



Australian Government
Refugee Review Tribunal

Country Advice

Zimbabwe

Zimbabwe – ZWE37118 – Harare –
Movement for Democratic Change – MDC
supporters – National Youth Service –
Internal relocation – Tribal groups

12 August 2010

- 1. Please provide information on the risk of harm to active pro-MDC supporters and activists in Zimbabwe. Please also comment on the situation for people who sympathise with or secretly support the MDC but do not openly express those views.**

Human Rights Watch and the US Department of State report that both perceived and known MDC members and supporters, as well as their families, continue to be harassed, arbitrarily arrested, assaulted, intimidated and killed. The perpetrators are primarily members and supporters of ZANU-PF, ZANU-PF affiliated youth militia, war veterans and, to a lesser extent, police officers and security forces. On a number of occasions, citizens have reported being “harassed or assaulted for listening to music or singing songs affiliated with the MDC-T”. ZANU-PF supporters and state security agents also reportedly “abducted and tortured dozens of opposition and civil society members, as well as student leaders, as part of an effort to intimidate MDC supporters and civil society members and leaders”. Such abductions were rarely investigated by the government. Furthermore, ZANU-PF government officials reportedly removed perceived MDC supporters from civil service positions and the military.¹

Political violence against perceived ZANU-PF opponents, including citizens suspected of being sympathetic to the MDC, has continued despite the signing of a power-sharing agreement between ZANU-PF and the MDC in September 2008, and the formation of the unity government in February 2009. Throughout 2009, political violence targeting opposition MDC members and supporters resulted in at least three deaths, while at least 19 people died from injuries sustained during the 2008 election-related political violence. The MDC claimed that a further “200...members and supporters were missing and presumed dead in the wake of election-related violence in 2008”.² In June 2009, *BBC News* reported that a senior member of the MDC, Sekai Holland, had made claims that members of ZANU-PF were sending threats and warnings to MDC members on a daily

¹ US Department of State 2010, *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 2009 – Zimbabwe*, 11 March, Sections 1a-d, 4 – Attachment 1; Human Rights Watch 2010, *World Report 2010: Zimbabwe*, January – Attachment 2

² Human Rights Watch 2009, *False Dawn: The Zimbabwe Power-Sharing Government's Failure to Deliver Human Rights Improvements*, August, pp.5-8 – Attachment 3; US Department of State 2010, *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 2009 – Zimbabwe*, 11 March, Section 1a – Attachment 1

basis, and “drawing up assassination lists...[w]ith the worst violence planned to coincide with elections due in 18 months”.³

In addition, MDC legislators and activists have been subject to politically motivated prosecutions by officials aligned with ZANU-PF. In January 2010, Human Rights Watch reported that at least 17 MDC legislators were facing “trumped-up criminal charges”, while five had already been convicted. One prominent example is the arrest of senior MDC official Roy Bennett in late 2009, on charges of “sabotage, banditry, terrorism, and inciting terrorism”, initiated by ZANU-PF. On 16 October 2009, Prime Minister and MDC leader Morgan Tsvangirai “announced that the MDC had “disengaged” from the unity government”, ostensibly over the treatment of senior MDC member Roy Bennett. However, Human Rights Watch argues that increased attacks on MDC supporters by ZANU-PF were a significant factor in the decision.⁴ The MDC rejoined the unity government a few weeks later.⁵

A number of reports indicate that attacks on MDC supporters intensified following the disengagement of the MDC, particularly in rural areas. In October 2009, teachers in Mashonaland Central Province were attacked by ZANU-PF supporters, and reportedly told that they are now considered to be enemies of ZANU-PF since the MDC pulled out of the unity government. Other news reports from late 2009 indicate that “ZANU-PF militias [are] re-deploying to rural areas and...holding political meetings to intimidate MDC and opposition supporters”. The re-opening of youth militia camps, an increase in recruitment, and attacks on the homes of MDC supporters by youth militias were also reported. In addition, arrests and abductions of MDC members and supporters were reported by *The Times* and the *Zimbabwe Telegraph* in October 2009. As a result, Amnesty International warned that Zimbabwe was “on the brink of sliding back into...violence”.⁶ Furthermore, it was reported in November 2009 that the MDC claimed to have evidence of ZANU-PF meetings in all 10 provinces aimed at reviving “terror squads to harass, intimidate and torture people” to accept the Kariba Draft Constitution endorsed by President Mugabe.⁷

