

AMANI TRUST

**Organised Violence and Torture in
the June 2000 General Election in
Zimbabwe.**

**A report prepared by the Mashonaland
Programme of the AMANI Trust.**

28 February 2002

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1. Introduction

This monograph focuses on the gross human rights abuses during the period preceding the June 2000 Parliamentary elections. This 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 and 2001.

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February 2001, and, by December 2001, 15 petitions had been heard by a High Court Judge, and eight cases cancelled or withdrawn.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. A majority of data included in this chapter is based on the testimony from the 15 completed election petitions. Certain testimonies might additionally include excerpts from medical assessments that were performed by medical staff that had expertise with trauma victims.

The testimony of witnesses throughout these constituencies illustrates a clearly emerging pattern. Witnesses most commonly experienced torture, threats and intimidation. The similarity of experiences from across the country cannot be construed as accidental. The violence that characterized these constituencies for months cannot be classified as a random expression of rage, either. These violent acts were strategic, occurred over a long period of time, and were perpetrated, supported and sanctioned by the government and its agents.

The fact that the election petitions were heard in the High Court is historic. Testimony about gross human rights violations is uncommon in the Zimbabwean courts, and even less common are testimonies about gross human rights violations in respect of election irregularities. For this reason, the AMANI Trust, together with the Legal Resources Foundation, felt obliged to use this opportunity to support the victims in their attempts to make public their experiences, as well as to use the opportunity to validate the many allegations of torture in the legal arena. This position was also supported by the Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum.

For the MDC, the election petitions had three main goals. Firstly, to ensure that the stories of the victims were heard by the nation; the intention here was to ensure that the historical record was made complete. Secondly, the court hearings would combat the prevailing climate of impunity in Zimbabwe. That the Government was discomfited by the possible implications of the election petitions and the supporting testimonies was evident from both the passing of a Presidential Pardon in October 2000, as well as the attempt to vitiate the petitions by an amendment to the Electoral Act by the President using Presidential Powers in December 2000. This latter effort was thrown out by the Supreme Court, but the amnesty stayed and prevented the prosecution of many perpetrators under the criminal law. Such prosecutions would have had a very important consequence for the election petitions. Thirdly, there was the hope that the results might be overturned by the Courts, and, since such verdicts would justify the claims of an unfair election, to allow the voters the opportunity to elect the member of Parliament of their choice free from fear or irregularity.

This monograph is 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 court hearings themselves, and both monographs, together with additional material, will shortly be consolidated into a book. As will be seen, the report corroborates many of the earlier reports of the Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forumⁱ, as well as the reports of international human rights organisationsⁱⁱ.

Organised Violence and Torture in Zimbabwe

Zimbabwe has an unenviable history of organised violence and torture over the past three decades. This has been well documented by both human rights organisations and historiansⁱⁱⁱ, and it is not the intention here to summarise this. Here we would wish to point out that the AMANI Trust has over the past 9 years done considerable work in unravelling the story of torture in particular. The Trust is in a unique position to comment upon the nature and extent of torture over the decades, and also to comment upon the long-term effects of torture upon individuals, families and communities.

This work covers the consequences of the Liberation War of the 1970s^{iv}, the civil war of the 1980s^v, the Food Riots in 1998^{vi}, and the current violence. This work has shown that torture followed by impunity has a long and disgraceful history in Zimbabwe, and also allows us to draw comparative conclusions about the nature and extent of the current violence.

Setting the Stage for the current Violence

The year 2000 was a critical year for Zimbabwe. In the latter part of 1999, the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) was founded, and earlier the National Constitutional Association had been formed in 1997 out of civil society's desire to reform the constitution. The MDC was in part an outgrowth of the NCA, and both groups constituted the first significant opposition to the virtual hegemony of political power that had been held by Zanu(PF) since 1980. During 1999, there was escalating conflict between the government and civil society over the direction of the constitutional process, as well as conflict between the Government and the judiciary following the abduction and torture of two Zimbabwean journalists.

The new Constitution put forth by the government for endorsement in a referendum was ultimately rejected by 54 per cent of the electorate. This constitution included a controversial land clause that made the British government liable for payment for land resettlement, but was nonetheless rejected by the Zimbabwe electorate. Almost immediately after the referendum, widespread land invasions took place. 'War veteran' militias and Zanu (PF) supporters began to invade white commercial farms, announcing that they were taking land back for black Zimbabweans. However, lost in this rhetoric was the issue that land distribution had not been dealt with in earnest in 20 years. This seemed to be an effective diversion for what was really happening. Farm invasions were certainly distressing, but the plight of thousands of black farm workers who suffered during the invasions, and the terror campaign unleashed on the communal black populace was not publicized internationally to the same degree. President Mugabe, claiming that he had been betrayed by the black electorate sponsored by whites, allowed farm invasions to continue, and violence against opposition party members proliferated.

The international spotlight remained largely on the land issue and the plight of white farmers, ignoring the thousands of black Zimbabweans who were tortured and threatened.

As had been indicated in the Constitutional referendum, that the MDC had garnered tremendous support, especially in the urban areas, but there were also indications of growing support for the MDC in the rural areas. Historically, Zanu (PF)'s stronghold was in the rural areas, and it clearly

wanted to maintain control in these constituencies. By first-hand accounts of court witnesses, the violence against members of opposition parties began in March 2000. Many MDC party members gave accounts of success at freely holding rallies, and then these suddenly ceased due to the violence used by Zanu (PF) supporters. Party members were beaten and threatened, usually by large groups of Zanu (PF) supporters, generally accompanied by the militia groups popularly termed "war veterans". Violence continued through June, until the polling days. For the most part, polling day was quiet. This pattern has been observed in previous Zimbabwean elections.

The assessment given to the election by a majority of domestic observers was that the election had not been free or fair. The conclusion of international observers reinforced the conclusions of Zimbabwean civil society observers about the 2000 Parliamentary elections.

The report from the Zimbabwe Election Support Network (ZESN) on the 2000 Parliamentary Elections concluded that the pre-election period was characterized by violence and intimidation, and therefore the environment was not conducive to free and fair elections. ZESN makes reference to the "no-go" areas of the country that were created by the violence and the occupation of the farms by war veteran militias.

"Mass fear created by the violence prevented people from exercising free choice at the ballot box. During the election period the right to life, freedoms of opinion, expression, association, assembly and movement were all substantially restricted."

The EU Election Observation Mission made several conclusions in its report on the 2000 Parliamentary Elections. Concerning the rule of law, the Mission stated:

"...the scale of violence and intimidation in the run-up to the campaign and during the election period marred the final result. The government failed to uphold the rule of law and compromised law enforcement agencies."

Regarding electoral management and administrations, the EU concluded:

"The Office of the Registrar-General did not operate in an open and transparent manner and, as a result, failed to secure the confidence of both the political parties and of the institutions of civil society in the electoral process...High levels of violence, intimidation and coercion marred the election campaign. An assessment of violence and intimidation since February 2000 made by the EU Election Observation Mission, together with reports from EU observers operating throughout the country since early June [2000], indicate that Zanu (PF) was responsible for the bulk of political violence."

The EU made another important recommendation as to the role of observers in coming Presidential Election:

"The European Union should endeavour to ensure that international observers are deployed in good time for the Presidential elections scheduled to take place in 2002."

Similar comments were made by the Commonwealth Observer Group and the National Democratic Institute (NDI).

The Period Preceding the 2000 Parliamentary Election

The commencement of farm invasions brought with it the perpetration of organised violence and torture against MDC officers, supporters, and candidates. The government did not speak out against this violence; government leaders either condoned the violence or supported it outright. It could be said that the farm violence was an effective cover for the violence perpetrated on the black electorate^{vii}. The international community focused mainly on the plight of white farmers.

The government seemed to effectively misdirect attention; in their view the “war veterans” were simply taking back the land for the black Zimbabweans, although they neglected to mention the obvious point that in 20 years, the land issue had not been approached in any effective way. In this way, the argument could be about righteousness, and could effectively garner support from other African states, which it did.

Whilst the Zanu (PF) government continued to orchestrate the play for those in the international community, and focused on the ‘land issue’, the situation on the ground was devastating. Black Zimbabweans, mostly MDC supporters or citizens who did not openly declare their complete support for Zanu (PF) were targeted all across the country. People were tortured, murdered, raped, threatened, and lied to about their voting rights; they were displaced, their property was destroyed. The evidence shows that this perpetration of violence was planned, encouraged, and budgeted for, all with the coordination of agents of the government^{viii}.

Zanu (PF) supporters and war veterans, agents of the government such as the Central Intelligence Organization (CIO) and even Zanu (PF) leaders perpetrated violence on the electorate. Some Zanu (PF) candidates in the Parliamentary elections participated in torture and made threats^x. The police during this period were rendered almost completely ineffectual. At times they were responsible for the perpetration of crimes, or collusion with perpetrators. Often when violence was reported to them, they told victims they had no jurisdiction, or if they investigated the crime, they would be involving themselves in politics.

Zanu (PF) leaders made public death threats and were not held accountable. Josaya Hungwe, the Masvingo Provincial Governor, addressed a gathering at the Masvingo Civic Centre accompanied by the late Border Gezi, former Minister of Gender, Youth Development and Employment Creation. Hungwe said, “If you do not vote for Zanu (PF) in the coming mayoral election, people are going to be killed. I want to tell you, someone is going to die.”^x

Border Gezi warned opposition parties “that Zanu (PF) is well known for spilling blood.” From *The Daily News* 31.3.00)

The President did not discourage violence; in March 2000, he stated publicly “those who try to cause disunity among our people must watch because death will befall them.”

All in all the available evidence indicated that forces supportive of the Government and even government agencies were responsible for the gross human rights violations inflicted upon ordinary Zimbabweans. The election petitions were thus an interesting way to test these allegations, and to see whether the Zimbabwean High Court would validate the allegations. The evidence led before the courts allowed a number of conclusions to be drawn. Firstly, we shall deal with the alleged perpetrators of organised violence and torture.

2. The Victim Support Programme

The AMANI Trust, and other members of the Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum – the “*Human Rights Forum*” - provided support to over 1,000 persons who complained of gross human rights violations during the general election in Zimbabwe. It was evident to all members of the Forum that the pre-election violence would have a significant effect upon the outcome of the election. It was also felt that, in common with all previous periods of epidemic political violence, there would probably be little attempt by the Government to provide a proper legal accounting for the violence. This in fact transpired with the promulgation of a general amnesty on 6th October 2000.

It was recognised early on that testifying in courts, especially in an adversarial system, would be difficult for many victims. Victims of gross human rights violations as witnesses have problems unlike many other kinds of witnesses, but very similar to victims of other personal crimes such as rape.

Torture survivors may have difficulty recounting the specific details of the torture for several important reasons, including:

1. Factors during torture itself such as blindfolding, drugging, lapses of consciousness, etc.;
2. Fear of placing oneself or others at risk;
3. Lack of trust in the interviewer and/or interpreter;
4. Psychological impact of torture and trauma such as high emotional arousal, and impaired memory secondary to trauma-related mental illnesses such as depression and posttraumatic stress disorder;
5. Neuro-psychiatric memory impairment from beatings to the head, suffocation, near drowning, and starvation;
6. Protective coping mechanisms such as denial and avoidance; and
7. Culturally prescribed sanctions that allow traumatic experiences to be revealed only in highly confidential settings.

Inconsistencies in a person's story may arise from any or all of these factors. These factors frequently operate in the clinical setting, which is usually interviewing in a supportive environment, but may be greatly exacerbated in more hostile settings such as cross-examination in the courtroom. The victim-as-witness can have considerable problems in giving a good account of his or her experience in a hostile environment, and this can clearly prejudice the outcome of any hearing in which the victim's testimony is important to that outcome.

This has been recognized in contemporary human rights tribunals and both the hearings around the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa and the International Criminal Tribunal on the Balkans at the Hague set up special systems to deal with this issue. In both systems the following were applied:

- *Witnesses were brought to a central venue prior and during the hearing;*
- *Witnesses were provided with access to a special team prior to testifying;*
- *Witnesses were provided with briefings about the court proceedings;*
- *Witnesses were given psychological counselling pre- and post-testimony;*
- *Witnesses were provided with support personnel during their testimony;*
- *Courts were provided with information relating to the special needs of victims.*

These systems ensured as far as possible that there was no further traumatising of victims, and ensured that the victims gave the most favourable account of their experiences. Most of these issues are covered in a comprehensive document that is now accepted as the standard manual by the United Nations High Commission for Human Rights^{xi}.

A system for Zimbabwe was set in place that used a similar system to that described briefly above. As regards the witnesses, they were brought immediately prior to the trial to a central location in Harare. At this central location, the following occurred:

- *Briefing by the trial counsel on their evidence;*
- *Briefing by staff from the Human Rights Legal Unit on court procedure and trials;*
- *Medical examinations by doctors where this is necessary;*
- *Examinations and treatment by Rehabilitation Department of the University of Zimbabwe;*
- *Psychological examinations by AMANI staff for all witnesses;*
- *Counselling by Amani Trust staff on their human rights violation and their fears about testifying;*
- *De-briefing by Amani Trust staff following their testimony;*
- *Video-taping of all testimony.*

It was hoped that this system would ensure that the victims were able to give a good account of their traumatic experiences, and that all medical and psychological problems would be addressed. The system would also allow the preparation of both a dossier for submission to international human rights bodies, and for the preparation of civil suits on behalf of the victims.

All victims, including the witnesses, were followed up after the trial, and, where necessary, arrangements made for witnesses to be accommodated in "safe houses" if further victimization occurred after the trials. There was concern that the witnesses could be subject to retaliation or further intimidation. There was early evidence that several had been assaulted subsequent to testifying, and there was credible evidence that a gang of "government supporters" was hunting down the witnesses through their constituencies. Of course, this then makes the situation considerably different to the South African Truth Commission or the Balkans War Tribunal where the victim-witnesses were no longer under obvious threat.

3. Perpetrators

As evidenced by testimony, violent crimes and threats were perpetrated in 13 of the 15 election petitions that were observed in the High Court from February 2001 through October 2001. In most cases of violence, the perpetrators were Zanu (PF) supporters and members of “war veteran militias”. These groups would sometimes work cohesively together, and there seemed to be a tacit understanding that each would be supported in committing these crimes.

Leaders of the war veterans, such as Joseph Chinotimba and the late Chenjerai Hunzvi, and many of the Zanu (PF) candidates, who were running for a Parliamentary seat, were enlisted in the strategy. In eight cases that were observed, the Zanu (PF) candidates either perpetrated violence themselves; gave direct orders for Zanu (PF) supporters to perpetrate violence; made threats against opposition party members in rallies or statements to their supporters; or knew that violence was being perpetrated and did nothing to stop it. Members of the Central Intelligence Organization (CIO) and Zimbabwe Republic Police (ZRP) were also involved in the perpetration of crimes.

We will deal with each of the alleged groups in turn.

Zanu (PF) supporters

The Zanu (PF) supporters who committed these crimes were often young men, unemployed, travelling in groups – witnesses referred to them in testimony as ‘Zanu (PF) youths’. Zanu (PF) most often provided these youths with money and food to meet their daily needs.

After testifying about her husband’s death, Mavis Tapera told the court in the Mberengwa West case about her own assault and subsequent torture on 4 July 2000. Assailants led by ‘Biggie’ Chitoro, a prominent member of Zanu (PF), ordered her out of her house at night and used a knife to cut off her petticoat. At this point she was clad in only her pants. They began to assault her with logs, concentrating on the buttocks. She testified that one of the assailants asked her if MDC President Morgan Tsvangirai bought her the pants she was wearing. Her attackers then forced an iron rod into her genitals and ordered her to imitate sexual positions. Breaking down numerous times on the witness stand, Tapera testified that the ordeal was extremely painful but she was forced to continue. She then was taken to Texas Farm with her husband but was returned the same night. When her assailants returned her to her homestead, they urinated into a cup and forced her to drink from it. She told the court that one of the assailants threatened to force her to eat his stool if she refused.

