



Zimbabwe
HUMAN RIGHTS
N G O F o r u m

POLITICAL VIOLENCE REPORT

December 2008

13 February 2009

A report by the Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum

OVERVIEW

From the beginning to the end of 2008, Zimbabwe's political terrain was defined by the violent preparations and anticipation for the watershed 29 March Harmonized Elections and its bloody aftermath which culminated in the bloodier 27 June Run-off election. Events after the failed Run-off election were marked with high tension and more politically and state sponsored violence up to the end of year as this report will chronicle. It seemed the country was now involved in some kind of internecine war that was meant to determine the outcome of the elections and how Zimbabweans were to choose a government to lead them.

The violent anticipative mood for the elections started as early as January 2008, with marked tensions between the ruling ZANU PF party led by President Robert Mugabe and its nemesis the Movement for Democratic Change led by Morgan Tsvangirai. Marked inter-party political violence occurred in most urban areas in January, February and March. More overt violence reared its ugly head, in April soon after the plebiscite when ZANU PF realized it had lost the election. The violence showed no let up until after the botched 27 June Run-off election which Robert Mugabe won after a one-man race when Morgan Tsvangirai had pulled out, citing violence. From then on, political developments such as the signing of the 21 July Memorandum-of-Understanding and the subsequent signing of the 15 September Global Political Agreement between the three political parties seemed to define the low violence levels until in December when it was apparent that the talks were not going anywhere. The year ended on a high security note when the CIO embarked on an orgy of abductions and torture of civic society leaders, staff and opposition party members up to until the end of December 2008.

Cumulative totals for January 2008 – December 2008 from the victims were recorded by the Human Rights Forum were 6 politically-motivated rape cases, 107 murders, 137 abductions/kidnappings; 1 913 cases of assault; 19 cases of disappearance; 629 of displacements and 2 532 violations on freedoms of association and expression.

In this report for 2008 there are certain trends and characteristics which have been attendant on the incidents reported to the Human Rights Forum which rebut the denials by ZANU PF that in most instances the violence that was reported was between over zealous youths and villagers. To the contrary, the information and evidence that is in the possession of the Human Rights Forum, points to a situation of an organized and well-orchestrated plan of action and collusion between private individuals and state security institutions to annihilate the MDC party structures countrywide so as to instill fear in the electorate during the two elections and to consolidate lost legitimacy and retain political incumbency. Furthermore and surprisingly, the violence in April and thereafter was largely

confined to areas where ZANU PF won more seats for Parliament causing the Human Rights Forum to conclude that the violent retribution was because of President Mugabe's dismal showing in the Presidential elections.

The above-mentioned characteristics were noted in an alert produced by the Human Rights Forum soon after the 29 March elections when the violence escalated. The Human Rights Forum maintains that after a careful analysis of the reports to the end of the month of December 2008, the situation remained unchanged. The characteristics of the violence remained to the end of the year as follows:

- all reports show that the violence was disproportionately one-sided, and against the MDC, human rights defenders and other groups not supporting ZANU PF;
- all reports show that the violence attributed to ZANU PF was different from the violence attributed to the other groups, both in the scale and in the nature;
- the violence attributed to ZANU PF showed evidence of systematic torture, abductions, disappearance, summary executions and extra-judicial killings, and this is very rarely the case with violence attributed to other groups such as the MDC;
- the systematic torture showed a strong association with officials of the State – members of Parliament, the police, the CIO, and other officials – as well as an association with groups closely affiliated to the ZANU PF political party – “war veterans”, youth militia, ZANU PF youth, ZANU PF supporters, ZANU PF party officials, etc;
- the evidence showed that there are plausible allegations of the involvement of senior party and government leaders, and there are many statements from victims implicating such persons;
- there is no, or very little evidence, of any attempt by the executive or organs of the State to proactively deal with the violence;
- the evidence suggests, to the contrary, that there are an enormous number of examples of hate speech, and encouragement to violence and lawlessness by virtually all members of the executive, Parliament, the party, and the supporters of the ZANU PF party.

In terms of allegations that there were incidents of violence from the opposition, the Human Rights Forum acknowledges these and notes that such incidences were recorded. However, the Human Rights Forum contends that the state has deliberately ignored the circumstances which led to such violence especially from people regarded as members of the MDC. From the interviews held with such accused people, it has been noted that due to the high levels of impunity at the time of the elections and the peak of the violence, villagers countrywide were organizing themselves into protection units against such attacks by ZANU PF supporters. This then led to increased reprisal and

defensive attacks by villagers who were accused of deserting ZANU PF and being members of the opposition MDC.

The Human Rights Forum does not in any way condone this kind of behavior or what transpired during this period but maintains that the state should have done more to protect citizens who came under attack from organized groups and people who were clearly identified as perpetrators. To the contrary, there were reports that the police from various stations were telling the victims to go and report to Morgan Tsvangirai, or making other cynical suggestions that they must bring their own assailants to the police station or simply that they did not have enough manpower to attend to the reported cases. Reports from some constituencies in Mashonaland Central and Mashonaland East noted that the police ignored the cases brought against ZANU PF youths and this frustrated the MDC supporters who then took the law into their own hands and assaulted the ZANU PF youths. The now familiar machinations and phenomenon of accusations of banditry and treason have continuously been used on MDC members, supporters, human rights defenders and anyone else in dissension to ZANU PF. The threat of being charged with such crimes alone is enough deterrent, however, for those who have been arrested, tortured and subjected to such tribulations; it goes without saying that it will instill so much fear in them and other dissenters into positions where they do not want to challenge ZANU PF in any way.

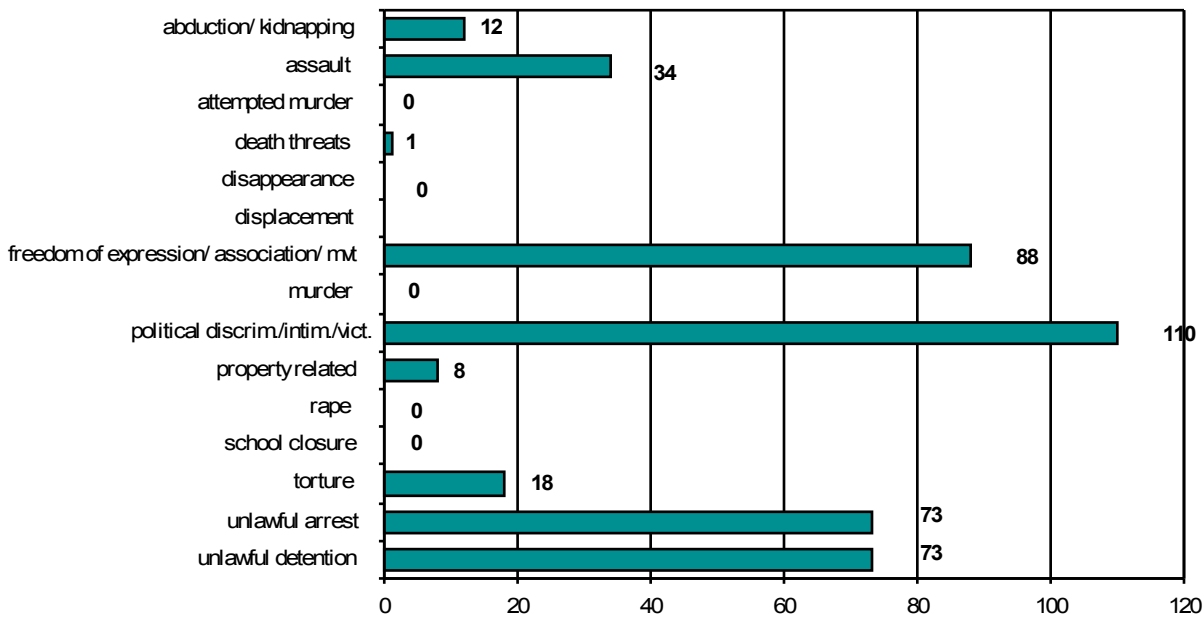
This report first gives a run down of the human rights violations that took place in December 2008 before giving a comparative analysis between 2007 and 2008. The statistics for 2007 and 2008 vary in terms of violations. However, what is quite apparent is that the violations, which mainly restrict people in political participation, increased significantly in 2008. Violations which mainly involve the police, CIO and other state security agents, such as freedom from torture, unlawful detention and arrest, assaults, freedoms of expression, association and movement were seriously violated in 2008.

This report is significant in the sense that it helps give an overall analysis on information submitted to the Human Rights Forum on politically - motivated violence in 2008 and how it influenced the electoral processes. There is no doubt that politically - motivated violence informed and influenced political thinking amongst citizens and helped to carry the day for ZANU PF. It is clear that without the violence that was attendant on the two elections political fortunes for ZANU PF might have been very different.

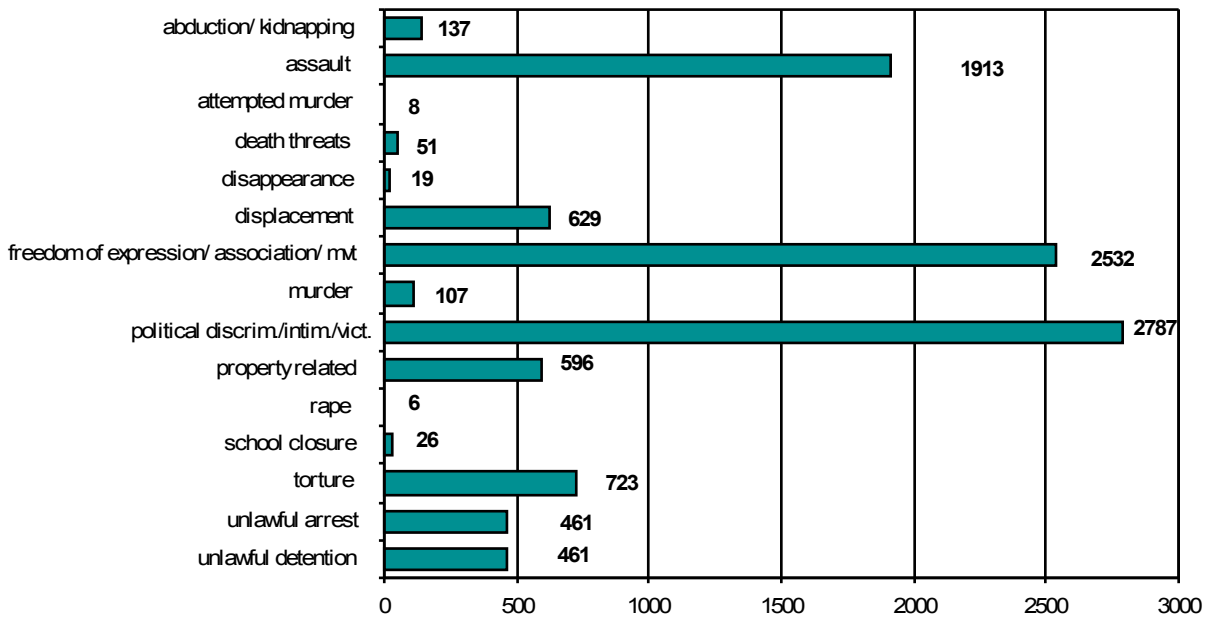
NB Please note that this report does not capture all incidences of politically – motivated violence which were not incorporated into the MPVRs at the time of their publication. The Human Rights Forum is still

receiving reports of violations that occurred past 29 March Harmonized elections and which therefore do not appear in the monthly reports.

TOTALS: 1 December to 31 December 2008



Cumulative Totals: 1 January –31 December 2008



The graphs should be read along with the table depicting the monthly totals of violations for December 2008 on page 14.

Key Abbreviations

AIPPA – Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act

WOZA – Women of Zimbabwe Arise

CIO – Central Intelligence Organisation

MDC – Movement for Democratic Change

MP – Member of Parliament

NCA – National Constitutional Assembly

OVT – Organised Violence and Torture

POSA – Public Order and Security Act

PTUZ – Progressive Teachers Union of Zimbabwe

ROHR- Restoration of Human Rights Zimbabwe

UMP – Uzumba Maramba Pfungwe

ZANU PF – Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front

ZCTU – Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions

ZNA – Zimbabwe National Army

ZPS – Zimbabwe Prison Service

ZRP – Zimbabwe Republic Police

ZNLWVA – Zimbabwe National Liberation War Veterans Association

ZIMTA – Zimbabwe Teachers Association

ZINASU – Zimbabwe National Students Union

ZUPCO – Zimbabwe United Passenger Company

Sources: The information contained in this report is derived from statements made to the Public Interest Unit of the Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum, its members and statements taken by a network of human rights activists and newspaper reports,

Notes to the tables:

Torture:

All cases of torture fall under the definition of torture according to the general definition given in the United Nations Convention against Torture and Other Forms of Cruel, Inhuman and Degrading Treatment and Punishment.