However, prior to the disengagement of the MDC from the unity government, the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade advised that “it is clear from assessments from a variety of sources spread across Zimbabwe that the level of politically-motivated violence

³ UK Home Office 2009, *Country of Origin Information Report: Zimbabwe*, 23 December, p.28 – Attachment 4

⁴ Human Rights Watch 2010, *World Report 2010: Zimbabwe*, January – Attachment 2; Phiri, G. 2010, ‘Zanu (PF) continues to thwart MDC ... political persecution, violence continues’, *New Zimbabwe*, 28 April – Attachment 5

⁵ Chinaka, C. 2010, ‘Slow reforms will prolong Zimbabwe unity government’, *The Citizen*, 8 March <http://www.thecitizen.co.tz/editorial-analysis/20-analysis-opinions/531-slow-reforms-will-prolong-zimbabwe-unity-government.html> – Accessed 12 August 2010 – Attachment 6

⁶ UK Home Office 2009, *Country of Origin Information Report: Zimbabwe*, 23 December, pp.30-31 – Attachment 4; ‘ZIMBABWE: Violence spikes after MDC’s withdrawal from government’ 2009, *IRIN News*, 27 October <http://www.irinnews.org/Report.aspx?ReportId=86773> – Accessed 9 August 2010 – Attachment 7; Chimhete, C. 2009, ‘Violence intensifies after MDC-T pull out’, *The Zimbabwe Standard*, 31 October – Attachment 8; Sibanda, T. 2009, ‘Zimbabwe: MDC Supporters Attacked by Zanu PF Militia in Uzumba’, AllAfrica Global Media, source: *SW Radio Africa*, 8 December <http://allafrica.com/stories/200912080979.html> – Accessed 4 January 2010 – Attachment 9; Gumede, G. 2009, ‘Gang tries to abduct MDC official’, *Zimbabwe Telegraph*, 27 October <http://www.zimtelegraph.com/?p=3913> – Accessed 4 January 2010 – Attachment 10; Sibanda, T. 2009, ‘MDC Activist Left for Dead by Zanu PF War Veterans in Makoni’, AllAfrica Global Media, source: *SW Radio Africa*, 20 October <http://allafrica.com/stories/200910201168.html> – Accessed 5 November 2009 – Attachment 11

⁷ UK Home Office 2009, *Country of Origin Information Report: Zimbabwe*, 23 December, p.71 – Attachment 4

has decreased greatly since the inclusive government was formed on 13 February 2009. It should be noted that one influential local civil society group admitted to us that it paid informants for reports of cases of violence, thus rendering its information unreliable and systemically biased to exaggerating the number of cases. ZANU-PF's current campaign on constitutional reform has been based on small bribes for village headmen rather than physical intimidation, a strategic shift from the overt violence seen in rural areas in April-June 2008".⁸

- 2. Please provide information on the history of the NYSTP (or National Youth Service), including when it was formed, its recruitment practices and its target group for recruitment (such as age range). Please also comment on the relative proportions of people who actually undergo service with the NYSTP, compared with people of the same age who do not. Please also comment on the extent to which young people who do not undergo service with the NYSTP face reprisals or limited work/education opportunities.**

Zimbabwe's National Youth Service (NYS) was introduced in 2001 by the former Minister of Youth, Gender and Employment Creation, Border Gezi. As such, the NYS has also been referred to as the Border Gezi Youth Service. The National Youth Service Training Program (NYSTP) began in August 2001 in Mount Darwin, a ZANU-PF stronghold. Further training camps were subsequently established across the country, particularly in rural areas.⁹ The stated aim of the NYSTP was to instil national pride in Zimbabwean youths and offer vocational skills training. It is widely reported, however, that the 100 day program involves military training and pro-government teachings. The trainee youths are used to harass and intimidate political opponents of the ZANU-PF party and supporters of the MDC. As such, the youths are more commonly known as the 'youth militia' or 'Green Bombers' (based on the colour of their uniforms).¹⁰