A witness in Buhera North was identified as an MDC supporter as he was passing by Zanu (PF) rally. According to testimony, a Zanu (PF) supporter pointed an assault rifle at him and made him take off his MDC shirt, which the assailant then burned.

A witness testified that he was approached by Zanu (PF) supporters who made him relinquish his MDC card and t-shirts. He was then assaulted with bicycle chains, sticks, fan belts and fists. Later that day, he was kicked and made to sing Zanu (PF) songs. He lost sight in his right eye due to his injuries.

Shaidy Ali stated that he was stopped at a roadblock in Zvishavane manned by Zanu (PF) youth. He was asked for a Zanu (PF) card, which he did not produce. The youth then took his national identity card and proceeded to beat him. He also witnessed numerous other assaults at the roadblock.

Livingstone Muswati, an MDC branch chairman in Makoni West, testified that he could not execute his duties because Zanu (PF) supporters would prevent him and other MDC members from holding meetings. Zanu (PF) youths chased people from their communal homes and threaten them. They arrived at a school where Muswati was organizing a meeting and informed him he was not allowed to hold a meeting there. On another occasion, Zanu (PF) youths chased

villagers who had gathered for a meeting at a shopping centre. Again, villagers were also forced to flee from their homes.

The Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum (the Human Rights Forum) has indicated in later reports that Zanu(PF) youth were the major perpetrators of gross human rights violations^{xii}.

“War Veteran” Militias

“War veteran” militias participated in the perpetration of violence, and were greatly feared due to the violent farm invasions and the ongoing violence after the farms were occupied. These militias promoted themselves in the constituencies as those who had fought in the liberation war for independence, and were not going to “hand over the country back to white people.” However, members of these militias were often in their twenties or younger, which would have made it impossible for them to be involved in the liberation war, since at the time the war was being fought, these men were under 10 years old at that time, or not born.

However, their rhetoric had an effect on the electorate. Citizens throughout the country were afraid of these militias, especially since the war veteran leaders invoked violence and their invasion of farms had not received any condemnation from the government. Their apparent impunity from prosecution allowed them to perpetrate violence on citizens, farm workers, and MDC supporters. Citizens were threatened that if they did not support Zanu (PF), then they would be labeled as ‘sell-outs’. This phrase has a particularly insidious connotation in the context of the liberation struggle. Those who were considered ‘sell-outs’ were killed because of perceived collaboration with the Rhodesian Army. People who supported or spoke of the MDC were labelled ‘sell-outs’. Red clothing was identified with ‘sell-outs’, because MDC membership cards were red and these red cards were pictured on MDC t-shirts.

Pishai Muchauraya, MDC Constituency Coordinator for Makoni East, testified in the Makoni East petition that...attendance at meetings was reduced and it became harder to hold them at all. This situation was replicated in the communal lands, resettlement areas, and commercial farms. In communal farm areas, people were accused of ‘selling out’. (The population of the communal farms constituted one-third of the membership of MDC in Makoni East.)

A witness describes an attack by “war veterans” during testimony in the Chiredzi South election petition:

S. Mbiza, the MDC campaign manager for Patrick Tsumele, and colleagues Patrick Tsumele, Ishmael Takuwa, James Hlungwe and two others were assaulted at Chilonga Business Centre on 8 June 2000. The men had remained in their car while Mbiza went into a store to buy food. Upon leaving the shops Mbiza found the car doors open and war veterans (including Mbiza’s cousin, Benjamin) destroying the MDC pamphlets that were being distributed around the shops. The war veterans ordered Mbiza and his colleagues to remove their MDC t-shirts or risk getting the car torched. Tsumele ordered everyone to remove his or her t-shirts in order to save the vehicle.

After approaching his cousin in an attempt to diffuse the situation, Mbiza was attacked. War veterans held him by the neck and choked him as others forcibly removed his t-shirt. As he tried to release the grip around his neck, Mbiza was hit on the back of the head with an empty bottle. He was dragged into a bottle store where his cousin, Benjamin assaulted him with a whip. He was then taken out of the shop and ordered to lie on his stomach in front of everyone. At this time, his colleagues drove away to prevent the war veterans from destroying the vehicle. While lying on the ground, Mbiza was slashed five times with a whip and kicked in the face until a war veteran came to stop the assault. Mbiza was taken back into the shop where he was told that he would be stabbed and killed because his colleagues had returned with weapons. The war veterans told Mbiza that they were to receive firearms soon from Zanu (PF), which they would use to murder him and his children. After being forced to chant a Zanu (PF) slogan, Mbiza was released.

Reports from the Human Rights Forum indicate that the “war veteran” militia were the second most common perpetrators of gross human rights violations.

Central Intelligence Organization (CIO)

There are most likely between 8-10,000 personnel in this agency of the government. They are constituted within the Office of the President, and are ostensibly under his direct control. The budget for the CIO is not subject to audit by the Auditor-General. The Director and the Deputy Director are currently both war veterans. CIO agents had a role in organizing and participating in the farm invasions, and, as evidenced in court testimony, were involved in the perpetration of gross human rights violations.

Witnesses described incidents that involved members of the CIO and the police force taking part in perpetrating violence. The police force was even described in testimony as capturing members of the opposition to be beaten or tortured by CIO agents. Witnesses spotted CIO agents, because many of these agents developed a reputation by consistently operating in the particular constituencies.

In the Buhera North election petition, a witness testified that he was approached by a CIO agent after he attended an MDC meeting, and was beaten about the head and neck with empty beer bottles. Another witness testified that she was approached by a CIO agent who beat her about the face and the body with booted feet and fists for chanting MDC slogans.

Peter Tsumele, the MDC candidate for Chiredzi South, describes in testimony how CIO agents threatened him, and the MDC candidate for Makoni East, Nicolas Mudzengerere testified that he discouraged a member of the CIO from shooting his MDC supporters.

Members of the ZRP along with two members of the CIO, Chiyangwa and Mutisi, told Tsumele that he could disappear if he continued his involvement with the MDC. Tsumele was told that it was a crime to issue MDC t-shirts to people and support opposition politics because it created divisions in the population. Tsumele was told that the country was “won by blood” so he “must be careful” of what he does and says.

Mudzengerere testified that before the end of April, the MDC had conducted several meetings, with attendance ranging from 800-1,000 people. The MDC was unable to hold meetings after the end of April. Meetings were called, but people were chased away by Zanu (PF) supporters, resulting in the cancellation of meetings. The majority of the voters voted ‘no’ in the referendum, and many supported Tsvangirai. On 21 March, Mudzengerere was at a shopping center with supporters who were singing songs praising the MDC. Maverera, a CIO member, and a prominent member of Zanu (PF) arrived and ordered people to stop singing, but the singing continued. Maverera drew a gun and threatened to shoot them if they kept singing. Mudzengerere emerged from the shops upon hearing that Maverera had a gun. Mudzengerere asked him what he was doing with the gun. Maverera said to him, “Had it not been for you, Mudzengerere, I would have shot all these children today.”

The most brutal incident that CIO officers were involved in was the summary execution Tichaona Chiminya and Talent Mabika, both MDC supporters.

Sanderson Makombe gave distressing testimony in the Buhera North election petition. He witnessed the beatings and subsequent killings of Tichaona Chiminya and Talent Mabika by petrol bomb by Zanu (PF) supporters. Makombe was also presented as a witness in the Makoni West election petition, because he and Chiminya had performed MDC campaign work in Makoni West during February and March - meeting with constituents, organizing MDC committees, reaching about 90 per cent of the Makoni West constituency. In April, he and Chiminya were asked by MDC leadership to focus their campaign efforts in Buhera North.

Makombe recounted the events of 15 April in which Zanu (PF) supporters killed Chiminya and a Buhera North campaign worker, Mabika, with a petrol bomb. He described the killing again in detail. Zanu (PF) supporters stopped him, Chiminya, and Mabika, on the road in their MDC vehicle. The three attempted to hide under the dashboard of the truck as the Zanu (PF) supporters beat them through the windows and smashed the windshield. Joseph Mwale, a CIO agent whom Makombe recognized, hit Chiminya on the head with a gun butt saying, "Chiminya, who do you think you are?" He described his desperate attempt to get out of the vehicle, but the door was stuck and he had to drag himself out of the window whilst being beaten with sticks. He narrowly avoided an assailant's iron bar that was swung at his head. After running about 20 metres, he turned to see that no one was following him. He heard Mabika screaming, trying to open the door that was still stuck, while the assailants yelled for petrol, spraying it all over Chiminya, Mabika and the MDC vehicle. He described the explosion, and the horror of seeing Chiminya and Mabika screaming, on fire and running from the burning vehicle. Chiminya fell into a ditch where he died. Mabika fell, screaming and rolling on the ground. The police, who were about 150 metres away when the car exploded, refused to lift the bodies into the police vehicle. Makombe and two other MDC supporters picked up Mabika, who was still alive and screaming, and put her in the vehicle with the pieces of Chiminya's body. Both Mabika and Chiminya's skin continued to peel off while being lifted into the police vehicle.

Tamatingua, an employee of war veteran Mudzamira, testified in the Buhera North case that he was unwillingly present in the twin cab involved in the attack and killing of Chiminya and Mabika. He was approached by CIO agents who told him not to say anything about what he had witnessed. He was told that for his silence, he would be paid Z\$20,000 after the elections. He was never paid and became afraid for his life after a friend also employed by Mudzamira was allegedly threatened with death if he told anyone of Zanu (PF)'s involvement in the killings.

Ernest Gambiro, an employee of war veteran Mudzamira, was told that he would be shot if he ever admitted to anyone that Zanu (PF) was involved in the killings.

Zimbabwe Republic Police (ZRP)

Although members of the ZRP were not as often the perpetrators of crimes visited upon the electorate, the relative inaction of the ZRP in the face of reported crimes lent credence to the idea that they were ordered not to act when crimes were perpetrated on members of opposition parties. Their inaction assisted and gave support to Zanu (PF) supporters and other perpetrators who could commit crimes without any fear by involvement of the law.

As a result of this dynamic, victims often did not report crimes to the police because they were afraid of re-victimization by their assailants, or knew that the police would not offer any assistance. The evidence of police inaction was described in testimony many times by witnesses when asked if they reported their victimization to the police. In other instances, victims reported that police committed crimes themselves, such as perpetrating physical attacks, intimidation, or detaining citizens unlawfully. Members of the ZRP witnessed violent acts and took no action to stop them. It was clear that these agents of the government did not carry out their constitutional duties of enforcing the law.

Farai Maruzani, the MDC Candidate and Petitioner in the Zvishavane case, reported an incident in which he recognized a member of ZRP as a perpetrator.

One hundred and fifty Zanu (PF) supporters attacked MDC supporters at an MDC rally at the Musuki Business Centre in Mushayi on 9 April 2000. In a story that was corroborated by numerous other witnesses, a large truck containing around 150 people arrived soon after the rally had started. The assailants proceeded to beat up any MDC supporters in the area. Maruzani escaped harm only by jumping into a Blair toilet to hide. The attackers were wearing Zanu (PF) t-shirts and Maruzani recognized at least one member of the CIO and one member of the Zimbabwe Republic Police (ZRP). He witnessed at least 15 MDC members being assaulted.

Erica Nyaunde, a witness in the Makoni East election petition, describes her experience in an example of police intimidation:

She was awakened in the middle of the night by a policeman and asked if she was leading MDC youth. He then accused her of being a 'child of white people' for supporting the MDC and then urinated in her room. She reported the incident to the municipality but was told it would be better if she left her home for her safety. Later on, her home was set on fire and she sustained at least Z\$100,000 damage to the contents of the house alone. She stated that three men were arrested for the crime but were released within 24 hours.

John, a witness in the Chiredzi South election petition, gave testimony of two incidents in which the police were involved: one in which he was threatened and one in which he was detained and beaten by a Sergeant of the ZRP:

Sergeant Verengera summoned John, the branch-organizing secretary for the MDC, in June. John was asked why he had not yet registered to vote. He was ordered to remove his MDC t-shirt and forced to register. John was told that support for the MDC was wrong and was shown Verengera's pistol. Verengera then ordered John to participate in Zanu (PF) meetings from then on. John was later approached by CIO members Chiyangwa, Chale, and Mutisi and ordered to enter their vehicle. John was abducted, assaulted and detained in a cell for five days at Chikombedzi Police Station. In an interrogation led by Sergeant Verengera, John was unable to reveal the whereabouts of MDC candidate Patrick Tsumele and was assaulted with meter-long sticks and a chain while his hands and legs were bound. When the officer-in-charge arrived, John was untied and returned to his cell. John was taken to the Magistrate's Court in Masvingo where he was denied bail and remanded to prison for four more days. He was finally granted bail and released a day before voting was to begin.

During MDC meetings or rallies, Zanu (PF) supporters would often arrive and subsequently threaten or beat the MDC supporters present. The ZRP, who often demanded to know the date and time of meetings so that they could be present to stem or prevent violence, often stood aside and took no action as violence erupted.

On 7 April, a meeting was held at a business center in Makoni East with about 1,500 people in attendance. Zanu (PF) supporters were hiding behind the buildings, because as soon as the meeting began, they emerged and began to sing Zanu (PF) songs. Other Zanu (PF) supporters had placed themselves strategically in the crowd and were also singing; some of them had switches. The songs denounced the MDC, Tsvangirai, and Mudzengerere. Chipanga was there, and also several police vehicles. Mudzengerere told Pishai, his Chairman, to close the meeting because he was afraid of an eruption of violence. Whilst this occurred, the police did nothing, only stood by their vehicles and watched.

Other instances described members of the ZRP seemingly only half-heartedly carrying out their duties or being ineffective. In the following testimony, it could be said that the police themselves were afraid to carry out their duties, resulting in the victimization of this witness.

Witness Peter Sikelo testified in the Goromonzi election petition that he was handcuffed and assaulted in the presence of police officers at Atlanta Farm in May 2000. Sikelo said that he was in the company of an MDC supporter, Pondai Marengu, when a South African journalist approached them and asked for directions to an area where he was covering farm invasions. The three men reached Atlanta Farm but were soon approached by members of a 'war veteran' militia and Zanu (PF) supporters. Sikelo and Marengu were assaulted for 'selling out to the white man'. The assailants told them that they shouldn't have brought the journalist to the farm. Sikelo testified that the officer-in-charge of the Juru police came to the farm three times but did not rescue the men. "He told us that he could not assist us because the war veterans were the rulers of the country and had the right to do what they wanted", Sikelo said. The officer-in-charge finally

arranged for their release around midnight and told them not to venture to occupied farms again. Sikelo sustained severely swollen buttocks from his torture.

During testimony he provided in the Makoni East election petition, Pishai Muchauraya describes meetings that the police called in this constituency to try to mitigate the violence. The result, as Muchauraya describes, was that it only made the situation worse:

After the violence became more frequent, the police held meetings with both MDC and Zanu (PF) supporters in an effort to curb the violence, and urge the parties to campaign in peace. One of the Zanu (PF) leaders at the meeting, Mutasa, said, "You MDC boys take the police as your mother – if you're struck with an open hand you go to the police....If you wear an MDC t-shirt, I'll call my scorpions and they will bite you." The police did not react to these statements.

At a subsequent meeting hosted by the police, the officer in charge told MDC members, 'You've already started violence – aren't you MDC people ashamed? Go away. If you are assaulted, don't rush here.' At another meeting, when the MDC brought up the murder of Chiminya, Zanu (PF) members became angry, saying that it 'was an offense to say the Zanu (PF) had killed your member,' and 'why are you doing push-ups in front of war veterans? We will assault you until you tire of it.' Muchauraya testified that these meetings called by the police did nothing but fuel the violence. It gave Zanu (PF) supporters the opportunity to identify MDC members who had reported them to the police.

Zanu (PF) Parliamentary Candidates

Witnesses testified in nine election petitions that Zanu (PF) Parliamentary candidates were directly involved in the perpetration of crimes to influence the election in their constituencies. Witnesses testified that Zanu (PF) candidates carried out crimes of violence, made threats, committed bribery, or interfered with the electoral process. These are summarised below.

Chinhoyi – Philip Chiyangwa

Witnesses allege that Chiyangwa threatened commercial farmers who were holding MDC meetings on their property. Allegedly he threatened these farmers and told them they would be targeted if they continued to aid the MDC. It is pertinent here to comment that Mr Chiyangwa was caught on camera by Channel 4 in 2001 making flagrantly violent remarks to his supporters.

Chiredzi North – Eliot Chauke

A witness, affiliated with the Support Group, who funds the MDC, testified that war veterans harassed and threatened him and his business on four or five separate occasions. At Sava supermarket, witness said that the Zanu (PF) MP, Chauke, parked his white car and began singing songs of how Zanu (PF) was formed through bloodshed. Chauke then summoned the witness and told him that his head would be cut off, put on a stick and paraded around town as a warning to all those who support the MDC. After having managed to escape and hide at his mother-in-law's home, Chauke allegedly arrived at the house and told his mother-in-law of witness' planned decapitation.

Makoni West – the late Moven Mahachi, Minister of Defense

B.attended a Zanu (PF) rally on 3 June at which the minister spoke. Villagers were forced to attend after being threatened with beheading and assault. At the rally, a Zanu (PF) supporter said he knew who members of the MDC were and held up a large book that he said contained MDC members' names. He called three names, including B.'s. He ordered everyone who was an MDC member to stand, if they wanted to remain alive. They all moved to the centre of the enclosure and the Minister said, "Down with Makuwaza, down with Chiminya, and down with Tsvangirai." Everyone who had stood had his or her name written down. Minister Mahachi told the group that they were feigning surrender, and that the country was freed by blood, and blood would come again if people voted for the MDC. He said that there would be a box in the voting booth to detect whom people voted for. If people did not take this seriously, they would be killed

like Chiminya. He said that the community was small and could be destroyed very quickly. He congratulated Zanu (PF) youths for a job well done and also thanked the ex-combatants.

Three witnesses testified to being present at Zanu (PF) rallies or meetings in which Mahachi made threats against members of the MDC: Kandini, Guzeze, Chishawu.

Makoni East – Shadreck Chipanga

F.C. testified that he was a victim of a particularly brutal attack on MDC supporters. He told the court that he was assaulted with two friends by men in a blue Nissan twin-cab. The first victim, Josiah, was assaulted with an open hand but managed to run away. His other friend, Makita, was assaulted and placed under the tires of the twin-cab. His assailants told the driver, who is alleged to have been the respondent, Chipanga, to run over him but the vehicle did not move. Chinonza was assaulted and told to lean against the car. When he did his assailant produced a knife and stabbed him in the abdomen. Chinonza saw blood and fell to the ground. He heard the assailants say that 'the job was done' and that they had 'killed one of (MDC president Morgan) Tsvangirai's sons'. Afterwards the car left and Chinonza saw that his intestines were exposed. Delirious, a friend helped him walk to a medical clinic about two km away. Chinonza had to hold his intestines in as he made his way to the clinic.

Chinonza positively identified the driver of the twin-cab as Chipanga. He stated that the respondent did not participate in the assault but was fully aware of what was happening and did nothing to stop it. A police report was filed but no action has yet been taken.

Though he was not a respondent in the case, Zanu (PF) MP for Makoni North Didymus Mutasa testified in July 2001 as one of Chipanga's witnesses in the Makoni East case. During his testimony, he told the court that Zanu (PF) would consider taking up arms in the event of a Zanu (PF) defeat at next year's Presidential elections, though he refused to commit himself or the party on whether or not they would respect the people's vote if Zanu (PF) did not win. Mutasa was responding to a question on his views of threats made by war veterans to stage a coup if the MDC wins the Presidential elections in 2002. A month earlier, a Pishai Muchauraya testified in the Makoni East petition that Mutasa brandished a firearm and followed MDC supporters on a weekend break from his testimony in the case in June. Muchauraya, a witness in his constituency's election challenge made the allegation. The MDC advocate argued that the incident was relevant to the case because it is "indicative of the respondent's party. The respondent and his party will not stop at anything to have their way in this constituency." Mutasa made no statement while intimidating him but this was during a weekend break from his testimony.

Muchauraya said Mutasa was among a group of Zanu (PF) supporters that surrounded a handful of MDC supporters in Rusape. Muchauraya was in a lorry that was carrying MDC local leadership to a meeting. When they saw the crowd, they drove down the road to pick up other MDC supporters. At this point it is alleged that Mutasa started driving behind them brandishing a firearm out the window. He followed them to the Rusape police station where they went to make a report. Once at the police station, Mutasa waited behind the lorry while the witness went inside accompanied by Thomas Bundo and Nation Kwete. They attempted to give a statement to the officer-in-charge, Lovemore Musire, however he refused to help and referred them to the Commanding Officer. The Commanding Officer refused to give his name and also refused to help them. "Mr. Mutasa is very close to the President," he said. "There is nothing I can do about it." He continued, "I advise you to cancel the meeting because if you die you would die for nothing. Since we've already advised you, no one will be arrested." The men were not able to make a formal complaint.

After exiting the police station, they walked back to the lorry to find Mutasa still parked behind them with his weapon. They drove south to the Mutare-Harare highway while still being threatened and stopped at the Balfour Hotel. Muchauraya then called out, "Mr. Mutasa, it would be better for you to shoot me and not all these other persons because they have not done anything wrong." Mutasa then drove off towards Mutare while the lorry took a circuitous route

back to Rusape. The witness also testified that he was told that Shadreck Chipanga, Zanu (PF) MP for Makoni East and respondent in the case, was present at the initial gathering of Zanu (PF) supporters in Rusape.

Mount Darwin South – Savior Kasukuwere

Describing his story in a medical assessment, a witness described how Zanu (PF) candidate Savior Kasukuwere had assaulted him with an iron bar. He lost his right eye as a result of the attack.

Murehwa North – Oswald Chitongo

Precious Manezhu testified that on the second day of her detention at Zexcom, Oswald Chitongo, the Zanu (PF) candidate, arrived and was informed by the Zanu (PF) supporters that they were holding MDC supporters there. Chitongo declared that all MDC supporters should be beaten up. He gave the Zanu (PF) supporters money to be used for food. He had a fleet of cars with him that ferried Zanu (PF) supporters back and forth to beat up MDC members.

Mutoko South – Olivia Muchena

A witness testified that Zanu (PF) candidate for Mutoko South, MD. Muchena, made statements advocating violence at a rally on 27 May 2000 at the Cornerstone Business Centre, in which four abducted MDC members were paraded on display. Muchena allegedly said that the MDC was the “white man’s party” and urged Zanu (PF) supporters to kill any MDC supporters. Two abducted MDC supporters were brought to the rally by truck. They were brought to Muchena who led the crowd in chanting Zanu (PF) slogans. Later, two more MDC members were brought in handcuffs in a separate truck. A speaker told the crowd that the MDC members would never be seen again.

Zvishavane – Pearson Mbalekwa

Fredy Shumba gave evidence in one of the more damning allegations against Mbalekwa. He claimed that he was accosted and forced to attend a Zanu (PF) meeting at which Mbalekwa was present. At the meeting he alleges that Mbalekwa and ‘D.K.’ each produced firearms and told supporters that they would be given guns to kill MDC members. He is also alleged to have said that the government had given Zanu (PF) members the power to kill and maim and that they would not be arrested. At a separate incident Shumba alleges that Mbalekwa addressed a crowd in the Zvishavane constituency and produced a pair of binoculars. He told the crowd that this was a ‘machine’ that they used to see who voted for the MDC and to take pictures of those people. His supporters would then go from homestead to homestead killing those who voted for the MDC. Shumba also appealed to the judge for protection after his testimony was completed. ‘If anything happens to my parents or relatives, I want the court to know that it is because of Mr. Mbalekwa or D.K.’, he said.

The poll petitions of Chikomba and Bindura were cases not finally heard by the High Court, but also contained allegations of serious crimes. Both cases were cancelled due to the death of the respondents. Chenjerai ‘Hitler’ Hunzvi, the militant leader of the “war veterans”, who was the MP for Chikomba, and Border Gezi, the MP for Bindura, Minister of Employment, Gender and Youth, as well as a member of the Zanu (PF) politburo, died in June and May, respectively.

Though none of the alleged were revealed in court in these above cases, it is of note that there were allegations that Chenjerai Hunzvi did perpetrate threats and intimidation in another area of the country during election time. Hunzvi traveled to Masvingo to campaign for Zanu (PF). Hunzvi was seen regularly, armed with an Ak-47, traveling with other Zanu (PF) supporters in a truck.

Zanu (PF) Bases and Torture Centers

Zanu (PF) supporters set up bases in the constituencies in order to perpetrate and coordinate the violence more effectively. Some were established at schools, businesses, and Zanu (PF) party offices and were used additionally as torture centres. Often Zanu (PF) youth would use the base as a gathering point in which they would fan out throughout the constituency to beat MDC

supporters, round them up, and take them back to be beaten or threatened further. Witnesses testified to the existence of these bases, and others described their victimization in their testimony.

Kundishora Nyamupingida, aged 69, recounted an incident in Makoni West on 9 May in which he was assaulted. At about midnight, his homestead was surrounded by a group of Zanu (PF) supporters. They broke the windows of his house, and smashed in the door of his hut in which he and a visiting friend were sleeping. They demanded his MDC t-shirt and card, and as he went to and from the main house to retrieve the items, they beat him with bicycle chains, sticks and fan belts. His friend tried to run away into the bush but was caught and beaten.

Nyamupingida was forced to go with the assailants to two other homesteads of MDC supporters that were each assaulted in turn. Next, four Zanu (PF) supporters surrounded him and told him to "run as if he were running to an MDC meeting". Whichever direction he ran in, each assailant would stop him and beat him in turn. He was then told to board a lorry and was beaten on his side as while struggling in pain to get onto the lorry. After managing to get onto the lorry, he and the other MDC members were taken to a school and instructed to lie on their stomachs. They asked him why he joined MDC and they beat him on his bottom. At this time it was 5 a.m. and he was put in line with the others and told to march. Nyamupingida told his attackers that he was too much in pain due to his legs and couldn't march. He and the others were then told to frog jump. They were instructed to touch the ground with one finger while putting the other finger in their ear. He tried to jump but kept falling down due to the pain, so he then asked them if he could go home. They allowed him to leave but would not let anyone assist him home. He did not go to the police when he reached his homestead because he was in too much pain, and did not receive medical treatment because he could not afford it. He gave a statement a week later to the police when they came to his home.

Precious Manezhu testified in the Murehwa North case that she was abducted and assaulted by Zanu (PF) supporters who then detained her at Zexcom, a business that was being used by war veterans and Zanu (PF) supporters as a base in the constituency. She was forced twice to stay at Zexcom against her will.

Manezhu testified that after she was assaulted, the Zanu (PF) supporters drove her to Zexcom, which the Zanu (PF) supporters were using as a base. They referred to her as a rebel because they said as a member of the MDC she wanted to surrender the country back to the whites.

After she arrived at Zexcom, for 1-2 hours the Zanu (PF) supporters danced around her, and would then charge forward and step on her forcefully. She was given a Zanu (PF) t-shirt to wear, put in an innermost room in the building, and forced to spend the night. The following morning, she and other women were released.

However, Zanu (PF) youths came to her house around 6 p.m. and told her that they came to collect her again. She agreed to return to Zexcom because she was afraid that they would beat her. However, she was beaten again because they accused her of supporting the MDC.

During her captivity, Manezhu's relatives were prevented from seeing her, she was given bad food, was forced to cook food for the Zanu (PF) supporters, and at times forced to march. She was released from detention on 26 April. After she was released, she and other MDC members were ordered to put their names in a register by Zanu (PF) supporters.

Manezhu testified that she was held hostage at Zexcom a second time. On the night of 12 June, Manezhu was asleep at home when she heard a knock on her door. She peeped through a window and saw four Zanu (PF) supporters outside. She recognized one of them because she had seen him every day when she was in captivity. They proceeded to the house next door and called out her name again. She was afraid to answer her door so she snuck out of her house through another entrance and went to her neighbor's house. She could see from her neighbor's

window that others had joined the group and were now surrounding her house. They were carrying switches. She fled.

She boarded a bus to leave Murehwa when a lorry full of Zanu (PF) supporters stopped in front of the bus she was travelling in and shouted for her to get off. She got off the bus and asked what they wanted. She was told to get on the lorry. They took her to Zexcom and she was not allowed to leave. After a few days at Zexcom, she was told to attend a Zanu (PF) meeting at which Chitongo was to speak. At the meeting, he said that the MDC was trying to give the country back to the whites. She was released from captivity at Zexcom on 20 June.

Threats and violence targeted at opposition candidates

Opposition candidates were frequent targets of intimidation and threats. During the run-up to the election, many MDC candidates were forced into hiding and a majority were unable to campaign openly in their constituencies.

Chiredzi South - Patrick Tsumele, MDC

On 4 June 2000, Tsumele was physically attacked at his home. Around 8pm, he noticed some men wearing MDC t-shirts approached his home. He recognized two in the group as Zanu (PF) supporters. The approaching men claimed to be members of the opposition from Masvingo, ready to talk and prepare for an MDC meeting that was scheduled for the following day.

When Tsumele stepped out of his home, a man closed his door. Tsumele then noticed people coming towards him from different directions. The men grabbed Tsumele and dragged him, but Tsumele resisted, for which he was hit on the back of his head with a baton stick. As he was being attacked, Tsumele was accused of supporting the MDC, then ordered to desist his involvement with the opposition. Tsumele's assailants continued hitting him with sjamboks and stones, causing two head injuries. Tsumele freed himself and escaped after two men tried to hold him down to assault him.

Tsumele consequently needed medical treatment for his injuries. The attack was reported to the ZRP, but no arrests have been made. All medical documents relating to his attack were attached by the ZRP to the open docket, which the police cannot find.

Kariba - Luka Sigobole, MDC

Sigobole decided to withdraw his election petition because of death threats he received.

Sigobole stated that his family also had received death threats from sources he would not identify. He stated that he withdrew his petition because he feared for the safety of witnesses and party members. Beatings and intimidation directed at witnesses in the election petitions have been reported in numerous constituencies over the past two months.

Makoni East - Pheneas Nyagura, United Parties

Nyagura testified that Zanu (PF) supporters often intimidated voters within the constituency. He stated that many potential voters were told that Zanu (PF) could find out whom they voted for. He was personally subject to visits at his home by Zanu (PF) youth who said that he should abandon UP and join their party. He was made aware of the assault on Francis Chinonza and said it had a negative impact on the mindset of the voters. He cited this incident while claiming that the election was not free and fair.

Makoni East - Godfrey Mumbamarwo, MDC

Zanu (PF) supporters assaulted Mumbamarwo, 60, at his home in Bindura. Some of his fingernails and toenails were pulled out and both his hips were broken. Elsewhere, Mumbamarwo has described that many incidents of violence took place in Mt. Darwin before the election. He operated the only black-owned farm in the area, which is worth Z\$15 million. Zanu (PF) supporters destroyed it. His canneries and crops were set on fire, his home was burned, his farm

workers were beaten up, and his farm equipment was destroyed. His home at Bindura was also destroyed.

Masvingo South - Zacharia Rioga, MDC

In the Masvingo South constituency Zanu (PF) MP Eddison Zvobgo and Rioga reached an out-of-court agreement to settle allegations of violence and misconduct. Rioga himself was attacked by a group of 200 Zanu (PF) supporters on 21 June 2000. He sustained serious head injuries and eventually had to be airlifted to Harare General Hospital where he remained for more than a month. The agreement calls for Rioga to withdraw his petition after Zvobgo acknowledged and condemned the fact that violence adversely affected the MDC's ability to campaign in the constituency. In a statement, Zvobgo said, "I condemn inter-party violence in the strongest terms." In a separate statement, Rioga said, "I am glad that the respondent himself has acknowledged that the attack perpetrated on me by war veterans sympathetic to the ruling party was a wicked act and a barbaric act which cannot be condoned in a democratic society." The two have pledged to work together to combat violence in the constituency.

Mutoko South - Matthew Rukwata, MDC

Rukwata testified that he was the first MDC candidate for Mutoko South but was forced to step down because of threats, beatings and an abduction that lasted three weeks. On the 20th of April 2000, Rukwata testified that he returned home to find that war veterans had been there and searched his room. Later in the day, he was kidnapped in a car and taken to a country club. He was taken into a private room and stripped of his national ID card. Once there he was accused of sitting down without permission and forced to roll on the floor. He was asked why he wanted to be a member of the 'white man's party'. He answered that it was a 'party for the workers' at which point he was slapped and kicked. He fell to the ground and injured his tooth. At the club he saw Arimigia Jimu, an MDC supporter who was also abducted. Over the three weeks he was repeatedly assaulted, forced to sleep on the floor and often handcuffed. He was then returned to his homestead with no explanation. He then fled to Harare where he renounced his candidacy for the parliamentary seat from Mutoko South.

Shurugwi - Lucia Matibenga, MDC

The petitioner, Matibenga, reported numerous cases of threats against MDC supporters in the Shurugwi area. Many Zanu (PF) leaders, including President Robert Mugabe, made addresses nationwide threatening the MDC. War veterans called for a second liberation war if the MDC won the elections. There were also numerous cases of threats, violence and intimidation that caused MDC supporters to stop campaigning or flee the area. Matibenga said that she personally received a 'death list' of MDC supporters that included her name.

Zvishavane - Farai Maruzani, MDC

Maruzani testified to numerous incidents of threats against him and his family. He received numerous death threats to his home phone. He later purchased a cell phone with two separate numbers and received threats on both of those as well. He eventually had to flee his home after his wife and children were threatened and claimed that there were three attempts on his life. Because he was the MDC candidate the party allocated several youth members who would inform him in advance of any kidnapping or assassination attempts against him. He also reported overhearing assailants at the Musuki Business Centre attack say that MDC supporters would be identified and that they would 'wreak havoc' on them.

Maruzani, a certified social worker, subsequently conducted interviews with victims of the electoral violence, and in addition documented his experiences during the run-up to the election in his constituency. He describes the violence in vivid detail. Following is an excerpt from his writings on an incident that occurred on 9 April at Mushaya Business Centre.^{xiii}

It was a sunny Sunday morning on 9 April 2000. We went to Mushaya Business Centre, about 6 kilometres from Zvishavane Town. We had planned to have a rally there and our posters were all over. As we walked to Mushaya, a white Mazda pick-up belonging to the CIO followed us slowly

but made a U-turn back to Zvishavane when it was very close to us. We arrived at Mushaya and started our meeting. An hour into the meeting an old Green AVM 8-tonne lorry roared up and stopped 100 metres from us. The lorry held 150 attackers, all ZANU-PF members. They included street kids, schoolchildren, ZANU-PF supporters, war veterans and other men who might be mistaken for mentally deranged people on Zvishavane's streets. They were all out of the lorry in less than one minute and descended on 60 MDC supporters. Mr Pearson Mbalekwa did not get down. He went back in the lorry immediately after all ZANU-PF attackers had alighted.

At about the same time, the CIO drove to the scene in a Mazda B1000, 690-310Q. The driver was a well-known CIO officer called Bonyongwa. He brought in other attackers like Mr Mpofu and Constable Madiro of the Zimbabwe Republic Police. Mr Bonyongwa, Mr Mpofu (a ZANU-PF supporter), Mr Masiraha Mugabe (a Gresham Primary School teacher), Constable Madiro (of Zimbabwe Republic Police), Blessed Mapako (a Zvishavane Town Council security guard) and D.K. (the self-styled war veteran) directed one of the most brutal attacks ever experienced in this constituency.

Mr Bonyongwa of the CIO had a gun and a walkie-talkie. He was reporting all the proceedings live somewhere. Masiraha Mugabe, a teacher, wielded a machete, D.K. had an axe. Mr Blessed Mapoko had sjamboks (whips with leather thongs) 'borrowed' from Zvishavane Town council.

ZANU-PF attackers approached us from all directions. Those who could run away did so but about 40 MDC supporters were caught. They ordered us to remove our MDC tee-shirts. Without waiting for responses, people were brutally assaulted with axes, machetes, sjamboks and logs. After an hour of indiscriminate violence they zeroed down to a few MDC leaders they had apprehended. I was lucky, I hid in a dilapidated Blair toilet and none of the attackers could imagine that I was hidden in such a shaky structure.

Before my eyes, Blessed Mapako, D.K. and Teacher Masiraha Mugabe brutally and heartlessly pounded Mr Mafusire (MDC vice chairman for Zvishavane district) with axes, hoe handles, machetes, iron bars, stones and logs. I saw Masiraha Mugabe inflicting two compound fractures on Mr Mafusire's leg and D.K. inflicted one. Mr Mafusire passed out and was left for dead. He bled profusely.

I saw D.K., Masiraha Mugabe and Constable Madiro leaving the scene. They all went home with blood on their feet. Mr Mafusire's blood. They trampled on him and stepped in his blood. D.K. also robbed Mr Mafusire of his driver's licence, ZCTU badges, money and an MDC banner. As they searched him, teacher Masiraha Mugabe accused Mr Mafusire (who was already unconscious and bleeding) of selling Zimbabwe to the whites and squandering the money alone. They left for Zvishavane after seriously injuring fifteen other people and leaving Mafusire for dead. As they left, I got out of the Blair toilet and fled to a nearby mountain. As the attackers got into a CIO pick-up to go back to Zvishavane, they were heard saying loudly that MDC supporters must die as instructed by President Mugabe.

By 2pm all the ZANU-PF supporters who had attacked us were back in Zvishavane. There was an orgy of violence in Highlands Township and Mandava. This time the attackers had more guns, to kill MDC supporters. But although guns were fired, no-one was shot. They only used screwdrivers, knives, knobkerries, sjamboks and machetes. Madiro the police officer also participated. Our district secretary D. Moyo and an MDC member were seriously injured, but the police watching did not intervene. In the evening, we went to report our cases at Zvishavane police charge office. Madiro was now one of the officers taking our reports (under Case Record Number 664/4/2000-Zvishavane).

Meanwhile, some good Samaritans - who also picked up his bone marrow - picked up Mafusire. He was taken to Shabani Mine Hospital. On arrival Dr Mataka referred him to Mater Dei Hospital, Bulawayo without delay. The ambulance cost Z\$7 000. In Bulawayo, Mafusire underwent three major surgical operations and so far has paid Z\$60 000. More bills are still to come. However,

teacher Masiraha Mugabe is still teaching at Gresham Primary School. D.K. is busy invading farms and parceling out pieces of land. We see them here everyday, boasting. Madiro was promoted and is now based in Harare.

No-one was arrested or punished for this violence. The known assailants are here, bracing for a new wave of violence in the presidential election campaign of 2002.

Mr Mafusire was the head of the campaign committee for my constituency. His attack and injury threw the campaign programme into disarray. The involvement of the police and CIO in the assaults made MDC supporters shrink with fear. No meaningful election campaign occurred in Zvishavane after this unprovoked attack by ZANU-PF supporters two and a half months before polling.

As will be seen from all of the above, a large number of different groups and government agencies are implicated in the perpetration of gross human rights violations. Most significant of these violations is torture, which was practiced on an exceedingly wide scale, and it is crucial to an understanding of the General Election to understand torture.

4. Torture

As suggested above, one of the major crimes perpetrated against Zimbabwean citizens was that of physical and mental torture, which came in the form of beatings, assaults, and threats. It is well known that governments use violence as a political tool to suppress political activists and those who have differing views than the government. Court testimony in 14 election petition cases thus far described graphically how torture was used as part of a deliberate strategy by Zanu (PF) supporters and State agents. In the absence of mechanisms for accountability for the perpetrators, the country is left with the ramifications of elections that were not free and fair, the psychological effects on survivors of torture and political violence, and the social effects on a population whose exercise of its democratic rights were repressed through violence and corrupt electoral processes.

Definition of Torture

The international community including the United Nations and other civil society organizations prohibit and condemn the use of organized violence and torture. It is crucial for torture to be defined so that international governments and donors understand what effects torture has on individual victims and nations as a whole.

Organized violence is defined by the Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum as the following:

The inter-human infliction of significant avoidable pain and suffering by an organized group according to a declared or implied strategy and/or system of ideas and attitudes. It comprises any violent action, which is unacceptable by general human standards, and relates to the victims' mental and physical well-being.

This definition is derived from earlier definitions, including the Southern African definition developed in 1990 in Harare^{xiv}. Torture is comprised of the same elements of organized violence, but there is an additional crucial element: the acquiescence of the state in the perpetration of the violence.

Organized Violence	Torture
Severe mental pain and suffering	Severe mental pain and suffering
Done intentionally	Done intentionally
Done with a purpose	Done with a purpose
	<i>By state agent, or with acquiescence of the state</i>

The United Nations, in the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment adopted the definition of torture, described above, in 1984:

"...The term "torture" means any act by which severe pain or suffering, whether physical or mental, is intentionally inflicted on a person for such purpose as obtaining from him or a third person information or a confession, punishing him for an act he or a third person has committed, or intimidating or coercing him or a third person, or for any reason based on discrimination of any kind, when such pain or suffering is inflicted by, or at the instigation of, or with the consent or acquiescence of, a public official or other person acting in an official capacity. It does not include pain or suffering arising only from, inherent in, or incidental to lawful sanctions."

This definition was found to hold for a majority of the cases seen by the AMANI Trust and the Human Rights Forum, and was equally found to hold for the cases seen before the High Court.

Social Effects and Implications of Torture and Violence

"A climate of terror is the political effect that the authorities want to establish in the general population. As a consequence, the political action of the opposition is frozen."^{xv}

There is ample evidence of torture in Zimbabwe's history that serves to illustrate that the violence of the Parliamentary elections was not a new tactic. The torture and electoral irregularities that occurred during the Parliamentary elections cannot not be examined in isolation, and the evidence from the study of previous epidemics of torture is very relevant here. The use of torture as a tool, and the long-term impact of organized violence and torture has been shown to have both the familial and social consequences, as well the more obvious individual and medical/psychological effects. There is interesting evidence here from the study of the victims of the Liberation War.

Case Study of Long-Term Effects of Organized Violence and Torture

Several studies were conducted in the Mount Darwin District of Mashonaland Central into the effects of organised violence and torture (OVT) during the 1970s-80s Liberation Struggle. These studies examined the prevalence of disorders due to torture^{xvi}, the clinical symptoms and disorders seen in torture survivors^{xvii}, the family and community effects of torture^{xviii}, and even the response of torture survivors to counselling interventions^{xix}.

This north-eastern area of the country saw ordinary citizens involved in the guerrilla war during the 1970's-80's struggle for independence, because of its strategic importance to both sides of the war because of the proximity to Mozambique. The guerrillas were trained and held bases in Mozambique, and the first attack against the Rhodesian forces came from that area. Both the Rhodesian forces and the guerrillas, who demanded both tacit support and material support from citizens, manipulated the population.

Many villagers experienced torture, physical violence, threats, destruction of property, and other crimes. Therefore, this population has a history of experiencing sustained violence. The results of one study in particular illustrate the continuing effects of the experiences of OVT^{xx}.

A key factor in this study was that most of the rural population in this area are poor – 74% are unemployed and rely on subsistence farming for their living. The added stress of poverty serves to exacerbate and magnify the survivors' ability to cope and be self sufficient, effecting both their symptoms and recovery. Social adversity factors such as family, personal, psychological, and financial problems are important prognostic factors in dealing with psychological disorders. Amongst the "client group", financial and personal issues were the rated the highest.

The "client group", when questioned about the causes of poverty, provided reasons that were OVT related, whilst the "control group" responses were more that of traditional causes of poverty. Regarding movement out of poverty, the "control" group gave reasons that were related to self-sufficiency, whereas the client group felt that it was very difficult to move out of poverty. This is related to one of the common effects of OVT, which is a reduced belief in one's ability to be self-sufficient.

The findings of the study illustrated that the survivors of OVT had a lower level of self-sufficiency, as a result of their violent experience and their inability to overcome social adversity. As the study researchers explain:

"...our findings speak to the heart of this problem: survivors are traumatized into feelings and beliefs of powerlessness, perform less well in the many tasks of life, and the failure compounds and reinforces the lack of self-efficacy. It takes little imagination to see how this then translates into community, social and political apathy, and provides severe problems for the development of rural areas. This is a point that has been made again and again by refugee workers and community workers in areas that have experienced epidemic violence."^{xxi}

It is highly probable that, for the members of the poor rural communities that experienced torture and violence in the Parliamentary elections, these events will have an impact on individual, family, and community life for years to come. It is noteworthy here to point out that epidemiological study in the same population described above indicated that 1 adult in 10, over

the age of 30 years, suffered a serious psychological disorder due to torture^{xxii}. This was two decades after the torture had occurred. Similar results were found in Zimbabwean war veterans^{xxiii}.

At the societal level, the consequences of organized violence and torture are specified as the following:

- There is a sustained climate of fear amongst the affected population.
- An increase in violent behavior may manifest itself in the affected population, for example, not so much with regards to violent crime, but for violence perpetrated in a random and motiveless way.
- There may be a prevalence of silence in group situations, related to fears of reprisals, which impairs the ability of people to participate in social and political activities, thus having profound economic and political consequences.
- Human rights workers have a concern that transition from a strong repressive government, to a weak democratic government can lead to highly destabilized situations in which violence increases rather than decreases.

If there is no effort made at addressing wrongs that have been committed and rehabilitation of survivors, there may be long-term consequences from war, destabilization, and human rights violations.^{xxiv} Research indicates that as in other parts of the world as well as in Zimbabwe, that torture is highly accompanied by Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD). As Baker^{xxv} says, survivors of torture have suffered psychic and physical injury, but they also lose families, jobs, educational opportunities, and suffer alienation from their communities. Torture survivors suffer many consequences as a result of their experiences, which can persist over a long period of time.