The four elements of torture are:

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

Those individuals referred to in point # 4 as state officials include the ZRP, ZNA,

Unlawful arrest and detention:

Arrest by the Zimbabwe Republic Police (ZRP) with no reasonable suspicion that an offence has been committed. Detention thereafter for a period exceeding 48 hours without access to redress through the courts or subsequent release without charge.

Abduction/kidnapping:

A kidnapping by a member(s) of an organised group that is not the ZRP, ZNLWVA, ZNA, ZPS and the ZNLWVA (as a reserve force of the ZNA).

Disappearance:

Kidnapped persons whose whereabouts remained unknown at the time of reporting.

Property related

These are incidents in which property rights have been violated. This includes arson, property damage and destruction and theft.

Cases of Political Violence

Note: The identities of victims whose names have not been published in the press and are not public officials are protected. This is done in order to protect the victim from further violence, intimidation and possible recriminatory attacks.

The purpose of this report is to record the nature of the politically-motivated violence and intimidation that continues to prevail in the country. The Monthly Political Violence Reports are primarily based on victims' accounts, accompanied by medical evidence where possible, obtained from member organisations of the Forum and other partner organisations. Use is also made of press reports.

The Report cannot be considered as the exhaustive record of all incidents of politically-motivated violence in Zimbabwe in the period under review. Nevertheless, every incident reported to the Human Rights Forum directly or through its members is meticulously documented and included in the reports. Care is also taken to record the incidents in the language in which they were reported to the Forum.

The situation prevailing in the country is such that it has not been possible to verify all of these accounts. The Human Rights Forum has done what it can to verify the reports, and is satisfied that the vast majority of them are substantially true. It is also not possible to rule out whether a victim's account is exaggerated or contains inaccuracies.

All reports derived from the press are denoted with the symbol Σ

BULAWAYO

3 December 2008

Zimbabwe Lawyers for Human Rights (ZLHR) offices in Bulawayo were raided by heavily armed police and plain-clothes intelligence personnel. They accused the organization of harbouring ZCTU officials.

HARARE

Harare Central

SW Radio Africa

3 December 2008

ΣAt least 40 people including ZCTU Secretary General Wellington Chibhebhe, were reportedly arrested after the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU) held demonstrations across the country to protest the daily cash withdrawal limits imposed by the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe (RBZ). The police reportedly arrested 32 people in Gweru, seven in Bulawayo and an unconfirmed number in Chinoyi. Those arrested in Harare, Kariba, and Karoi were released without charge on the same day but those arrested in Bulawayo, Chinhoyi and Gweru were detained over the weekend and released on bail on 7 December 2008. Those arrested in Bulawayo were released on Z\$20 million bail. The ZCTU leaders however, managed to deliver their petition to the RBZ governor, Gideon Gono.

SW Radio Africa

4 December 2008

ΣAt least 22 people were reportedly injured after demonstrators clashed with police during a peaceful demonstration organised by the National Constitutional Assembly (NCA). 15 others were arrested as police reportedly randomly arrested people during the demonstration. The police threw teargas at the demonstrators and randomly assaulted people with baton sticks. Several onlookers who were not participating in the demonstration were also assaulted. Those arrested were detained at Harare Central Police Station and released on 6 December 2008. The NCA has called on Zimbabweans to protest regularly and consistently, every week, until a resolution to the impasse is found and implemented. The protests call for a transitional authority to immediately address the humanitarian crisis and as well as facilitate the writing of a people-driven democratic constitution.

3 December 2008

The female victim, a trade unionist, reports that she was assaulted by the police while taking part in a protest march against the cash withdrawal limits imposed by the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe. The protest was organized by the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU). During the peaceful demonstration, armed anti-riot police officers violently dispersed the protestors, resulting in commotion as the protestors fled. The victim lost a wristwatch, and sustained injuries on the thighs, arms and buttocks during the assault.

3 December 2008

Three female victims report that they were assaulted by anti-riot police officers while taking part in the peaceful ZCTU protest against the daily cash withdrawal limits that had been imposed by the RBZ. They were assaulted all over their bodies and one of them sustained injuries to her right arm and back. They both however managed to flee before being arrested.

3 December 2008

The male victim reports that he was assaulted by police officers while distributing ZCTU flyers calling for a protest against the RBZ's withdrawal limits. He was at Ximex Mall Shopping Center when he was apprehended by police officers that assaulted him with baton sticks and booted feet. They let him go after the assault.

3 December 2008

John Nyashanu, a news correspondent for South Africa Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) was picked up by anti-riot police while trying to cover the ZCTU organized demonstrations against cash shortages. He was later released without charge after being interrogated for an hour.

3 December 2008

The male victim, a medical practitioner, reports that he was assaulted by a police officer while participating in a march by health workers to protest against deteriorating working conditions. The group marched to Kaguvi building to deliver a petition to the Minister of Health and Child Welfare. At Kaguvi building, they were intercepted by anti-riot police who ordered the group to disperse. As the group started to disperse, the anti-riot police began to indiscriminately assaulting everyone. The victim was slapped on the back of the head, resulting in his sustaining permanent injuries to his left eardrum.

8 December 2008

Ghandi Mudzingwa, a former personal assistant of MDCT President Morgan Tsvangirai, was abducted by nine gunmen driving in six vehicles in downtown Harare. He was among the abductees who appeared in court on 23 December, along with Jestina Mukoko, facing charges of banditry.

Hatfield

15 December 2008

The male victim reports that he was abducted and later dumped by suspected state agents while driving a vehicle belonging to the MDC. He was on his way to drop off the car along Chiremba road, when he noticed a grey twin cab tailing him. He slowed down in order to allow the vehicle to pass, but two men jumped out of the vehicle, sprayed an unknown substance into his eyes and dragged him into their vehicle. The assailants did not say anything to the victim as they moved along towards Epworth. The victim took advantage of the traffic congestion on the road to raise the alarm over his abduction by screaming and shouting loudly. The assailants then pulled off the road and threw him out of the car, before speeding off. The victim sustained injuries to his right shoulder and was treated at a local clinic.

Mbare

3 December 2008

The male victim, a Personal Assistant to the MDC Secretary General Tendai Biti, reports that he was attacked by suspected ZANU PF youths for being a member of the MDC. He was on his way to Mbare Musika when he was attacked by three men at the area opposite Matapi Police Station. He was struck with an iron bar and kicked on the legs.

Mt Pleasant

10 December 2008

The female victim, a ZPP research officer, reports that she was threatened and forced to flee her home by suspected state agents. She was at home with friends when she received a telephone call from an unknown male who told her to leave her home immediately because she was being watched and state agents were coming to abduct her at any time. She packed some of her belongings and left the home.

MANICALAND

Chipinge

2 December 2008

The male victim reports that he was abducted and sexually abused by a police officer. He was coming from a court hearing in Harare in which he was being accused of burning cotton bales belonging to former Chipinge South Member of Parliament Mr Parusingazi. As he was travelling back to Chipinge after having been acquitted, the car he was travelling in was stopped at a roadblock mounted by three police officers. They forced him out of the car and told him that the case was not concluded. He was taken to the CID offices in Chipinge where they detained him for the day. In the evening four police officers handcuffed him and took him to South Down Holding Tea Estate. He was taken to a room and ordered to sit on the floor. One of the officers brought in what looked like candy floss but had a bad odor, and put it on the victim's nose, forcing him to inhale the substance. The victim lost consciousness until the following morning when the process was repeated. Later that evening one of the police officers helped him to escape to Mutare after revealing a plot to kill him. He does not know what happened to him when he was unconscious, however medical examinations revealed that he was drugged and possibly sodomised.

Mutare North

13 December 2008

An MDC-T councillor, his wife and driver were assaulted by police and army officers who accused them of campaigning for regime change in the area. The three were travelling to Chiadzwa, the councillor's rural home. The police officers demanded to see the victims' identification cards in order to ascertain whether they originated from the area. The driver, who did not originate from Manicaland, had been given clearance at Chiadzwa Police Station to allow him to enter the area. The three were taken to Chisingwi school where they were severely assaulted with shambocks and baton sticks all over their bodies. The police and army officers then demanded US\$30 from the victims in order for them to be released. One of the army officers also forcibly took US\$50, which was tucked in the councillor's wife's bra.

MASHONALAND CENTRAL

Bindura South

The Telegraph, 8 December 2008

7 December 2008

ΣFive houses belonging to MDC supporters, including the home of an MDC councillor Amiko Chikowanyika, were reportedly petrol bombed in Bindura while scores of people were also reportedly assaulted by suspected ZANU PF youths for refusing to attend the funeral of the late ZANU PF Political Commissar Elliot Manyika. It is alleged after hearing news of Manyika's death, groups of ZANU PF youths went around Chipadze township mobilizing people to attend the funeral wake at a farm outside Bindura. Some people refused to go, resulting in the violence. Two MDC members Reckson Kaseke and a councillor Norbert Dhokotera, were reportedly arrested on allegations that they were responsible for bombing the houses.

MASHONALAND EAST

Norton

3 December 2008

Jestina Mukoko the Director of the Zimbabwe Peace Project (ZPP) (a member of the Human Rights Forum) was abducted from her home in the early hours of the morning by 15 armed men in a vehicle without registration plates. The men, who were in plain clothes, are reported to have assaulted Mukoko's gardener before seizing her while she was still in her pyjamas. Two of Mukoko's colleagues at the Zimbabwe Peace Project (ZPP), Pascal Gonzo and Broderick Takawira, were also abducted by six armed men from the organization's offices, days after she was seized. In initial enquiries made to the police by her lawyers, the police denied knowledge of her whereabouts or having her in custody in any of their police stations. Mukoko and 15 others, mostly MDC activists, who had also been abducted from their homes between October and November, were only seen again on 23 December 2008, when they were brought before the Harare Magistrate's Court facing charges of banditry. A High Court ruling declared the detention of Mukoko and her co-accused as unlawful and ordered their release. The state appealed against the ruling and a magistrate ruled that the accused remain in custody pending a Supreme Court hearing of their matter. Mukoko and the other abductees, who included a two-year old boy, were allegedly assaulted, tortured, denied access to food and medical treatment. On 14 January Chief Justice Godfrey Chidyausiku, ruled that Mukoko should be accorded appropriate medical attention as a matter of urgency but threw out the case. He however dismissed the main application by the activists to be released on the grounds that their arrest had been done outside the law. The two year old boy was released on 14 January 2008 from Chikurubi Prison.

Chikomba Central

17 December 2008

The male victim reports that he was assaulted by a member of the ZNA and three others in plain clothes while returning to his home area after post 29 March elections. He had fled his home in June after being threatened with death by ZANU PF youths in the area who accused him of being an MDC supporter. Two days after having returned home, four men in a grey Mahindra truck without registration plates came to his home while he was in the fields with his mother. The soldier asked the victim why he had returned to the area after being warned never to return. He then took out a cable from his pocket and began to assault the victim. The other three men in plain clothes also joined in and began kicking the victim with booted feet. One of the men then took out some rope from the car and tried to bind the victim's hands and feet. He managed to set himself free and fled to Harare to get medical treatment. Before coming to Harare he had reported the matter to the Featherstone Police Station, but the police also accused him of being an MDC supporter. His mother was also assaulted during the attack as she was trying to rescue him.

MASHONALAND WEST

*Kadoma Central**13 December 2008*

The male victim, an MDC councillor for ward three in Kadoma, reports that he was abducted and tortured by suspected state agents for being an MDC member and on allegations that he had been 'causing trouble' in Kadoma. He was picked up from his home by four armed unidentified men in a Toyota twin cab on Saturday 13 December 2008. They forced him into the car at gunpoint and sprayed an unknown substance in his eyes to prevent him from seeing where they were going. He only noticed where they were when they had reached Rhodesville. He was taken into a bushy area, where he was assaulted under the feet with a rubber stick. He was later stripped naked and electrocuted while sitting on a chair. The following day the victim was forced to drink beer mixed with cooking oil in the morning, afternoon and evening. He managed to escape on 17 December 2008, after the assailants had taken him to Harare. The assailants had left him unguarded in a car with other abductees. The male victim reports that there were army officers among the detainees at the place at which he was tortured.

