

Zimbabwe: Post Presidential Election

March to May 2002

“We’ll make them run”



Front and back page photographs, Case 11: According to the interviewee, on 1 April 2002 the numerous long linear lesions spread all over the body were caused by beatings with sjamboks and a chain; fractured fibula caused by blunt trauma from iron bar. Findings in complete agreement with the history.

21st May 2002

Physicians for Human Rights, Denmark

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PHYSICIANS FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

DENMARK

Is an independent group of Danish medical doctors (founded 1990) whose goal is to bring the skills of the medical profession to the protection of human rights. Members of PHR/DK have participated (in some cases as consultants to other NGOs) in fact finding missions to several countries such as Israel and The Occupied Territories, Chile, El Salvador, Guatemala, Venezuela, Turkey, Northern Ireland, Cyprus, Kuwait, Kenya, Romania, Uruguay, Lithuania, Latvia, Pakistani and Indian held Kashmir, Sri Lanka, Mexico, Nepal, Croatia, Bosnia, Thailand, The Philippines, Punjab, Kosova, Jamaica, and Zimbabwe.

PHR/DK co-operates with several other human rights organisations, notably IFHHRO (International Federation of Health and Human Rights Organizations).

DOCUMENTATION OF TORTURE

Has been the purpose of *all* our missions. Mainly done by interviews with and medical examinations of torture victims. Dead or alive.

We have, from time to time, co-operated with several NGOs in- and outside the countries in which we have worked, notably Physicians for Human Rights/USA (Health Care Situation in Kuwait during the Iraqi occupation), Human Rights Watch Asia (Kashmir), PHR/UK (investigation of long-term effects of acoustic shocks used by Sovjet elite soldiers OMON during uprising in Lithuania), International Federation of Health and Human Rights Organisations (IFHHRO), FAST (Families Against State Terrorism, Jamaica), CCFS, CIFA (Centre for International Forensic Assistance), several NGOs in Israel and Occupied Territories (autopsies of Palestinians who died in Shabak custody), and OSCE (Kosova).

Examples of missions: Four fact finding missions to both Pakistani and Indian held Kashmir. Investigation of Health Care Situation in Iraq-occupied Kuwait (in co-operation with PHR/USA).

Fact finding missions to Thailand (Burmese refugees) and to Punjab. A recent case (March 2002) was an investigation in Jamaica: seven young men had been shot dead by local special police ("Crime Management Unit"). A Danish forensic specialist observed the seven autopsies in Kingston and concluded that the cause of death was multiple gun shots and the manner of death homicide.

July 2000 a fact finding mission to Mexico where two non-violent Indian environmental activists were examined while in prison. Conclusion: the two Indians, Rodolfo Montiel Flores and Teodoro Cabrera Garcia, had suffered severe torture carried out by the army. They were released, but before that the Foreign Ministry of Mexico contacted PHR/DK to have some information confirmed.

January 2002 members of PHR/DK visited Zimbabwe and documented after-effects of severe physical torture: flogging with barbed wire leaving typical, absolutely *non* equivocal wounds.

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www.phrusa.org/healthrights/phr_denmark.html

“No nonsense will be tolerated. If they become lawless we will deal with them firmly.

We will make them run. If they haven’t run before we will make them run now.

We will not pander to them any longer. That’s gone. It’s finished. We are now entering a new chapter, and there will be firm government, very firm government.....”

President Robert Mugabe: extract from speech in English and Shona celebrating his re-inauguration and clarifying his policy towards the opposition MDC.

Zvimba, Zimbabwe, 31st March 2002

[Source: ZBC-TV news bulletin, 31st March]

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Photographs

Front and back covers: Case 11.

All other photographs: see end of report.

Photos 1 and 2:	Case 1: deep burn wounds on soles of feet
Photo 3:	Case 2: 4 month old baby allegedly beaten at 1 week
Photo 4:	Case 5: left wrist with handcuff lesion
Photos 5 and 6:	Case 9: right arm with lesions
Photo 7:	Case 11: 'candy stripe' lesion from chain
Photo 8:	Case 13: back with long sjambok lesions

Summary and Conclusion

The Presidential election in Zimbabwe took place on 9th – 11th March 2002. In a process described by almost all international observers as “unfree and unfair”, President Robert Mugabe was announced the winner of the poll. Gross human rights violations were documented throughout the current election process, and were an important factor in condemnation of the election outcome.

Since the elections, there has been little international media attention to human rights abuses in Zimbabwe, and this could lead to the misperception that the situation has improved, or normalised in the post election period. This is not the case; politically motivated, government-endorsed violence continues against those perceived to be supporters of the opposition Movement for Democratic Change (MDC).

President Mugabe has stated publicly in the post election phase, that the government intends to repress its political opponents. Parliament has effectively been rendered irrelevant by its adjournment until August. New laws seriously restrict freedom of expression, association and assembly, and recent developments clearly show that the government intends to exploit the repressive powers given to it by these new laws. Furthermore, a senior member of ZANU has declared that the government will not respect the rulings of the court, if in disagreement with the interests of the government.

We document in this report that mutilating torture beyond any doubt is practised by government supporters against their political opponents in Zimbabwe in the post election period.

The fact that perpetrators do not care whether they torture people who can identify them, or whether their acts of torture or ill treatment leave marks that can easily be recognised as caused by torture, underlines a clear assumption on their part of impunity. This assumption appears well founded: no prosecutions against perpetrators have been made in any of the cases of torture and ill treatment that we documented, and this points to a deliberate policy by the authorities.

Furthermore, since the previous report published in January this year, ***we document a new phenomenon – the political manipulation of hunger in some areas to exclude those labelled as “MDC supporters” from all routes of gaining maize, the staple food.*** In rural areas, access to food is controlled by government mechanisms such as “food for work”, and through regulation of all maize sales through the parastatal Grain Marketing Board. Food distributed by international donors is also in some districts proving to be subject to political manipulation by ZANU-PF.

The abuse of power related to food is not limited to war veterans, youth militia and elected councillors, but includes headmasters, businessmen, chiefs and traditional leadership.

Denial of access to food, particularly when children are victimised for the perceived political beliefs of their parents, should be considered a serious violation of human rights. It is apparent that there is the potential to influence government policy on distribution of food, through donor pressure and control at their own feeding points, and thereby restore some human rights in Zimbabwe.

COPENHAGEN, 21 May 2002

1. Comment on 31st March statement, by Pres Mugabe

Political violence has been systematically documented and analysed in Zimbabwe over the last two years. A table summarising respective responsibility for violations is taken from our Physician for Human Rights, Denmark, report released in January 2002.

The 31st March statement of Robert Mugabe (page 3) in relation to “lawlessness” should be assessed in relation to the table below, which clearly indicates that the vast majority of politically motivated human rights violations have been committed by government supporters.

Table 1: Affiliation of perpetrator

For all reported politically motivated Human rights violations

	14 Feb to 26 June 2000	<u>27 June to 7 Dec 2000</u>	1 Jan to 30 June 2001	<u>1 July to 30 Nov 2001</u>
Bodies affiliated to Government*	94,5%	93,2%	88,7%	92,1%
Others/unknown**	5,5%	6,8%	11,3%	7,9%

*ZANU-PF supporters, “war veterans”, CIO, police, army

** including MDC supporters

For pattern and number of post election violations, see Table 2, page 25.

Furthermore there is an established tradition of amnesty which has benefited mainly government officials and supporters committing violent political crimes over the last 20 years. The list below summarises general amnesties, starting with the most recent:¹

- **Clemency Order No 1 of 2000:** October 2000. General amnesty for politically motivated crimes related to 2000 election, excluding murder, rape and fraud, but including torture, assault, property destruction and all other crimes.
- **Clemency Order No 1 of 1995:** General amnesty for all politically motivated crimes related to 1995 election.
- **Clemency Order No 1 of 1988:** General amnesty for all political crimes including murder committed during the 1980s up to that date; an estimated 10,000 civilians were murdered by government troops during the first 8 years of ZANU-PF rule².

Finally, Mugabe’s reference to “very firm government” should be assessed bearing in mind the repressive legislation enacted during 2002, and its applications to date, which have consistently undermined freedom of speech, expression and association³.

¹ There are numerous examples of presidential power of pardon being used for the same purpose: see AI, May 2002.

² *Breaking the silence building true peace: a report on the disturbances in Matabeleland and the Midlands, 1980-1988*, LRF and CCJP, 1997, for more details.

³ The Public Order and Security Act, media act and electoral act amendments: see 24 Jan PHR report.

2. Introduction

Since the elections, there has been little international media attention to human rights abuses in Zimbabwe, and this has led to a general misperception that the situation has improved, or normalised in the post election period. This is not the case; politically motivated, government-endorsed violence continues against those perceived to be supporters of the opposition Movement for Democratic Change (MDC).

Events in Zimbabwe and the general socio-political landscape from February 2000 until 11th March 2002, have been well covered and commented on in a multitude of documents produced both nationally and internationally. This report will not reiterate information readily available elsewhere. Rather the current status of human rights abuses and the rule of law will be highlighted.

The intention of this report is that it should be a **post presidential election update** to two reports produced earlier this year, one wholly and one partially under the auspices of Physicians for Human Rights, Denmark, which documented some aspects of the political and human rights context in Zimbabwe. These two reports are:

- *Zimbabwe 2002. The Presidential Election: 44 Days to Go*; Physicians for Human Rights, Denmark, 24 January 2002.
- *Analysis of Zimbabwe Presidential Election: March 9th, 10th and 11th 2002 in Terms of SADC Parliamentary Recommendations: Third Edition*; Physicians for Human Rights, Denmark, 27th March 2002.

Recent reports by national and international commentators

Most observers of the 2002 Zimbabwe presidential election process have concluded that criteria for free and fair elections did not exist and that the outcome of the election cannot be said to reflect the will of the people of Zimbabwe. This conclusion was reached by the Southern African Development Community (SADC) Parliamentary Forum Observer report, the Commonwealth Observer report, the Norwegian Observer report, the African/Caribbean/Pacific – European Union Joint Parliamentarians conference in Cape Town, 19 – 21 March 2002. Switzerland, the EU, the USA and Ghana are among other nations that have not endorsed the election process and its outcome. The notable exception in terms of observer findings, is the South African Observer report: this concluded that the election was not free and fair but that the outcome was “legitimate” in terms of Zimbabwe’s own legal system.

International condemnation

General international concern over the election process has led to the suspension of Zimbabwe from the Commonwealth for one year, and the stepping up of international smart sanctions targeted against specific individuals closely associated with the Ruling Party, ZANU-PF. This includes key government office bearers, army and police chiefs, and has expanded to include businessmen and clerics, who benefit from business deals with the government, or who have spoken out in defence of ZANU-PF’s violent policies.

3. Post election policy of Zimbabwean government

Throughout the pre-election period, President Mugabe made repeated statements that he was committed to restoring the rule of law and freedom of expression to the people of Zimbabwe. However, during the same time period, Zimbabweans were systematically deprived of many democratic rights, and were subject to a campaign of political violence instigated by the government that resulted in more than 100 deaths, thousands of assaults, threats and widespread property destruction.⁴ Many of these violations were perpetrated by the ZANU-PF Youth Militia that were set up immediately ahead of the election. Militia camps remain in place in many districts, and continue to commit human rights violations: approximately half of the clinical cases reviewed in this report involved militia as perpetrators. Furthermore, the Minister of Youth Development, Gender and Employment Creation has announced a policy of building large militia training centres in all districts in the near future.⁵

This policy of repression ultimately achieved what it was meant to: in March 2002, it fraudulently returned Mr Mugabe to power for another presidential term of six years. Analysts both within and without Zimbabwe have watched with concern for indicators from the ruling party ZANU-PF and in particular from Mr Mugabe, as to what choices he will make, in his position of great power, to entrench that power in the post election period.

Based on the unfolding of events and various actions and statements by the president and ruling party, including cases documented in this report, it appears that there is continuity of purpose on their part in the post election phase: it remains their intention to repress the people of Zimbabwe, to incite violence against those perceived not to support government, and to offer impunity to those who commit political crimes that are in the government's interests.

Inaugural address:

Mr Mugabe was re-inaugurated as president on 17th March 2002. While this ceremony normally takes place in Rufaro Stadium observed by thousands of Zimbabweans, this year's inauguration took place in Mugabe's residence, attended by very few heads of state and in the wake of rejection of the election result by most observer teams, national and international. Against this background, Mugabe's speech offered reassurance that he would extend the hand of partnership to the opposition MDC, and requested Zimbabweans to come together, to unify and look ahead.

Treason charges:

Within two days of inauguration, and in the wake of suspension from the Commonwealth, Mugabe laid formal charges of treason against three top MDC officials including Morgan Tsvangirai, president of MDC, in a move widely seen as an angry reaction to the suspension.⁶

"Unity" talks:

Simultaneously, African leaders Thabo Mbeki of South Africa and Olusegun Obasanjo of Nigeria urged ZANU-PF and MDC to engage each other in unity talks, in order to defuse the

⁴PHR, 24 January 2002 report chronologically notes statements by Mugabe in the run up to this election, and also how his actions on the ground were in direct contradiction to his words.