5. Gross human rights violations

The crimes that were perpetrated on the citizens of Zimbabwe are categorized as the following:

- Torture
- Murder
- Rape
- Threats and Intimidation
- Theft/Destruction of property

Testimonial evidence of torture and political violence that took place during the 2000 Parliamentary elections, appears in italics, and was gathered from the following court cases that were observed:

Cases Which Were Directly Observed and Documented

Constituency	Murder	Torture	Rape	Kidnapping	Threats and Intimidation	Destruction of Property
1. Buhera North	X	X			X	X
2. Chinhoyi					X	
3. Chiredzi North		X			X	
4. Chiredzi South		X			X	X
5. Goromonzi		X			X	
6. Makoni East		X		X	X	
7. Makoni West	X	X			X	
8. Marondera East					X	
9. Mberengwa West	X	X	X			
10. Mount Darwin South		X	X		X	X
11. Murehwa North		X		X	X	X
12. Mutoko South	X	X		X	X	X
13. Seke #					X	
14. Shurugwi		X		X	X	
15. Zvishavane		X			X	
Totals	5	12	2	5	12	5

The Seke election petition case was the only election petition that was brought by Zanu (PF) as the petitioner.

Methods and Types of torture used

Assaults and beatings of victims were carried out with various weapons such as knobkerries, sjamboks, wire, wood planks, iron bars, bicycle chains, and other items. A particular method of torture, called falanga, has the potential for long-term health effects. Falanga, which is the beating of the soles of the feet, is excruciatingly painful, reduces the ability of the victim to walk temporarily, and in some cases causes permanent disability. Victims are also beaten on the buttocks, which rendered the victim unable to sit and caused severe injuries.

Beatings and torture were sometimes carried out indiscriminately, often at the so-called "pungwes" where Zanu (PF) supporters beating those persons identified as MDC supporters. They also occurred during attacks on people's homes. They were sometimes prompted by challenging the victim about his or her political affiliation. In some cases the victim was told to

surrender their MDC t-shirt or membership card; in still other cases if the victim could not prove that they were a Zanu (PF) supporter by producing a Zanu (PF) membership card, they were also beaten.

Torture as Persecution for Political Affiliation

Witnesses in the Buhera North case testified that:

- A CIO agent approached a man after he attended an MDC meeting and was beaten.
- A woman was beaten by a CIO agent because she was chanting MDC slogans.
- Zanu (PF) supporters beat a man who was wearing an MDC t-shirt.
- A witness escaped when Zanu (PF) supporters approached an MDC meeting and began to beat people those in attendance.

Family members and Children Tortured

Family members of MDC supporters were often not spared from violence, apart from being frequent witnesses to torture.

Percy Mavheneka testified in the Chiredzi North case that Zanu (PF) supporters, a Mrambi and his friends, attacked him on 15 June 2000. Before he and his wife had fallen asleep that night, he heard that his windows had been struck and broken. After having proceeded to the dining room to investigate, the front door to the house was broken down and Mrambi and other Zanu (PF) members entered. Of two that had burst into the house, one had a beard and was carrying a whip and a knobkerrie and the second was holding a pistol. Mavheneka was assaulted while trying to run into the kitchen while his wife was attacked in the corridor. All his four children, ages two, four, seven and 10 were also attacked. The assailants chanted 'MDC' as they beat up the family. Mavheneka managed to get up and escape through the front door, but was struck on the back of his head with a stick and consequently fell back to the ground and was then assaulted by those of his assailants who had remained outside. Again, Mavheneka tried to escape but was tripped, assaulted again and told to hand over all MDC t-shirts. Mavheneka's hands were held and he was told to lie down, but finally managed to get up when his assailants were distracted, and hide in nearby sugarcane fields. Mavheneka was taken to hospital and admitted for two weeks. His wife made a report to the police that he had gone missing.

Torture using the falanga method

In one particularly brutal case in Makoni West, witness Farai Dhliwayo told the court of his experience involving torture including falanga performed on him by a prominent Zanu (PF) supporter, Nathaniel 'Punish' Mhiripiri.

Ferai Dhliwayo, an MDC youth chairman, testified that he was brutally tortured on 28 April. He returned home from an MDC meeting at about 8 p.m. and found Zanu (PF) youth waiting for him. They held his arms and dragged him to a local school. He was stripped of his MDC t-shirt that he was wearing and was beaten. His shoes were removed, and he was taken to a classroom, where he was instructed to sit with his legs stretched out. An assailant produced a gun and began beating him with it. He was told to stand, lift his hands and say MDC slogans. He was beaten on both arms and his back, and he then fell down. Other assailants began stamping and kicking him, while instructing him to stand. He was beaten with a knobkerrie on the soles of his feet, knees, back, and other parts of his body as he sat with his legs stretched out.

Punish Mhiripiri (a Zanu (PF) supporter who has been featured as a perpetrator in other witnesses' testimony) entered the classroom and said, "You were proud of Chiminya. We planned for him and killed him. We are here to kill you, to break your back so you won't sire any children." Machonai Bumhura entered, and Mhiripiri began hitting walls with benches and smashing the benches to the ground. The other assailants panicked and ran outside. Mhiripiri fell to the ground and convulsed. He lifted a metal chair and struck Bumhura and Dhliwayo with it several times, and then began punching Bumhura. Some women were brought into the classroom and told to "join the line of people being assaulted." They were then beaten in turn from the front of

the line to the back, and then the beating was repeated in the same manner. The Zanu (PF) youth began to sing, "You've swallowed a fresh chili pepper." More youths arrived at the school and began singing, and then joined the assault with Mhiripiri. Mhiripiri sat down and after hurling various insults at Dhliwayo, produced a gun. He pointed it at Dhliwayo, his hand shaking. An assailant said to Mhiripiri, "Don't do that" and walked outside with him.

After a short while, Mhiripiri returned and sat down again, talking until morning. He said to Dhliwayo, "I phoned the President to ask permission to solve problems in this area. I phoned Mahachi, my nephew, and was given permission to do as I please in this area in a bid to reform the country." He went on to say, "Even if you make a lot of noise, and cry out if the police come, we will burn it down. Forget that the police will come." For the rest of the night, Dhliwayo and another nine people were beaten. When it reached morning, Mhiripiri said, "It is now the king's Sabbath so I will not assault you because it is also my Sabbath." He said to Dhliwayo, "Fera! you were preaching, now you speak about political issues." Another Zanu (PF) supporter said to him, "Fera! we belong to the same church, how could you have taken up for the white cause?"

Dhliwayo was told to stand up and jump around, although his legs were swollen. All of the victims were told to kneel down facing the east. One of the Zanu (PF) supporters said a prayer, thanking God for giving them the opportunity to beat their enemies. Mhiripiri said the next prayer. "Lord, I have sinned. I beat up these people. Forgive me. Please make the wounds I have caused heal fast." The victims were told to go home, but if Zanu (PF) supporters caught up to anyone, they would be killed. Dhliwayo tried to walk but could not, so his parents came and carried him in a scotch-cart. He was taken to Harare where a doctor referred him to Harare hospital because of his extensive injuries.

Dhliwayo sought refuge in Harare until August because he was afraid of returning to his village. His sister told him that he was believed dead and that she had heard over the radio that he died and was being buried. There were rumors that he would be killed if he returned. He did travel to Makoni West to vote and stayed with Makuwaza. He was advised by MDC members not to notify the police of his torture right away, because he might be discovered and followed by Zanu (PF) supporters. After he finally made a report to the police, he and other witnesses were given a court date in September. Dhliwayo and other victims were told on their hearing day that Mhiripiri didn't have a defense lawyer, so they were ordered home. Mhiripiri approached him and the other victims in court. He said he'd give them money so they wouldn't "trouble themselves to return to court." They did not accept the money. When he and the other victims returned on the new court date, they were told that the President had pardoned the assailants.

Dhliwayo's medical assessment revealed the extent of his injuries. The victim suffers long-term effects of having chronic pain and difficulty walking. Dhliwayo continues to experience backache, headaches, experiences weakness throughout his body, especially in his legs. He often experiences chronic pain from his injuries. As a result, he is unable to work.

Victims Assaulted More than Once

Victims described being beaten for long periods of time, and then victimized again. They described being threatened whilst being beaten, either that they should not be MDC supporters or that they should return to Zanu (PF). John Hwenhira describes being victimized on two occasions:

John Hwenhira testified that Zanu (PF) supporters assaulted him on 9 April 2000. He was assaulted around 3 p.m. in full view of a crowd but was not aided. He was injured all over his body but especially on his right arm. Initially, he sought medical treatment, but was refused because he did not have a note from the police. Two days after the incident he was able to seek medical attention at a clinic where he was given painkillers and referred to Rusape General Hospital. He did not have money for either treatment or bus fare so he relied on his painkillers.

On 12 April, Hwenhira was again assaulted when he was drinking a soda at a beer hall with friends. He heard a commotion outside and went to investigate. There he was struck on the neck by Zanu (PF) youths and fell to the ground. The gang of youths robbed him of \$500 and some MDC membership cards. He then sought medical attention at a clinic but the nurses told him to go to the police. Police later took him to the hospital where his right forearm was set in a cast. To this day he still has not regained full motor control in his right arm.

Fifteen Zanu (PF) supporters allegedly beat a witness in Buhera North because he wore an MDC T-shirt. The attackers were said to have moved him to a shop where they beat him about the head and face until he almost lost consciousness. The shop owner stopped the beating by pleading with the attackers. She said that she did not want a death to take place on the premises. The witness suffered lacerations and bruises on both elbows, internal bleeding in right eye, and pain in the chest and back.

Assaults by Group of Zanu (PF) Supporters

A witness in the Makoni West election petition describes his attack whilst travelling to a funeral:

L. Burewa, Chairman of his MDC branch, was assaulted along with other MDC members by Zanu (PF) supporters in April. A man named Mhiriphiri arrived at the MDC gathering, encouraged them to approach, telling them that other parties were free to organize in Zimbabwe. As the group approached Mhiriphiri, Zanu (PF) supporters alighted from a vehicle and began to assault everyone, saying, "MDC supporters are going to perish." Burewa pointed out Minister Mahachi's driver in the courtroom as the driver of the vehicle that carried the assailants.

Torture as Sexual Assault

A witness in the Mberengwa West election petition testified to a harrowing experience of torture:

After testifying about her husband's death, Mavis Tapera told the court about her own assault and subsequent torture on 4 July 2000. Assailants led by 'Biggie' Chitoro ordered her out of her house at night and used a knife to cut off her petticoat. At this point she was clad in only her pants. They began to assault her with logs, concentrating on the buttocks. She testified that one of the assailants asked her if MDC President Morgan Tsvangirai bought her the pants she was wearing. Her attackers then forced an iron rod into her genitals and ordered her to imitate sexual positions. Breaking down numerous times on the witness stand, Tapera testified that the ordeal was extremely painful but she was forced to continue. She then was taken to Texas Farm with her husband but was returned the same night. When her assailants returned her to her homestead, they urinated into a cup and forced her to drink from it. She told the court that one of the assailants threatened to force her to eat his stool if she refused.

Torture Performed at Victims' Homes

Although many persons were abducted and tortured at bases, an equally large number experienced torture inflicted at their homes. This was usually in the context of an attack by a large group, and was frequently witnessed by members of the victim's family, including children.

In the Shurugwi election petition, Tawanda Moffat, an MDC member, testified that Zanu (PF) supporters beat him in his home. The three alleged assailants entered his home, accosted him and hit him in the leg with a small axe. Moffat required five stitches and showed the court his scar. He was also cut on the shoulder and hit in the head with the axe. Luckily, his wife deflected the blow to his head, which only caused him minimal damage. While there the alleged assailants asked for any MDC paraphernalia such as membership cards or t-shirts. Moffat waited for weeks to make a report for fear of reprisal attacks. After the report, police took no further action to his knowledge.

Murders (Extra-judicial killings or summary executions)

Most reports about the period preceding the election period place the number of deaths at about forty people. However, there were also deaths reported about which little information is known; these deaths are still included as unnamed or unidentified people in the list that follows. Many of these deaths were carried out brutally, some as a result of torture performed on the victim, some as a result farm invasions, and others were summary executions. Some are the result of missing persons, most likely dead and buried or dumped in an undisclosed location. In all cases, no one has been brought to trial. Even in the high profile case of the murders of Tichaona Chiminya and Talent Mabika, the direct order of a High Court Judge to the Attorney General has not yielded a trial date or even an arrest.

Tichaona Chiminya was a well-known and well-liked MDC leader. He had been chosen by Remius Makuwaza, the MDC candidate for Makoni West, to head Makuwaza's campaign and to set up MDC structures in the constituency. Chiminya was so effective as a campaigner that MDC leadership in Harare asked him to campaign for the MDC in Buhera North as well. Throughout April, Chiminya and his other colleagues campaigned throughout Buhera North and Makoni West.

Sanderson Makombe testified that he witnessed the 15 April 2000 attack and petrol bombing of MDC supporters Chiminya and Mabika. He alleges that Zanu (PF) supporters were responsible and said that CIO agent Joseph Mwale was present and participated. Despite numerous witnesses implicating Mwale in the murders he has not yet been detained. Makombe alleges that he was in the twin cab when a Zanu (PF) labeled vehicle stopped them and began to beat them while he and his colleagues were still in the car. He escaped out of the back of the vehicle while the others tried to hide in the front seat. He then heard Mabika screaming and also heard someone call for petrol bombs to be brought from the Zanu (PF) vehicle. Petrol was poured on Chiminya and Mabika and then poured under the hood of the vehicle. A bomb was thrown and the vehicle caught fire. Makombe fought back tears to continue. He alleged that he ran back to the vehicle to pull his two colleagues out. When he did, their skin was flaking off from their burns and their clothes were still alight. Chiminya was pronounced dead at the scene and Mabika died after being taken to the hospital. Makombe testified that ever since that incident he has had numerous sleepless nights and could not look at meat for some months. He stated that although he resumed campaigning soon after the incident, he was horribly troubled.

Mwale and Zimunya were both subpoenaed by Justice James Devittie in the Buhera North case to testify about the incident in their own defence.

There was other first-hand testimony related to two of the election period murders that were observed. The three witnesses describe what they saw:

Mavis Tapera gave testimony in the Mberengwa West case regarding her husband's death and her own torture in one of the more harrowing stories that has come to light in the election petitions thus far. She told the Court that Zanu (PF) supporters led by Wilson Kufa Chitoro, alias 'Biggie' Chitoro, abducted her husband, Fainos Zhou, on 4 July 2000. He was taken to Texas Ranch, which been repeatedly referred to by witnesses as a war veteran base and torture centre in the area. She received word that her husband had been released four days later and that he had been taken to MDC Candidate Mfandaidza Hove's home. By the time she reached the home her husband had just died. She observed that he sustained serious injuries all over his body but was beaten severely on his buttocks. She told the court that it appeared as if he had been beaten with a hot iron bar.

An affidavit submitted by Wilson Mushaya in the Mutoko South election petition states that his brother Mationa and his brother's son, Onias, were brutally beaten to death on 16 May 2000 by war veterans. Mationa Mushaya's wife, Anna, was beaten unconscious but survived. Wilson Mushaya was ill and was not able to appear in court to give evidence. However, he alleges that his brother, who was the MDC Ward Chairman in his home district, was attacked by at least eight

war veterans in the night. They entered their home, beat both of them in bed, dragged them outside and wrapped them in blankets before beating them again. Mationa died while his wife lay unconscious before being taken for medical attention. The assailants then proceeded to Onias' house where they also beat him to death in a similar fashion.

Wilson Mushaya alleged that the following people participated in the murder of his relatives: Enock Kuchiva, Nyepanayi Chipuriro, Rise Chifodya, Garikai Gumbedze, Andrew Chipamando, Taurayi Nhire, Macheka Chingwna and Lazrus Chifodya. He claimed that all but two are war veterans.

A press report describes the deaths in more detail:

In Nyamhunga village, Shepherd Mutesva, war veterans, and Zanu (PF) supporters severely assaulted Mationa Mushaya, member of the UP party and a village headman, until he lost consciousness and died. Nine suspects were arrested and appeared in Mutoko court. It is unclear what happened to them afterwards. He was attacked at night in his homestead on suspicion of belonging to 'the wrong party'. His son Onias was severely assaulted and left for dead and died the following morning. Mutesva reported the two deaths to ZRP. The family later refused to talk to CIO interrogators.

Following are excerpts from press reports regarding the murders that took place during the election period from March through June 2000.

Harare Province

Takundwa Chipunza, 16 May 2000, Budiro

Chipunza was tortured at Chenjerai Hunzvi's surgery in Budiro, Harare by 12 Zanu (PF) supporters, a few identified as Ozias, Tafi, Marvellous and Fatso. He was dragged off a commuter omnibus after allegedly getting into an argument with a Zanu (PF) supporter on the omnibus. He was taken to the house of Gladys Hokoyo, the Zanu (PF) candidate for Budiro, but Hokoyo was not at home so he was brought to the surgery. He attempted to escape but he was recaptured, severely tortured and left for dead. He died of his injuries at Parirenyatwa Hospital. Twelve people were charged with murder.

Manicaland Province

Alex Chisasa, 13 May 2000, Chipinge South

Chisasa was bludgeoned to death with an iron bar shortly after publicly criticising Zanu-PF's political strategy and use of ZNLWVA.

Mandeya, Joseph Ketero Mandeya, 17 May 2000, Mubare village, Mutasa

Mandeya was severely assaulted in Honde Valley, by four Zanu (PF) supporters and died of the injuries he sustained. Zanu (PF) supporters arrived at his house on Saturday night and required him to chant Zanu (PF) slogans, and he was then beaten. No arrests were made although ZRP was investigating at the time.

Mashonaland Central

Robert Musoni, 26 March 2000, Mazowe West.

Musoni's death resulted from political violence not previously reported. ZRP claimed arrests had been made. Deaths of Musoni and Marufu not previously reported but the ZRP denied concealment.

Edwin Gomo, 26 March 2000, Bindura.

Gomo was hit with a stone while leaving MDC rally, hours after Border Gezi's speech at Chipadze Hall stating 'You must warn supporters of opposition parties that Zanu (PF) is well known for spilling blood'. He died in Harare Hospital two days later after being transferred from Bindura

Hospital. Five suspects were arrested on 30 March 2000 and remanded in custody in Mvurwi. ZRP said they had received no report of Gomo's death; two trucks belonging to a commercial farmer petrol-bombed after being used to ferry MDC supporters to rally.

Doreen Marufu, 2 April 2000, Mazowe.

Marufu's death resulted from Zanu (PF) supporters stoning a Munhenzva bus that was carrying MDC supporters. She was six months pregnant. Thirteen Zanu (PF) supporters were arrested; it is unclear what happened thereafter. Deaths of Musoni and Marufu were not previously reported. It is still unclear whether they died in the same incident; bus had all windows shattered; ZRP denied concealment.

Peter and Howard Karidza / Kareza, 23 April 2000, Shamva.

Peter and Howard Karidza, MDC supporters, were severely assaulted with sticks by 50 Zanu (PF) supporters on 23 April for failing to produce a Zanu (PF) membership card. Peter died the following morning of a fractured skull. His house, two huts and toilet were burned down. His wife was also assaulted. His son, Howard, died seven months later on 13 December in Karanda Mission Hospital, having never fully recovered from the assault. Five suspects were arrested, but a later ZRP statement makes no reference to these reported arrests, and says merely investigations are still ongoing. ZRP Inspector Angeline Guvamombe reported stating that Karidza was assaulted because he was an MDC supporter.

(First name unknown) Banda, 24 April 2000, Shamva.

MDC Assaulted in clash between Zanu (PF) and MDC; SA reports say killed with an axe while campaigning. Five people were arrested.

Matthew Pfebve, 30 April 2000, Mount Darwin North.

In Mukumbura, at Nyakatongo Village, John Karikoga and 200 Zanu (PF) supporters beat retired ZRP officer Pfebve severely with sticks and stones and he died as a result of his injuries. His father and mother were also assaulted. Five unnamed arrested and appeared in Bindura court; unclear what has happened to them. ZRP regarded this as 'politically-motivated'. Matthew's younger brother Elliott is an MDC organizer and candidate for Bindura. Zanu (PF) youths based at Kamutsenzere Primary School were responsible for this and other attacks on villages in the Mount Darwin area.

Mashonaland East Province

Tinashe Chakwenya, 4 April 2000, Marondera.

Chakwenya, a ZRP constable, was on duty when he was shot. He was out of uniform and armed with a service pistol. According to police contacted by MMPZ, Constable Chakwenda was one of several officers who on 4 March had arrested members of a war veteran militia in connection with the severe beating of Iain Kay, an MDC supporter whose farm had been occupied. Those arrested were released on arrival at Marondera police station. Constable Chakwenya asked Zanu (PF) youth outside Chipesa Farm directions to Monte Christo Farm to investigate stock theft just after 6 am on 4 April; he was then shot dead while riding his bicycle to work in Marondera. A suspect was arrested on a murder charge, was found guilty of murder in February 2001 and sentenced to death.

David Stevens, 15 April 2000, Macheke, Dapandare River Bridge, Murehwa South.

Stevens was abducted from his Arizona farm and taken manacled in his own truck by invaders to Murehwa police station. The Murehwa ZRP allowed war veterans to take him away for interrogation about his support for MDC. He was driven out of Murehwa with another farmer, severely assaulted while still manacled, then shot twice in the neck, jaw and back by David Chitekuteku with a gun registered to Charles Matanda. Charles Gwejegweje, a CIO agent was also implicated in the shooting. Two Air Force of Zimbabwe helicopters found Stevens' body at Dapandare River Bridge. A second farmer was spared only by a woman's appeal for his life, whilst two others were severely tortured. Chitekuteku remanded in custody to October 2000. The

murder charge was withdrawn for lack of evidence and he was freed. Charges of kidnapping and unlawful possession of a firearm still stand. Chitekuteku will appear in court on March 26.

The ZRP claim Stevens and his farm workers seriously assaulted 24 farm invaders and refused to report to the ZRP. No arrests were made and affidavits were lodged with CID. Arizona farm was first invaded in February; at that time 35 invaders were given shelter by Stevens. The invaders were attacked and his workers injured 14 on 15 April 2000 after a farm worker's daughter was harassed (it is unclear whether she was raped) and her brother intervened and was assaulted. War veterans were holding a meeting at Zexcom offices in Murehwa when they received a message that farm workers were assaulting war veterans occupying Arizona Farm. After receiving the message, Chitekuteku is said to have mobilized war veterans to go to the farm. War vets, some wearing Zanu (PF) t-shirts abducted Stevens to Murehwa police station, and the ZRP let them take him away after he and 5 white farmers who had given chase were assaulted. Invaders on neighbouring farms then set fire to farm and farm workers' property; farm workers fled into nearby hills.

Julius Adoche, 20 April 2000, Macheke, Murehwa South.

Adoche, a farm foreman, was assaulted and shot in the head at Arizona Farm. Thirty-five invaders were given shelter by the farm-owner Stevens, but his workers injured 14 people in an attack on 15 April. War veterans wearing Zanu (PF) t-shirts abducted Stevens, and Adoche was killed five days later. No arrests were made.

Allan Stewart Dunn, 7 May 2000, Seke.

Dunn was called out of his house at Maasplein Farm in Beatrice and assaulted by six Zanu (PF) supporters with stones, bricks and chains. Wire was tied around his neck but he was not strangled. He later died of severe head injuries. No one was arrested. Dunn was a well-known MDC supporter and a possible candidate in his area. He had received numerous threats. His farm workers believe his death to be political and not related to farm invasion violence. In 1998 he had defeated a Zanu (PF) candidate in a ward election. The six assailants arrived at the farm in a government-owned PTC truck.

John Weeks, 14 May 2000, Beatrice, Nyachidze Farm, Seke.

Invaders who were identified as five Zanu (PF) supporters and war veterans shot Weeks in the abdomen after they entered his farmhouse after dark. He later died of cardiac arrest. His farm had been invaded in February.

Musekiwa Kufandaedza, 27 May 2000, Seke, Marondera West.

Kufandaedza, a Zanu (PF) supporter, was shot in the abdomen by Zanu (PF) supporters on May 27 2000. He died in Harare Hospital two days later.

Nhamo Gwase, June 2000, Murehwa South.

Gwase, an MDC supporter, was abducted from Musami homestead to a war veteran base and tortured, including genital mutilation. He later died. CID in Murehwa South arrested suspect Magaya, but he was freed by 25 war veterans who assaulted his two uniformed ZRP guards and stole their handcuffs, radio and parts of their uniform. Magaya is still at large, but the 25 war veterans were arrested.

Tavengwa Charles Nyandoro, 16 July 2000 (assaulted in April), Mutoko North.(U.P.)

Anthony Mashinga, Date unreported.

Mashinga was in a vehicle that was attacked by Zanu (PF) supporters in Goromonzi. He was killed when the vehicle overturned and others were injured.

Mashonaland West Province

Nicholas Chaitama and Luckson Kanyurira, 25 April 2000, Kariba.

Chaitama, an MDC supporter, was thrown out of a moving vehicle carrying Zanu (PF) supporters along with Kanyurira's dead body, along with three other living people at Nyamhunga shopping centre in Kariba. Chaitama later died. All five MDC supporters had been abducted and assaulted. Kanyurira had been dragged from his ZESA office, whipped and clubbed to death. An injured man (Bishop) died because his violators watched from a distance and people were too terrified to help him. Rex Jesus was leading invasions in Karoi and had travelled to Kariba. Kanyurira's corpse was allegedly paraded at the Shopping Centre. Sixteen were arrested; it is unclear what happened to them after they appeared in court in Kariba.

Tony Oates, 31 May 2000, Zvimba North.

In Trelawney, at Shelton Farm, two armed robbers entered Oates' farmhouse at 9 p.m. Oates was shot by one 'robber' who woke him in his bedroom. Elaine Oates rushed out to investigate and she was assaulted. Oates shot her assailant before dying himself. ZRP and CFU deny this was political violence linked to farm invasions, since Oates' farm had not been invaded and two assailants were released a month previously from jail for armed robbery.

Constantine Mafemeruke, 19 June 2000, Kariba.

Mafemeruke was killed by Zanu (PF) supporters and dumped in a sewage pond.

Tichaona Tadyanemhandu, 20 June 2000, Karoi, Hurungwe East.

Tadyanemhandu left Dandawa village home to campaign with MDC colleagues from Harare and Karoi in Hurungwe East and he disappeared. His body was identified at Harare Central Hospital (HCH) mortuary in December. His body had a slit throat, gash on right side and was badly bruised. It was unclear when death may have occurred. ZRP is investigating, but Magunje ZRP denied any knowledge that he did not return home after campaigning. His worried parents were told of dead body at Karoi Hospital mortuary in August, but were told it was of a Harare man. It was unclear whether they saw it then. The body was found on their search at HCH.

Masvingo Province

Thadeus Rukuni, 29 May 2000, Bikita East.

Rukuni, the MDC candidate for Bikita East, was beaten to death by Zanu (PF) supporters. MDC alleged Zanu (PF) militants killed Rukuni on Monday night. ZRP admitted death, but initially claimed it was not as a result of political violence but later admitted that it was. *The Herald* stated Rukuni's attackers were chanting liberation war songs but in a later report reiterated the ZRP position. Rukuni's son was picked up for having bloodstained overalls and was arrested.

Leo Jeke, 10 June 2000, Chivi South.

Jeke was stabbed six times in the neck, and died of his wounds. The victim and assailant were both partially drunk and the stabbing occurred after Jeke challenged Makulani to remove the MDC t-shirt he was wearing. Makulani was found guilty of murder, and sentenced to 12 years in prison.

Matabelerland South Province

Henson Ngela, 22 June 2000, Insiza.

Ngela, a Zanu (PF) supporter, was assaulted by MDC members and died of his injuries at Bulawayo United Hospital. Some of his assailants were identified as Silalatshani Filabusi, Misheck Mhlanga; Elliot Mlalazi, Joseph Moyo, Lucas Moyo, Ntando Ndlela, Joseph Ndlovu, Clive Nkomo, Innocent Nkomo. Eight were remanded in custody, and two juveniles out of custody, to

July 2000. Ngela was driving Toyota Landcruiser belonging to Zanu (PF) candidate, Naison Ndlovu, which was torched.

Matabeleland North Province

Patrick Nabanyama, 19 June 2000, Bulawayo, Bulawayo South.

Nabanyama, the election agent of Bulawayo MDC candidate David Coltart, was abducted from outside his home in Nketa and dragged onto a truck; he was not seen again. He is still missing and is presumed dead.

Martin Olds, 18 April 2000, Bubi-Umguza.

In Nyamandlovu, at Compensation Farm, Olds was attacked by Abton Ncube, Pritchard Ndhlovu, and 100 other war veterans. Olds was 'riddled with bullets' in legs and head with other head injuries inflicted by iron bars and axes. His farm vehicles and his house were burned with petrol bombs. ZRP claim he fired 250 rounds into a crowd protesting against an earlier shooting of two villagers and the villagers killed him. Three hundred war veterans under Ncube and Ndhlovu arrived from Harare in a 12-vehicle convoy armed with AK47s, of whom 100 proceeded to his farm, passing through a roadblock which later detained white farmers going to Olds' farm. Bulawayo branch of ZNLWVA denied all knowledge of this attack. Nyamandlovu ZRP were 'extremely unco-operative', did not respond to CFU call for assistance and refused to comment later, but ZRP Support Unit was sent by Dabengwa personally after CFU regional president called him. Ncube and Ndhlovu alleged they had called to discuss land with Olds. The CFU, which was in phone contact with Olds at the time before his line was cut, said the war veteran militia forced entry at gunpoint and shot Olds. The killing followed Mugabe's Independence Day address which described white farmers as the 'enemy of the state' and Hunzvi's statement that white farmers had 'declared war' on blacks. Olds was allegedly targeted and murdered because of his support for MDC invasions. No arrests were made.

Midlands Province

Fainos Kufazvinei Zhou, 10 June 2000, Masaga village, Mberengwa West.

Wilson Kufa 'Biggie' Chitoro, Midlands chair of ZNLWVA and senior Zanu (PF) office-bearer gave instructions to war veterans and Zanu (PF) supporters to kidnap Zhou from his home at Danga in Masaga village on 4 June with two others. Some war veterans and Zanu (PF) supporters were identified as Nhamoinesu Dziva, Sam Kid Ganyau, Morgan Gumbo, Shadreck Makoni, Francis Ncube, Elias Zhou, Stephen Hove. Zhou was first beaten with sticks, fists and open hands. He was forced to swim Mundi River before being assaulted again with sticks, whips, fists and boots. He was force marched to Texas ranch. He was interrogated and tortured with sticks, iron bars and booted feet for 4 days, for last 3 by Chitoro, at Texas Farm. He was released three days later unable to walk. He stopped at Mbwembwe School and stayed there and then later died at home of late Byron Hove on 9 June. Chitoro, Dziva and Gumbo remanded in custody to July 2000 on murder charge (after Zanu-PF election victory in late June). The remaining four were 'on the run'. A total of 20 were arrested after the elections. Chitoro was also charged with public violence and remanded in custody to 8 January 2001. He was denied bail for a second time by the High Court on 4 January 2001. Further remanded to January 22 when a trial date is expected to be set. Chitoro pleaded for a trial date to be set but was instead remanded in custody to 20 February. Further remanded to 17 April robbery and murder charges to be tried concurrently. A trial date set for 6 June but then the trial was postponed to 27 June after three of his co-accused turned up late; further denied bail in July 2001. Chitoro denied any allegations of assault and murder when he gave testimony in an electoral petition against Joram Gumbo for Mberengwa West.