Monthly totals of human rights violations from 1 January 2008 – 31 December 2008

Table 1

	January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	Sept	Oct	Nov	Dec	Total
Abduction/ kidnapping	3	11	3	31	26	37	5	1	1	4	3	12	137
Assault	56	45	270	550	435	281	66	19	93	37	27	34	1913
Attempted murder	0	0	0	4	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	8
Death threats	1	0	5	17	9	12	3	0	2	1	0	1	51
Disappearance	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	17	2	0	19
Displacement	0	0	0	412	160	55	0	0	1	1	0	0	629
Freedom of expr/ass/mvt	94	410	108	712	600	182	35	20	98	123	62	88	2532
Murder	0	0	0	10	14	60	19	4	0	0	0	0	107
Political Discrim/ intim/vict	67	410	287	783	466	277	70	19	96	135	67	110	2787
Property related	1	0	8	280	195	82	11	4	3	1	3	8	596
Rape	0	0	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
School closure	0	0	0	11	5	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	26
Torture	2	10	24	560	58	35	6	4	4	0	2	18	723
Unlawful arrest	56	42	19	26	18	44	5	5	44	83	46	73	461
Unlawful detention	56	42	19	26	18	44	5	5	44	83	46	73	461
Monthly Totals	336	970	743	3422	2005	1126	227	81	386	485	258	417	10 456

Table for Human Rights Violations for all years since 2001.

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

2008 had the highest number of politically-motivated violations, a sharp increase from other election years of 2002 and 2005 respectively. Unlawful arrest and unlawful detentions are combined to standardise with previous years.

Table 2

	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	Totals
Abductions	116	223	52	62	18	11	19	137	638
Assault	0	86	388	401	530	509	855	1913	4682
Attempted murder	0	2	10	8	1	3	0	8	32
Death threats	0	12	80	35	9	7	7	51	201
Disappearance	0	28	4	0	0	0	0	19	51
Displacement	0	11	208	189	609	55	6	629	1707

Freedom of exp/ass/mvnt	12	39	80 9	76 0	10 36	18 66	3 47 7	25 32	10 531
Murder	34	61	10	3	4	1	3	10 7	223
Political int/ discr/vict	194	38 8	45 0	51 4	48 8	29 6	98 0	2 78 7	6097
Property violation	356	80 7	15 3	13 2	79	58	13	59 6	2194
Rape	0	7	6	3	4	1	0	6	27
Torture	903	11 72	49 7	16 0	13 6	36 8	58 6	72 3	4545
School closure	0	45	1	0	0	0	0	26	72
Unlawful arrest and	670	27 4	62 7	38 9	12 86	29 17	33	92 2	10 437

detention							52		
Total	2285	31 55	32 95	26 56	42 00	60 92	92 98	10 45 6	41 437

Some brief comparisons between 2007 and 2008 are made. The trends between the 2 years will be analysed. The full details of the violations recorded during 2007 and 2008 are given below.

COMPARISON BETWEEN 2007 AND 2008

Table 3

	2007	2008
Abductions	19	134
Assault	855	1906
Attempted murder	0	8
Death threats	7	51
Disappearance	0	19
Displacement	6	629

Freedom/expr/ass/mvt	3477	2527
Murder	3	107
Political discr/int/vict	980	2787
Property violation	13	596
Rape	0	6
School closure	0	26
Torture	586	723
Unlawful arrest	1676	461
Unlawful detention	1676	461
Total	9298	10 456

As can be seen from the Table above, there were many more violations recorded in 2008 than in 2007 particularly assault, death threats, displacements, murder and political discrimination, while there was a slight reduction in violations against freedom of expression, association and movement. There was also a marked reduction in the number of unlawful arrests and detention.

Human rights violations during the 2008 Harmonized Elections and the Presidential Run – Off

A major highlight in Zimbabwe this year was the holding of the 29 March and 27 June 2008 Harmonized and Presidential Run - Off elections. The human rights violations that occurred pre and post these two elections revealed serious violations on rights such as the right to participate in one's own government, the right to associate, assemble and express freely; freedom from torture, assault and cruel inhuman and degrading treatment.

These elections also brought drama and grief to Zimbabweans due to the unprecedented levels of state-sponsored and politically-motivated violence that ensued. Groups of thugs, mainly but not exclusively belonging to the ZANU PF party, terrorized and harassed any real or perceived supporters of the opposition. Also of major concern was the selective application of the law by the security forces especially the police, in favor of the ZANU PF party. The almost one and a half months delay in producing the results by the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission also caused unnecessary anxiety on the voters which led to more speculation and the urge to become violent for the state security apparatus and general citizens.

It is also important to note that the 29 March Harmonised elections led to the first electoral defeat for ZANU PF and its President Robert Mugabe. The two MDC formations won a majority of 109 seats in Parliament against ZANU PF's 97 seats, while the first round of the presidential vote gave the MDC leader 47.9% of the vote to Mugabe's 43.2%. The remainder of the vote went to Simba Makoni. The inability of either candidate to garner the 50% plus one of the votes meant that there was need for a run-off vote that was the scheduled for 27 June 2008.

House of Assembly Results

ZANU PF	MDC (T)	MDC (M)	Independent	Total
1, 112,773	1,038, 510	203 146	68 449	2, 422, 878
45.9%	42.86%	8.3%	2.83%	

Presidential Results

Morgan Tsvangirai	Robert Mugabe	Simba Makoni	Langton Towungana
1, 195, 56(47.9%)	1, 79, 730 (43.2%)	207, 470 (8.3%)	14, 503 (0.6%)

Between January and February 2008, there were significant amounts of violations by the state security agents on members of the opposition MDC. Violations such as unlawful arrest and detention, torture

and interference with freedoms such as assembly, expression and association were commonplace in the anticipative period before the Harmonized elections, obviously in a bid to scuttle the opposition's standing in the elections. Soon after the March elections, cases of politically-motivated and state-sanctioned human rights violations rose sharply with April recording 550 cases of assault, 412 cases of displacement and 712 of the freedoms of assembly, association and movement.

In the months April, May, June and July a total of 103 politically-motivated murders were recorded. June, the month of the Run-off election, recorded a shocking level of 60 politically-motivated murders. Most of these murders were preceded by abductions and/or kidnappings, a phenomenon, which seems to have been revived to deal with opposition supporters and members of civil society who were critical of the current establishment's wayward nature of running the affairs of the state.

In addition to the violence meted out on MDC supporters and other civic activists, violence was perpetrated on election officials by state security officers. Members of the Zimbabwe Election Support Network (ZESN) were attacked, harassed and had their families displaced, especially from their rural homes where they were responsible for election monitoring in the March and June elections.

To make matters worse, officials working for the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (ZEC) were also targeted, whilst a number were arrested on charges of fraud in administering the electoral process. The Human Rights Forum is convinced that these officers were targeted not because they were guilty, but to confirm the falsehoods which were being peddled by ZANU PF that the election had been fraudulent. Also it was intended to intimidate those involved not to participate in any future election as at the time of the violations, there was a likelihood of having a Run-Off of the Presidential election.

As has been noted earlier, the results of the March 2008 election came as a complete shock to ZANU PF. The party was not prepared to accept the loss and instead sought to reverse it. It demanded a recount of the results in a number of constituency elections. It also demanded a recount of the presidential votes, even though the results had not yet been published. This caused the results of the Presidential election to be withheld for close to 2 months. The command center of the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (ZEC) was moved to a secret location and opposition party agents were excluded from the processing of the final presidential figures. At the same time, ZANU PF commenced a country - wide campaign of violent intimidation to try to ensure that it would win the anticipated re - run of the Presidential election. The increase in political violence against MDC supporters culminated in the withdrawal from the 27 June 2008 Presidential Run-off by MDC leader Morgan Tsvangirai on 22 June 2008.

In the reports that ensued up until the signing of the Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) on 21 July 2008, it became evident that the army, war veterans, ZANU PF supporters and the police were involved in the violence that won the elections for ZANU PF and also led to Tsvangirai's withdrawal from the Presidential Run-off election.

Table 1.

Totals for violations between March and June 2008

	March	April	May	June	Total
Abduction/ kidnapping	3	31	26	37	97
Assault	270	550	435	281	1536
Attempted murder	0	4	1	1	6
Death threats	5	17	9	12	43
Disappearance	0	0	0	0	0
Displacement	0	412	160	55	627
Freedom of expr/ass/mvt	108	712	600	182	1602
Murder	0	10	14	60	84
Political Discrim/ intim/vict	287	783	466	277	1813
Property related	8	280	195	82	565
Rape	0	0	0	6	6
School closure	0	11	5	10	26
Torture	24	560	58	35	677
Unlawful arrest	19	26	18	44	107
Unlawful detention	19	26	18	44	107
Monthly Totals	743	3422	2005	1126	7 296

Human Rights abuses by state security agents after 15 September 2008

September 15 2008 saw the landmark signing of the power-sharing Agreement between ZANU PF and the two MDC formations. Under the Agreement, Robert Mugabe would remain the President of

Zimbabwe and chair the Cabinet. Morgan Tsvangirai would become Prime Minister and chair the Council of Ministers as well as being the Deputy Chairperson of Cabinet whilst Arthur Mutambara would become one of the Deputy Prime Ministers. Under Article 11(2) of the Agreement, the parties agreed to “work together to create a genuine, viable, permanent, sustainable and nationally acceptable solution to the Zimbabwe situation and in particular to implement the agreement with the aims of resolving once and for all the current political and economic situations and charting a new political direction for the country”. Further Article X (10) indicated that the parties had agreed there should be “free political activity throughout Zimbabwe within the ambit of the law”. Article XVIII (18.5(a)) committed the parties “to promote values and practices of tolerance, respect, non-violence and dialogue as means of resolving political differences” and the Government to “apply the laws of the country fully and impartially in bringing all perpetrators of politically-motivated violence to book”(18.5(c)). This section tests the Government’s commitment to some of the terms of the Agreement.

Contrary to the spirit and letter of the Agreement, politically - motivated human rights violations continued to be recorded with some violations being perpetrated by members of the ZRP under the guise of preserving public order. September marked an increase in the total number of human rights violations and incidents rose from 81 in August to 385 in September, most of which occurred after the signing ceremony.

In situations that confirm the high levels of political intolerance attendant on the political scene in the country, violence broke out amongst rival supporters of ZANU PF and the MDC who were waiting outside the Rainbow Towers in Harare to witness the signing ceremony of the Power-Sharing Agreement. The police reportedly arrested MDC members whom they identified through their party regalia and detained them at the ZANU PF headquarters where they were also assaulted for the most part of the day. In other matters relating to the power-sharing deal, the police allegedly arrested MDC supporters in Buhera and Masvingo for celebrating the signing of the Agreement.

The month of October saw a wave of dissent as civic organisations such as the *Zimbabwe National Students’ Union (ZINASU)*, *Women of Zimbabwe Arise (WOZA)* and *Men of Zimbabwe Arise (MOZA)*, *Restoration of Human Rights Zimbabwe (ROHR)* and the *Women’s Coalition of Zimbabwe*, took to the streets to protest against the deteriorating political and humanitarian situation in Zimbabwe as well as the seemingly unending political impasse between the main political parties. As has become synonymous with demonstrations in Zimbabwe, the protestors were met with unrelenting force by the ZRP contrary again to the provisions in the power-sharing Agreement that space and tolerance would

be created for civic activity.

On 14 October more than 500 members of ZINASU from across the country staged a demonstration at the Parliament of Zimbabwe demanding immediate action on the deteriorating education sector. The students marched from the offices of the *Zimbabwe Human Rights Association (Zimrights)* towards the Parliament to hand over their petition to the legislators who had resumed sitting on that day. The students were however met by armed police officers who tried to prevent them from delivering the petition. In the ensuing melee five students were arrested while the police assaulted several others.

Two days after the student protest, hundreds of members of *WOZA and MOZA* took to the streets of Bulawayo in a peaceful demonstration to call for immediate access to food aid for Zimbabweans to stave off hunger and possible starvation. Nine members, including the two WOZA leaders Jenni Williams and Magodonga Mahlangu, were arrested. The two leaders were detained for three weeks at Mlondolozhi Female Prison while the other seven members were released without charge on the day of arrest.