⁵ Statement from Eliot Manyika, reported 4 April 2002.

⁶ In the weeks prior to the election, ZANU had revealed a video supposedly showing Tsvangirai plotting to assassinate Mugabe in the offices of a Canadian public relations company: the video has been dismissed as a set up by most commentators. The Royal Mounted Police of Canada believe there is no case to be answered.

situation: the Zimbabwe human rights crisis has adversely affected the prospects of all southern African countries receiving financial support from the West in the form of the New African Partnership on Development (NEPAD) initiative intended to rejuvenate African economies. Investment from the west is being made conditional on regional respect for human rights and good governance. MDC made it clear that they would only enter into talks if their aim was to decide on conditions that would lead to an election rerun under international guidance, while ZANU-PF made it clear that an election rerun, and in fact any talks with the opposition, were impossible.

Zvimba Easter speech:

On Sunday 31st March, Mugabe made a speech at his rural home in Zvimba, in which he incited retaliation against his political opponents.⁷ He reiterated ZANU-PF's stand that there would be no election rerun, and that the opposition would never, never rule Zimbabwe. He dismissed the overwhelming urban support for the MDC in the nation's major cities as indicative that MDC support was based in urban "islands" surrounded by his rural support.

Talks about talks:

On 3rd April, teams from the two parties began a process to negotiate an agenda for future talks, under the mediation of South Africa and Nigeria. Low expectations for a useful outcome proved well founded, with ZANU-PF reluctant to engage and MDC fully aware of the inherent danger in being pressured by outside nations into forming a government of national unity. In 1988, so-called unity effectively led to the total political absorption of ZAPU into the ruling party, and to the effective end of a viable opposition to ZANU-PF. This political opposition vacuum lasted, with several failed attempts to form viable opposing parties quickly squashed, from 1988 until 1999 and the formation of MDC.⁸

However, on 10 April it was announced that an agenda had been agreed to, but ZANU-PF had insisted the talks be delayed until 13th May.

Court action:

On 12th April, MDC challenged the election outcome in the high court, claiming to have mountains of hard core evidence of rigging. ZANU-PF, who had earlier commented that MDC should take any complaints about the election to the courts⁹, now reacted to this move as a provocative act indicating no commitment to the upcoming talks. By law, MDC had to place any legal challenge within 30 days, or lose their right to do so.

Talks cancelled:

On Friday 10th May 2002, on the eve of the talks, ZANU-PF announced that it would not take part in them. At the time of writing this report, South African and Nigerian mediators are trying unsuccessfully to persuade ZANU-PF to keep their commitment, as southern Africa is being closely monitored ahead of the G8 meeting in Canada in June, which is hoped to bring the financial commitments needed to launch NEPAD. There are fears that Zimbabwe's continuing human rights and democratic crisis will derail NEPAD.

⁷ The title of this report and the opening quotes are from this speech on 31st March 2002.

⁸ For analysis of the post election conflict between ZANU and ZAPU, see "Breaking the silence, building true peace: a report on the disturbances in Matabeleland and the Midlands, 1980-1988", LRF and CCJP, 1997. Zimbabwe Unity Movement and the Forum Party both made brave but ultimately unsuccessful attempts to build a support base during this time period, among others.

⁹ The Minister of Information stated in April "...we are ready to dialogue with them (MDC) or anyone else. But if they have a problem with the election, they know what to do. They should go to the courts": *The Herald*, 8 April 2002.

4. Current state of the rule of law and democracy:

Post election events

In Zimbabwe over the last two years, the rule of law and separation of powers have been systematically undermined in order to maintain the power of the ruling party and its president.¹⁰ Attacks on the rule of law have escalated even further since the March election, with the following noteworthy events:

Undermining of parliament

*In terms of the constitution, parliament is the only place in Zimbabwe where people cannot be prosecuted for any public statement; parliament has been, since the passing of the draconian Public Order and Security Act (POSA), the only forum in which criticism of the current government and president is not illegal.*¹¹ *The following observations are therefore a matter for concern:*

- Parliament was adjourned in mid January and resumed on 7th May for only two days.
- Parliament was adjourned until August on the 8th May
- During the two days for which Parliament has operated in the last four months, it was used to rush through further land reform amendments in defiance of parliamentary standing orders: the amendments were forced through the mandatory process of three readings in one day, instead of over a period of weeks, allowing no consultation or debate. These amendments themselves are considered unconstitutional by legal commentators and opposition parliamentarians.
- **There is no legal Cabinet or government in Zimbabwe at the moment.** In terms of the constitution, Cabinet is dissolved automatically when there is a Presidential election, and has to be officially re-appointed and sworn back into office after the election: two months after the March election, this has not happened.

The conclusion from these events is that effectively parliament and parliamentarians are currently excluded from the democratic process.

Undermining of the courts¹²

- In a state broadcast on radio on 9th April *a senior government official, George Charamba, said that it was the intention of the government to ignore rulings by the court that were not in the government's favour:* this has effectively been happening in relation to the land invasions throughout the last two years, but on this occasion, the issue involved the right of the police to be present at internal meetings of the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU). The High Court ruled that such meetings were not public and therefore not subject to the POSA. Charamba responded by saying that government was disturbed by the judge's ruling and that, in spite of the ruling, "Government will fully implement the Public Order and Security Act at all times and everywhere in the country without any exception as a matter of the rule of law" (ZBC Radio, 9 April).

¹⁰ For detailed accounts of different aspects of the collapse of the rule of law from February 2000 until end of 2001, and a bibliography of further references, see previous 2 reports by current authors.

¹¹ for a brief summary of the most undemocratic clauses of the POSA, see PHR report, 24 January 2002.

¹² the forced resignation of Supreme Court and High Court judges, and other related issues have been covered by many others before and will not be summarised here: see previous reports by PHR, 2002.

Continued “de facto” impunity for perpetrators of politically motivated violence¹³

- The previous trend of failure of police to arrest and prosecute perpetrators of “political” crimes continues: human rights groups report that it is not possible for victims to open cases or bring their persecutors to justice; this is in accordance with information given by victims in this report (see all cases).
- Evidence that those who committed “political” human rights violations before the general election in 2000, have continued to do so without police restraint, until the present.
- Impunity has been consolidated for the State by obscuring its hand in politically motivated violence: the war veterans and now the “youth militia”, are increasingly the agents enforcing the violent policies of ZANU-PF.

Undermining of freedom of the Press and of expression

- The Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act was signed into law by the president within days of the election, and has already been used to arrest eleven journalists on various charge most recently on 16th May¹⁴. This Act aims to control all aspects of the private media, and will come into full effect by early June 2002. At this time, all journalists are required to have applied to the Minister of Information for consideration to register as journalists, and all media institutions are also now required to submit to a vetting and registration process. It is also now illegal for foreign journalists to reside in Zimbabwe, or to visit without a permit one month in advance.
- Two poets have been arrested and jailed for reciting poems critical of the president, both of them in Matabeleland.¹⁵
- Prior to the elections, the POSA was used to ban 83 MDC rallies: in the post election period, it continues to be used to limit freedom of expression and association, with banning of rallies. Furthermore, recently a rally for the president of the MDC was authorised on the condition that he did not use a loud speaker and that his party supporters did not wear party regalia, or sing party songs, all of which are traditionally integral elements of political meetings in Zimbabwe.¹⁶

Undermining of civil society organisations and individuals

- Threats have been repeatedly made against those Zimbabweans who publicise information unwelcome to the government. Such threats include:¹⁷
 - the withdrawal of the right to a passport for “sell outs” to prevent foreign travel
 - the invasion of NGO offices by war veterans and replacement of “unpatriotic” NGO staff with “patriotic” Zimbabweans
 - the deportation of any foreigners working with such NGOs
- “Unpatriotic NGOs” have been threatened with closure or banning
- offices of “problematic” NGOs such as the National Constitutional Assembly, which is lobbying to revise the current constitution, have been illegally raided.¹⁸

¹³ The pattern of impunity in Zimbabwe has been documented by ZHR NGO Forum and Amnesty International: see bibliography.

¹⁴ *Business Day*, RSA, 17th May 2002.

¹⁵ *The Chronicle*, 22 March 2002 and *The Daily News*, 27 March 2002.

¹⁶ *The Daily News*, 25 April 2002.

¹⁷ *The Chronicle*, front page, 18 April 2002, *The Sunday News*, front page, 22 April 2002, *The Sunday News*, 12 May 2002

¹⁸ *News 24*, RSA, 7 April 2002; *The Star*, RSA, 23 April 2002; *AFP*, 25 April 2002; *News 24*, RSA, 8 May 2002 for details of harassment and arrests linked to NCA

- Senior members of the NCA have been arrested and harassed
- Peaceful demonstrations and marches by the NCA and civil society have been banned in terms of the POSA. More than 400 arrests of people either ahead of such planned marches, or during them, have taken place during March, April and May.
- The Minister of Information has attacked the President of the Law Society of Zimbabwe, Sternford Moyo, on several occasions for raising issues of concern about the state of the rule of law in Zimbabwe.¹⁹
- The Catholic Archbishop of Matabeleland, who is an outspoken human rights spokesperson, has been defamatorily attacked in the government media.²⁰

Purging of the civil service

Since the election, the firing of civil service employees has escalated, with both teachers' unions and human rights organisations reporting such cases. Attacks post election on civil servants have included use of physical violence and property destruction. Hundreds, and possibly thousands, of civil servants have been victimised in one or more of the above ways.²¹

Attacks on the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions

The ZCTU gave rise to the MDC and as such is seen as a particular threat to government. An alternative, government backed federation of trade unions (ZFTU) under the leadership of the head of the War Veterans' Association (WVA) has extorted membership fees from workers and threatened company management with invasion.²²

Attacks on Asian-owned companies

Businesses owned by Zimbabweans of Asian descent have been told that they will soon be seized by war veterans. Several Asian families have had personal "visits" from war veterans, and businessmen are already paying "fees" to war veterans in order to delay such seizures. The Head of the WVA, Joseph Chinotimba stated: "We want these Indians to surrender a certain percentage of [their property] to the Government. Indians are not here to develop our country or to work with the Government. They are economic looters." At a WVA protest in Bulawayo, banners were seen stating "Amin was right".²³

¹⁹ Zimbabwe Lawyers for Human rights, statement to Minister of Information , 24 April 2002.

²⁰ *The Chronicle*, 27 March 2002: "Archbishop blasted".

²¹ Statement from Progressive Teachers Union of Zimbabwe, 9 May 2002, *The Times*, UK, 10 May 2002, *The Zimbabwe Standard*, 21 April 2002,

²² *News 24*, RSA, 16 April 2002.

²³ *The Times*, UK, 25 April 2002; personal communication, April and May 2002.

5. Politically-motivated discrimination

Denial of access to government facilities and programmes to those perceived as “opposition supporters”: victimisation of children of MDC sympathisers

Since the March 2002 election, multiple accounts have been given to NGOs and to the authors of this report of “across the board” discrimination in some districts of Zimbabwe, in which MDC supporters and their children are systematically denied access to multiple resources. Such politically motivated exclusion has resulted in deprivation of access to health care, schooling and food, including to some international donor-funded feeding schemes. Furthermore, in some parts of some districts, there are sections that are regarded by key informants as total “no-go” areas: it is not possible to comment on events in these areas, except to say that they are under siege for MDC supporters.

As stated in the introduction, we do not intend to document every aspect of the political landscape in Zimbabwe at this time: to do so in detail is beyond the scope of this report. However, we indicate very briefly below some areas of discrimination, before documenting in some detail, two significant facets of political intimidation – access to food, and political torture and ill-treatment.

Schooling:

Pre-election, there was information from key informants of children who had been out of school since November 2001 after they were singled out by war veterans and told to leave because their parents were MDC (six names given from affected families in one area, indication of others).

Current reports indicate these specific children are back in school since term began a week ago, so far without problems. However, new reports indicate that large numbers of children are now out of school for socio-economic reasons, including being too hungry to walk to school, and/or too poor to afford fees.

Some children remain out of school because their families remain, or have post election, become dispersed and displaced as a result of political violence. Detailed case examples supporting these assertions follow in the next chapter.

Health:

Post election reports from key informants, including parents of affected families, indicate children, including those suffering with diarrhoea and burns, being thrown out of clinic queues because their accompanying adults were accused of being MDC supporters. Children being denied access to immunisation and of mothers denied ante natal care because they are MDC, have also been reported (see Case 2 and 3).

Access to maize:

Allegations are made that in many rural parts of the country, access to food, in particular to maize, is being politically manipulated. As this is a very serious and comparatively new form of political discrimination – and a potentially selectively deadly one – it is given its own chapter to support this contention in more detail.

6. Food: a politicised commodity in Zimbabwe, 2002

The entire southern African region currently faces severe food shortages, largely as a result of a serious drought. Worst hit countries include Malawi and Zimbabwe. In Zimbabwe the food situation has been exacerbated by the farm invasions which have reduced the production of maize and other staple crops to a fraction of normal output. The disintegration of the commercial farming sector also means that the likelihood of Zimbabwe feeding itself as a nation in the foreseeable future is bleak.

Estimates of how many Zimbabweans face imminent starvation vary from 600,000 to 3 million, and the maize shortfall is estimated at between 400,000 and 1 million tonnes.²⁴ Maize is the staple diet of Zimbabweans.

There are three main ways of rural dwellers accessing maize at the moment. These are:

- 1. Government “food for work” programmes:** it is a long standing policy that in times of drought, families with no harvest and no money to purchase food should perform public labour, for example repairing rural roads, in return for food.
- 2. Purchasing of maize through the government controlled Grain Marketing Board (GMB):** by government ruling, all sales and movement of maize, including the price, is controlled by the government. GMB depots are found in all rural districts, and are the only buying points for maize at this time.
- 3. Donor feeding schemes for school children and under-fives,** controlled to varying degrees depending on the district and the donor policy, by the donors themselves, the government, and the ruling party and its affiliates at ground level. This latter group include ZANU controlled rural district councils, traditional leadership, youth militia and war veterans. Other bodies including the official opposition have no recognised role in food distribution. At the rural level, in some places it has been documented the MDC are completely excluded from participation and control.

Hunger is politically abused in Zimbabwe at this time

The first two maize access mechanisms are run entirely at the discretion of government employees, and are particularly open to political selectivity: in rural areas, and also some urban areas, only known ZANU supporters are allowed to benefit.

Those who do not carry a ZANU card are not allowed to purchase maize from GMB even if they have the money to do so, and known MDC supporters report having maize stolen from them if they are lucky enough to buy it.²⁵ It is also documented, including in the cases in this report, that members of “MDC families” are not able to take part in “food for work” programmes.

²⁴ UN and WFP quoted in the last few months: *Bloomberg*, 10 April; *Financial Gazette*, 25 April; *News 24*, 2 May, *Natal Mercury*, RSA, 16 May 2002.

²⁵ *The Daily News*, 18th March and 25th March, key informant interviews from 8 districts. See also section following.

International donor feeding schemes are at times politically abused.

Denial of access to food, particularly when children are victimised for the perceived political beliefs of their parents, should be considered a serious violation of human rights. It is apparent that an important window of opportunity to influence government policy on distribution of food, is through donor pressure and control at their own feeding points. It is precisely because donor food remains the only viable option at all, for so many thousands of children who will otherwise starve, that this report is dealing in detail with the reality of food discrimination.

It is also categorically clear that donors are aware of the potential for political manipulation of food, and are pro-actively prepared to intervene when problems arise, and to correct them (see first two cases following). The purpose of this section is therefore not to suggest that all donor feeding is being manipulated but to highlight that problems currently exist in some areas, and could lead to politically-determined starvation.

Donor practice can make a difference, one that at times may reach beyond access to food and positively influence access to other facilities within the vicinity of feeding points (see Example 2, following).

The national scale of abuse of donor feeding schemes is not known at this time. In some districts, *donor feeding* is running apparently without problems, for example in most districts of Matabeleland, even though Matabeleland residents report widespread control of government-sourced maize.

Discrimination has been reported in rural areas where ZANU has a strong support base and MDC is a minority party, such as parts of the Midlands and Mashonaland. In these districts, donor food is at some feeding points manipulated by ZANU to exclude MDC children (see following).

It appears that this food discrimination is most easy to manipulate in the under five feeding. The names of “MDC children” do not exist on some feeding scheme lists, as the lists are drawn up in the first instance by committees consisting entirely of ZANU supporting government structures. Such structures include: rural district councils, chiefs, headmen, headmasters and other prominent community members (see following).

Key informant interviews, March 2002

All names of places, organisations, victims and perpetrators are known by us. To protect the communities from being victimised, names have been removed from the following reports. Interviews following are from informants in three districts in Zimbabwe.

1. Case report, Midlands school feeding scheme:

We received the following account from a local community in a rural Midlands district.

The central feeding point in this area is YY primary school. There have been problems here since the scheme was set up, and X International donor has reacted in the past to try and solve the problem. However, the interventions were reported in March as not having been successful.

At the YY school itself, there has been no problem – the headmaster is doing his best to ensure that all children receive food. However, the under fives are fed through three local headmen some kilometers away from the school, A, B and C, as well as through other local points that fall under these headmen.

From the beginning these headmen made it clear to the villagers that the food was not for MDC children but only for ZANU children. The way mothers solved the problem was to take their children to the central feeding at the school to bypass the problematic headmen.

The school then queried why there were so many under fives coming there; the issue of children not being fed was raised and X donor sent out a representative to deal with the problem. The X representative was very clear to those gathered that the food should be for everyone, and this was agreed to, including by the headmen. However, as the X representative got on to his motor bike to drive away, before he was even 500 m away, the local ZANU-PF councillor announced that:

“Even if stone was to melt, MDC children will not get the food, because it is ZANU food.”

There was an immediate commotion among the parents. The meeting dispersed but word of the problems was received by X who came back the next day, and after further consultations, he moved the feeding scheme to another villager. For a few weeks, the feeding scheme was fine.

However, in early February, the wife of D, a war veteran, came to this homestead and demanded that the food be moved back to A's place. The food was just taken away and back to the original feeding point.

Since February, the food has been back at A's place, and from that time until late March, the MDC families have been unable to access the food. Informants reported in March that X has not come back to check on the scheme and nothing has changed. People feel that it will be hard to overcome the political interference here, but hope that something can be done.

The feeding under headman B and C is similarly problematic – children of MDC families are not listed and are not being fed. Informants gave the names, ages and parents' names of 13 children aged from 11 months to 5 years who had been excluded by A.

It was indicated that around 40 to 50 under fives are being excluded in this one target area alone. For follow up by donors, see below.

On site assessment of feeding schemes in same district: May 2002

To verify information about dysfunctional feeding schemes, we personally visited and did interviews in one community repeatedly referred to as problematic in this regard by our contact persons. In the first place we sought general information from key informants and then performed interviews with members of families referred to by key informants as affected by hunger. We wanted to explore accessibility of food via all three usual food delivery routes (page 14), and to analyse possible problems in this regard.

The following information was given to us in the first week of May 2002 during an on site visit to one district in Midlands Province. The situation in the district is described as very unstable and violent, with across the board discrimination.

1. **International X donor feeding scheme at YY primary school: improved functioning through monitoring**

The feeding scheme at this school was brought to X's attention as a problem area during March 2002 (see above section). A representative of this community gave the following update. He reported in person on 6 May that this scheme is currently running very well since the feeding was resumed. He reports that *X donor has made it very clear that it is food for all or food for nobody*, and so far the old trouble makers in this area are reluctantly complying. People from this vicinity are visibly delighted at this turn around, and the fact that "MDC children" are now on the feeding lists. However, he also reports that the ZANU-PF structures are extremely angry about the fact that MDC families are now accessing food, and are conducting something of a witch hunt to try to find where to lay the blame, and establish who blew the whistle on them.

The situation will need to continue to be monitored, to ensure that there are no reprisals against individuals and to ensure that the current fair feeding processes continue. Without close monitoring, it seems likely that discrimination will return – but for now, it has been a very positive experience for those who were being discriminated against, to see for themselves that their voices are sometimes heard.

2. **Example: donor intervention positively affects access to government clinic**

An informant reported that X donor had held a meeting in M area recently and had declared that it would pull out feeding altogether if it continued to be discriminatory and to exclude MDC families. This informant was unable to comment on whether this had made a difference to the feeding, as he is not eligible anyway, but he did report that since this meeting, the local clinic has informally announced that it will now treat MDC sympathisers – a very recent break through, as the clinic has been turning away MDC members for many months. *This new policy of non discriminatory access to the clinic had been in effect for a week at the time of the interview.* The clinic has no drugs and little to offer in any case, but this is at least now a non discriminatory problem.

3. **MA School, International donor X2**

A key informant reported that since January, feeding has allegedly been discriminatory in this scheme. Part of the problem is that all the "MDC" traditional community leaders were illegally deposed around the elections. The names of three targeted leaders were given. They have been "dismissed" from community leadership positions by other traditional leadership, which predominantly supports ZANU in this region; these three leaders are therefore not consulted in terms of feeding.

The ZANU-PF people running the area include a school teacher, several war veterans and a business man, all named. Five problematic ZANU-PF youth leaders in this area were also named: one of them actually feeds under fives from her homestead, making discrimination easy.

Problems with feeding

Donor X2 has not been told of the problem of discriminatory feeding at MA school; children of MDC families are excluded from the under five feeding. People here live with routine discrimination across the board and did not feel complaining could change anything. The headmaster of MA school is a staunch ZANU-PF supporter – in fact he is a committee member of

the local ZANU-PF structure, being Treasurer. At the school itself, the feeding is referred to as not discriminatory, but it is reported that the headmaster is in charge of dispensing food to community leaders involved in feeding and is aware that the under five feeding is discriminatory.

Under five feeding often takes place at private homesteads, making it more prone to corruption and politically-motivated manipulation than school feeding.

The informants were able to provide a list of 44 named families with dependents who were alleged to be destitute and excluded from the under five scheme because of their MDC sympathies.

The ZANU-PF vice chairman for the area is a local businessman. The feeding of under fives is done partly at his uncle's home and is reportedly discriminatory; no MDC children are on the feeding lists.

Discriminatory selling and confiscation of bought food

The ZANU councillor for this area (named) is reported as denying MDC members access to food through every route – donor feeding, food for work and also buying from GMB.

One informant reported that on 30 April an MDC member bought 50kg of maize at the local business centre. As she left the business centre a group of ZANU supporters, including a named businessman and a named war veteran, noticed that she had maize. They surrounded her and tried to take her maize away, which she had paid for. They told her that MDC people were not supposed to have food and were supposed to starve because they voted for Morgan Tsvangirai. They said the MDC people were supposed to starve for the next five years in punishment. She shouted for help, and others came to her assistance, and she was able to keep her maize after an argument. However, on other occasions, people reportedly have had their maize stolen here.

4. A new scheme: discriminatory before it has begun

An individual example

BM aged 24, reported her experiences of trying to get her 21 month old baby girl food by any means. There have been several meetings about food, some to decide on a list of who should be allowed to buy food from the GMB, and others held by International donor X3 to set up an under five feeding scheme. In all cases, the outcome is the same: the same families are excluded from everything in this area, including “food for work”, buying maize, and X3 donor food. She has tried to register for “food for work” and been chased away as an MDC supporter.

International donor X3

The lists have been drawn up for this scheme which appears about to start, but it is already set to be discriminatory. It was made very clear by the local leadership ahead of the X3 registration that only those families that qualify for “food for work” should even bother to try and register for X3 schemes – in other words, only ZANU members would benefit. This statement was made by a named local leader. On 1 May the MDC supporters were again told categorically by him that they would not be on the X3 lists and would not benefit from any food schemes, whether government or donor, in his area.

The final X3 lists were supposed to be sent to the region for families to acknowledge and sign on 5th May, but Ms M did not even bother to go and check for her baby's name as she knows it will not be

there. The family appears destitute – there is no breadwinner, no husband, no assets and no food harvested this year.

GMB – discriminatory selling

There was a general announcement that *everyone* should come to a community meeting on 1 May to register for food, bringing their particulars, and so MDC supporters including this young mother, went as well. However, once there, some ZANU-PF people including the war veterans called “H” and “B”, chased away the MDC sympathisers, who were forced to stand up by name and were told to leave the meeting. This involved a large number of people, but as people just left the meeting and went to their own homes on being told to leave, it is hard to give a number of affected families. Allegedly lists saying who can buy GMB food are going to be compiled based on this 1 May meeting, and the mother knows that this means she will be unable to buy food for the baby through GMB.

The baby is losing weight according to its clinic cards. The mother depends on good will from other equally poor family members.

Same area – people who refused to vote as “illiterates” have access to food denied

Two women in their forties from this same village reported that because they had refused to vote as illiterates on March 10th – which would have effectively meant asking a ZANU-PF polling officer to place the cross on their ballot papers for them – they are now blacklisted, as everybody in their village had been ordered by war veterans to vote as illiterates so that they could be sure that all people voted for ZANU-PF. The women are unable to buy food at GMB, or to register for “food for work” programmes. The practise of forcing competent, literate adults to vote in this way was widely reported in the wake of the 2002 election (see second report, 27th March 2002).

5. BB school: X4 Donor Food Programme

A key informant reports that the process of drawing up lists of people to benefit from X4 donor feeding is more or less complete in this area. However, the lists are alleged to be discriminatory. The names of 13 destitute families who have been deliberately excluded from this feeding programme was passed on, with a total number of dependents numbering 57. The area was visited and three families received house calls to establish the situation on the ground. They confirmed that they were excluded from the programme.

It was pointed out that BB school is immediately adjacent to a militia camp, and that this is highly inappropriate. MDC supporters are regularly dragged into that camp for intimidation and it is not a politically neutral venue for feeding in this area.

Access to borehole: discrimination, BB Ward

Several key informants reported that war veterans and militia guard the borehole near this school during the day, preventing MDC families from gaining any water from the borehole. MDC families have to sneak to the borehole at night to draw their water.

Home visit and interview with S aged 56:

Excluded from social welfare

S is 100% blind and is a widower responsible for 5 children, 4 of whom are under the age of 15, although none are currently in school.

The S family is clearly destitute and has harvested nothing since S's wife died in 1998. The children are all out of school as there is no money for fees and the children in any case do not appear strong enough to walk to school.

He joined MDC before the 2000 elections, and has been outspoken at MDC rallies since then.

Before the last elections, his MDC membership was not a problem, but this year he has been affected by his affiliation. In February this year, he went to inquire if he could qualify for *social assistance programmes* that were coming into place then, as an elderly disabled person. However, he was told that he had been "blacklisted".

He was told by government officials in the social welfare department to go and get money from "his boss Tsvangirai".

His daughter in her twenties has been refused the right to "*food for work*" programmes because of her father's political affiliations.

The family has been refused *the right to buy food at GMB*, because they are MDC.

The family has no source of income apart from a few hundred Z dollars a month (monthly income of 2 or 3 US\$) earned by S making door mats out of mealy leaves, which he sells at the local mission. Yet with the little they have, they have to pay their neighbours to buy food for them at GMB, as they cannot buy it directly.

Donor X3 feeding scheme and Family S

Donor X3 recently came to this area and registered families for under 5 feeding. At the homestead, two children at the S household are under 5 and should qualify. The family was left off the first list for political reasons; only ZANU-PF families were invited to the meetings to decide on who should be on the lists. However, when the lists came back with no MDC families on them, on Monday 29th April, the MDC ward chairperson went to both the chief and to a named X3 employee. He insisted that S's name be added to the list. He also insisted that two old women (named) should be added to the list. There were other families as well whom he felt were deserving, but felt these three were really at risk.

On Friday 3rd May the lists were brought back to the region – and although S's name and the others had in theory been added on the Monday, they were missing from the list again by Friday. The MDC chairperson again made a fuss and their names were added once more. The list has not yet been returned to the community for final vetting before feeding starts, but there is deep concern among 13 MDC families (named) that they will have been somehow struck off the list again.

The W family: home visit

During a home visit, W reported to us that on 28th February 2002, he had his hut burnt down by his ZANU neighbour - who is also a cousin. He lost all his kitchen utensils – this hut was recently built and all his savings were put into the building.

The hedge of branches was also deliberately burnt allowing cattle into the field and they destroyed the entire crop, which would probably have been about four bags of maize.

On 27th March 2002, this same W was captured by the militia and severely tortured in their camp nearby. He is now a refugee and living with his three destitute children elsewhere. His children are not in school as there is no money for fees, and the family is of no fixed abode at this time.

Effect on W's children: Mr W reports deep concern about the effects of the violence on his children. After MDC lost the election, the local ZANU officials made coffins with the names of MDC officials on them – one had his name on, and this has deeply upset his children.

The children of local ZANU officials have imitated their parents and threaten W's children with death. The children are also now resentful of their parents for their MDC affiliation – saying that if it was not for that, they would not have been deprived of their home and safety. The parents are isolated for political reasons and so are the children.



W's brother: home visit

W's brother who lives across the road, reported that he has been persecuted time and again because of his affiliation to MDC. He was interviewed from his place where he has been hiding for 3 months, and not at his homestead. However, his homestead was visited in his absence, and his two small children were found without supervision. They are aged 7 and 8 years. Both should currently be in school, but were sitting unkempt and without energy on a rock. They have been out of school since January 2002. They were trying to break open marula pips with rocks, to get the tiny nuts inside, and this is how they spend their days. This, and other wild fruit is their major food source.

Their father has been on the run since January and does not dare to come home, and the mother spends her days away trying to raise money by buying and reselling sugar cane. The children were present at the homestead in August last year when their father was severely harassed by war veterans in front of them. They were reportedly deeply traumatised by witnessing this. They also witnessed the burning of their uncle's hut (see in background of picture).

These children are not currently benefiting from any feeding scheme, although they should be eligible for the scheme starting at BB School. However, they are not under 5 and not attending school either.

6. ZZ donor feeding scheme

A key informant reported that there is a feeding scheme in the vicinity of ZZ Primary School where families are also being denied access to Donor X2 feeding on political grounds. Two children were named as being of particular concern, T aged 12 and B aged 4. T is deaf and dumb and cannot walk upright. B is deaf. Neither child is in school. The caretakers of the children were accused of being MDC supporters, and on these grounds the children are being denied access to feeding programmes.

Two named persons are allegedly responsible for keeping them out of the scheme. One is the person who receives the food and is the head's assistant. The chief himself is alleged to have personally given a directive that only ZANU-PF supporters should benefit from food aid.

Two other highly deserving families were also named as being excluded from food aid, one with 5 children and one with 4. The latter family also has a deaf and dumb child (not one of those indicated above).

Borehole: discriminatory access

The borehole area near this school is also reported to be sealed off to MDC supporters; only ZANU-PF people can have access to the water.

7. Complaint issued to donor from a different district to all above cases

The following letter was sent to the donor concerned, who immediately stopped the feeding and investigated the complaints. The basic facts were later confirmed by the donor.

*C School
April 2002*

*Co-Ordinator
Donor Food Programme*

Dear Sir

Re: Food Complaints

After complaining to Mr V about MDC members left out from Food Programme, V set a day to solve this problem.

The meeting was held on the X April 2002, but we were surprised to see Mr V bringing with him a Councillor Chairman who is not our Ward Councillor, and who is also a ZANU PF Provincial member. Also attending, were the Assistant District Administrator and another prominent ZANU PF member Mrs B and some ZANU PF supporters who were wearing party T-shirts - to an NGOs meeting.

The presence of these people compounded our problems. Our ward councillor Mr M used slogans attacking us for not complaining to him - yet he was not informing us about these meetings. The most shocking incident was Mr V who raised his fist shouting a ZANU PF slogan. I quote (Pamberi ne Zunde ramambo, pamberi nekubatana, pasi nevasingadi) We were astonished by such a behaviour done by an international food scheme employee. Who was now to solve our problem - ZANU PF or the donor? ZANU PF dictated the course to take instead of Mr V to whom we had reported the issue.

Now the Councillor Chairman came and attacked MDC members saying that those who have lost elections must not complain, but should surrender to ZANU PF and get food aid. I quote, (Nganga ikakonewa kushopera inovuya ne hakata dzayo topisa. Munofanirwa kutevera vazhinji kuti mugute. Usingateveri vazhinji uchwounda nenzara.)

This statement simply means we must surrender to ZANU PF to get food aid. We feel Mr V was never impartial in this case.

Even Food for Work is not given to MDC members. Porridge for children under five years are discriminated.

Signatories: (six names of local leadership).

7. District 3: Matabeleland South – on site visit reveals food discrimination

15 May 2002

Mrs P went to a rural business centre to buy maize delivered the same day by army trucks. She and others from her area did not get any maize, as Mr U, the district ZANU-PF chairman said the MDC supporters should not benefit. Mr U and a friend of his had come in two trucks on this day, and they loaded the 50 kg bags into these cars and drove away, apparently to sell the maize elsewhere. They were ambushed by youths from the area (with no particular political affiliation) and forced to sell the maize in their trucks to the villagers.

7. Summary and conclusion

- **During one short visit to one district, many first and second hand testimonies were collected about politically discriminatory practices against MDC supporters affecting all avenues of access to food, including that distributed by international NGOs, and including access to water. Interviews from other districts also indicate food discrimination elsewhere.**
- **In all cases of problematic food distribution, those implicated in politically manipulating access to food are ZANU-PF supporters; such abuse of power is not limited to war veterans, youth militia and elected councillors, but includes headmasters, businessmen, chiefs and traditional leadership.**
- **In the two cases of selective feeding practices brought to their attention during late March 2002, the international donor intervened and brought an end to the discriminatory practice. Information collected in May has been forwarded and assurances given that intervention will once more be made.**
- **Donors are able to restore non selective practice of feeding schemes through a firm policy of “Food for everybody or food for nobody”.**
- **Where donor practice has changed owing to complaints, the experience has been empowering for those previously discriminated against.**
- **However it is clear that some schemes have been discriminatory for months without the donor being aware. This points to a need for much closer monitoring on the ground.**
- **Monitoring should include verification that all qualified villagers are on the feeding lists. This will imply contact with key informants from the local community other than the ZANU-PF dominated leadership; “ZANU leadership” clearly includes not just those structures that are normally assumed to be political, such as elected councillors and government officials, but also school staff, business people and traditional leadership.**
- **Particular monitoring is needed for feeding points that are placed outside of large institutions, where the programme depends on the ethical behaviour of single individuals.**

8. Comment on post election violence, and statistics January to end of April 2002

quoted from:

**Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum:
Political violence report
3 May 2002**

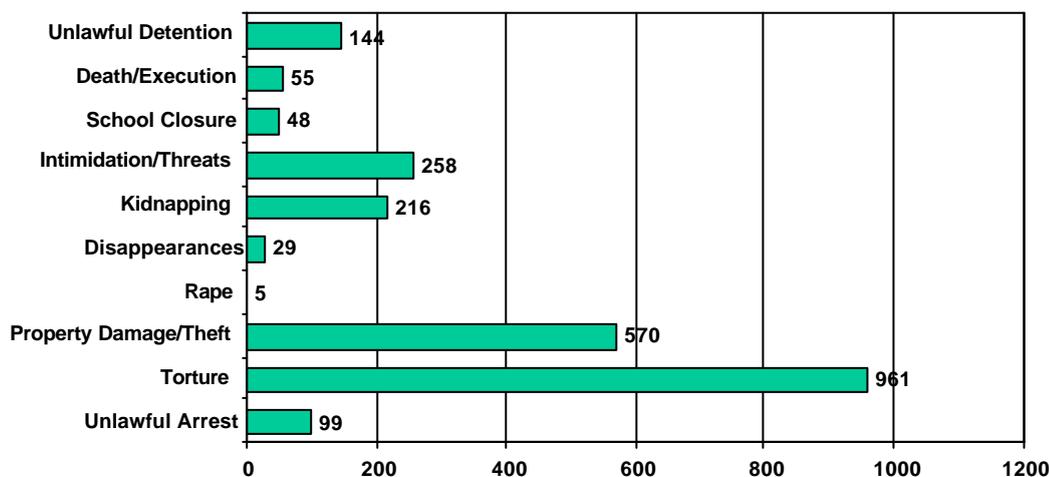
Overview

With no impending elections, no tangible explanation seems clear for the politically motivated violence that is still persisting in Zimbabwe. The post election period has witnessed a sustained attack on known or suspected supporters of the opposition, Movement for Democratic Change by state agents and supporters of the ruling party Zanu PF.

To an even greater extent the attack on commercial farmers and their workers has intensified with incidents of violence and evictions on the increase countrywide. These evictions are illegal and are not being carried out by any government officials, which would perhaps lend the process some level of legitimacy, but are instead being enforced by Zanu PF militia and war veterans. Farmers and farm workers are evicted from their homes with at times as little as an hours notice. The process has involved high levels of intimidation, property damage and looting. The police have taken no positive action to curb the evictions and have been reported to merely observe evictions as they took place as has been reported of Asst Inspector Mafu, the Officer In Charge at Marondera Rural Police Station.

The situation created for farm workers by these evictions is bleak. Most have worked at their respective farms all their lives and have no alternative rural homes to go to. They are essentially internal refugees with no access to any essential resources, that is, food, water and shelter.

Cumulative Totals 1 January 2002 – 30 April 2002



9. Results of examinations of individuals exposed to human rights violations in Zimbabwe March to May 2002

All the interviews and examinations took place after 15th March and up to 10 May 2002. The cases summarized here represent some of the most severe cases seen, but represent only a fraction of approximately 60 people who reported ill treatment or torture to one of the authors during this period.

Interviews and findings

All examinations were carried out in the following manner: the history about torture (a) is compared to the examinee's description of ensuing symptoms (b) and the results of the clinical examination (c). In each individual case, it is appraised whether there is consistency between these three elements (a-c), thereby on medical ground assessing the validity of the statements of exposure to violence.

In the following case descriptions, "Present Violence" summarises the accounts the examinees gave to us.

All examinees reported that they had been attacked for political reasons, some being supporters of the Movement for Democratic Change, the dominant opposition party in Zimbabwe, and others being assumed to be so. Some were reportedly attacked as part of general repression of their community.

Bearing in mind the possibility of being accused of usurping government functions (POSA), and with the probability of immediate deportation and data confiscation, it was considered too risky to approach the supporters of the ruling party to get information about possible human rights abuses committed by the political opposition; documentation of such violations has been done before on a small scale.

All examinees agreed to be interviewed and examined with a view to publishing evidence of violence committed during the pre-election period in January 2002. Furthermore they agreed that photographs of their injuries could be published as long as their faces were not exposed. Specific permission was given to include the photograph of the baby.

In this report, all examined persons are anonymous to protect them and their families from reprisals.

Case 1: N, aged 32 years (see photos 1 and 2)

Peri-election torture of a supposed MDC supporter causing permanent disablement.

Date of incident: 3rd March 2002

Place: Bulawayo

Date of interview: 2nd May 2002

Present violence:

N was with a friend, next to the Central Police Station at around 4 pm, when a group of men came, seized his resisting friend and then himself, right in front of the police. They recognised their attackers as ZANU supporters. They were forced into a Toyota vehicle and taken by a circuitous route to the X militia camp in the north of the city. At the camp they were removed from the vehicle and were ordered to remove their shoes, as their kidnappers chanted ZANU slogans.

The militia started to beat him and his friend on the soles of their feet – 5 people beat him and another 5 beat his friend. They handcuffed his hands behind his back. He was beaten all over the body and burnt with cigarettes on both upper arms and on his head. His fingers and head were also badly beaten. *The militia found his passport on him and accused him of being an MDC supporter because he had a visa in his passport and was therefore an international person.* The militia stepped on his abdomen with their heavy police boots.

One person took a flaming log from the fire in the camp. One person sat on his chest and another held his right foot. This foot was forced against the burning log and held there. The pain was so terrible that he fainted momentarily. Other people were beating him as his foot was being burnt. The log was then removed and the militia beat the burnt foot, while somebody else held the burning log to his left foot. They then beat both burnt feet.

He was in agony and begged for water to drink. They offered him urine to drink. Then one of the militia said that he should be given water. He and his friend, who had been given similar treatment, were taken to the toilet and water was poured on to them. This was at around 10 pm – they had been kidnapped at 4 pm, and had been beaten more or less continuously since then. They were then left in the toilet until around 11 pm. At this time civilian police arrived – he does not know how they heard about them – and took them to the X police station to take details of the attack. The police then took them to the hospital.

The interviewee is self employed and now cannot do anything. He wants compensation. He was nearly two months in hospital and had major kidney problems in addition to his severely burnt feet and other assault injuries.

The interviewee has in his possession a signed and witnessed confession from one of those responsible for the abduction and torture, admitting he assaulted and burnt N and his friend, and guaranteeing to pay their medical bills and support the victims' families. However, to date only Z\$4,000 (approx US\$ 13) has been paid by the perpetrator towards medical expenses, which is virtually nothing, and no other costs have been met. The perpetrator did this as a result of pressure from the parents of the victims and with the intention of settling out of court and avoiding prosecution. However the victims are very bitter and wanting justice, especially as they realise the

perpetrator will not compensate them after all. The police are fully informed of the case, but it is not clear if any action will be taken by them to prosecute.

Present health and psychological observations:

The interviewee is depressed and has severe chronic pain in his feet. He is also very angry and anxious about his financial situation and his family's well-being. It is now two months since his assault, and he is still entirely incapacitated and it remains unclear whether he will ever walk again. He also worries that he has medical bills to pay. He reports that he cannot hear properly and that he has headaches. He reports feeling "electric shocks" in the joints of three right fingers on movement, with loss of sensation in these fingertips. He is unable to walk except with the help of a walking frame and then with extreme difficulty and great pain. He uses the toes of his left foot only, to carry his weight.

Quotation from hospital record cards:

Date of admission: 4/3/02

Date of discharge: 24/04/02

4/03/02: Patient has abdominal trauma and burns on the soles of the feet.

Extensive swelling of both feet with abrasion on the legs.

Extensive swelling of right hand.

Laceration and deformed right index finger.

Facial swelling with bruises

Cardiovascular and respiratory systems – no abnormalities detected.

Full blood count: * Haemoglobin –8,5 gm/dl

Bladder grossly distended – there is post micturation urinary retention. Both kidneys: moderate hydronephrosis. Normal spleen, urea/creatinine raised grossly.

20/3/02: 3 units packed blood cells transfused.

Debridement of both palmar surfaces of feet done. Wound dressed with betadine.

16/04/02: silver sulphadiazine cream dressing done. Patient skin grafted but graft did not take well.

Patient has requested to go home.

Discharged on 24/04/02

9/05/02: wound on sole of right foot smelly: 10 cm x 8 cm. Pus swab taken.

Sole of left foot: wound 5 x 4 cm.

Wounds on hand have healed; pigmented lesions on right lower back.

Clinical findings:

Forehead: circular scar 1 cm in diameter.

Right and left upper arms: circular scars approx 1 cm in diameter on lateral aspects of forearms, one on each.

Right and left hand: similar circular scars on the back of each hand, 1cm.

Right foot: the foot is swollen from the ankle downwards. The sole of the foot has an open wound approx 14 cm by 9 cm that encompasses the entire foot from the upper edge of the heel to midway down the ball of the foot, reaching all the way through the fat layer. The bottom of the wound is covered with inflammatory tissue and anatomical structures cannot be identified. The wound is very smelly and oozes thick dark liquid as soon as the dressing is removed. The toes are swollen and discoloured. Any movement of the leg or foot is painful. Any touch to the sole of the foot is extremely painful. **(see photo 1)**

Left foot: rounded wound approx 7cm by 8 cm in centre of sole of foot, with a deeper area in the centre approx 5 cm x 4 cm, with total destruction of fat layer. A tendon is visible at the base of this wound. This foot is also extremely painful, but as the wound is more contained, the toes are able to take some weight. (see photo 2)

Opinion:

There is full agreement between the description of mutilating torture, the described symptoms and the clinical findings. The circular scars on his arms and forehead are consistent with cigarette burns. The wounds on the soles of his feet are completely consistent with deep burns inflicted on purpose. Kidney failure diagnosed in hospital could have been caused by rhabdomyolysis (extensive destruction of muscular tissue with muscular substance sedimenting in the kidneys).

He has beyond any reasonable doubt been tortured as described.

On the ground of massive destruction of tissue of the sole of the feet, particularly the right one, we find it very unlikely that the wounds will heal, which will leave him with an extremely painful (right) foot vulnerable to serious infections, or he can opt for amputation of the foot. In any case, he will be *permanently disabled.*

Case 2 and 3: Baby 4 months old, and mother of child: interview with mother

Continuation of pre - and peri-election persecution of MDC supporter, into post-election period

Date of incident: from November 2001 and still continuing in April 2002

Date of interviews: 12 April 2002 to early May 2002.

Place: Midlands

History of violence: (see photo 3)

B is four months old. When he was only 8 days old, on 19 January 2002, he was taken from his mother at midnight by twelve war veterans, and held upside down by his ankles. The war veterans said that he was a whip and they would use him to beat others. They slapped him on the face and all over the body and said that he should die, because he was “an MDC property”. The mother was gagged and beaten and her struggles and the screams of the baby brought the neighbours and those heading to catch the bus at M. The war veterans then dropped her son and left. B’s face was swollen for several weeks afterwards and his eye wept.

His mother is still on the run; she has three times been attacked by war veterans and ZANU supporters, the second time severely when she was 8 months pregnant with B, on 28 November 2001. This second attack involved her being kicked in the groin and lower abdomen until she bled profusely from her vagina. She was unable to go for treatment at the local M Clinic, or anywhere else, as she is among those blacklisted as an MDC supporter.

Throughout her pregnancy she was refused **health care**, and delivered on her own at home. She went to M clinic when 5 months pregnant to try and get antenatal care, and Sister N at the clinic told her she should “go to Tsvangirai’s place” and refused to treat her. She had no pre, peri or post natal health care. She was also unable to access health care after all three beatings. MDC supporters cannot get health care in this district – some clinics allegedly have lists of people approved by the local headmen and if your name is not on the list, you are assumed to be MDC and will not get

treatment. B has also received no medical attention whatsoever – his birth is officially unrecorded and he has not had his BCG, usually administered within three days of birth, nor his other immunisations. His mother was too afraid to even take him to the local clinic, especially because one of her friends has been turned away recently while trying to have her baby immunised. *She acted as a polling agent in the recent election* and is now afraid to be seen in M, where MDC people are at permanent risk of beatings.

Neither mother nor child had access to health care after this incident, and had to go into hiding. The mother treated him with hot packs until the swelling of the face subsided.

After her first beating before the general election in 2000, B's mother was left too badly injured to move. A friend took her to the clinic 2 km away, in a wheel barrow. The clinic refused to treat her, saying she needed a letter from the police first. The police refused to write the letter, saying she was against the government and therefore should get no help from them. She had to go into the bush with her friend and recover there without any treatment and unable to go home for fear of further beatings. She only returned home after the general election.

However, at the moment she is still on the run and has not been able to go home. She is extremely worried about the well being of her ten year old son, whom she had to leave behind the night she fled, with her injured one week old baby.

Present health:

B's mother is in severe pain. She cannot move without pain in her lower back. She also has serious voiding problems of the bladder. She needs urgent specialist attention for her back and needs to see a urologist to establish the nature of the bladder problem. These problems started from her beating when 8 months pregnant, in November 2001. She received her first medical attention this week, outside of the public health system, in April, in another province of the country.

Opinion:

Testimony of physical ill treatment and harassment for political reasons of pregnant woman and her new born baby. They report that they still live underground for fear of reprisals, in the post election period. The baby does not have a birth certificate and mother and baby have not had access to public health.

The history is remarkable as to the violence against a newborn baby; but otherwise it is in agreement with other testimonies of reprisals against MDC supporters.

Case 4: D, 48 years old, peasant farmer

Post election torture of an MDC supporter

Previous violence:

D was assaulted before election 2000, by ZANU-PF youth near his home. They accused him of being MDC and he was hit with a brick on the leg. He made a police report and nothing was done.

Present violence:

Date of incident: 9 April 02

Date of interview: 12 April 02

Place: Midlands

D lives in a remote rural area and on 9 April, he caught a bus to this business centre with the intention of buying maize from the Grain Marketing Board (GMB) to feed his children. The bus arrived at M at 7:30 pm, which was too late to buy maize that day. He stayed with his cousin for the night.

At 11 pm, he and the cousin heard people shouting and shaking the front door. They were demanding to see the interviewee. They were shouting “why are you putting up that man in your home? He is an MDC member.” The interviewee is an organising secretary at Ward level for the MDC.

D decided that he had no option but to go out. He felt that neither he nor the cousin could afford to pay repairs to the room if it was damaged. He therefore opened the door and went out. He saw around 11 to 15 people outside. Most of them were young, being youth militia, but he recognised a few war veterans by face only. One of them was holding a long metal bar. He was immediately assaulted as he stepped out, and hit on the head with the metal bar, without one word of discussion. The blow to his head floored him – he had no chance whatsoever to defend himself.

At least two of the assailants had sjamboks with metal nuts and bolts tied to their ends. Other used fists and boots. He was beaten on the face, the chest and the back. The assault lasted around 5 minutes although it might have been longer as he feels he may have lost consciousness briefly after the blow to the head. As they beat him, they accused him of being a member of MDC.

Attitude of the police:

After the beating, they just left. D struggled to stand and walked slowly to the police station and made a report to the policeman on duty. He is an ex-policeman himself and he feels strongly that the police should enforce the law. The policeman on duty refused to give D his name. D demanded that the culprits should be arrested. The policeman said: “M Growth Point is a no-go area occupied by ZANU-PF youth. Anyone suspected of being MDC will be beaten up.” He was hostile towards D.

As he had nowhere else to go, D insisted that the police let him stay there for the night. He had no transport to take him to the hospital 19 km away. D had reservations about going to M Hospital, as he had heard that the doctors there were afraid of treating MDC supporters and that some previous political victims had even been re-attacked in this hospital. He felt his injuries were severe and he wanted proper treatment. D therefore managed to be transported to another hospital 100 km away, and then went to Bulawayo for further treatment.

Present health and psychological observations:

D is angry and outspoken. He gave a coherent account of events. He is indignant at the behaviour of the police these days, as an ex-policeman. He reports being in pain, and moving with difficulty. He refers to pains in his back, chest, head, face and lips. He has not slept for the three nights since the attack because of pain. He refers to himself as “having a bad time”.

Clinical findings:

X-ray of the head indicates no fracture
X-ray of the ribs indicates one fractured rib

Lesions: allegedly from beatings with sjamboks, some of which had nuts and bolts tied to the end.

Head: linear encrusted lesion, across entire left side of face from just above the left ear onto the mouth. This 14 cm long x 5 mm wide lesion terminating in lesions of both lips. On the upper lip, 2 external lesions, one 1 cm long, the other 3 mm long, and 2 internal lesions, 5 mm each, appearing white at the bottom. On lower lip, irregular lesion, approx 15 mm, with a white coverage. Around both eyes, there is visible swelling and bruising, which continues down the left side of the face. The left eye has sub-conjunctival bleeding.

Neck and abdomen: lesion on right side of neck, 2 lines of encrustations along borders of lesion, 7 cm x 2-4 mm wide, with larger encrustations at lower ends (6 mm).

From neck running across right front of chest, long linear lesion approx 15 cm, ending in lesion 4 cm x 1 cm, irregular and encrusted.

Minor lesion on mid abdomen, horizontal, linear, 3 cm long.

Right chest: swelling over rib cage. 2 horizontal markings, one 10cm long, the other 12 cm long, by 1 cm wide.

Upper Back: linear criss cross markings, all approx 20 cm x 30 cm long and 1 –2 cm wide. These are indicated by swelling and discolouration, but no breaking of the skin.

3 of these markings end in irregular, skin breaking lesions, 3 to 5 cm long and 5 mm wide

Lower back: visible swelling and bruising across entire lumbar region, 40 cm x 10 cm band. 4 darker linear markings in the bruised area, 10 cm x 5 mm. 1 fine linear encrusted lesion, 5 cm x 1 mm.

Left arm: 2 dark linear markings, 10 cm and 15 cm long, by 15 mm wide.

Left elbow: irregular lesion, 1 cm x 6 mm.

Left thumb: superficial irregular lesion on knuckle, 4 mm x 3 mm, not encrusted.

Right arm: swelling above elbow, 6 cm x 5 cm. Bruise 2 cm x 1 cm below right elbow.

Right knee: visible bruising around joint region.

Opinion:

There is full agreement between the description of torture, the described symptoms and the clinical findings. The lesions and markings are all compatible with few days old lesions and their high number, location and linearity put his statement about torture beyond any reasonable doubt.

Case 5: E aged 29 years, male (see photo 4)

Case 6: A aged 24 years, male: brother of E

Case 7: PP aged 31 years, male

Case 8: S aged 24 years, male: brother of P

Cases of reported post election collective punishment - including torture - of a community.

Others involved in same incident: 4

Date of incident: 3 April 02

Date of interview: 7 April 02

Place: Sikola Business Centre, Bulawayo; Llewellyn Army Barracks, Queens Park Police Station and Esigodini Police Station.

Present violence:

E and A were both at the business centre at 10 pm buying supplies. E was in the butcher shop buying meat and his brother A was in another store buying soap. There was a commotion in the business centre, and they saw *around 20 soldiers wearing combat gear and red berets* entering the shops. They were shouting to everybody to get out and were beating people at the same time. E was the only man in the butcher. He tried to run away and was grabbed by the soldiers and forced to lie face down. He was beaten for about five minutes with sticks, rubber sjamboks, batons and kicked with boots. A, in another store, had a similar experience.

E and A were among those who were then grabbed and made to get into a big army truck. There were a total of 8 people in the truck by then. The army were claiming that earlier in the day some people had insulted the militia at that business centre and they were looking for those people to punish them. They accused those in the truck of being MDC and of beating soldiers. Those in the truck knew nothing about the alleged incident.

On the way to Llewellyn Barracks, the army spotted P who was walking home. They shouted that he was the brother of S, whom they were looking for, and they stopped the truck and forced P to get into it. They then made P direct the soldiers to his home, where his brother S was in bed asleep. S was dragged out of bed and into the truck, while being beaten.

P reports that S had been drunk earlier in the day, and he had had to bring him home, at around 1700 h. S cannot remember what happened before or during his drinking spree, but thinks it is possible that he was rude to the militia and ZANU youths in the bar while drunk, although he does not believe he assaulted anyone. He knows the ZANU youth and usually they co-exist fairly peacefully. This may have been the offence that the soldiers were blaming everybody for. It is the pattern in that area that when the militia get offended with anyone, they summon the soldiers with the red berets who then come and beat people up – this is not the first such incident. During the election campaign period, the ZANU youth called the same army people in the red berets to beat up MDC supporters who were trying to distribute materials, resulting in the MDC youth running away. It seems the militia there work closely with this army unit.

The truck took them to *Llewellyn Barracks* where they were further beaten for about one hour. The victims were now handcuffed together by the soldiers, two by two at the wrists. These handcuffs remained on the victims for the next day, throughout the beating that took place, at the barracks and at the two subsequent police stations.

At around 11 pm, the 8 were put into the truck again and were taken to *Queens Park Police Station*. The same soldiers continued to beat them at this police station. A phone call was made to Esigodini Police Station from Queens Park Police Station.

At around 1 am, a police Defender arrived from Esigodini with five officers in it: two were in uniform and 3 were plain clothes. These officers took over 6 of the victims. They were herded into the police Defender and 3 policemen, two in uniform and one plain clothes got in the back with them. The police continued with the beatings. They stamped on the side of the heads of the victims, and kicked them with booted feet, and also hit them with batons, while the vehicle was moving. At one point on the trip back to Esigodini, the Defender stopped and the two officers in the front came to the back and joined in the beatings. They reached Esigodini at around 3 am.

At Esigodini they were beaten while being taken into the charge office and in the charge office as well. The police became tired and started jumping on the victims on the ground instead of beating them. They were then taken to the police cells.

Thursday 0300 h until Saturday 6 April, 1800 h

The 4 interviewed victims were kept in a cell with 3 others – a total of 7 in their cell - and during this time, they received no food whatsoever, no water, and no access to bathing. They were continually threatened as they had been before, but were not beaten again with the exception of Sam who was beaten again. They were told they would never leave alive, that MDC was bad, that they were wrong if they thought that Tsvangirai could make anything better for anyone and that they would continue to suffer.

At noon the victims were taken one by one to the charge office and told that if they signed admission of guilt forms and each paid a Z\$500 fine, then they could be released. As they were hungry and ill and scared, they all did so (photocopies available). Const Gwatirinda was the person who made them do this, badge no 38549A, Esigodini. They have no idea who it is they were supposed to have assaulted and no name of a victim is on the charge form.

After this, they were taken back to the cells before being finally released at 1800H. however, one person, MM could not leave the cells as he did not have Z\$500 on him to pay the fine.

Present health and Clinical examinations: 7 April 2002

In all 4 cases following, lesions were encrusted unless otherwise stated.

Case 5: E, aged 29 years

Present health and psychological observations:

E is anxious and angry, and gave an articulate and coherent account of events. He reports that he cannot sleep because his body has so many aches and pains, and that last night, his first night out of the cells he woke confused as to where he was and thought he was still in the cells. He is afraid. He also reports almost no appetite in spite of not having eaten for 4 days, apart from a meal on the evening of 6th April. He was unable to eat properly during this meal, because he says that his mouth is so sore from no water for 3 days that he could not swallow properly and his jaw and throat hurts. His stomach is painful. He reported that on the morning of 7 April he had the urge for a bowel movement but only passed blood, no stool. He reports headaches and a very sore right index finger in addition to exhibiting general all over soreness on palpation, particularly on the back. He also reports having had a blood nose after being kicked in the nose, and pain and blurred vision in the left eye after being hit in the face.

Clinical findings:

Head: the bridge of the nose has a swelling. The left eye has sub-conjunctival (the white of the eye) bleeding with swelling around the eye.

Neck: bruise, 2 cm x 1 cm. Swelling on skull behind left ear.

Abdomen: middle of right rib cage area: 2 linear lesions, parallel, joined at lower end, approx 7 cm x 2-5 mm, thickly encrusted.

Back: visible bruising in lumbar region in a band about 20 cm wide and 10 cm deep. One raised bruise with slight encrustations in left lumbar region, 5 cm x 2 cm.

On right of spinal column, 2 near-vertical linear lesions, 7 cm x 2 mm, multiple minor linear markings on left of spine.

Right arm: linear lesion consisting of linear arrangement of 12 smaller lesions, in total around 8 cm long from elbow down the forearm.

Right hand: index finger: distal digit very swollen and very painful. No movement possible – X ray indicated a fracture.

Left arm: in elbow region, linear lesion, vertical, approx 7 cm x 2mm. 2 cm x 2mm lesion on anterior upper arm. **(see photo 4)**

Left lower forearm: completely encircled by horizontal lesion placed about 7 cm above the wrist. This lesion is thickly encrusted in places and not encrusted in others. It is around 7 mm wide and the borders are swollen. In places it is oozing fluid.

Right leg: multiple small irregular lesions, stretching from knees down to ankles. Approx 16 lesions, 1 to 2 cm in size.

Left leg: 5 lesions, 1 to 2 cm in size, in area of the knee. Two further lesions, 5 mm x 5 mm each, one on the medial aspect of the ankle, one above the big toe.

An X-ray of the hand confirmed the fracture of the right index finger.

Opinion:

There is full agreement between the description of torture, the described symptoms and the clinical findings. The lesions are all compatible with few days old lesions and their appearance and their linear arrangements all over the body, including in regions that are not normally exposed to everyday trauma, *highly corroborate the description of torture*. The deep horizontal lesion entirely encircling the left wrist is in agreement with the wearing of handcuffs during beatings.

Case 6: A, aged 24 years:

Present health and psychological observations:

A looks depressed and is not talkative apart from agreeing with his brother's statement of what happened. He said that he cannot sleep because of body aches and pains. He reports particular tenderness to the hips and shoulders. He had difficulty eating his first meal the day before, but reports that he is now able to eat without a problem. He has headaches, back ache, and aches in the upper arms, from the beatings.

He further reports that he cannot hear properly in either ear, after his head was jumped on by the police, and that his ears itch inside.

Furthermore, he reports red urine on 6 April.

Clinical findings:

Back: bruising across lumbar region, 20cm by 10 cm.

5 light linear markings, 5 to 7 cm long, on left side of spine: skin not broken.

Left arm: approx 5 to 7 cm above the wrist, two parallel encrusted lesions 4 cm to 7 cm long and approx 6 mm broad, encircling wrist.

A group of 7 horizontal linear lesions 2 cm x 7 cm long, on the inner wrist area, about 2mm wide. Multiple minor lesions on left arm, 2 to 4 cm long. Swelling and pain on palpation of upper arm. Skull X-ray indicated no abnormalities.

Opinion:

There is full agreement between the description of torture, the described symptoms and the clinical findings. The lesions are all compatible with being a few days old and the linear appearance of

some of them, and the bruising on low back region which is not normally exposed to everyday trauma, *highly corroborate the description of torture*. The deep horizontal lesion partially encircling the left wrist is in agreement with the wearing of handcuffs during beatings. The trauma in the lumbar region could have affected the kidney causing blood in the urine. Red urine could also have been caused by rhabdomyolysis (see case 1)

Case 7: PP, aged 31 years:

Present health and psychological observations:

P received fewer beatings than the others and is not known why this is the case.

He was hit in the face several times, however, and reports blurred vision and headaches. However, he could read at a distance. He says at times he is dizzy and then his vision blurs. He has headaches but says he is eating and sleeping all right. He appeared very anxious, but was articulate and coherent in his account.

Clinical findings:

PP has no visible lesions or bruising.

Opinion:

Testimony of ill treatment by army, police and plain clothes forces. P's mental state, including his reported dizziness and blurred vision, is in keeping with a person who has been through a stressful situation and who has suffered food and water deprivation and beating to the head.

Case 8: S, aged 24 years:

Present health and psychological observations:

S seems calm and articulate. He reports that he is eating and sleeping normally, but that he has headaches and a very painful left ribcage. He is unable to take deep breaths. His mouth and face generally are painful, after being punched and booted in the face several times. He reports pain in his right foot after falanga with a baton. He seems mentally strong and comments that all the beating is now over and that he feels he is now recovering.

Clinical findings:

Head and face: lateral to left eye, the area is swollen and has dark, un-encrusted lesion, 3cm x 1 cm. Above right eyebrow, circular lesion, no crust, 5 mm round. At the edge of right nostril, circular lesion, no crust, 5 mm round.

Inside upper lip – 4 cm long lesion.

Right front neck region, 2 lesions, 1 horizontal, 1 vertical, each 1-2cm in length by 2 mm wide.

Left front neck region, 3 de-pigmented linear lesions, no crust. These are 4 cm, 2 cm and 1 cm long, by 3 mm wide.

Front torso: ribcage shows swelling in middle left region, and is painful on palpation.

Right mid ribcage region, linear lesion, semi vertical, 5 cm x 2mm.

Right shoulder: 4 faint linear markings, 10 cm x 2 mm, skin not broken. Cluster of 6 small encrusted lesions, one circular, 1cm round. The others are 1 cm x 2mm in length.

Left shoulder: visibly swollen and tender.

Left scapula: bruise and lesion, 2cm x 1 cm.

Left elbow: 1 cm linear lesion, encrusted.

Left wrist: horizontal lesions, 7 cm above the wrist. 5 lesions partially encircling the wrists, mainly located at the lateral and medial aspect, where they appear in groups of parallel lines, 3 cm by 2 mm, skin not broken.

Right foot: swelling on sole and painful on palpation. Gait compromised to avoid weight on right foot.

X-ray of chest in fact indicated no rib fracture.

Opinion:

There is full agreement between the description of torture, the described symptoms and the clinical findings. The lesions are compatible with few days old lesions and the linear appearance of some of them, including in regions that are not normally exposed to everyday trauma, highly corroborate the description of torture. The horizontal lesion partially encircling the left wrist is in agreement with the wearing of handcuffs during beatings.

Case 9: P, male aged 42, peasant farmer (see photo 5 and 6)
Peri election assault to MDC polling agent.