Zeke Chigagura, 20 June 2000, Gokwe East.

Chigagura, an MDC supporter, was dragged from his home by 20 Zanu (PF) supporters and assaulted in bush with iron bars. He died of head injuries. He was found dead by Tinos Mudzori,

the MDC candidate, and his polling agent. ZRP state Chigagwa was drinking with friends and beaten to death. Two arrests were made.

Wonder Manhango / Manango, 23 June 2000, Gokwe North.

Manhango was accused of being an MDC supporter and assaulted with sjamboks and other weapons by Felix Dube, Joseph Kwangwari, Emmanuel Mbewe, Joseph Mudyiwa and nine other unnamed assailants in Gokwe North. He was forced into a pick-up and was left at the roadside after further assault. He later died from his injuries. Dube remanded in custody on charges of murder and kidnapping and all 13 assailants were bailed out.?

Matyatya, 27 June 2000, Gweru.

Zanu (PF) murdered Matyatya in Gweru. Battles ensued in retaliation to the murder. MDC houses were stoned and suspected Zanu (PF) supporters assaulted.

Mandishona Mutyanda, 29 June 2000, Kwekwe.

Thirty Zanu (PF) supporters severely assaulted Mutyanda, an MDC ward chair, with sticks, iron bars, stones and knobkerries. He suffered head injuries and loss of speech, and died never having regained consciousness. His house windows and door were smashed. His TV, radio, phone, blankets, and other items were stolen. The attackers ascertained from a child that Mutyanda was at home before they attacked. Mutyanda was left for dead and taken to Kwekwe Hospital, transferred the following morning to Harare Hospital and moved three days later to Avenues Clinic 'for security reasons' after SATV had broadcast interview with him (ZI says he never came out of coma?). He collapsed and died en route to theatre for surgery. Five were arrested.

Unidentified Victims

Another nineteen unidentified victims died during the election period. Little information is available, and the information that follows is from press reports.

Harare Province

A man in Harare who was a guard at a beer hall wearing MDC t-shirt was beaten to death after being required to produce proof of his party affiliation by Zanu (PF) supporters. Police investigating, no arrests made. He was one of five MDC supporters killed in three days.

Zanu (PF) supporters and war veterans killed six victims at Chenjerai Hunzvi's surgery in Budiro, Harare. Forty-six were arrested and remanded in custody to June 2000. Mashonaland Central Province

ZRP shot a war veteran in Mazowe West in May. There are two contrary accounts of the incident. The BBC and the *Daily News* say that 200 police, reinforced by Support Unit opened fire in self-defence as Mvurwi police station was attacked by 200 members of a war veteran militia armed with petrol bombs, knobkerries, sticks and stones. They were allegedly trucked in a convoy led by Border Gezi. *The Herald* says that ZRP used only teargas and pepper spray and found a man injured whom they took to hospital where he died. Both agree there was a violent confrontation as members of the war veteran militia sought to liberate one of their number arrested for disarming a ZRP officer (after failure to do so in similar attack the previous day).

Mashonaland East Province

A teacher was killed in Chikomba at an unnamed school. No details, except reported by Progressive Teachers' Union of Zimbabwe in its report on violence March-May 2000.

A teacher was killed at Nyakuchena Secondary School. She was abducted from the area by Zanu (PF) and severely beaten up in Mudzi. She was believed to have died on 19 May. Police

claim that investigations are still underway. The teacher had been accused of sympathizing with the MDC.

Zanu (PF) beat to death a teacher in Nyandoro, at Kawere, Chisangano High School in Mutoko North. No details given. School was closed and the teachers fled. Staff were regarded as MDC supporters.

A body was found hanging from tree in Hwedza at Fels Farm. ZRP investigating, but there are no further details. From CFU report the implication is that "war vets" were involved, but not made explicit.

Mashonaland West Province

Zanu (PF) supporters severely assaulted 30 unnamed farm workers in Kariba on Charara Estate. A man and a woman died. No reported arrests were made. MDC supporters had been assaulted in Nyamhunga the previous day.

Two unknown victims were killed in Karoi and corpses thrown onto road outside their house. Reported by Sister Sheila, attending funeral in Karoi two days afterwards; Hurungwe East.

Masvingo Province

A victim was fatally stabbed by suspected MDC members. He was drinking and wearing a Zanu (PF) t-shirt in Chivi. He was asked to remove it as being 'out of place'. He was stabbed in chest after altercation over refusal and he died before he could be taken to hospital.

Midlands Province

"War veterans" and Zanu (PF) supporters who had invaded a nearby farm killed a man in Kwekwe. He was severely assaulted, with his feet bound, and then he was hanged. No arrests were made. The victim was the chief tracker employed for 15 years by Keith Kennedy, farmer and professional hunter.

Farm workers at Wildebeest Farm in Shurugwi, were assaulted by Zanu (PF) supporters and war veterans, and one farm worker died. ZRP accused of refusing to attend scene of crime. No details; however, others were injured in clash on farm belonging to Trevor Shaw; phone line cut.

A black foreman was killed by war veterans and Zanu (PF) supporters who had invaded the farm on which he worked. He was severely assaulted and hanged from a tree. No arrests were made.

Kidnapping/Abductions

Kidnapping and abductions were also crimes that were perpetrated in the election period by Zanu (PF). Witnesses were sometimes abducted, tortured severely, and then released, mostly because it was believed that they were working for the opposition. Other witnesses describe being kidnapped and forced to live amongst Zanu (PF) supporters for long periods. Zanu (PF) members would demand information on other MDC members whilst threatening or torturing the victim. In some cases they would try to 're-indoctrinate' the victim, forcing them to participate in Zanu (PF) activities. They were also detained so that they could not campaign for the MDC. These abductions made other MDC supporters fearful since their leadership was even vulnerable to attack.

Armigia Jimu testified in the Mutoko South case that he was abducted and forced to the Cornerstone Business Centre rally with Matthew Rukwata and was detained at the Zanu (PF) base camp with him as well. Jimu was also cross-examined by his alleged assailants, including Maxwell Hodzi, without the opportunity to question them. He alleged that he was originally

abducted when a group of Zanu (PF) supporters screamed 'There is the MDC' and took him to a base camp. He identified Maxwell Hodzi as being present at the base camp.

Jimu testified that during his detention he was forced to participate in morning runs with Zanu (PF) recruits. He shared a room with Matthew Rukwata where they were handcuffed to a bench at night. He was often assaulted. He also had his hair cut against his wishes. Jimu further claimed that he was forced to go on raids with Zanu (PF) supporters to beat up MDC supporters approximately five or six times. He was constantly under guard and could not escape. While being transported, he was often taken in a District Development Fund (DDF) vehicle. The DDF is a government institution that is supposed to be apolitical.

Nicholas Mudzengerere, the petitioner in the Makoni East case described the abduction of two MDC youth members. On 9 May 2000, Mudzengerere arrived in Rusape from Harare with MDC T-shirts for Jameson Mairchu and Brian Tonderai to distribute at a meeting that afternoon. Mudzengerere, Felix, (another MDC member), and the two young men began walking to the venue of the meeting. Mudzengerere and Felix crossed the road, but the two young men waited to cross because of oncoming traffic. Felix and Mudzengerere heard some commotion and turned to see the two youth being forced into a white defender vehicle. The vehicle turned and drove off as Felix and Mudzengerere approached. Witnesses told Mudzengerere that it was a Zanu (PF) vehicle. Mudzengerere sent word to Pishai, his coordinator, to cancel the meeting since the youth had been abducted. The two young men were set free later that afternoon and identified Chipanga as being present in the car during the abduction.

Tonderai elaborated further on his experience in the narrative of the medical report. He said that both men were beaten with iron bars all over the body, and threatened with death for supporting the opposition party. They were both taken to Mucheke River where 12 Zanu (PF) supporters threatened to throw them in. Tonderai experiences chronic pain in the shoulders and the middle of his spine.

Margaret Tavengerwe had to be subpoenaed to testify before the High Court in the Shurugwi case. She testified that she would not come voluntarily because, 'I was afraid to be beaten up since I've been beaten before.' Mrs. Tavengerwe was cleaning at the local Women's Club when she was approached by a band of ZANU (PF) youth armed with sticks and small axes who demanded to be taken to her home. Once there they ransacked her home looking for MDC paraphernalia. They did not find any MDC items including the t-shirt she had hidden in a pot but proceeded to beat her unconscious in her own bedroom. Tavengerwe was beaten, hit in the head with a small axe and stabbed with a knife in the buttocks. She was unconscious for about two hours until her husband returned home and took her to the hospital. She was in the hospital for three days and to this day has problems lifting heavy items, has pain in her biceps and still has nightmares of the incident. She did not make a police report because Zanu (PF) supporters were camped near the police station and she feared being victimized again.

Rape

Rape is a grossly underreported crime in Zimbabwe. According to the Musasa Project, a Zimbabwean NGO that deals with violence against women, there is a considerable uncertainty about the true extent of domestic and sexual violence in Zimbabwe. The private and stigmatized nature of the crime makes women reluctant to disclose what happened to them, either to friends, family, or service providers. This leaves the magnitude of the problem hidden from society. However, the problem is widespread and is a significant problem.

Women suffered gendered crimes such as rape, in addition to being victims of assault, threats and other crimes during the election period. During the violence surrounding the pre-election campaigning, the non-action by the police to other forms of violence encouraged men to take advantage of the prevailing lack of law to reinforce their supremacy over women through rape.

This resulted in psychological trauma as women who were victims of rape do not know their health status and are afraid to be tested for HIV/AIDS, because it could adversely affect their marriages. In light of gendered realities in most Zimbabwean rural communities where a man is often the sole breadwinner, loss of such a man in the family would leave the wife and children exposed economically.

There were only two election petitions observed thus far in which witnesses testified about the crime of rape, and in light of the issues above, the fact that only two cases mentioned it is not an accurate reflection of the incidence or frequency of this crime during the Parliamentary election period. The underreporting of rape should in no way minimize the seriousness of this crime and its ramifications on the women and their families of Zimbabwe.

Godfrey Mumbarmarwo, the candidate for Mount Darwin South, described women and children had been raped in his constituency, and young girls were taken from their homes at night and raped at all-night Zanu (PF) meetings called pungwes.

Two women testified in the Mberengwa West case that they were raped at a Zanu (PF) base camp.

Elizabeth Tati and Babara Mavhingire testified in the Mberengwa West case that they were both raped by Francis Ncube at Texas Ranch, a war veteran base and torture center. Tati testified that she was abducted by Zanu (PF) youth on 4 June 2000. She was taken to Texas Ranch and handed over to Ncube. There, Ncube brandished a gun and told Tati that he would kill her if she refused to sleep with him. Mavhingire testified that she was also raped at gunpoint by Ncube on the same night as Tati. Both were forced to chant Zanu (PF) slogans and denounce MDC President Morgan Tsvangirai on the way to the torture center. Ncube allegedly told Mavhingire that it was useless to report the incident to the police because he was a war veteran. He said the government belonged to the war veterans and that nothing would be done to him. She proceeded to the Zvishavane police station where she was prepared to make a report but Ncube arrived before she could do so. She did not make a report for fear of further victimization.

Threats and Intimidation – mass psychological torture

Threats and intimidation were widely used against the electorate and MDC supporters. The threats were sometimes a precursor to a later beating by Zanu (PF) supporters, and sometimes victims were threatened whilst being tortured or beaten. Family members were threatened if they were related to an MDC member. Threats could be carried out with explicit or implicit results. For most, threats were even more terrifying because victims had no recourse, no protection, and lived in fear. Officers of the ZRP in most instances would not act when crimes were perpetrated against MDC supporters.

A witness testified in the Buhera North case that Zanu (PF) agents, including Joseph Mwale, Mudzamiri, Kairos “Kitsiyatota” Zimunya, Richard Shayamono, Betty Mhiripiri and Solomon Chamtumba, allegedly told villagers that if they support the MDC, their property would be burned and their fields would be taken away.

In Zvishavane, Christopher Mkwanzani reported overhearing a Zanu (PF) meeting at the Dongori School where he teaches in which supporters were told they should beat MDC supporters. If they were arrested, the speaker, a Nunungwe said, Zanu (PF) would pay their fines. After reporting that he had been beaten, Mkwanzani submitted a report to the Ministry of Education. He was then asked not to return to work. Other teachers at the Dongori school said they would not be able to continue teaching if other teachers were assaulted.

A witness in Zvishavane testified that he was threatened and his MDC materials taken:

Justice Berebenda reported being stopped in Zvishavane at a roadblock two weeks before elections and told that he would be shot if he continued along the road. His car was searched and his MDC pamphlets and posters were confiscated. On a separate trip on 22 April, he recalled coming across a Zanu (PF) rally where the local chairperson of the party said that MDC supporters should be brought to the rally and assaulted.

Marfera Guzeze testified in the Makoni West case that she was forced to attend a Zanu (PF) rally under threat of assault. Mahachi spoke at the rally. He said that because people voted no on the referendum, they would suffer. He told MDC members to come forward and surrender their t-shirts and cards. He said machines at the polling stations would detect whom people voted for. If people voted for MDC, Zanu (PF) youths would assault them. Mahachi said he was the leader of soldiers, and "I kill, like what we did to Chiminya." No MDC members came forward to surrender their cards and t-shirts. However, the village headman visited Guzeze after the rally and demanded that she surrender her t-shirt. She refused, saying that Zanu (PF) supporters should come and collect the t-shirt themselves.

Erica Nyaunde testified in the Makoni East case that the election was not free and fair because the MDC could not campaign out of fear, particularly after the deaths of Tichaona Chiminya and Talent Mabika. She said that Chiminya was well known in the area for campaigning on behalf of the MDC and news of his death spread throughout the community quickly. She also argued that Zanu (PF) intimidation was constant and that their youth were offered \$150 for every MDC t-shirt they produced. The MDC could hold only a few poorly attended meetings after the intimidation started and their overall ability to campaign was severely hampered, she argued.

A witness in Buhera North was identified as an MDC supporter as he was passing by a Zanu (PF) rally. According to testimony, a Zanu (PF) supporter pointed an assault rifle at him and made him take off his MDC shirt, which the assailant then burned.

Conrad Dengezi describes in the Murehwa North petition two instances in which he was threatened:

On 19 May, Dengezi reported the destruction of his homestead to the police. On his way home, some Zanu (PF) supporters said to him "Old man, we saw you coming from the police station to report the burning of your houses, we want to chop off your head". They told him that when an old MDC man has been naughty, his houses get burned down and that they could "beat up police officers". After his homestead was burnt, Conrad Dengezi was told by his family that his head was wanted, and that he should leave his home...His mother told him not to stay there because his life had been threatened. She told him that if he stayed there, she would hang herself. Someone also told him that if he stayed his head would be cut off.

Another witness in the Murehwa North election petition described her experience:

The day after the assault and the burning of the homestead, Rose Gonese testified that she went to Harare to hide. She took her sister to the hospital and then returned to Murehwa to attend to her crops. Whilst in Murehwa, she was forced to go to a Zanu (PF) meeting by a neighbor. She was afraid that if she did not attend something would happen to her. It was said by a Zanu (PF) supporter at the meeting that if they didn't finish MDC now, two weeks later they would make MDC supporters cross the border. She asked him later what he meant by his comment and he told her, "Killing – we mean killing".