A number of sources indicate that NYS training is mandatory for youths between 10 and 30 years of age.¹¹ The official website of Zimbabwe's Ministry of Youth Development and Employment Creation states that "the target age group of NYS program recruits is 16 to 30 years of age"; although it is reported that children as young as 11 years old have been recruited.¹² Advice provided by the Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada

⁸ DIAC Country Information Service 2009, *Country Information Report No. 09/63 – CRS Request No. ZWE9736: Update of country information post February 2009*, (sourced from DFAT advice of 31 August 2009), 1 September – Attachment 12

⁹ Solidarity Peace Trust 2003, 'National youth service training – "shaping youths in a truly Zimbabwean manner"', 5 September, p.13, 15-16 http://www.solidaritypeacetrust.org/download/report-files/youth_militia.pdf – Accessed 28 June 2010 – Attachment 13

¹⁰ Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada 2006, *ZWE101401.E – Zimbabwe: The National Youth Service (NYS) training program; the type of training involved; age of participants; whether the training program is mandatory; whether there are exemptions; and the penalty for refusing to serve or for desertion (2001 – 2006)*, 22 June – Attachment 14

¹¹ United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) 2010, *Education Under Attack*, UNESCO website, p.243 <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0018/001868/186809e.pdf> – Accessed 9 June 2010 – Attachment 15; Solidarity Peace Trust 2003, 'National youth service training – "shaping youths in a truly Zimbabwean manner"', 5 September, p.13 http://www.solidaritypeacetrust.org/download/report-files/youth_militia.pdf – Accessed 28 June 2010 – Attachment 13

¹² 'ZIMBABWE: "Green Bombers" deserting poor conditions in camps' 2004, *IRIN News*, 23 January <http://www.irinnews.org/Report.aspx?ReportId=48241> – Accessed 22 June 2010 – Attachment 16; 'History of the camps' (undated), Zimbabwe Child Soldier Victim Foundation website

(IRB) in 2006 states that “it is unclear how many youths have been trained in the NYS camps. In sources consulted from 2005, estimates on the number of NYS-trained youths ranged from 11,000... to 50,000... According to a 2004 BBC documentary on the NYS, approximately 10,000 youths graduated from the NYS camps every 100 days”.¹³ In 2003, the government stated that it had the capacity to train only 20,000 of the 300,000 school leavers per year, calling into question the compulsory nature of the program.¹⁴

While some youths join the NYS voluntarily, in part due to increased employment prospects following completion of the training program, reports of kidnappings, abductions and forcible recruitment were widespread in the early years of the NYSTP.¹⁵ The Zimbabwe Child Soldier Victim Foundation claims that youths who do not join the NYS voluntarily are often “abducted under force, from the streets, their homes, schools and even churches.”¹⁶ The IRB indicated in 2006 that youth in some rural areas who refuse to join the training program are victimised.¹⁷ In 2003, the Solidarity Peace Trust reported that “[b]oth within and [outside of] Zimbabwe, youth who have abandoned their militia camps live in fear of retribution and only speak out reluctantly. Defected militia, who have fled to Johannesburg, live in fear of retribution if they return to Zimbabwe; even in Johannesburg they report that they are not safe from the Zimbabwean CIO [Central Intelligence Organisation], and spend their lives on the run”.¹⁸

Young people who do not complete the NYS training program experience significant discrimination in access to education and employment. It is widely reported that completion of the NYSTP is a requirement for entry into civil service employment and tertiary education. Preference in admission to tertiary courses and public sector employment is given to graduates of the training program, particularly regarding

<http://www.zimbabwechildsoldiers.com/existing-camps/history-of-the-camps/> – Accessed 22 June 2010 – Attachment 17; Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada 2006, ZWE101401.E – *Zimbabwe: The National Youth Service (NYS) training program; the type of training involved; age of participants; whether the training program is mandatory; whether there are exemptions; and the penalty for refusing to serve or for desertion (2001 – 2006)*, 22 June – Attachment 14; UK Home Office 2009, *Country of Origin Information Report: Zimbabwe*, 23 December, pp.52-53 – Attachment 4

¹³ Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada 2006, ZWE101401.E – *Zimbabwe: The National Youth Service (NYS) training program; the type of training involved; age of participants; whether the training program is mandatory; whether there are exemptions; and the penalty for refusing to serve or for desertion (2001 – 2006)*, 22 June – