembe, Mupandira, Maizeland Farm, Foothill Farm and Nyawa BC.
- On 1 July, 'war veteran' militias and other Zanu (PF) supporters attacked MDC youth executive member Philip Mabika with broken bottles and baton sticks. Mabika sustained cuts on his hands and required 14 stitches. He was treated at Chachville Clinic.
- Between 10 and 11 July, 18 suspected MDC supporters torched the homes of Zanu (PF) supporters, Cosmos Chikono and Zvonda Mushonga. They received death threats from local MDC supporters a day before the homes were torched. As a result, 16 were arrested and two MDC campaign vehicles were impounded.
- On 11 July, 18 suspected MDC supporters assaulted 11 unnamed Zanu (PF) supporters at a Zanu (PF) meeting. The 11 were treated and discharged from Bindura Hospital.
- Chipu Ruzive and 27 unnamed MDC supporters were abducted in Bindura by armed police officers who also claimed to be war veterans. The youths were searched for arms; two catapults were found in one of the cars, and as a result, the three vehicles they were

travelling in were impounded. The youths were assaulted by police officers at Bindura Police Camp, and then placed in cells. They were later driven to Rushinga where the assaults continued from around 6 p.m. until 9 p.m. They were then dropped off in groups along the Rushinga Road about 150 kms from Bindura. The police took their money and as a result they were unable to get transport back to Bindura and had to walk the 150 kilometres distance back from Rushinga.

- A victim (name withheld) was beaten up at Murembe Base, and could hardly walk after the beating.
- Two MDC supporters (names supplied) were severely beaten and sustained serious injuries in Bindura at Chipadze.
- An MDC supporter (name withheld) was severely beaten by over 60 Zanu (PF) supporters and sustained serious injuries. Earlier that afternoon, the MDC candidate Elliot Pfebve, had addressed a rally at Chiveso Shopping Centre; the 60 Zanu-PF youths in a Nissan UD truck descended on Chiveso SC and assaulted people for allegedly supporting the MDC.
- MDC supporters were beaten at Chemhofu Business Centre by Joseph Chinotimba, Zanu (PF) supporters and members of war veteran militias.
- A victim (name withheld) was severely beaten by war veteran leader Joseph Chinotimba and Zanu (PF) supporters. The victim is a disabled former soldier.
- Thirty MDC polling agents were attacked by Zanu (PF) supporters in Chiveso as they were returning to Musana CL from a training session. The truck they were traveling in was attacked and damaged by Zanu (PF) supporters who blocked the road and pelted the car with stones.
- Michael Mukashi, David Mandengenda, Rumbidzayi Samu and Isaiah Chimunhu, MDC supporters, were badly beaten and seriously injured during an attack by Zanu (PF) youths on 22 July. Samu could hardly speak as a result of the attack. All four were admitted to Bindura Hospital and placed under arrest for political violence. They were placed under armed police guard at the hospital.
- On 22 July, approximately 100 Zanu (PF) youths attacked MDC leader Morgan Tsvangirai's convoy. Peter Mangurenje, Job Sikhala, Tafadzwa Musekiwa, Bennie Mutasa Tumbare, Tichaona Munyanyi, Chaibva, Morgan Tsvangirai, Elliot Pfebve, Tichaona Mudzingwa and four unnamed MDC supporters in Chiveso were attacked. The attack took place about 1.5 kms from Bindura. There was an exchange of gunfire between the two parties. Five of the MDC supporters were seriously injured, taken to Makumbe Hospital, treated and discharged. Two were transferred to Parirenyatwa hospital in critical condition. Mangurenje lost an eye as a result of the attack. All nine cars in the motorcade were damaged and the vehicle belonging to Mudzingwa was burnt. Seven MDC supporters were arrested including Mudzingwa. The magistrate declined to place the seven on remand due to "glaring shortcomings" of the state's case. Diamond Karanda and Mordekai Lucius were injured in the attack.
- An MDC supporter was in Tsvangirai's convoy when it was attacked. His Mazda B2500 was damaged, and he sustained a cut on his hand from falling glass when his window was broken.
- On 26 July, MDC youths stoned a hall in Chiwaridzo where Zanu (PF) youths were gathered.