On 27 October 2008 anti-riot police in Harare also descended on hundreds of women who were peacefully protesting under the auspices of the *Women's Coalition*, over the delayed conclusion of the power-sharing talks between Zimbabwe's major political parties. At least 42 women were arrested and over 100 were beaten in the city as they were walking to the Rainbow Towers in Harare, which was the venue of the talks. The talks had been rescheduled to 27 October after a failed attempt to end the political impasse in Swaziland a week earlier. The arrested women were released later that evening after paying admission of guilt fines. On the following day, another organization, *Restoration of Human Rights Zimbabwe (ROHR)* also took to the streets of Harare to express the same sentiments. Seven protestors were reportedly arrested and 23 others injured after riot police violently dispersed the protestors.

On 11 November protests by the NCA in Bulawayo, Gweru, Harare, Masvingo and Mutare, to advocate for the implementation of their three point plan for 1) a Transitional Government, 2) a People- Driven Constitution, and 3) Free and Fair Elections, were violently quashed by members of the police under the guise of instilling public order. The police even went as far as raiding the home of the NCA Chairman Lovemore Madhuku at dawn with the intention of arresting him to prevent him from participating in the planned NCA protests on 11 November 2008.

In December, it became starkly clear that there was going to be no let up from the Government in terms of violence and intolerance. Jestina Mukoko was abducted from her Norton home by unidentified gunmen, followed by two of her staff members at their offices. These abductions were then followed by a spate of other abductions of MDC supporters and members on charges of plotting banditry, treason and a threat to public security.

The Human Rights Forum is concerned at the heavy handedness in which state security agents, especially members of the ZRP, have dispersed peaceful demonstrations protesting the lethargy attendant on the talks between the political parties. In this regard, the Human Rights Forum urges the authorities to stop criminalizing peaceful protest activities and implores the police to desist from the gratuitous use of force against peaceful demonstrators. Some of the violations being committed by the security forces such as torture are considered international crimes, which are not pardonable under any circumstances and carry individual liability and compliance with “orders from above” is no defence.

Furthermore, the Human Rights Forum reiterates the point that the state should immediately halt the ongoing violence and attacks on protestors that are being perpetrated under the guise of maintaining public order. No amount of beatings or intimidation will distract from the issues that Zimbabweans are protesting. Rather, the authorities should channel resources being used in these violent and meaningless “public order maintenance” activities to address the humanitarian and health crisis gripping the country at an alarmingly increasing rate.

ANALYSIS OF POLITICALLY MOTIVATED VIOLATIONS THAT OCCURRED IN 2008**Abductions/kidnappings**

Abductions have become an increasingly worrying tactic which continues to be used as a tool for intimidating and suppressing both civic and opposition activity. As noted already in previous sections, the year began on a rather calm note without too many incidents of human rights violations occurring in the manner of abductions and kidnappings. In 2008, the Forum recorded a total of 137 abductions, many of which took place between April and June. There were 3 abductions reported in January and a further 11 in February. There was a lull however, in March perhaps due to the need for ZANU PF to have some resemblance of order and a generally peaceful election in the context of the SADC mediation process.

The number of abducted people rose to 31 in April and the figure remained hovering in the 30s up to the end of June. Mainly targeted were reportedly employees of top MDC officials allegedly to extract information about the MDC. State resources such as state registered vehicles were being used in many of these abductions, a trend that has made it increasingly difficult to separate the actions of ZANU PF and those of the government. Some of the abductees were brutally murdered and their bodies were later found dumped and decomposing.

Investigations have revealed that many of the abductions were carried out by groups of armed men largely believed to members of the dreaded CIO who were driving vehicles without registration numbers. In many cases the victims were taken from their homes in full view of members of their families and frequently their neighbours. Those who were abducted and not murdered sometimes reappeared in police custody being charged with various crimes including banditry. Of note is the case of Jestina Mukoko and others who were forcibly taken from their homes, offices, a bus terminus in December and reported missing for several weeks before re-appearing in police custody. The police and the state refused any liability or knowledge of the whereabouts of those abducted. They were eventually brought to court by the police after two orders were handed down by the courts for the police to produce them, or advertise in the media to establish their whereabouts and charged with banditry.

In comparison, incidents of abductions occurred in 2007 but not to the extent that was witnessed in 2008. The incidents recorded in 2007 were 19 as compared to the 137 as at December 2008. The only similarity is that most of the abductions for 2007 and for 2008 were on members of the opposition, journalists and human rights defenders.

The high numbers of abductions in April, May and June can be attributed to the retributive violence that ZANU PF meted out on Zimbabweans after their shock defeat by the MDC in the 29 March Harmonized polls. The abductions for May whilst still retributive were mainly done in preparation for the 27 June Run-off election. This was the same case for the whole month of June. The abductions almost ceased soon after the failed Run-off due to the fact that Tsvangirai had pulled out of the race and Mugabe had been sworn in as the new President. Most of the victims who were abducted were taken to unknown bases and camps where they were tortured and forced to make confessions and to give out information on the operations of the MDC, NGOs or anyone that was considered to be working in dissension to ZANU PF. Below is a table of some of the abductions.

List of Abductions and subsequent enforced disappearances since 15 September 2008

Name	Area	Date of Abduction	Details of Abduction
1. Concillia Chinanzvavana (MDC Mashonaland West Provincial Chairperson of the Women's Assembly)	Banket	29 October	A group of MDC supporters were abducted in predawn raids at their homes in Banket and Chinhoyi. These people up to number 15 were abducted on the same day from their different homes
2. Emanuel Chinanvavana (Husband to Concillia Chinanzvavana and MDC councillor for ward 25 in Zvimba South)	Banket	29 October	
3. Fidelis Chiramba (Zvimba South district chairperson, who stood as an MDC senatorial candidate for Zvimba in the March 29 elections)	Banket	29 October	
4. Ernest Mudimu (MDC parliamentary candidate for Zvimba North in the March 29 elections)	Banket	30 October	
5. Fanwell Tembo (MDC Zvimba South youth organizer)	Banket	29 October	
6. Terry Musona (MDC	Banket	29 October	

deputy provincial secretary)			
7.Lloyd Tarumbwa (MDC activist)	Banket	29 October	
8.Violet Mapfuranhehwe (wife to MDC Zvimba South youth chairperson – Collen Mutemagawo)	Banket	29 October	
9. Collen Mutemagawo (MDC Zvimba South youth chairperson)	Banket	29 October	
10. A two old year child belonging to Mupfuranhehwe and Mutemagawo)	Banket	29 October	
11. Pieat Kaseke (MDC activist)	Banket	29 October	
12. Gwenzi Kahiya. (MDC activist)	Banket	29 October	
13.Tawanda Bvumo (MDC activist)	Banket	29 October	
14.Agrippa Kakonda (MDC activist)	Banket	29 October	
15.Larry Gaka (MDC activist)	Banket	29 October	
16. Baba vaSarudzayi		25 November	No details given
17.Chris Dhlamini (MDC Director of Security)	Harare	26 November	Abducted from his home by a group of ten men believed to be plain clothes policemen. They allegedly searched his house before taking him away.
18.Jestina Mukoko (Zimbabwe Peace Project Executive Director)	Norton	3 December	Abducted from her Norton home around 05:00 hours by a gang of 15 armed, unidentified men who were driving unmarked vehicles.
19. Zacharia Nkomo (brother of Human rights lawyer Harrison)	Masvingo	5 December	Abducted by four unidentified men in civilian clothes in a pre-dawn raid at his home in Rujeko, Masvingo. Zacharia

Nkomo)				was once employed as a compliance officer for CARE International. Zacharia resigned from the police force in 2004. The men responsible for the abduction were traveling in two Toyota Virgo twin cabs green and silver in colour
20. Ghandi Mudzingwa (Morgan Tsvangirai's former personal assistant)	Harare	8 December		Abducted while talking to a relative in Msasa, Harare by nine gunmen in six vehicles. Eyewitnesses at the scene of the incident said Mudzingwa was shoved into one of the Mazda 626 vehicles which drove off towards the city centre.
21. Broderick Takawira (Provincial Coordinator of the Zimbabwe Peace Project)	Harare	8 December		Six men entered ZPP premises and demanded to see Broderick Takawira. On seeing Mr Takawira, they greeted him and told him they were taking him away. They also took Pascal Gonzo with them and sped at high speed in two sedans. Six cars were seen in the vicinity of the office. Two were blocking off Shangani Road and two blocked the entrance into Athol Close. The other two were parked at the ZPP gate. Security personnel at ZPP were not able to give proper identification of the vehicles because of the speed with which events took place.
22. Pascal Gonzo (Driver at Zimbabwe Peace Project)	Harare	8 December		Abducted together with Broderick Takawira in similar circumstances
23. Andrison Manyere (freelance photojournalist)	Harare	13 December		Disappeared after taking his car to a garage in Norton, 19 miles (30 kilometers) west of Harare. Police raided Manyere's home the following day and confiscated equipment related to his work. It is believed that he was abducted by the police.
24. Bothell Pasipamire (MDC youth Kadoma Central constituency)	Kadoma	13 December		No details given
25. Peter Munyanyi (MDC, Gutu North ward 8)	Ward 8 Gutu	Week of 15 December		Abducted Uchinda Business Centre, week of 15 Dec, by armed soldiers led by a colonel.
26. Graham Mtetwa	Makoni	17 December		No details given of the recorded

(MDC youth
chairperson for Ward
26, Makoni South)

abductions.

Assault

In terms of the violations, assault was the main form of punishment used against known and purported MDC supporters. These assaults were also carried out in a systematic manner. The evidence available to the Human Rights Forum reveals that most of those assaulted were beaten on the back and buttocks with large sticks. Many of the victims were assaulted in retribution for being MDC supporters, purported MDC supporters, spouses or children of MDC activists. According to some of the reports received by the Human Rights Forum, villagers were also assaulted for being late for ZANU PF meetings or not attending the meetings. During 2008, the Human Rights Forum documented 1 913 assaults. Many of the victims who were assaulted also had their homes destroyed or property looted. Some of the incidents reported indicate that the victims were prohibited from seeking medical attention or making police reports. They were warned that this would lead to further victimization. Incidents of assault were higher in 2008 than in 2007, 1 879 and 1 913 respectively. March, April, May and June had higher cases of 270, 550, 435, and 281 respectively. However, the other months showed a high pattern of violence throughout 2008.

Attempted Murder

There were no cases of attempted murder recorded by the Human Rights Forum in the first quarter of 2008. However, because of the retribution in April following the 29 March 2008 Harmonized elections results, 4 cases were recorded in April, 1 each for May and June respectively and 2 in July. In 2007 there were no cases of politically attempted murder recorded by the Human Rights Forum although there could have been unreported incidents.

Death threats

A total of 51 death threats were recorded in 2008. The highest numbers were recorded in March, April, May and June with 5, 17, 9 and 12 cases respectively. Most of the threats were from ZANU PF supporters, war veterans and members of the youth militia on MDC supporters as well as office bearers, particularly those who had contested the March elections.

2007 recorded a total of 7 death threats. Most of the violations in 2007 were related to the orgy of violence that ensued during the 11 March incidents¹ and the overflow into April. 2008 was very volatile as witnessed by the 51 cases recorded in the course of the year. Most of the violations were prevalent around April, May and June, in the run up to the Run-off of the Presidential election.

Disappearances

The highly volatile political environment saw a total of 19 disappearances being recorded in 2008 as compared to none in 2007. Many of the disappearances were recorded in October, when MDC activists were forcibly taken from their homes and their whereabouts unknown until they reappeared in court facing charges of treason. The fact that the whereabouts of these activists were not known for such a significant period, raised fears that the callous murders of MDC activists such as Tonderai Ndira in advance of the 27 June 2008 Run-off elections could be repeated.

Displacement

Displacement as a human rights violation is inextricably linked to the process of selecting a government of one's choice in Zimbabwe. The voting system is based on the need for a voter to cast their ballot in a constituency where they are registered to vote. Thus if one is not in their particular constituency, it becomes impossible for them to participate in such processes.

In the first three months of the year there were no incidents reported. The situation however, became very critical from April, again soon after the Harmonized elections when the Human Rights Forum recorded 412, 160 and 55 cases in the months, April, May and June respectively. These accompanied the high levels of violence in that period.

The people responsible were from groups aligned to ZANU PF such as the war veterans and ZANU PF youths, supported by the army, police and members of the CIO. Displacing people from their constituencies has long been used by ZANU PF as a tactic of disenfranchising people.

The most horrendous aspect of these displacements was that most of the victims witnessed the destruction of their property, livestock, dwellings and were forced to hide in the bush where they were prone to attacks by wild animals and succumbing to diseases because of unhygienic conditions. These displaced people faced severe challenges in terms of their health, access to food and other

¹ 11 March 2007 remains a bleak day in Zimbabwe's human rights history after hundreds of MDC supporters, human rights defenders, civic society leaders were brutally assaulted, abducted and tortured in Harare and other places after having tried to have a prayer meeting at Zimbabwe Grounds in Highfield.

basic amenities. It is common cause that a huge number of the Zimbabwean population is affected by HIV/AIDS and many patients receive medical aid, food subsistence and other amenities from humanitarian organizations that work in particular areas and would not be able to follow the victims wherever they would have gone.

No proper records of the extent of the damage to those exposed to such violations has been kept or followed up. However, the Human Rights Forum is of the view that hundreds of Zimbabweans have died due to these displacements and those who were tasked with displacing people, and who instigated and supported such activities must be held responsible for the deaths and suffering of innocent Zimbabweans brutalized for having different opinions from those of ZANU PF.

Evidence available to the Human Rights Forum also reveals that the torture bases that were set up prior to the 27 June Presidential Election Run-off by ZANU PF youths and war veterans were still operational after the election, and were being used to terrorize residents in rural areas. In some of the cases documented in this report, the victims were taken to these torture bases and severely assaulted as characteristic of attacks prior to 27 June. The continued existence of these torture bases has relegated some rural communities into no-go areas controlled by ZANU PF youths. This has also exacerbated the crisis of internally displaced persons who fled from violence prior to the Presidential election Run-off. Many of these people have been attacked after having tried to return to their homes and have been forced to go back into hiding. Other victims of the post-electoral violence were also targeted for attack after having reported the incidence to the police.

A large number of the displaced went to seek humanitarian assistance and shelter at the MDC Headquarters in Harare. However in most instance they were subjected to further harassment by the police and CIO who carried out raids on the MDC offices arresting some of the displaced.

Drama ensued at the MDC Headquarters soon after the first victims had moved into the HQs seeking shelter. The government through the Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare ordered the people to leave the premises due to health reasons. The government offered shelter at a place in Ruwa. However, most of the victims refused this because of fear of further victimization. The majority of the victims who were at the MDC HQs were forcibly removed and taken to the Ruwa where it was reported that they experienced untold suffering through night raids by members of the CIO and were cut off from any sort of food supplies.

Victims at one time sought shelter at the United States Embassy in Harare and then went to the South African Embassy whereupon the government again forcibly removed them stressing that the people had nothing to fear.

Freedoms of expression/association and movement

Violations of the right to associate, assemble and to free expression continued to take the limelight in Zimbabwe for the wrong reasons in 2008. The selective application of repressive legislation such as POSA, the Broadcasting Services Act (BSA), and AIPPA, coupled with a general culture of impunity and intolerance by the security services, attributed to this phenomenon. In 2007, there was a total of 3 477 violations recorded against these freedoms. In comparison, there was a slight reduction in 2008 with a total of 2 532 violations recorded for the whole year. However, the intensity, brutality and callousness of the violations in 2008 surpass that for 2007. In 2008, February, April, May and June had some of the highest recorded incidents in the year which could also be attributed to the preparations for the 29 March elections, retribution for the loss by ZANU PF and the preparation for the 27 June Run-off election.

All demonstrations in 2008, like every demonstration in Zimbabwe, were met by brutal suppression and undue force against the unarmed citizens. This was done in clear violation of the Constitution of the country and article 19 of the *UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, article 9 of the *African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights* and against the resolution by the *African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights* of 2005 that POSA and AIPPA should either be amended or repealed to give full observance to the right to freedom of expression, association and movement. The lowest number of violations against this right was recorded in June 2007, being only 4 violations.

Violations of the freedoms of association, assembly and expression were mainly caused by the infringement of people's rights when they embarked on a number of peaceful demonstrations. For instance, the police purportedly banned the "*Freedom March*" a pro-democratic reform protest as well as a rally at the Glamis Stadium in Harare planned by the MDC Tsvangirai faction for 23 January 2008 after having sanctioned it a few days earlier. The MDC appealed to the High Court against the bans on the march and the rally, which led to the rally being allowed to go ahead. MDC supporters, who were carrying placards while moving to the venue of the rally, were tear gassed, arrested and assaulted by the police when they got close to the ZANU (PF) headquarters. In complete contrast, on 30 November 2007 the police had even escorted war veterans and ZANU PF supporters who had embarked on a

“Million Man March” from Harare city centre to Highfield in support of President Mugabe’s nomination as the ZANU (PF) Presidential candidate in the forthcoming elections.

On Valentine’s Day in 2008 approximately 250 members of WOZA and MOZA were set to march through the streets of Harare during lunchtime. When the group had gathered at Rezende Street, near the Town House to start the peaceful protest, it was set upon by a truckload of riot police who threw teargas canisters to disperse the crowd. Several members were badly beaten with baton sticks by riot and uniformed police officers after they regrouped. Fourteen members required medical attention and were treated at a private clinic in Harare.

Added to the violent onslaught perpetrated by ZANU and state security agents, the MDC was denied platforms for addressing its constituents in preparation for the Run-off election. The government meddled with the running of the state electronic and print media so that the MDC’s advertisements would not appear in any of the state media. Furthermore, seven journalists from the ZBC were allegedly fired on accusations of sympathizing with the MDC. According to the report in the *Financial Gazette* on 5 June 2008, the move was a purge of perceived “unpatriotic” workers at the state broadcaster.

ZANU PF youth militias launched “*operation red finger*” in both rural and urban areas, an operation that targeted those who did not vote in the 27 June Presidential Election Run-off. Those who did not vote were accused of not doing so in protest at the one-man election and were subjected to violent attacks by ZANU PF youth militia. Election observers in the March Harmonised elections who did not assume the same role in the 27 June Presidential Election Run-off were also targeted and accused of being MDC supporters because of their non-participation in the latter.

The ZANU PF led Government of Zimbabwe was on the offensive against the activities of any opposition political party and this was clearly shown by the refusal of the police to grant ‘permission’ to the MDC to hold rallies citing security reasons or lack of manpower. Those who were brave enough to attend the few MDC rallies that were organized in some parts of the country were usually waylaid and assaulted by alleged ZANU PF supporters. The worst incident was recorded on 22 June when armed army officers, who had been sent to disperse MDC supporters who attended an MDC Rally at the Harare Show Grounds, heavily assaulted the victims. Further to this offensive by members of the armed forces, a group of armed ZANU PF youths reportedly descended on the same MDC supporters in order to disrupt the intended rally.

MDC supporters were abducted from their homes, forced to attend ZANU PF meetings and to name fellow MDC supporters who were accused of 'betraying the ZANU PF struggle'. The victims were forced to surrender their MDC cards and t-shirts.

A few days before the 27 June Run-off elections, ZANU PF youths went on a rampage ambushing people on the streets and forcing them to recite ZANU PF slogans. Failure to recite these slogans would lead to serious beatings, as it would be a clear sign that those not able to recite the slogans were not attending the ZANU PF political orientation meetings. Also reported were cases whereby alleged ZANU PF supporters would waylay people and confiscate their National Identity Cards in a bid to prevent them from voting. Other cunning techniques such as requesting the ID cards of suspected MDC supporters or dissenters for food distribution purposes and then confiscating them were also used during this period.

The Human Rights Forum supports the right of people to peacefully demonstrate or hold meetings protesting against certain aspects of governance in the country as long as the demonstrations or meetings do not turn violent, obstruct traffic, become a public nuisance or cause anything that will disturb peace and security in the country. The notion apparently held by some members of the ZRP that they should give opposition political parties, civil society organisations and the general public "permission" to hold a meeting is false at law. Groups who want to hold such meetings are only required to give notice in writing to the police 4 days in advance of the meeting.

Murder

A total of 107 cases of politically-motivated murder were recorded in 2008. Those targeted for murder were MDC office bearers especially in the grass roots structures. The rural constituencies of Mashonaland East and Mashonaland Central recorded the highest number of murders. The table below gives details of the deceased, the reasons why their lives were prematurely ended and the identities of the perpetrators in some cases and their professional and or political affiliations. There were no cases reported to the Human Rights Forum in the first three months of the year. Trouble started in April after the loss by ZANU PF to the MDC. 10 cases were recorded in April, 14 in May 60 in June 19 in July and 4 in August. Most of the murders were synchronized, professionally carried out and looked very organized. The table below shows that the victims were mainly members of the MDC

who had specific posts especially responsible for mobilizing support. These people were targeted so that the MDC would not be able to garner support for the 27 June Run-off. The last of the recorded murders was 4 in August. There were no cases recorded in September, October, November or December.

The pattern of murders usually followed abductions/kidnappings by men in unmarked cars at any time of the day.

The bodies of the murdered victims were often found dumped in outlying areas, long after the victims had been abducted or sometimes in mortuaries. Evidence of severe torture could be seen on the decomposing bodies of the deceased. In other horrendous incidences the perpetrators trapped the victims inside buildings and burnt them alive. One such incident occurred at the MDC offices in Jerera, Masvingo Province. Other victims died after being brutally assaulted at ZANU PF rallies they were forced to attend and accused of being MDC supporters.

Due to the highly political nature of these incidences, the acquiring of death certificates by the deceased's relatives has been difficult. For civic society, it has constrained instituting legal action. Of great concern is the high level of impunity that the perpetrators have enjoyed. These murders, which undermine the right to life, have gone unpunished and unaccounted for.

Many of the murders took place after abduction and interrogation of the victims by ZANU PF youths, war veterans or state agents and in most cases in collusion with each other. The involvement of the state was apparent in many of these cases, as state owned vehicles were used to abduct some of the victims. In some cases, army personnel were said to be involved. It is very clear from the evidence held by the Human Rights Forum that most of the murders were politically-motivated and ZANU PF as the governing party at that time and the state itself must be held responsible for the carnage.

There is no doubt that the people who were engaged in these murders had the backing of senior government officials and had the necessary apparatus to kill victims judging from the ordeals of those victims who survived some of the brutalities.

Reported Murders from June 2008

(a) List of alleged murders of ZANU PF and MDC supporters in June 2008.

Name of victim	District	Date of death	Details of incident
1. Tafadzwa Meda	Mudzi	01 June 2008	It is reported that the victim was driving his father's lorry in the evening when he was followed by suspected ZANU PF youths in a blue truck. They shot him but he continued driving. It is alleged that he stopped his vehicle after a distance and tried to hide in a bush. The youths found him and murdered him before setting his truck on fire. His body was dumped at Nyadire river bridge in Nyamanyora area.
2. Shepherd Cheu	Mutoko	03 June 2008	He was the headmaster of Katsukunye School who was abducted and was found dead three days later. His body was dumped at Rukanda Shops near Mutoko Centre and his genitals and one eye had been removed.
3. Edson Ngwerume	Zaka	04 June 2008	The victim and others were asleep at the MDC office at Jerera Growth point when soldiers arrived at around 03:00hrs. The perpetrators then started firing into the building. They then poured petrol inside and outside the building and set it alight. Three people died inside the building. Three were badly burnt and at the time of the report, were in Intensive Care Unit.
4. Washington Nyangwa	Zaka	04 June 2008	The victim and others were asleep at the MDC office at Jerera Growth point when soldiers arrived at around 03:00hrs. The perpetrators then started firing into the building. They then poured petrol inside and outside the building and set it alight. Three people died inside the building. Three were badly burnt and at the time of the report, were in Intensive Care Unit.
5. Chison Mbanzo	Zaka	04 June 2008	The victim and others were asleep at the MDC office at Jerera Growth point when soldiers arrived at around 03:00hrs. The perpetrators then started firing into the building. They then poured petrol inside and outside the building and set it alight. Three people died inside the building. Three were badly burnt and at the time of the report, were in Intensive Care Unit.
6. Dumihazani Hapazari	Chiredzi	06 June 2008	The victim a ZESA employee and an MDC supporter was abducted on 04 June and was found dead Friday 06 June 2008. He was drowned.

7.Pamela Guruve (Dube)	Harare	08 June 2008	Pamela's husband was an MDC councillor elect in the Harare South Constituency. She was burnt when the home she was sleeping in was set on fire by ZANU PF supporters, Though she was taken to Chitungwiza hospital after the incident she did not get treatment for more than 48 hours and she died because of the burns. A child, Mashoko who was in the same home died at the scene.
8.Mashoko (6 years)	Harare	08 June 2008	Mistook died when the home he was sleeping in was set on fire by ZANU PF supporters.
9.Dadirayi Chipiro	Mhondoro	08 June 2008	A ZANU PF gang allegedly went to her home looking for her husband Chipiro who is an MDC activist and chairperson of the area. When they failed to find him they started beating her then chopped off her hand and both feet. Afterwards, they forced her into her hut and threw a petrol bomb into it thereby setting it on fire. She was burnt to death.
11.Boniface Chikosha	Chimanimani	10 June 2008	The victim was a war veteran. He was assaulted and killed by a gang reported to be MDC supporters
12.Lovemore Simon	Chimanimani	10 June 2008	The victim was a war veteran. He was assaulted and killed by a gang reported to be MDC supporters
13.Delite Mushonga	Epworth	11 June 2008	The victim was beaten up by ZANU PF youths and suffered brain damage. He died in hospital a day later
14.Leornad Mhete	Bikita	11 June 2008	It is alleged that ZANU PF youths murdered him as he and others tried to defend attacks from the group at his homestead.
15.Mirai Zvidzai	Masvingo	11 June 2008	The victim was murdered by a group of ZANU PF supporters during the night.
16.Chengerai Kahari	Bindura	11 June 2008	The victim was shot dead at around 19:00hrs by armed ZANU PF militia who had mistakenly taken him for his brother who is an MDC councillor in the area.
17.Rodrick Mukova	Masvingo	11 June 2008	The victim who was an MDC supporter died from injuries sustained following an assault by ZANU PF youths.
18.Kennias Artwell Bvekerwa	Chipinge	13 June 2008	The victim was severely assaulted by ZANU PF youths allegedly led by one Chikumba. He died at Mapfumise Secondary School in the Clearwater area because of the injuries.
19.Kennedy Mapulanga	Mwenezi	14 June 2008	The victim who was an MDC supporter was allegedly kidnapped by ZANU PF youths. He was found dead two days later.
20.Victor Mungazi	Magunje	14 June 2008	The victim who was an MDC supporter was abducted by ZANU PF youths from his home at Magunje growth point and was found dead the following morning at around 04:00hrs.

21. Farai Gambe	Rusape	15 June 2008	The victim who was an MDC supporter was shot by a soldier at close range and he died.
22. Elliot Machipisa	Hurungwe ZESN	17 June 2008	The victim was abducted by ZANU PF youths and was found dead two days later. He was an MDC supporter.
23. Morgan Chishamba	Harare	19 June 2008	The victim was attacked by ZANU PF supporters in Waterfalls and was later found dead. He was an MDC supporter.
24. Sophia Chingozho	Buhera	19 June 2008	The victim was beaten whilst attending a relative's funeral in Buhera. They assaulted him because he was from Harare and was therefore perceived as an MDC supporter. He later died in hospital.
25. Abgial Chiroto	Harare	19 June 2008	The victim was the wife of the Harare Deputy Mayor elect. She was abducted together with her four-year-old child from her home. The child was dumped at Borrowdale Police Station. She was murdered and her body was dumped close to her home in Hatcliffe..
26. Mtombeni	Masvingo	19 June 2008	The victim who was an MDC activist was abducted by suspected ZANU PF youths and later found dead.
27. Simbarashe Chikomba	Masvingo	19 June 2008	The victim was abducted by suspected ZANU PF youths and later found dead. He was an MDC supporter.
28. Tinos Makwanya	Masvingo	19, June 2008	The victim was abducted by suspected ZANU PF youths and later found dead. He was an MDC supporter.
29. Kenias Dube	Masvingo	19 June 2008	The victim was abducted by suspected ZANU PF youths and later found dead. He was an MDC supporter.
30. Stanford Mapuranga	Masvingo	19 June 2008	The victim who was an MDC supporter was abducted by suspected ZANU PF youths and later found dead.
31. Simba Magetsi	Gokwe	19 June 2008	The victim was who was an MDC supporter was abducted by suspected ZANU PF youths and later found dead.
32. John Luke	Gokwe	19 June 2008	The victim was abducted by suspected ZANU PF youths and later found dead. He was an MDC supporter.

32.Yuana Jenti	Chitungwiza	19 June 2008	The victim was part of a group guarding MDC councillor elect Chipiyo's home because he had been taken into custody. They were attacked by ZANU PF youths but they fought back and managed to drive the youths off the premises. They (ZANU PF youths)then returned accompanied by police officers and suspected soldiers in vehicles and armed with guns. They took the MDC youths at gun point and their bodies were found the following morning.
33.Archford Chipiyo	Chitungwiza	19 June 2008	The victim was part of a group guarding MDC councillor elect Chipiyo's home because he had been taken into custody. They were attacked by ZANU PF youths but they fought back and managed to drive the youths off the premises. They (ZANU PF youths)then returned accompanied by police officers and suspected soldiers in vehicles and armed with guns. They took the MDC youths at gun point and their bodies were found the following morning.
34.Ngoni Knight	Chitungwiza	19 June 2008	The victim was part of a group guarding MDC councillor elect Chipiyo's home because he had been taken into custody. They were attacked by ZANU PF youths but they fought back and managed to drive the youths off the premises. They (ZANU PF youths)then returned accompanied by police officers and suspected soldiers in vehicles and armed with guns. They took the MDC youths at gun point and their bodies were found the following morning.
35.Tyson	Chitungwiza	19 June 2008	The victim was part of a group guarding MDC councillor elect Chipiyo's home because he had been taken into custody. They were attacked by ZANU PF youths but they fought back and managed to drive the youths off the premises. They (ZANU PF youths)then returned accompanied by police officers and suspected soldiers in vehicles and armed with guns. They took the MDC youths at gun point and their bodies were found the following morning.
36.Albert Masuka	Buhera	20 June 2008	The victim and other MDC youths were abducted by a group of Zanu PF youths and army members. They were taken to Murambinda Base where they were assaulted until they all died. Witnesses reported that their bodies were taken away by suspected CIO agents and are believed to have been thrown into a crocodile infested dam along the Save river.
37.Pepukai Maangira	Buhera	20 June 2008	The victim and other MDC youths were abducted by a group of Zanu PF youths and army members. They were taken to Murambinda Base where they were assaulted until they all died. Witnesses reported that their bodies were taken away by suspected CIO agents and are believed to have been thrown into a crocodile infested dam along the Save river.
38.Pheneas Chirozva	Buhera	20 June 2008	The victim and other MDC youths were abducted by a group of Zanu PF youths and army members. They were taken to Murambinda Base where they were assaulted until they all died. Witnesses reported that their bodies were taken away by suspected CIO agents and are believed to have been thrown into a crocodile infested dam along the Save river.

39. Trymore Sabira	Buhera	20 June 2008	The victim and other MDC youths were abducted by a group of Zanu PF youths and army members. They were taken to Murambinda Base where they were assaulted until they all died. Witnesses reported that their bodies were taken away by suspected CIO agents and are believed to have been thrown into a crocodile infested dam along the Save river.
40. Chris Makanyisa	Buhera	20 June 2008	The victim and other MDC youths were abducted by a group of Zanu PF youths and army members. They were taken to Murambinda Base where they were assaulted until they all died. Witnesses reported that their bodies were taken away by suspected CIO agents and are believed to have been thrown into a crocodile infested dam along the Save river..
41. Emmanuel Nyapfungwe	Buhera	20 June 2008	The victim and other MDC youths were abducted by a group of Zanu PF youths and army members. They were taken to Murambinda Base where they were assaulted until they all died. Witnesses reported that their bodies were taken away by suspected CIO agents and are believed to have been thrown into a crocodile infested dam along the Save river.
42. Gibs Chironga	Mazowe	20 June 2008	The victim who was an MDC supporter was shot by ZANU PF militia at his home on Friday
43. Madamombe	Mazowe	20 June 2008	The victim who was an MDC supporter was shot by ZANU PF militia at his home on Friday
44. Francis Zihwihwi	Gutu	21 June 2008	It is alleged that the victim was shot to death by Madombwe the husband to ZANU PF politician, Shuvai Mahofa, who is the ZANU PF losing candidate for Gutu South. He was an MDC supporter.
45. Singende	Gutu	21 June 2008	The victim was taken from his home in Masvingise village in Gutu by a group of ZANU PF militia to their base where it is alleged they pulled his testicles until he died.
46. Godfrey Mashaka	Mhondoro	21 June 2008	The victim was abducted by ZANU PF militia and taken to their base at Gudo Growth Point where they assaulted him to death. It is alleged that Forbes Mhembere and Beauty Kunaka led the militia gang.
47. Robert Ziyengwa	Makni	25 June 2008	Robert Ziyengwa and his wife, who were both MDC supporters, were assaulted by ZANU PF youths who were accompanied by police officers from Rusape. They both died during the assault.
48. Mrs Ziyengwa (wife of Robert)	Makoni	25 June 2008	The victim and her husband were assaulted by ZANU PF youths who were accompanied by police officers from Rusape. They both died during the assault.

49.Masitafundikera Gumura	Makoni	25 June 2008	Gumura was attacked by a group of ZANU PF youths at his home in the Eagle's nest area on Wednesday night 25 June 2008.He died during the assault.
50.Aquiline Sanzvegwa Gumura	Makoni	28 June 2008	Mrs Gumura was also heavily assaulted the same night her husband was killed she was admitted to Rusape General Hospital where she died because of the injuries she had sustained.
51.Sandros Mandizha	Makoni	25 June 2008	Sandros Mandizha was assaulted by a gang of ZANU PF youths and suspected CIO agents and he died during the attack.
52.Taurai Zindomba	Makoni	27 June 2008	The victim was attacked by ZANU PF supporters and some suspected state agents. They allegedly used barbed wire to pull Taurai's intestines out and he died. Two of his brothers Abel and Stanley were seriously injured.
53.Manomano Ndahwi	Gokwe	28 June 2008	The victim was allegedly taken by ZANU PF youths on 27 June at around 18:00hrs from his home. Three men with logs took him to the village cemetery where a group of more than twenty other ZANU PF youths assaulted him all over the body . He died during the assault and they took his body to his home , dumped it on his bed and took away property including 800 kgs of maize grain. His wife Eustina and their son escaped and were not harmed.
54.Tawengwa Gibbs	Chiweshe	30 June 2008	The victim who was an MDC supporter died from injuries sustained after being assaulted by ZANU PF youth militia.
55.Kudakwashe Majongosi	Chirumanzu	30 June 30, 2008	The victim who was an MDC supporter was allegedly murdered by men driving an army vehicle
56.Hama Ngowani	Chiweshe	30 June 2008	The victim who was an MDC supporter died from injuries after attacks by ZANU PF youth militia.
57.Lewis Musiwa	Chiweshe	30 June 2008	The victim who was an MDC supporter died from injuries after attacks by ZANU PF youth militia.
58.Taurai Kamuchira	Headlands	30 June 2008	The victim who was an MDC supporter was allegedly beaten to death by a group of armed ZANU PF supporters

59.Nguwani Madamombe	Headlands	30 June 2008	The victim who was an MDC supporter was allegedly murdered at his home by ZANU PF youths.
60.Hama Chironga	Chiweshe	30 June 2008	The victim who was an MDC supporter was allegedly beaten to death by ZANU PF supporters.

MDC-58**ZANU PF-2****(b) List of alleged murders of ZANU PF and MDC supporters in July 2008.**

NAME	DISTRICT	DATE OF DEATH	DETAILS OF INCIDENT
1.Francis Phiri	Mashava	02 July 2008	He was beaten to death by Zanu PF supporters at the mine compound. The Zanu PF militia are reported to have come from rural areas of Chivi.
2.AmosMoyounotsva	Chitungwiza	02 July 2008	He was murdered by Zanu PF supporters in Chitungwiza
3.Munoda Mushaike	Guruve	02 July 2008	He died after attacks by Zanu PF youth at his homestead.
4.Daniel Gundo	Gokwe	03 July 2008	Local Zanu PF youths attacked Daniel at his home and beat him to death
5.Dickson Sibanda	Buhera	03 July 2008	Murdered by armed war veterans and ZANU PFyouth militia at 22:00 hrs at his home.He had earlier on during the day paid a goat as a fine for supporting the MDC.
6.Maxwell Marangwenda	Buhera	05 July 2008	He was beaten to death by Zanu PF supporters at Bika Scholl in Buhera .

7.Takawira Muzondiwa	Mberengwa	05 July 2008	He died after being assaulted by over 10 Zanu PF supporters at his homestead.
8.Mark Chiraradza	Mukumbura	05 July 2008	He was beaten by ZANU PF youths with logs and sticks and he died on the spot.
9.Chrispen Chimusoro Chigaga	Mhondoro	05 July 2008	He died after he was beaten on 22 June 2008 by ZANU PF youths
10.Maxwell Machasi	Buhera	06 July 2008	Murdered by war vets and Zanu PF youths in Mararakuenda village under Chief Nyashanu.
11.Alex Kazembe	Makoni	06 July 2008	Alex died at Dekeya village after severe assaults by Zanu PF youths at Nyazura river.
12.Method Chabuka	Makoni	06 July 2008	He was assaulted by Zanu PF youths on the 26 June he lost a lot of blood and died from the injuries
13. Irene Runzirwai	Harare	07 July 2008	Died in hospital in Harare from injuries sustained after she had been assaulted , raped and thrown into a fire.
14.Gwindiri Mutadza	Mudzi	08 July 2008	Gwindiri was allegedly assaulted by Peter Nyakuba and Aquiline Katsande The MP elect for Mudzi West. He died on the spot.
15. Gift Mutsvungunu	Harare	12 July 2008	His body was found decomposing in Kuwadzana, Harare suburb. He was reported missing on July 12 2008, after he had been abducted by State security agents in army uniform. When his body was found it showed signs of severe torture.
16. Livingstone Dzenga	UMP	12 July, 2008	He was assaulted by Zanu PF youths and militia and he was admitted into hospital where he died a few days later.
17. Reuben Mutewe	Buhera	12 July 2008	He was assaulted by paratroopers Patrick Chimbare, Enos Chimbare,Funny Mambare.The three are ZANU PF supporters.
18. Kingswell Muteta	Mudzi	25 July 2008	Kingswell Muteta was a serving member of the ZRP based in Harare. His

			<p>brother in law passed away after being assaulted by Zanu PF youths in Mudzi in May 2008, When he thought the situation was back to normal he went to convey his condolences. He found out that his mother had previously been assaulted by the same gang for attending her son inlaw's funeral. This did not go down well with Kingswell he confronted the militia on 17 July . He was also accused of going to an enemy's home and about 20 militia abducted him and was taken to Chimukoko base where he was severely assaulted all over the body. He was taken to Kotwa Hospital on Friday 18 July and later transferred to The Avenues clinic on 21 July 2008, He died from the injuries on Friday 25, July 2008 at the Avenues Clinic.</p>
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Total: MDC- 18 ZANU PF -0

NB. One of the murders recorded in July is not shown on this Schedule, bringing the total number of murders reported in July to 19.

(c) List of alleged murders of ZANU PF and MDC supporters in August 2008

Name of victim	District	Date of death	Details of incident
1. Runyararo Mugauri	Harare	9 August 2008	The victim was attacked by ZANU PF youths in July 2008 and was admitted into hospital; she never recovered from the injuries.
2. Calisto Tsvangirayi	Gokwe	9 August 2008	The victim was assaulted by ZANU PF supporters and taken to hospital, but died from the injuries.
3. Martha Tembedza	Marondera	23 August 2008	The victim was badly assaulted by ZANU PF supporters and some state agents before the June 27 election at village 17 Two boy resettlement area in Svosve Marondera East. She was dumped in a dam when they thought she was dead, she however was rescued later and she survived. She had been nursing the wounds for quite some time but unfortunately she succumbed to the injuries on 23 August 2008.
4. Maxwell Magoche Tongodiwa	Hurungwe	6 August 2008	The victim was assaulted during the campaign for the June 27 elections the people who attacked him were, L Chikede, A Binda, C Chatyora, N Marumahoko and N Ndlovu. Maxwell sustained a fractured rib that punctured his liver. He succumbed to the wounds and died on 6 August 2008.

TOTAL : MDC- 4 ZANU PF - 0

Political Discrimination/Intimidation/victimization

There were more cases of political discrimination/intimidation/victimization in 2008 than in 2007, 2 787 and 980 respectively. This reflects on its own the high levels of political intolerance, the undemocratic conduct of political processes in Zimbabwe and abuse of state power that were prevalent in 2008 because of the two elections. February recorded 410 cases, an indication of the closing up of political space by the Government of Zimbabwe to prevent the opposition from freely campaigning prior to the harmonized elections in May when 287 cases were recorded. April and May recorded totals of 783 and 466 violations respectively; the highest totals for the year.

Incidents that were reported to the Human Rights Forum indicated that political discrimination was used by ZANU PF and also through traditional leaders in depriving citizens of basic amenities such as food, medical and other financial aid that came from the government or aid agencies. For example, in a number of areas, it was noted that villagers had to present ZANU PF membership cards for them to access grain, especially anyone suspected to be a member of the opposition party. This provided protection against assault. Putting on t-shirts, or any opposition party regalia became taboo and those wearing these would be thoroughly assaulted or even arrested for doing this.

Property related

Another weapon that seemed too common and easy to use during the peak of the violence was the destruction of property by well known ZANU PF youths and war veterans. The thugs demolished, stole, slaughtered livestock and torched homes in many rural areas. This seemed effective for ZANU PF as the strategy in most cases dealt a double blow wherein victims ended up without shelter, food and were left vulnerable and insecure, leading them to flee their homes. This always worked in ZANU PF's favour when it came to the elections, as people would not be able to vote in the constituencies to which they had fled. Many of those internally displaced through the destruction of their homes slept in the open exposed to the cold and vulnerable to further victimization by ZANU PF youths, having witnessed the destruction of their homes and property. Of the incidences documented in this report, 596 property related violations and consequent 629 displacements were reported.

Rape

As Zimbabwe geared up for the historic Presidential Run - Off on 27 June 2008, ZANU PF embarked on a deplorable pre-election violence campaign. The monthly reports by the Human Rights Forum, chronicled high levels of political intolerance by all political parties but more seriously violations of

human rights by the ZANU PF party. The gendered dimensions of politically-motivated and state-sponsored violence also become starkly clear from the reportage in these documents. The reports reveal gross violations of women's and children's rights at times on mere allegations of their being supporters of the opposition or the fact that their male partners or children were involved in opposition politics.

Politically-motivated rapes were among the most horrendous crimes committed during 2008. These crimes, targeted the wives, female children and other female relatives of MDC members and supporters. The women were in most cases used as bait by ZANU PF youths and war veterans to force their husbands or male relatives, who had fled retributive violence, to return to the villages.

As is the case in other violations such as property destruction and assault, people they knew from their neighborhood mostly raped the victims. Many of the perpetrators of these crimes generally went unpunished as the police in a number of instances refused to take up reports of politically-motivated crimes, either in fear for their own security or due to partisanship. Fearing further victimization, the victims often did not report these cases or delayed before lodging formal complaints making it difficult for legal proceedings to be instituted against the perpetrators. Low levels of reportage can also be attributed to the fear of stigmatization, and cultural beliefs that do not permit women to reveal such violations.

The six cases recorded by the Human Rights Forum in 2008, are undoubtedly far below the actual number of cases of women who faced this trauma. These six cases were recorded in June at the height of the pre-electoral violence, and no cases were recorded in 2007. The Human Rights Forum is however currently working on getting more information on some of the cases that were reported but not documented in reports.

School Closure

The education sector was among the most affected by the violence that erupted prior to and after the 27 June Presidential election Run-off. The Human Rights Forum recorded a total of 26 school closures in 2008. As the violence in the campaign for the June Run-off election intensified, schools in most rural and urban areas across Zimbabwe were closed and many transformed into temporary bases for ZANU PF supporters, war veterans and members of the security forces who were involved in political indoctrination activities in the villages.

Many rural schools in Mashonaland East and Mashonaland Central were virtually taken over by ZANU PF youths and war veterans, and turned into torture bases. MDC members and supporters were often forcibly taken to these bases and severely assaulted in retribution for their political affiliation. Classrooms were turned into torture chambers, where victims would be detained and tortured for hours or even days, turning these schools into no-go areas.

Rural teachers were among the most targeted groups for political victimization by ZANU PF youths and war veterans. Accused of supporting the MDC and turning the general rural populace against the government, a large number of rural teachers, especially in Mudzi and Shamva, were assaulted, threatened, had their property destroyed, forced out of their homes and even killed. This left many schools virtually deserted, as teachers fled from the rural areas into towns and cities. Even after the June election, many rural teachers did not return to schools, as they feared further victimization.

With many teachers having nothing to go back to at their rural schools, it is uncertain whether normal learning will ever take place at these schools.

While the Human Rights Forum noted 26 schools had been closed in the year but believes there could have been more which remained open but virtually had the core business of the institutions paralyzed for the better part of the time of the elections because teachers had fled the violence, children were too intimidated, or their parents had been displaced or simply that the thugs who were camped at the schools did not want them to operate.

Torture

The practice of torture is proscribed in all the international human rights instruments to which Zimbabwe is a party. *The Universal Declaration on Human Rights* (Article 5), *the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights* (Articles 7 and 10) *the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights* (Article 5) all unequivocally prohibit the practice of torture. The provisions in these international human rights treaties are legally binding on states parties and Zimbabwe has every obligation to adhere to the norms enshrined therein. The fundamental nature of the human right to be free from torture is emphasized in the major international human rights instruments. No derogation is permitted from this right either in times of "public emergency which threatens the life of the nation"² or "in time of war, or other public emergency threatening the life of the nation" or "in time of war, public danger, or other emergency that threatens the independence of Security of a State Party." Article 3 of *the*

² *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights* (adopted 16 December 1966, entered into force 23 March 1976) 999 UNTS 171 (ICCPR).

Convention Against Torture and other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (CAT) states, "No state may permit or tolerate torture or other cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment or punishment".

Torture is not now merely confined to political cases, and more cases are being reported of torture being used in ordinary criminal cases. This is very alarming, and it is clear that there is need for serious reform of the Zimbabwe Republic Police. Here it is worth pointing out that the practice of torture by the Zimbabwe Republic Police has been mentioned in other reports of the Forum, and is also confirmed by civil suits mounted by the Human Rights Forum in the Zimbabwean courts.

In the year 2008, the practice of torture was systematic and widespread. The first quarter saw a total of 36 torture victims some of whom were students who were arrested for demonstrating against the decline in the education standards.

The month of April recorded an unprecedented 560 cases of torture, the highest recorded in any month of the year since the Human Rights Forum started producing MPVRs in 2001. The number of cases of torture recorded over the year was 731. While the nation was in limbo as it awaited the announcement of the 29 March election results, state agents intensified attacks on MDC activists, office bearers, supporters and purported supporters. They were targeted in retribution for their political affiliation, as well as to try and force them to divulge information pertaining to the opposition's activities.

Of particular concern was the apparent involvement of the army in the abduction and torture of some of the victims. There were reports of the establishment of military detention centers where the main forms of torture were mechanical restraints such as suspension and water immersion. Alarming evidence from the victims suggested and substantiated claims that the perpetrators had been specially trained to carry out such gruesome acts of torture. Some of the victims of the military personnel were those accused of organizing a mass stay away in April as well as journalists who were accused of practising without accreditation.

Torture was also routinely practiced at police stations where those arrested were arbitrarily detained. Prior to the March elections, the police carried out numerous arrests on charges of political violence. Those who took to the streets to demonstrate were arrested, tortured and released without charge. The highest number of cases were recorded in Mashonaland East and Mashonaland Central. In Harare, most of the torture was carried out at Harare Central Police Station where there were reports

of prisoners being held in dark cells without food and water. Blunt violence, falanga (beating on the soles of the feet) and submersion were the main methods of torture that were used by police officers.

While fewer cases of torture were recorded after the June elections, the system allowing for its application remained intact as prisoners were held incommunicado without access to lawyers and relatives. Widespread reports of cases of torture were routinely ignored by the authorities as there were no investigations into previous allegations.

Unlawful Arrest and Detention

2008 recorded a decrease in the number of unlawful arrests and detention at 461. 2007 recorded 1 676 unlawful arrests and 1 676 unlawful detentions. The highest number of unlawful arrests and detention (73) in 2008 was recorded in December, a month that saw more than two demonstrations by civic organisations within days of each other. These violations have become synonymous with demonstrations where protestors are arrested and detained for expressing their concerns. In most cases these protestors are detained and later released without charge. Also targeted in these violations were members of the opposition often forcibly taken from their homes and detained for longer than the period stipulated by law, frequently without substantive charges being laid against them. Hence, unlawful arrests and detentions have also been used as tools of intimidation. Unlawful arrests and detentions go hand in glove but sometimes an arrest can be lawful but the detention is unlawful because it exceeds the time stipulated in the Criminal Procedure and Evidence Act viz 48 hours and this does not include weekends or public holidays.