Date if incident: 10th March

Date of interview: 23 April

Place: Matabeleland South

Present violence:

P was a polling agent for MDC in the recent Presidential elections on 9th and 10th March 2002. He was stationed at T School. On the 10th March at 9 pm he was in a vehicle with 4 others, on his way from the polling station when they were ambushed by around 20 people. Some of the perpetrators were war veterans and others were in the uniform of the “green bombers”, the youth militia. This group ambushed the car by blocking the road. They were carrying sticks, shovels, iron rods and stones.

The driver tried to escape, but in his panic he stalled the car. The perpetrators immediately rushed to the car, and those inside quickly tried to climb out and run away. P was hit by several stones, one very severely on his right forearm. His hand began bleeding.

The perpetrators caught one man but the others managed to get away. They had to walk through the dark for three hours before they were found by the police, who had heard of the incident and were looking for them. They reported to the police that one of them had been abducted, and the police went to the war veterans’ place to try and rescue him. The police found the abducted man locked in a store room after a severe beating

The police took the victims together with 4 perpetrators to the police station to take statements. The police took statements from the victims first, and they were told to go. However, as soon as they were gone, the perpetrators were released. Minutes later, the perpetrators caught up with the victims outside and laughed at them. The interviewee is very bitter about the fact that no formal charges were laid and no justice will be done. He does not know the names of the perpetrators but would recognise them by face

The severely injured person was taken to hospital in Bulawayo. The interviewee went to Mpilo hospital where an X-ray established that no bones were broken. He was given some paracetamol (a minor pain killer) and discharged.

Present health and psychological observations:

P has now come to Bulawayo to seek more medical treatment as his arm continues to be very painful and swollen, six weeks after the injury, and he has extremely limited movement from the elbow down. He is angry about the lack of justice.

Clinical findings:

Right forearm and hand: movement:

The elbow has full flexion, and pronation.- supination is slightly reduced.

Wrist almost immobile.

Fingers: when held spontaneously in semi extended way, almost immobile, approx 10 degree flexion. (see photo 5 and 6)

Lesions and other observations:

Lesions are thickly encrusted and appear infected.

Lesion on mid dorsal side of forearm, 1 cm by 5 mm. Lesion close to elbow on dorsal side of arm, 3 cm by 1 cm. Other smaller lesions along dorsal side of arm. The forearm and hand are diffusely swollen and irregularly darkly discoloured. There is an area 6 cm by 3 cm in middle of lower arm where there is fluctuation below the skin. The entire forearm is extremely sore.

On the forearm, backs of fingers and palm of the hand skin is scaling.

Examination by specialist surgeon indicated that there probably was an infection encompassing most of dorsal forearm region. Initial intervention was antibiotic treatment with likelihood of surgery.

Opinion:

Agreement between history of severe trauma to the arm and the clinical finding of lesions and severe dysfunction of forearm that is probably infected.

Case 10: S, male, 48 years, peasant farmer

Post election ill-treatment of MDC supporter.

Date of incident: 19th March

Date of interview: 10 April 2002

Place: Matabeleland North

Previous violence:

S says that he was regularly threatened by war vets during the 2000 parliamentary election campaign. They demanded that he and his family should leave the area because they were labelled bad elements as supporters of MDC. He said that they vowed to kill him and he had to move from place to place.

Present violence:

S says the war veterans wanted to kill him because he is an MDC branch chairman and he has been very active in recruiting MDC membership.

On the 19th March, war vets and militia burnt down his hut while he hid and watched. He tried to escape and report to the police but they chased after him and caught him. He was beaten all over the body with knobkerries and sticks. He sustained injuries and was left unconscious. After some time he woke up and made a report to the police who came and arrested only the base commander, whom they released later on.

On the day they burnt down his hut they also cut the hoof off the left hind leg of his donkey.

S was prevented from seeking medical help and thus his wounds healed without intervention. He said that he didn't go for treatment because there was a militia camp at the local rural health centre and others who had tried to get help before him were subject to further beatings.

Present health:

Anxious, depressed, and angry. He reports pain in his right foot and on walking.

Clinical findings:

Face: 4, 5 cm by 2,5 cm partially encrusted lesion on left side of upper lip. General swelling of left side of upper lip and left chin.

Right leg: below the knee 1,5 by 2 cm encrusted lesion and 4 linear lesions all approx 1 mm broad, 3 to 15 cm in length.

Right foot: diffusely swollen around the ankle and distinct swelling of second toe. Scattered haematomas all over the dorsal side of the foot and ankle. 3 partially encrusted lesions in same location, the largest approx 1,5 cm.

Opinion:

There is agreement between the history of ill treatment and his present symptoms and clinical findings.

Case 11: Z, self employed male, aged 28 (see cover photos and 7)**Post election torture of MDC supporter.**

Date of incident 1 April

Date of interview: 16 April

Place of incident: Midlands

Present violence:

Z was a known MDC supporter in his home village and has been frequently threatened over the last two years. On 1 April late at night, a group of ZANU-PF supporters and militia came to his homestead and yelled that he should come out. He tried to pretend that he was not there, but they threatened to set fire to the house. He therefore decided to open the door. As he opened the door he tried to make a run for it. The group then seized him and he was attacked all over with leather sjamboks. He reports that he was beaten on his legs with an iron bar and with a chain. They knocked him to the ground and beat him for some time. The perpetrators, some of whom are known by the victim, then left him. He was severely injured and unable to walk. The next morning, some

of his neighbours took him to the local hospital, where an x-ray confirmed that he had a broken right fibula.

Clinical findings:

Front torso: more than 20 linear lesions, the longest 35 cm long, the broadest approx 20 mm. Some of the lesions represent partially healed abrasion-like lesions, some being hyper-pigmented, some depigmented. Some lesions appear double stranded. **(see back cover photo)**

Right shoulder and arm: 22 linear and curved lesions, the longest being 25 cm long, the widest being 7 mm. Irregular 2 x 3 cm partially healed depigmented abrasion on right front shoulder area. On the right hand, 6 small depigmented lesions on the knuckles of fingers 3 to 5.

Left shoulder and arm: 11 linear hyper-pigmented lesions, length 15 cm to 2 cm, and a few mm broad.

Elbow swollen and painful to touch and on movement.

Left hand; 3 small encrusted lesions on 2nd and 3rd fingers.

Back and proximal posterior aspect of the neck: 49 linear hyper-pigmented and de-pigmented lesions in all directions, with 8 of these being between 25 and 40 cm long and approx 5 mm broad, the rest varying between 12 and 2 cm long and a few mm broad. Some lesions are partially encrusted at some point in their length. **(see front cover photo)**

Right thigh: 30 cm long lesion from the groin almost encircling the leg irregularly curved, one section on back of thigh approx 10 cm long by 1-2 cm broad, de-pigmented and irregularly scarified. Another section 10 cm long x 12 mm broad consists of multiple parallel oblique individual marks approx 2 cm long – “candy stripes” **(see photo 7).**

Furthermore, approx 25 linear hyper-pigmented lesions from 20 cm to 4 cm long, the broadest being 10 mm., going in all directions.

Right lower leg: in plaster cast - fibular fracture close to ankle diagnosed in hospital.

Left buttock, thigh and leg: 22 linear lesions in all directions, partially hyper-pigmented, partially de-pigmented, 20 cm to 5 cm long up to one cm broad. 8 of these lesions consist of double-stranded lesions. Furthermore, multiple smaller linear marks and lesions.

On the anterior aspect of the thigh and left knee, 5 circular lesions 1 – 2 cm in size.

Opinion:

There is full agreement between the description of torture and the numerous clinical findings. All lesions are compatible with lesions approx two weeks old. The majority of the lesions have clearly been inflicted with straight instruments like sjamboks. The “candy striped” lesion is fully consistent with an injury caused by beating with a chain. The number and appearance of the lesions, all over the body, put his statements about torture beyond any doubt.

Case 12: T, aged 24 years:

Post election torture of MDC official

Date of incident: 6th May

Date of interview: 10 May

Place of incident: Midlands

Present violence:

On 6th May T arrived in his rural home area and went to visit friends. At around 3 pm they went to the nearby business centre, where there was a ZANU-PF party taking place. Around 200 people were at the party wearing 3rd Chimurenga t-shirts as well as clothing with Mugabe's picture on it. They were in the beer garden having a drink, when they saw a group of ZANU PF youth coming towards them carrying sticks. They grabbed one friend, but by slipping out of his shirt, he managed to escape.

Ten people including a known business man and a known war veteran manhandled T to the businessman's shop, where they handcuffed him and put him in the store room. He was then beaten with sticks until 7 pm. They removed his shoes and put him at the back of a Mazda truck with 7 ZANU-PF youths. When the car stopped he tried to escape, but they caught up with him and beat him. A known person, who was previously in the presidential guard, hit him on the right eye with a stick. It swelled instantly and he was not able to see with that eye.

He was forced back into the car which continued for a while and then stopped in the bush. They told T they wanted to punish him and that he knew why they were doing this – it was because T is an MDC supporter and security officer. Three men pushed him about 100 meters from the road, and he was forced to lie on his stomach. Two held him while the third beat him with a stick on the back of the thighs, buttocks and back. Meanwhile four youths drove away. The youths who stayed behind attempted to remove the hand-cuffs, but they only made them sink deeper in. They continued beating him until the car hooted and they forced him to the car beating him all the way. T failed to get into the car, which made them beat him again. They took him to a local paramilitary neighbourhood committee. They pushed him out of the car and he fell. T then proceeded with all of them to the office of the neighbourhood committee where he was chained to a bed.

He fainted and was having trouble breathing so the neighbourhood watch person took T to the hospital. It was around 10.00 pm. A male doctor asked the nurses to take T to the ward. A paramilitary neighbourhood committee member refused to let T lie on the bed. Instead he handcuffed T to the base of the bed, in such a way that he had to lie on the floor. In the morning they wrote him a medical card and asked him to wait until later in the day in order to have an x-ray of the back.

The neighbourhood committee came to collect T to go with him to a hospital and to the police. On arrival at N police post, the committee member told the officers that T had been beating up people.

T was kept there until 8 May, without anything to eat from Sunday afternoon until Monday evening. There were 2 other detained youths in the cell. Police were surprised why T had to come all the way from a place in the Midlands to another province to be handed to the police. Three young men paid him a visit at 1.00 pm on the 8th May, and he was released after this.

Present health and psychological observations:

T gave a calm and coherent account of his abuse. He reported being in pain and not having slept well for several days. He was anxious about being taken into custody again and remains on the run.

Clinical findings:

Face: left chin, 2 un-encrusted lesions approx 3 mm x 2 mm. On lower lip, 4 lesions 3 mm x 2 mm, 1 un-encrusted. On inside of lower lip, swelling with 2 cm x 2 mm lesion. Lower teeth –1 and –2 caused slight deep pain in the gum on palpation.

Right eye: small lateral sub-conjunctival bleeding.

Back: upper area: group of 3 linear lesions, partially encrusted from neck to right lower scapular region, approx 25 cm long x 1-2 mm broad. Furthermore approx 12 encrusted linear lesions, 1 to 3 cm long, 1-2 mm broad, at the level of the scapula.

One vertical linear lesion to left of the spine approx 15 cm x 1-2 mm, partially encrusted.

In the lumbar region, 2 horizontal encrusted, linear lesions, approx 10-12 cm x 2 mm. An area of approx 12 cm x 8 cm with visible swelling and bruising. In the same location, 12 superficial hyper-pigmented marks, 3 cm to 8 cm by 1-2 mm.

Right shoulder: irregular encrusted abrasion 4 cm x 3 cm.

Right arm: 5 cm above the wrist a series of 3 parallel superficial lesions, 1 –2 mm broad, almost totally encircling the forearm. In the same region at lateral and medial aspects, slight to moderate swelling.

On upper arm, horizontal 4 cm x 1 mm un-encrusted lesion.

On elbow 2 small lesions and on right hand 3 similar lesions, all encrusted.

Left shoulder: multiple predominantly encrusted lesions, 10-15 mm long x 1-3 mm wide, arranged in 2 groups.

Left arm: 3 linear lesions on back side of upper arm, 5 to 6 cm long, 1 mm broad, partially encrusted.

Elbow: 2 cm x 1,5 cm encrusted area and 2 linear lesions, 2 to 5 cm long.

Left wrist: 4 cm above the wrist, 4 lesions almost encircling the forearm, the individual lesions being 2 to 6 cm long and 3 to 10 mm broad, partially encrusted.

Small haematoma under nail of 3rd finger and a blood filled blister at tip of 2nd finger.

Opinion:

There is agreement between history of torture and the numerous clinical findings. All lesions are compatible with lesions a few days old. The very high number of lesions their appearance and their localisation all over the body highly corroborate his statement about torture.

Case 13: M, male, aged 42 (see photo 8)

Severe ill-treatment of urban resident, post election because MDC activists came close to his house

Date of incident: March 30

Date of interview: April 3

Place of incident: Bulawayo

Present violence:

At 1 am Saturday morning, 30 March 2002, two MDC youths who were wearing MDC t-shirts were running away from ZANU-PF youth militias in Sizinda and they jumped into the garden of a house in Sizinda to evade capture. They jumped straight over the other wall and ran away.