- Twenty-one unnamed MDC supporters were kidnapped and assaulted on 28 July in Musana CL by Zanu (PF) supporters.
- On 28 July, Trymore Midzi, an MDC supporter, and Eliot Pfebve, the MDC MP candidate for Bindura were arrested for actions that might trigger violence.
- An elderly woman (name withheld) was working in the fields when a group of Zanu (PF) youth approached her and asked her where her husband was. She told them he was in Harare, and then they took her to the local school where they questioned her again. They brought her back to her home and stole her money and some food. They took her outside and forced her to lie down. One of them grabbed her by the throat as another sat on her knees and tortured her by beating her under the feet (falanga) until she fainted. She regained consciousness, borrowed money from a friend, and fled to Harare.
- On 13 July, whilst at his shop, W.M. was approached by two truckloads of Zanu (PF) supporters. They disembarked from lorries, began chanting Zanu (PF) slogans, and forced him to chant the slogans. They began assaulting him with sticks, chains, and sjamboks and kicked him in the chest and the side of the body. He was later carried in a wheelchair to his home. Later that day the Zanu (PF) supporters returned to his home. They pulled him out of his bedroom and began assaulting him with sticks. They burned the blankets and clothing of his wife and children. They took 14 chickens, burned the maize in his grainery, killed four goats and two dogs, and left him lying on the ground. He traveled to Bindura on the following day and reported the incidents to the police, who took him to Bindura Hospital where he was treated. Later that day in the hospital, he was afraid that the perpetrators were coming to the hospital to kill him. He fled to Harare.
- On 13 July, a group of about 25 people, including M.T., were taken by police from Bindura rural areas to the police station. He was tortured by being beaten with fists and flat wooden planks all over his body and underneath the feet (falanga). The group was taken to Rusape Police Station where M.T. was again beaten. He was released at midnight.
- G.M. was tortured by police on 12 July at Bindura Police Station. He was beaten with wooden sticks, kept overnight, and deprived of food. When he was released, he tried to walk back to his home but was intercepted by Zanu (PF) supporters and beaten with sugar cane.
- O.M., a student, has been living in Harare since mid-May due to the burning of his parents' home by Zanu (PF) supporters.
- On 22 July, K.G. was in a motorcade driving through Musana when it was blocked by mob of Zanu (PF) supporters. The window of the vehicle that she was driving in was smashed and she was hit by an object that she thought was a stone.
- C.V. was abducted by Zanu (PF) supporters on 28 July at Manhenga and taken to Chieta the following day. He was tortured at Manhenga by falanga with a stick and rubber and beaten on his buttocks. He was beaten in the face with fists, kicked on both sides of his body with booted feet, kicked in the head, and assaulted with fingernails on his face. He has difficulty walking, and cannot hear properly as a result of the torture. He also experienced psychological torture: verbal abuse, threats against him and his family and threats of sexual abuse.
- Thirty-four Zanu (PF) supporters, one identified as Salim, on 27 July, approached M.C. They apprehended him after they threw stones so that he would fall down. They began

to torture him with iron bars, sjamboks and knives. He was beaten all over his body, and including on both feet with a stick (falanga).

They tried to force him into a car but he refused. They used a knife and screwdriver to pick inside both his palms. The Zanu (PF) supporters left him after his supporters attacked them in order to rescue him. He experienced psychological torture: verbal abuse, threats against him and his family and threats of sexual abuse. His palms are cut up; he has wounds sustained from dragging, and has a knife scar on his elbow.

- B.P. was stoned by a group of people in Chiwendzo Township on 26 July. As a result of the attack, he experiences pain in the left elbow joint and the left side of the chest.
- On 28 July, around 10 p.m., W.J. was trying to outrun Zanu (PF) supporters who were chasing him and four other colleagues. The Zanu (PF) supporters were trying to catch and beat them. Unfortunately, the five stumbled upon a Zanu (PF) base. W.J. and two others were abducted, searched, and beaten with booted feet, fists and sticks. The assailants used another implement to beat their victims, which W.J. was unable to identify. The three victims were put into a room together and put under guard. The Zanu (PF) assailants beat and interrogated the three prisoners. The following day W.J. and his two colleagues were forced to chant slogans as they were beaten some more. They were told that they were going to be killed and placed into a vehicle one by one. W.J. was, at that time, able to escape, from whence he made his way back to Bindura. W.J. still experiences headaches, pains in his legs, back and chest and has had recurring trouble sleeping.
- On 28 July, S.M. was at the polling station at Chireka with three other colleagues. They were monitoring the by-election for their party, MDC. Zanu (PF) supporters came in three cars, disembarked and surrounded the four MDC supporters. S.M. and his friends fled to a mountain and tried to find their way to Bindura. Unfortunately, they found their way to Manhenga Base where they were captured, searched, stripped of their clothes and beaten by Zanu (PF) supporters. The assailants stole their victims' clothes and money. S.M. and his friends were bundled into a vehicle and driven to Chireka where they were told they were going to be killed. S.M. managed to escape and meet up with a police truck. S.M. reported the incident and the police took him back to Manhenga Police Camp. The perpetrators were locked up and S.M. was asked to come back to get the RRB number, but by the time he arrived the next day, the perpetrators had been released from custody. S.M. experiences headache, pain in the legs and back and experiences disturbed sleep. He was subjected to verbal abuse, threats, false accusations, and deprived of food and water.
- On 28 July, Zanu (PF) supporters attacked MDC supporter, Stephen Baudi.
- On Candwell Farm in Bindura, Zanu (PF) supporters and 'war veteran' militias beat MDC supporter, Stenford Kachai, and former MDC candidate for Shamva, Shadreck Mashinya, with batons. Kachai and Mashinya (who is confined to a wheelchair) were forced to push the car they were traveling in despite one of the tires being punctured; they were then beaten all over the body. The two were saved by the intervention of the police. Kachai identified one of the attackers as Ison Sakunzeka.

Makoni West

- On 7 July, at Shangwe BC in Rusape, Nathaniel "Punish" Mhiripiri, war veteran militias and other unnamed Zanu (PF) supporters, cornered and assaulted MDC supporters Samson Magumura and Robert Kwaramba with hammers, chains and a pickaxe handle. Kwaramba sustained a serious elbow fracture. Magumura sustained serious head, arm

and leg injuries and was subsequently hospitalized. Mhiripiri and his youths attacked patrons of Shangwe BC. Magumura and Kwaramba were isolated from the rest and beaten unconscious. The police rushed them to the hospital.

- On 7 July, at Vengere Nightclub in Rusape, Zanu (PF) supporters from the Self-Help Development Foundation, run by Gibson Munyoro, assaulted MDC supporter Nation Sagwete. The assailants used a white pick-up truck with registration number 635-393T. Munyoro, the former Makoni South MP and Zanu (PF)'s Makoni district secretary for production, was recently selected as Zanu (PF) candidate for the Makoni West seat that has fallen vacant following Moven Mahachi's death. Munyoro admitted that the truck was his, but denied involvement despite running SHDF.
- Solomon Karuru and his three children, Bishop, Elias, Saliwe were beaten on 25 July in Marowa. The father was assaulted as reprisal for children's support of the MDC, and then his children were assaulted when they tried to intervene.
- On 17 August Zanu (PF) supporters brutalized local MDC vice-chairperson Douglas Chapoterera along with his wife, Chipo, and son, Nathan. The assailants arrived at Chapoterera's house in a white pick-up truck armed with pickaxe handles and sticks. Some were wearing Zanu (PF) t-shirts. Chapoterera's wife, four children and niece were in the house when it was set alight. His one-year-old baby was at one point trapped in the burning house before being rescued by her mother. Property worth more than \$600,000 was damaged in the blaze. Chipo Chapoterera was treated for multiple wounds at Rusape General Hospital.
- Zanu (PF) supporters and members of 'war veteran' militias trailed MDC supporters from Mushangwe resettlement area and crossed into Adams farm after failing to locate the MDC supporters on their hit list. They set a church alight when they failed to find the supporters. The church was burnt after the assailants saw posters of the MDC candidate, Remus Makuwaza, plastered around a nearby farm. Torture bases were set up at Chiunya SC, Chiwetu Rest Camp, St. Theresa, Maoresa SC, Tsanzaguru, Gwangadza, Chiundu School and Mavhudzi.
- Morgan Maraire, an MDC supporter, was attacked and threatened with death by unknown MDC supporters. He was told that he would 'not live to see the by-election', scheduled to be held on 8 and 9 September. He fled to Harare.
- MDC supporter Samuel Mugauri had his home burnt down in Mupambawashe Village on 26 August by unknown Zanu (PF) supporters. Household goods and 900kg of maize were also lost.
- Zanu (PF) supporters assaulted Gibson Ratimba, Revai Magondo and Richard Mutemi because they were campaigning for the MDC.
- In Rusape, Zanu (PF) supporters told unnamed headmen that the government would strip them of their titles if they failed to get people to attend Zanu (PF) rallies and to vote for Zanu (PF). Each headman was asked to bring all his people to Zanu (PF) rallies and to write down the names of those who would have failed to attend.
- Mhiripiri and other unnamed Zanu (PF) supporters severely beat MDC supporter John Rusere.
- J.M. was in Shangwe Bottle Store around 6 p.m. when a group of people in two cars arrived at Remus Makuwaza's shop. They wanted to enter but J.M. and others tried to bar them from entering. He was hit in the left eye by a piece of wire.

Chikomba

- At Sengwe Township in Chihvu, 15 unnamed Zanu (PF) supporters kidnapped Cry Manyame, Wunganayi Tapfumaneyi and Edmore Mudeveni and took them to Chinyamungororo Heroes Acre, beat them up and dumped them there. The trio was at first ordered to beat each other up, but when they failed to do this 'hard enough', they were assaulted by their abductors. A Zanu (PF) vehicle with 17 men including two locals was used to abduct numerous MDC supporters in Chikomba, four of whom were tortured.
- At Maronda Mashanu in Chihvu, Zanu (PF) supporters severely beat the wife of Maronda Mashanu High School Headmaster, Mugazi. Mugazi's wife was beaten as her assailants accused her husband of supporting the MDC. The family was forced to flee the area as a result.
- On 7 September, in the Marondamashanu area, five members of the ZRP support unit picked up MDC supporter Tinapi Diura, from his house and took him to their offices where they questioned him about the alleged assault of a Zanu (PF) chairman at the MDC base. They then assaulted him before taking him to Chivhu Cemetery where Diura was released into the custody of Zanu (PF) youths. The youths took him to Chivhu Hall and assaulted him with batons. Diura was released three hours later and ordered to rub off MDC slogans on the road and buildings with paint before they threw him into the Zvibangwe River, 46km away from his homestead. Diura was assaulted for setting up a base for MDC supporters and the candidate at his home. He said he initially went with the police officers because they did not seem threatening.
- On 11 September, at Umboo School in Chihvu, unnamed Zanu (PF) supporters abducted the headmaster, Felix Mazava. Mazava was taken to the Chivhu-Marondera road where he was bludgeoned with iron bars. He died early the following morning. The post-mortem revealed that Mazava had a deep stab wound on left side of the chest, which led to internal bleeding. He also had multiple fractures on both arms and a deep gash on left side of head. Mazava was reported as having been killed by Zanu (PF) supporters in *The Daily News*. *The Herald* reported that Mazava had defected from the MDC and joined Zanu (PF) and was wearing a Zanu (PF) t-shirt at the time of his death. However, Mazava's relatives insisted that he had not resigned from the MDC; Mazava had been threatened by Zanu (PF) members on four different occasions.
- On 18 September, in Chihvu, Zanu (PF) supporters kidnapped five unnamed MDC supporters. Four MDC youths were kidnapped and assaulted at district heroes' acre (Chinyamungororo). One MDC official was kidnapped while campaigning in Maronda Mashanu, thrown into Ziyagwe River and then dumped in Buhera. He was hospitalized at Parirenyatwa.
- On 20 September, in Sadza, members of the ZRP arrested MDC constituency coordinator for Chikomba, Virginia Gwena, MDC MP for Mbare East, Tichaona Munyanyi and 19 electoral agents and electioneers for allegedly moving around at night. They were held in cells overnight and released without explanation on the morning before polling started.
- On 20 September, war veteran militias abducted Regis Chikonyati from Chambara School. Chikonyati was still missing after three days. Zanu (PF) based its entire campaigning on nighttime door-to-door visits. Election agents were arrested on their return from training in Harare. Information about the incident is attributed to Piniel Denga, MDC provincial chair ME, whose vehicle was stolen by 'war veterans' shortly before Chikonyati's kidnapping.

- On 3 September at Sengwe Business Centre, T.M., E.M. C.M. and another victim were apprehended by ZANU (PF) youths whilst in a shop. They were bundled into a twin cab 4x4 written that had ZANU (PF) Mash East written on the side. They drove 40 kms until they reached the District's Heroes Acre. They were shown the graves and told that those buried had died for the Zimbabwe that the MDC supporters wanted to sell to Tsvangirai. They told them to take off their clothes and beat each other up with a whip. The ZANU (PF) supporters told them they were not doing a good job, so they took over and beat them until they could not walk. As they beat them, they accused the MDC supporters of selling the country to the whites. They also verbally abused them, made threats against them and their families, and threatened them with sexual abuse. T.M. was assaulted on both thighs with a sjambok, and slapped on both cheeks. E.M. was assaulted with baton sticks on buttocks and back of thighs. After the assailants had finished beating them, they drove away. T.M. walked to the MDC base for help so he could return for those who could not walk.
- On 10 September E.C. went to Chivhu to visit his sick brother and was in the company of his other brother. A group of about eight ZANU (PF) youths took them to the local hall for interrogation. They assaulted E.C. and his brother from about 8 p.m. to 3 a.m. with baton sticks. At about 7 a.m., they were handed over to the army who continued to beat them until 10 a.m. The CIO took over and threatened them. He had abrasions on his back and arms, and arm pain as a result of the attack.
- On 10 September T.D. was abducted from his home by a group of seven policemen and later handed over to the CIO (Manwrio, Mukoki, Masocha and Gumbo). They beat him all over the body with baton sticks from about 8 a.m. to 10 p.m. At one time they threw him into the Ziragwe River to drown him. After he was released, he took a bus to Harare. As a result of the attack, he has scars on his leg, back, shoulders and stomach, and experiences pain in his shoulder. The CIO operative, Masocha, was named as a perpetrator of organised violence and torture during the 2000 General Election.

Witnesses for the Election Petition

There were also a number of persons who sought to testify in the election petition on Chikomba that were threatened or tortured by supporters of ZANU (PF). This violence must count as significant pre-election violence. *(These cases were not included in the statistical analysis given in the Conclusions above since they can also be argued to relate to an event different to electioneering).*

- In April 2000 N.C. saw a group of 15 girls in ZANU (PF) t-shirts at Sadza Growth Point. One of the girls shouted "garwe" and then he found himself surrounded by some young men. One of them kicked him on the left leg and he stumbled, but he managed to escape and ran home. He heard that he was being looked for, and at one time saw a T35 lorry with ZANU (PF) youths watching his house. He began to move from place to place because of fear. He returned to Chikomba on Saturday 11 March 2001 after having submitted statements to lawyers. People had warned him that the police were looking for him and that he should go to the station to surrender. He went to the police on 12 March, and the assistant member in charge opened a book with a list of names. His name was read from the book of "wanted" persons. The police started assaulting him with the help of four others. They beat him with axe handles and a cooking stick. Some also used booted feet and punched him all over the body. They beat him for 20 minutes. They asked him to collect all MDC material and surrender it to them. He left the police station and went to Sadza Hospital where he received treatment. The assistant member in charge who had initiated his beating came to the hospital and harassed the health workers for treating him. He also threatened to shoot N.C. if he left Chikomba without telling him. As a result of the attack, he experiences backache, deafness in right ear, and a painful right arm.

N.C. was subsequently assaulted at Sadza Growth Point on 4 April 2001 after he escorted NGO forum lawyers to assess the situation in Chikomba. He was beaten with booted feet and fists all over the body. As a result of the assault, he experiences backache and headache.

- In April 2000 P.Z. was approached by ZANU (PF) supporters whilst at work at Sadza Growth Point. They demanded MDC t-shirts and cards, threatening to beat him up or kill him if he did not comply. On another occasion in April they beat him up, slapping him and hitting him with fists, tearing his shirt and trousers. In May 2000, he was abducted on three occasions. The first instance, he was taken to a police officer. The police officer threatened to beat him up and was looking for a whip when he was disturbed by a phone call, so P.Z. was able to escape. The second time he was taken from his home by three ZANU (PF) youths and taken to the council beer hall grounds to a room where he was slapped, beaten with fists, and sat upon. They accused him of being a white man's puppet. He escaped when they allowed him to go home to lock up his house. On the third occasion in May he was again abducted and taken to the fields by three ZANU (PF) youths and was ordered to sit in the grass and not scratch as insects bit him or he would die. He sat for about an hour. When he was allowed home his goat shed had been burnt and two goats were dead and some missing. His chicken run was burnt and out of 200 chickens, only 20 remained. On the polling days in June 2000, he was twice chased from his duties as a polling agent and found boxes tampered with. He was threatened with death by a police officer who showed him three bullets meant for him.

On 10 March 2001 ZANU (PF) supporters beat him again. He experiences joint, chest, and jaw pains. He has been in ill health since all these incidents and has had a chronic rash since being sat in the grass.

- M.M. alighted from a bus he had just taken from Harare in June 2001, when he was immediately accosted by a mob of youths in ZANU (PF) t-shirts. They shouted that he was selling the country and that they would destroy his home. They beat him with a pick handle, hoe handles, and an iron bar. He sustained swelling of the right shoulder and left knee. He managed to escape and moved from Chikomba.

Assault of lawyers⁴³

The Chairperson of Zimbabwe Lawyers for Human Rights (ZLHR) was assaulted along with a witness in the parliamentary election petitions in ZANU (PF) instigated violence in the Chikomba constituency on Saturday, 7 April. Two lawyers working for the Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum narrowly escaped. In a letter to the Commissioner of Police in Harare, Mr. Tawanda Hondora, of ZLHR, stated that members of ZANU (PF) assaulted him while police watched. Mr. Gabriel Shumba and Mr. Godfrey Mupanga, both of the Forum, managed to escape but were threatened with assault when they arrived at the local Sadza Police Station to make a complaint.

The three had travelled to Chikomba, in the Mashonaland East province, to investigate allegations of intimidation and assault directed at witnesses in the election challenges currently before the High Court. Mr. Hondora is representing Peter Kaunda, the MDC candidate for Chikomba, who is contesting his defeat on the basis of abuses directed at MDC supporters and electoral irregularities.

They arrived at Sadza Growth Point and soon noticed a crowd wearing ZANU (PF) t-shirts and army attire assembling in the area. Mr. Shumba went for the car in case violence occurred while the other two stayed behind to witness the rally. The crowd soon

⁴³ This incident was reported earlier. See *Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum (2001), Report on Election-related Political Violence in Chikomba*, HARARE: ZIMBABWE HUMAN RIGHTS NGO FORUM.

started chasing after one of Mr. Hondora's witnesses, Nelson Chivanga. The assailants were armed with stones, axes, knobkerries and other weapons.

At this point the crowd turned on the three men saying that they were outsiders and calling them 'sell-outs' and 'stooges of the white man'. Mr. Hondora was caught and beaten. Mr. Shumba managed to escape and was hidden by a resident of a nearby homestead. Mr. Mupanga managed to drive away to safety.

At the time that Mr. Hondora was caught, Mr. Chivanga was already being severely beaten. Mr. Hondora was hit, kicked, slapped and whipped. He sustained bruises to his head, a possibly broken jaw, a bloody nose, a cut lip, lacerations and his molars have been weakened which caused him difficulty in consuming solid food for days afterwards. In addition his glasses were broken and his clothes were torn from the attack.

The three met up at the Sadza Police Station. Mr. Shumba and Mr. Mupanga went to make a complaint and discovered that Mr. Hondora was already there with Mr. Chivanga. Both men asked to be taken to a medical clinic but their request was refused. While in detention they were beaten further, searched and interrogated as to their affiliation with the MDC. Mr. Hondora alleges that Constable Cuthbert Mapfumo held him while he was being assaulted and that Constable Moses Zhakata participated in the assaults. Also present were Constable Mafandizvo, Constable Masaringo and Constable Nikisi. Assistant Inspector Majora ordered all police officers present to be armed with rifles and live ammunition. The rifles were pointed at the four men. In addition the men produced documents that identified them as officers of the court but these documents were swept to the floor and ignored.

Majora took Mr. Shumba and Mr. Mupanga into an adjacent room and lectured them on his view of the MDC. He asked how, as educated men, they could be used by white people. In addition he had their car searched and threatened to call war veteran leader Chenjerai Hunzvi, other war veterans and the army to 'discipline' them. After these incidents, which took about three hours, the men were released.

The three men made a report to the police in Harare when they returned. The Sadza Police Station was phoned for information but officials there denied any such event took place. It is significant that Assistant Inspector Majora was mentioned as being involved in organised violence and torture during the 2000 General Election, as was Constable Mapfumo.