The conditions of detention for those arrested have been appalling, with many of the victims being detained in dirty, cold and crowded cells. Many of those detained reported that they were subjected to torture and often denied access to legal counsel, food or medical care.

MAIN EVENTS 2008	
January	
22	MDC 'Freedom March' is banned by the police.
23	Morgan Tsvangirai is picked up by the police from his home in the early hours of the morning and detained. MDC members are assaulted and arrested as they marched towards Glamis Stadium for a rally.
25	Members of <i>Restoration of Human Rights Zimbabwe</i> are arrested and detained following a peaceful demonstration.
February	
13	Student leaders are arrested and assaulted for demonstrating in Harare and Bulawayo. The MDC (Tsvangirai faction) Mabvuku Parliamentary candidate is arrested outside the party's headquarters allegedly for planning a demonstration.
19	Nine members of the <i>Progressive Teachers Union of Zimbabwe</i> (PTUZ) are abducted and assaulted by suspected ZANU PF supporters before being handed over to the police.
24	The MDC (Tsvangirai) Parliamentary candidate for Mhondoro/Ngezi is detained at Mubaira Police Station for 34 hours on allegations that his campaign team had used abusive language during a campaign session.
March	
8	Women of Zimbabwe Arise (WOZA) demonstrates on International Women's Day. Three members are assaulted while fifty are injured in the assaults by anti-riot police.
10	Seven women are assaulted in Epworth while coming from an MDC rally. Two of them are stripped of their party regalia leaving them half naked.
29	Voting in the Harmonised General, House of Assembly, Senate and Local Government elections takes place.

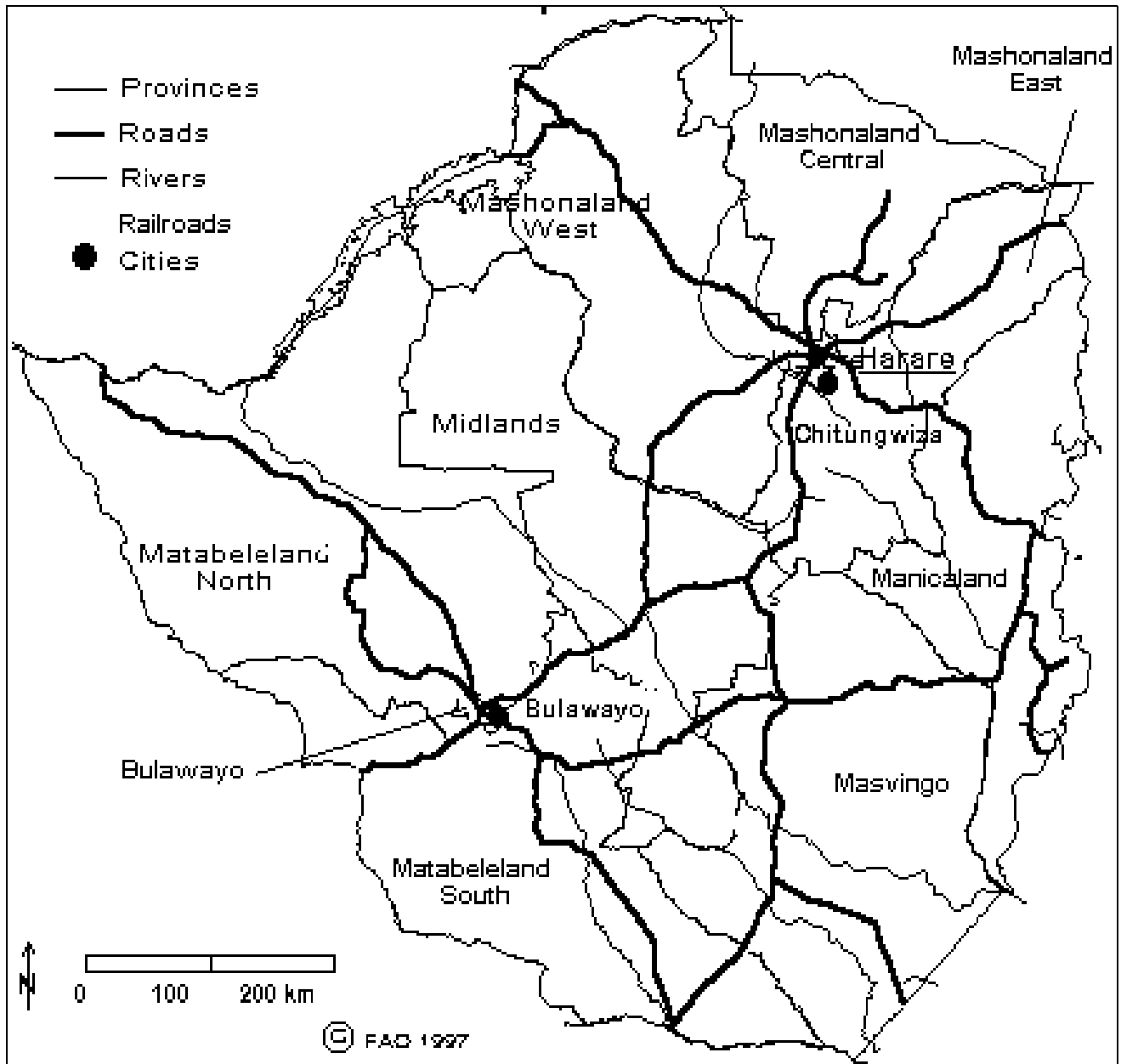
April 13	MDC claims that that 10 of its supporters have died as a result of political violence.
18	Zimbabwe celebrates Independence Day. The main celebrations take place at Gwanzura Stadium in Harare.
19	<i>Zimbabwe Election Commission</i> starts the recount of the Harmonised Election votes in 23 constituencies.
May 2	Official Presidential Election results are announced.
13	Tonderai Ndira an MDC activist is abducted from his home in Mabvuku by suspected state agents.
22	The body of Tonderai Ndira is discovered in a Harare morgue.
28	MDC Offices at Jerera Growth Point in Masvingo are set on fire by armed men killing two people.
June 4	Social Welfare Minister orders international aid groups to suspend operations
12	Tendai Biti is arrested and charged with treason and communicating falsehoods prejudicial to the state.
22	Tsvangirai pulls out of 27 June Presidential Run-off citing violence against his supporters.
27	The Presidential Run-off takes place.
29	Election results are announced and Robert Mugabe is declared winner and sworn in for a sixth term as President.

<p>July 17</p> <p>21</p>	<p>King Muteta a police officer in Mudzi North is allegedly severely assaulted by ZANU PF youths and war veterans and dies on 25 July 2008 due to injuries sustained in the attack.</p> <p>A Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) to begin interparty talks is signed by ZANU PF and the two MDC formations.</p>
<p>August 11</p> <p>25</p> <p>26</p>	<p>Zimbabwe celebrates Heroes Day followed by the Defence Forces Day the following day.</p> <p>Lovemore Moyo, MDC National Chairperson, is elected the 1st Speaker of Parliament from an opposition party since Independence in 1980.</p> <p>The first session of the seventh Parliament of Zimbabwe is opened by President Mugabe.</p>
<p>September 15</p> <p>18</p> <p>19</p> <p>25</p>	<p>The leaders of the main political parties sign a power - sharing Agreement outlining the framework for power sharing. Robert Mugabe remains President, Morgan Tsvangirai is nominated the Prime Minister and Arthur Mutambara nominated the Deputy Prime Minister.</p> <p>The parties hold talks regarding the allocation of ministries but fail to reach an agreement.</p> <p>The President leaves for a trip to New York for the 63rd Session of the United Nations General Assembly before swearing in the Prime Minister, Morgan Tsvangirai.</p> <p>The President delivers his statement at the 63rd Session of the UN General Assembly. He reiterates that his party, ZANU PF, would abide by the spirit and letter of the power – sharing Agreement.</p>

October	
14	ZINASU members march to Parliament to deliver a petition to legislators expressing concern over the deteriorating standards of education. Five students are arrested and several injured when anti-riot police violently disperse the crowd.
16	Nine WOZA members including Jenni Williams and Magodonga Mahlangu are arrested during a peaceful march in Bulawayo in which the protestors were calling for the access to food aid for all Zimbabweans.
20	SADC Troika meeting on Zimbabwe scheduled for Mbabane in Swaziland fails to take place after the Zimbabwe Registrar General's Office refuses to issue Morgan Tsvangirai a new passport.
27	An emergency SADC Summit to save Zimbabwe's Power Sharing Agreement is held. The rival parties fail to reach an agreement.
27	More than 40 women are arrested and several others injured after anti-riot police break up a peaceful protest organised by the <i>Women's Coalition</i> calling for a speedy conclusion to the power-sharing talks between ZANU PF and the two MDC formations.
28	<i>Restoration of Human Rights Zimbabwe (ROHR)</i> takes to the streets to protest against the delay in the conclusion of the peace talks between ZANU PF and the two MDC formations. Seven protestors are reportedly arrested while 23 are injured when police violently break up the gathering.

November	
11	Anti-riot police break up <i>National Constitutional Assembly (NCA)</i> demonstrations staged by the NCA in Harare, Bulawayo, Mutare , Masingo and Gweru. The protests intended to push for a three point plan aimed at achieving democracy in Zimbabwe.
18	Health personnel stage a protest against the deteriorating health delivery system. Anti-riot police block the protestors from Parirenyatwa Hospital in Harare and assault several health workers.
20	The Zimbabwean authorities deny entry into the country to three of the “elders”, a group of prominent international personalities comprising the former United Nations (UN) Secretary General Kofi Anan, the Former United States President Jimmy Carter and the Former South African First Lady Graca Machel. The group were intending to assess the humanitarian situation in the country.
27	NCA stages another demonstration in Harare, pushing for the three-point plan. Anti-riot police thwart the demonstration.
December	
3	Police violently disperse a peaceful protest by the <i>Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU)</i> . The demonstrators are protesting the cash withdrawal limits imposed by the <i>Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe (RBZ)</i> . The demonstrations are carried out around the country and 40 people are arrested.
3	Human Rights activist and Director of the <i>Zimbabwe Peace Project (ZPP)</i> , Jestina Mukoko is abducted by 15-armed men from her Norton home in the early hours of the morning.
4	NCA hold a peaceful protest against the continued political impasse. Police violently disperse and arrest 15 protestors.
23	Jestina Mukoko and other MDC activists who were abducted between October and December appear in court facing charges of treason.

ADMINISTRATIVE MAP OF ZIMBABWE



The Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum (also known as the “Human Rights Forum”) is a coalition comprising 16 member organisations. It has been in existence since January 1998 when non-Governmental organisations working in the field of human rights joined together to provide legal and psychosocial assistance to the victims of the Food Riots of January 1998.

The Human Rights Forum has now expanded its objectives to assist victims of organised violence, using the following definition:

“Organised violence” means the inter-human infliction of significant avoidable pain and suffering by an organised 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.”

The Human Rights Forum operates a Research and Documentation Unit and offers legal services to assist victims of organised violence and torture claim compensation from perpetrators through its Public Interest Unit.

Member organisations of the Human Rights Forum are:

- Amnesty International (Zimbabwe) (AI (Z))
- Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace (CCJP)
- Gays and Lesbians of Zimbabwe (GALZ)
- Legal Resources Foundation (LRF)
- Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA)
- Media Monitoring Project of Zimbabwe (MMPZ)
- Nonviolent Action and Strategies for Social Change (NOVASC)
- Transparency International (Zimbabwe) (TI (Z))
- Women of Zimbabwe Arise (WOZA)
- Zimbabwe Association for Crime Prevention and the Rehabilitation of the Offender (ZACRO)
- Zimbabwe Association of Doctors for Human Rights (ZADHR)
- Zimbabwe Civic Education Trust (ZIMCET)
- Zimbabwe Human Rights Association (ZimRights)
- Zimbabwe Lawyers for Human Rights (ZLHR)
- Zimbabwe Peace Project (ZPP)
- Zimbabwe Women Lawyers Association (ZWLA)

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