The house belongs to Mrs N, a widow, and the one next door to Mr and Mrs M. They are neighbours.

The noise of people running and shouting and of the house next door being smashed up woke up Mr M and his wife. They were afraid that the trouble would come to their home and so they got up and started to put on clothes. They could hear windows being smashed.

Then somebody came to the door and said, "Open - it's police". M looked out of the window and saw somebody in a police uniform. He opened the door and many youth militia immediately entered the room and began to beat him repeatedly. About 8 youths were involved in the beating, and they were using sjamboks. About 15 people altogether entered his house. Police dressed in support Unit uniforms allowed this to happen. His house was also smashed up, and several valuable belongings. They destroyed his TV, radio and wardrobe. They beat him, his wife and two children aged 15 and 17, both boys. Mr M was seriously beaten. They also looted some money –about \$ 5,000. He tried to run away into his yard and fell over several times while running, severely hurting his knees and his right hand. They continued beating him as he tried to run away.

The youth militia took nine beaten people to the base camp. When they got there, the police came and rescued them. The police took the leaders of the militias aside and talked to them. The police promised to come the next day with ambulances, but they did not do this. The victims arranged their own transport. They were treated at Mpilo, and also by the Railways clinic. They reported the case to the police.

Present health, psychological symptoms:

The client complains of pains from his bruises and lesions, but is able to move fairly easily. He appears anxious and also angry.

Clinical findings:

The following skin lesions were all partly encrusted.

Lesions indicated as being sustained from the beating

Right Shoulder: Front right: lesion, 2cm x 3cm on top of swelling.

Top and back right: multiple small lesions: one group of 16, each approx 5mm x 2-5 mm.

Top of shoulders, and back of neck: multiple small lesions, approx 30, the largest 1 cm x 3mm.

Back: Right scapular region: area approx 8 cm by 4 cm partially encrusted excoriation, containing multiple linear lesions, the largest 7cm x 3-5mm. **(see photo 8)**

Left scapular region: thickly encrusted lesion, approx 10 cm long x 5 mm wide and an encrusted lesion 2 cm x 1cm.

Left of spine, mid back; One linear lesion, thickly encrusted, approx 15 cm long with width varying from 1 cm to 3 cm. One linear lesions crossing the major one, partially encrusted, 7 cm by 2 mm. Further small lesions in same vicinity, numbering 5, each 3 cm x 2-3 mm.

To the right of the spine; long vertical lesion, with a curve in the top 7 cm, approx. 35 cm in total length, and approx. 2-3 mm wide. A further 7 lesions in close vicinity, linear, varying from 5 cm long to 2 cm long and 2 mm wide.

Left lumbar region: cluster of lesions, small, circular, approx 2-3 mm x 2-3 mm.

Mid lumbar region: 12 lesions, 2 – 4 cm long, 2-3 mm wide.

Visible bruising and swelling along the lumbar spine, approx 10 cm long and 10 cm wide.

Right side of lumbar region, moving round on to abdomen; cluster of lesions, circular and linear. 2 circular lesions approx 1cm x 1 cm, 3 linear approx 3 cm x 2-3 mm.

Front of torso:

Right side; 2 rounded lesions, 1 cm x 5mm and 2 lesions, 5 cm x 1-2 mm.

Left side; circular lesion 3 cm x 2 cm.

Lower right abdomen: 6 linear lesions, the longest 5 cm x 1mm.

Lower abdominal, 2 linear lesions, 4-5 cm long x 3 mm.

Left arm: Left upper arm, anterior aspect; linear lesion 4 cm by 5 mm.

Elbow and forearm; two large clusters of small lesions, forming linear patterns. First group is 10 cm x 1 cm in shape, the other is 6 cm x 1 cm.

Multiple small lesions down forearm to wrist, in 7 linear arrangements, the longest single lesion being 7 cm x 2 mm.

Left hand; 6 rounded lesions above backs of fingers, the largest being 2 cm x 1 cm and the smallest 2 mm x 2 mm.

Right arm: On elbow 2 lesions of 3 cm x 1 cm lesion and 1 cm x 3 mm. 6 small circular lesions 5 mm x 3 mm, along forearm.

Lesions indicated as being sustained by falling over while running away during the beating

Right hand: one rounded lesion, approx 5 cm by 4 cm. encrusted around the edges, but without crust in the middle.

Right leg: anterior aspect of knee and lower thigh: a multitude of encrusted excoriations covering a total area of approx. 20 by 15 cm, the largest individual lesion approx 3cm by 4 cm.

Left leg: 2 rounded encrusted lesions, 2 cm x 1 cm and 3 cm x 2 cm.

Opinion:

There is full agreement between the description of severe ill treatment, the described symptoms and the clinical findings. The clinical findings are all compatible with few days old lesions and their appearance, some being long and linear, their very large number nearly all over the body, including in regions that are not normally exposed to everyday trauma, highly corroborate the description of ill treatment.

10. Summary of observations

Reported motive for attack:

In 9 out of 13 cases, the reported motive for attack was the victim's real or supposed affiliation to the MDC.

In 4 cases, the attack was rather a lesson to the community at large, after a verbal attack by one person on the local youth militia.

Reported perpetrators:

In all cases, groups affiliated to the present government were held responsible for the violations. In 6 cases the *youth militia* were implicated. In one of these cases, a youth militia signed an admission of guilt statement and agreed to compensate the victim (Case 1). This statement was negotiated by family members of the victim, in the presence of police and prison authorities.

In 6 cases, war veterans were implicated.

In 4 cases *ZANU supporters* were implicated.

In 4 cases, the *army* were implicated.

In 5 cases uniformed *police* and in 4 cases, plain clothes police were implicated.

In 6 cases, the victims of ill treatment and torture recognized some of their perpetrators as villagers from their own communities.

Time period of attack:

9 cases were ill-treated or tortured after the elections

2 cases were peri- election, taking place during election week or over the weekend of voting. Both of these cases suffer long term sequelae from the assault or torture, and both were interviewed initially more than a month after the election and their injuries, and have therefore been included in this series.

2 cases (mother and baby) were attacked pre-election but still at the time of the issuing of this report they are under pressure, persecuted and live under ground with no access to feeding schemes or government health services. For these reasons, they are included in this series.

Location of incident:

The incidents encompass three provinces and one city in terms of location – Matabeleland North and South and Midlands provinces, and the city of Bulawayo.

Loss of property:

One case reported that the perpetrators burnt down his hut and mutilated his donkey. Another one reported that the perpetrators destroyed his tv, radio and wardrobe and looted about Z\$ 5,000.

Type of reported ill-treatment or torture:

All 13 were beaten, and the majority were also kicked or jumped on with booted feet.

6 were beaten with sjamboks; in one case the sjamboks had metal bolts tied to the tips. 2 were beaten with iron bars and one with a chain.

6 were handcuffed during beatings.

One victim was burnt with flaming logs and cigarettes.

Health service after torture and ill-treatment, according to the examinees:

One person with severe burns of the feet was hospitalised for a long period. Another that had had breathing difficulties during beating, was taken to a hospital where he spent the night handcuffed to the bed in such a way that he had to lie on the floor.

One had treatment for a fibular fracture, and one had a clinical examination.

Two persons said that they knew they needed health care, but were scared of reprisals if recognized as MDC victims by government supporters in or near the hospital. They therefore did not go for treatment.

The mother and the baby were refused health care on several occasions, on political grounds as MDC supporters.

Three persons suffer serious health sequelae from the reported torture and ill-treatment.

Case 1 is seriously disabled because of severe burns on the soles of his feet. He has severe chronic pain, and risks serious infections. In our appraisal, beyond any doubt, he will have a permanent serious handicap.

Case 3 reports chronic bladder problems and chronic back pain, that has persisted for six months after assault to her abdomen and back during her pregnancy.

Case 9 has serious dysfunction after trauma to his right arm, such that it is practically non-functioning due to pain and probably an infection. He is at the moment seriously handicapped two months after the trauma, and we find the prognosis for his recovery dubious.

Three of the other examinees had fractured bones, evidenced by x-ray examination.

Attitude of the police:

In Case 1, who is obviously disabled because of the effect of severe torture, the police is informed about the case and the identity of the perpetrators, but according to the knowledge of the victim, the police detained at least one of the perpetrators for some unclear period of time, after which he

signed a confession and was released from jail, but at the time of our examination, no legal process is on-going to the knowledge of the examinee.

In Case 5 to 8 the police were implicated as playing a primary role in the torture. The torture partially took place in police stations. All 4 interviewees were forced to sign an admission of guilt, and to pay a fine of Z\$500 before they could be released from the police station. The 4 men who were tortured in the police stations were deprived of food and water for the full 3 days of their detention.

Case 4 reported his assault by war veterans and militias to the police, who told him that the area was a “no go area for MDC supporters” who could expect to be beaten up. The police took no action at all.

Case 13 reported that the perpetrators destroyed some of his property and looted money, while uniformed police from Support Unit, watched and did not intervene.

In one case, police rescued a victim abducted by war veterans and arrested some perpetrators; the latter were held in the police station to make statements, but were released immediately without charge.

Apart from Case 1, which is unclear in this respect, in no other case of the persons examined in this series, was a perpetrator arrested and charged.

Clinical assessment of the validity of statements:

Testimonies were assessed by comparing history of ill treatment or torture with ensuing symptoms and clinical findings.

Seven cases clearly fulfilled UN criteria for torture.

In 3 of these cases, we find the history of torture to be beyond any reasonable doubt.

In 4 cases, symptoms and findings highly corroborated the testimonies of torture.

In 3 cases of ill treatment, there were presence of symptoms and clinical findings in agreement with the history; in one case the numerous clinical findings highly corroborated the history.

In 3 cases of ill-treatment, including the mother and the baby, there were no visible clinical findings, but the description of symptoms of the two adults were consistent with their history of ill-treatment.

11. Conclusion of clinical examinations

- **Our investigation shows beyond any doubt that political motivated torture continues to be a problem post election.**
- **Groups affiliated to the government commit torture and ill-treatment, as indicated consistently by all cases examined in our series.**
- **The fact that all were tortured or ill treated for politic motives, and the fact that no prosecutions against perpetrators have been made in any of the cases, points to a deliberate policy by the authorities.**
- **The pattern of impunity is further underlined by the fact that perpetrators do not care whether they torture people who can identify them, or whether their torture or ill treatment leaves marks that can easily be recognised as caused by torture.**
- **Our findings are in complete agreement with the findings of the January 2002 mission, and with the descriptions of recent cases given by other NGOs**

12. Corroboration of findings by other organisations

Reports produced by the following international observer groups on the Presidential election 2002 all took into account the prevalence of human rights violations when reaching the conclusion that the election was not free and fair: SADC Parliamentary Forum; the Commonwealth; Norway; USA; Ghana; Switzerland; ACP-EU Parliamentary Forum; Network of Independent Monitors, South Africa; Pastoral Support Group, South Africa.

Amnesty International: a team from Amnesty International in London spent time in Zimbabwe during May and June 2000, also September and December 2001, and again in March 2002. They produced independent reports after travelling extensively and taking statements from victims of human rights abuses. They concluded that widespread human rights abuses were occurring, largely at the hands of supporters of the ruling party, including during and after the 2002 election. See further AI index AFR 46/033/2002; AFR 46/032/2002.

Rehabilitation and Research Centre for Torture Victims: an independent international organization based in Denmark, with 17 years' experience in treatment of torture survivors. In February 2001, they released a report on election violence linked to a by-election in Zimbabwe in January 2001.

International Rehabilitation Council for Torture Survivors (IRCT): this is an independent, international health professional organization, which promotes and supports the rehabilitation of torture victims and works for the prevention of torture worldwide. They have produced their objective findings in two reports, in May 2000 and in June 2001.

Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum: Violence monitoring: a forum of Zimbabwean, Harare-based NGOs that have monitored the violence systematically and have produced systematic reports on abuses in the country.

Photographs 1 and 2: deep wounds on soles of feet reportedly caused by torture with burning logs. Findings in complete agreement with this.





Photograph 3, Case 2: 4 month old baby, reportedly beaten form political reasons at the age of 1 week.



Photograph 4, Case 5: left wrist showing hand cuff lesion in agreement with the history.



Photographs 5 and 6, Case 9: Lesions reportedly caused by attacks with rocks. The findings of right forearm and hand being diffusely swollen with widespread discoloration and a number of skin lesions are in agreement with the history. There was serious dysfunction and probably deep infection.



Photograph 7, Case 11: The ‘candy stripe’ lesion was reportedly caused by beating with a chain, long lesions caused by a sjambok. Findings in complete agreement with history.



Photograph 8, Case 13: back showing long lesions reportedly caused by sjamboks, and non specific abrasions. Findings in full agreement with history.





Back cover photograph, Case 11: long lesions caused by beatings with sjamboks and a chain. Findings in complete agreement with history.