Chief Tshovani, an unwilling witness subpoenaed to testify before the High Court in the Chiredzi North case, recounted how he was perceived to be an MDC supporter because he had been accused of supplying Edmore Hachi with an MDC t-shirt, an allegation he adamantly denied in court. Tshovani testified that Mutemachani and a war veteran came to collect him from his residence to proceed to an occupied farm where Zanu (PF) MP Chauke arrived and ordered the Chief to instruct his children and villagers that if they dared to vote for the MDC that Zanu (PF)

and their supporters would kill them. If Tshovani did not comply, Chauke threatened to take Tshovani's property and land away. Mutemachani reiterated that a vote for MDC would invite war and death, and if the Chief did not instruct the village headman to tell their villagers to vote Zanu (PF), the Chief's maize and tractor would be set alight. The MDC asked the Chief if he could campaign in the area, and subsequently, a week later, his house was burnt.

Shamiso Nyati Mhelkwa reported in the Shurugwi election petition that Zanu (PF) supporters threatened her saying they wanted her head. She received death threats and developed high blood pressure from the stress. She also had to close down the preschool, which she ran because of pressure and intimidation. Mhelkwa then fled Shurugwi to Masvingo for one month because of these threats.

On 4 June 2000, around 9 pm, war veterans and Zanu (PF) youth ambushed the car carrying Chiredzi South candidate Patrick Tsumele and his colleagues at a road junction near Chikombedzi Township. Since Tsumele was warned in advance, he was not attacked. Tsumele's home was surrounded by encamped war veterans and ZANU (PF) supporters who screamed, "We want his head." Tsumele was virtually imprisoned in his home. He could not go out and freely campaign.

S. Mbiza testified that he was arrested and detained for no reason on 16 June 2000 by Sergeant Verengera and a member of the CIO. After being interrogated about the whereabouts of Patrick Tsumele, Mbiza was driven by members of the CIO, including one called Chiyangwa, to Tsumele's home and ordered him to open the door. Tsumele was nowhere to be found. Mbiza was detained further, taken to the Magistrates Court and granted bail of \$1000.

Destruction of Property/Theft

Zanu (PF) supporters and groups of Zanu (PF) youth, in their rampages through the community, would perpetrate theft, burn homes and destroy property of citizens and MDC members. This is especially difficult for the mostly rural and poverty-stricken population in Zimbabwe, because people were left homeless and items lost could not be replaced.

After he was threatened and fled to Harare, Beni Jacha testified in Mutoko South that the local Land Committee reallocated his land to a policeman. Maxwell Hodzi sits on this committee. Jacha received a note bearing the stamp of the District War Veterans Association on 3 January, 2001 which said, 'You should know this (land) is not yours. You must not go against the party (Zanu (PF)) or you will be chased away'. He was told that if he returned to his land that people with rifles would visit him. To this day war veterans still occupy his land.

Panganayi Makwara testified that war veterans visited his homestead and burned numerous buildings. Although he lives in the Mudzi constituency, Makwara campaigned for the MDC in Mutoko South, which is very close to his home. A three-room house, a cottage and a kitchen hut were all burned during the attack. His family had to desert his homestead out of fear of further attack.

Muziwa testified in the Murehwa North case that he returned from work in Harare on 13 May and found his home destroyed. Windows were broken, and the property inside was destroyed, including all kitchen equipment, beds, radios, pictures, and 90 kgs of maize. The roof was also burnt. He tried to report the matter to the police, but they told him that they did not take cases that dealt with politics. He relocated his family to Zvimba.

Mrs. Muziwa tells the story as she witnessed it. Young men wearing Zanu (PF) t-shirts and carrying switches came to her house on 13 May and asked for MDC cards and t-shirts. Two women wearing Zanu (PF) t-shirts came after they left and asked her who she supported, to which she told them that she supported no one. They spit in her face. The women went to her

gate and met up with other Zanu (PF) supporters there and returned to her yard. They set the kitchen on fire and began breaking down the dining room door. She then ran away.

Conrad Dengezi testified in Murehwa North that he was returning to his homestead in the early morning after visiting at his sister's home. When he was about 1 km from his home he smelled something and saw smoke coming from his home. He realized as he approached that the roofs of his huts were missing. He was at that point not sure what destroyed his home and not sure if anyone would be alive. When he reached one of the huts, he pushed the door open and saw family members in the hut sleeping, and asked his daughter, who woke up, if anyone was alive. His first wife, who was in the hut, woke up and told him that his head was wanted and that he should leave the homestead. His four huts including a granary were burnt down with everything inside. He went to Harare for refuge.

Chiredzi South ZANU (PF) MP Aaron Baloyi estimated the damage caused by an MDC attack on his home on 16 June to be about \$60,000. About \$72,000 is needed for repairs on his vehicle, also damaged in the attack.

Displacement

Nearly 9,000 persons became internally displaced during the General Election, seeking refuge in Harare. However, the exact extent of displacements is not known.

Andrew Mujaji testified in the Chiredzi North case related to the second instance that he was assaulted that in the evening of May 8, 2000, a Mazda pick up with about 20 persons arrived near his homestead. Mujaji, suspicious of the vehicle and the movements of the twenty or so persons who subsequently disembarked, decided to leave his house. After walking about five meters, he noticed that his house had been set alight, and immediately suspected two of the men who were approaching the house as he had left, though he could not positively identify who had set his home on fire. Mujaji believes that the men who had arrived at his homestead were the same men who had harassed him and his friends at the beer hall on the afternoon of May 2, 2000. His wife reported the incident the following day at the Chiredzi Police Station. Mujaji testified that he was subsequently unable to return to his homestead and was forced to seek refuge in Mutare. He admitted that he was also unable to vote because he had felt that it was too dangerous to move around in public.

Shamiso Nyati Mhelkwa reported that Zanu (PF) supporters threatened her saying they wanted her head. She received death threats and developed high blood pressure from the stress. She also had to close down the preschool, which she ran because of pressure and intimidation. Mrs. Mhelkwa then fled Shurugwi to Masvingo for one month because of these threats.

Beni Jacha, district chairman of the MDC, claimed that he and his wife had to leave Mutoko South for Harare because of fear of physical violence. He testified that he immediately left the Cornerstone rally on 27 April where Zanu (PF) supporters were told to harm MDC supporters and walked 18 km at night to board a bus to Harare. He did not return to visit his home until October, 2000 and still lives in Harare.

Chiremba, an MDC supporter, further testified in Buhera North that he was personally threatened by phone and had to change his number. He later moved his entire family out of fear that they would be attacked at home.

Bonny Kandini from Makoni West was chased from his home by ZANU (PF) youths who threatened him. He was forced to seek refuge at Shangwe, and then stayed in Mutare. He was unable to vote because he was forced to leave his home for fear of being killed.

Conclusions

As can be seen from this report, the evidence provided by these victims in testifying before the High Court is considerable cause for concern. There is ample evidence for claiming that systematic torture has been used in the political campaign, and the evidence indicates that the ruling party, Zanu(PF), has been mostly responsible for this.

The evidence indicates that Zanu(PF) youth, the militia groups called “war veterans”, the Central Intelligence Organisation and the Zimbabwe Republic Police have been the major perpetrators. The evidence also indicates that parliamentary candidates, Zanu(PF) officials, and even senior members of the Government were involved either in the perpetration, instigation or condoning of the this violence. Senior members of the Government are on record as inciting violence, and certainly there are very few examples of Government Ministers repudiating the use of violence or insisting that the violence be controlled by the ZRP.

It is against this background that the AMANI Trust can feel confident in using the term “torture” to describe the violence that occurred during the 2000 General election. As we indicated above, the definition of torture requires the fulfilling of 4 criteria, and we are satisfied that these are fulfilled in a majority of the cases described above. There is ample evidence of the “infliction of severe pain and suffering, mental and physical”, done “intentionally”, with the clear “purpose” of a political goal, and done in all cases by government officers or people acting with the clear support of the authorities. It may seem a trifle steep to claim that the Government supported all this horrible behaviour, but this can be the only conclusion where the civil authority fails to execute its constitutional duty and maintain the peace. The Government had the power and the tools to stop violence, and yet, as the evidence of these victims clearly demonstrates, there are virtually no signs that the State did this or attempted to do this.

These conclusions are corroborated by the reports of international organisations such as the International Rehabilitation Council for Torture Victims (IRCT)^{xxvi}, and also Amnesty International^{xxvii}. This all describe a situation in which the rule of law was almost wholly absent, and this could scarcely be the ideal ground from which a free and fair election could spring. We can only reiterate the recommendations of the IRCT^{xxviii}:

- 1. It is imperative that the Zimbabwe Government sign and ratify the UN Convention Against Torture and Other Forms of Cruel, Inhuman and Degrading Treatment and Punishment as soon as possible.**
- 2. There should be an independent judicial commission appointed to investigate all gross human rights violations.**
- 3. A policy of reparations should be developed and implemented. This policy should include Restitution, Compensation and Rehabilitation.**

ⁱ 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.

ⁱⁱ 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.

ⁱⁱⁱ See CCJP/LRF (1997), Breaking the Silence. Building True Peace: A Report on the Disturbances in Matabeleland and the Midlands, 1980 to 1988, HARARE: CATHOLIC COMMISSION FOR JUSTICE AND PEACE, & LEGAL RESOURCES FOUNDATION; See also ZIMBABWE HUMAN RIGHTS ASSOCIATION (1999), Choosing the Path to Peace and Development; Coming to Terms with Human Rights Violations of the 1982-1987 Conflict in Matabeleland and Midlands Provinces, HARARE: ZIMBABWE HUMAN RIGHTS ASSOCIATION. See also, for a more detailed exposition, J. ALEXANDER, J. MCGREGOR, & T.

RANGER (2000), Violence and Memory: One Hundred Years in the 'Dark Forests of Matabeleland', HEINEMAN, JAMES CURREY, WEAVER, DAVID PHILIP.

^{iv} **See** AMANI Trust (1998), Survivors of Torture and Organised Violence from the 1970s War of Liberation, HARARE: AMANI; **See also** REELER, A.P. (1995), Surviving Torture: A Zimbabwean Experience, in D.IRMLER(ed), Old Ways-New Theories: Traditional and Contemporary Family Therapy Connect in Africa, HARARE: CONNECT; **also** REELER, A.P. (1998), Epidemic violence and the community: A Zimbabwean case study, COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT JOURNAL, 33, 128-139. **See** REELER,A.P., & MUPINDA,M. (1996), An Investigation into the psychological sequelae of Torture and Organised Violence in Zimbabwean war veterans, LEGAL FORUM, 8, 12-27. **See** REELER,A.P., MBAPE,P., MATSHONA,J., MHETURA,J., & HLATYWAYO,E. (1998), The prevalence and nature of disorders due to torture in Mashonaland Central Province, Zimbabwe, TORTURE, 11, 4-9. **See** REELER, A.P., & MHETURA, J. (2000), The psychosocial effects of organised violence and torture: A pilot study comparing survivors and their neighbours in Zimbabwe, JOURNAL OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA, 15, 137-169.

^v **See** AMANI (1999) "A "Report on the Exhumation and Reburial Exercise Overseen by the AMANI Trust in Gwanda District, 25 July to 3 September 1999" BULAWAYO: AMANI; **See** AMANI (1998), Survivors of Organised Violence in Matabeleland: Facilitating an Agenda for Development, Report of the Workshop, BULAWAYO: AMANI.

^{vi} **See** ZIMBABWE HUMAN RIGHTS NGO FORUM (1999), A Consolidated Report on the Food Riots, 19-23 January 1998, Report compiled by the AMANI Trust on behalf of the Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum, HARARE: AMANI.

^{vii} **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.

^{viii} **Here see especially** ZIMBABWE HUMAN RIGHTS NGO FORUM (2000), Who was responsible? Alleged perpetrators and their crimes during the 2000 Parliamentary Election period, HARARE: ZIMABWE HUMAN RIGHTS NGO FORUM.

^{ix} **Here see again** ZIMBABWE HUMAN RIGHTS NGO FORUM (2000), Who was responsible? Alleged perpetrators and their crimes during the 2000 Parliamentary Election period, HARARE: ZIMABWE HUMAN RIGHTS NGO FORUM.

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

^{xi} **See** UNHCHR(2000), A Manual for the Effective Investigation and Documentation of Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (The Istanbul Protocol).

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

^{xiii} **See** MARUZANI, F. (2000), Zimbabwe: Chronicles of Political Torture (unpublished manuscript).

^{xiv} **See** PSYCHIATRIC ASSOCIATION of ZIMBABWE (1990), The Consequences of Organised Violence in Southern Africa. Report of a Conference held in Harare, Zimbabwe, HARARE: PAZ.

^{xv} **See** IRCT (2001), Approaches to Torture rehabilitation. Supplementum No. 1, Quarterly Journal on Rehabilitation of Torture Victims and Prevention of Torture. Volume 11, Number 1a, March 2001.

^{xvi} **See** REELER,A.P., MBAPE,P., MATSHONA,J., MHETURA,J., & HLATYWAYO,E. (1998), The prevalence and nature of disorders due to torture in Mashonaland Central Province, Zimbabwe, TORTURE, 11, 4-9.

^{xvii} **See** AMANI Trust (1998), Survivors of Torture and Organised Violence from the 1970s War of Liberation, HARARE: AMANI.

^{xviii} **See** REELER, A.P., & MHETURA, J. (2000), The psychosocial effects of organised violence and torture: A pilot study comparing survivors and their neighbours in Zimbabwe, JOURNAL OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA, 15, 137-169.

^{xix} **See** REELER,A.P., & MBAPE,P. (1998), A pilot study of a brief form of psychotherapy for survivors of torture: The Single Therapeutic Interview, TORTURE, 8, 120-126.

^{xx} **See** AMANI TRUST (1998),The psycho-social needs of Survivors of Organized Violence and Torture in the Community. HARARE: AMANI TRUST; **see also** REELER, A.P., & MHETURA, J. (2000), The psychosocial effects of organised violence and torture: A pilot study comparing survivors and their neighbours in Zimbabwe, JOURNAL OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA, 15, 137-169.

^{xxi} **See** AMANI TRUST (1998),The psycho-social needs of Survivors of Organized Violence and Torture in the Community. HARARE: AMANI TRUST.

^{xxii} **See** REELER,A.P., MBAPE,P., MATSHONA,J., MHETURA,J., & HLATYWAYO,E. (1998), The prevalence and nature of disorders due to torture in Mashonaland Central Province, Zimbabwe, TORTURE, 11, 4-9.

^{xxiii} **See** REELER,A.P., & MUPINDA,M.(1996), Investigation into the sequelae of Torture and Organised Violence amongst Zimbabwean War Veterans, LEGAL FORUM, 8, 12-27.

^{xxiv} **See** AMANI Trust (1998), Survivors of Torture and Organised Violence from the 1970s War of Liberation, HARARE: AMANI

^{xxv} **See** BAKER, R (1993), Psychosocial consequences for tortured refugees seeking asylum and refugee status in Europe, in M. Basoglu (Ed), Torture and Its Consequences: Current Treatment Approaches.

^{xxvi} **See** IRCT (2000), Organised Violence and Torture in Zimbabwe, Harare and Copenhagen, 6th June 2000, COPENHAGEN: IRCT.

^{xxvii} **See** AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL (2000),Zimbabwe: Terror tactics in the run-up to the parliamentary elections, June 2000, LONDON: AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL.

^{xxviii} **See** IRCT (2000), Organised Violence and Torture in Zimbabwe, Harare and Copenhagen, 6th June 2000, COPENHAGEN: IRCT.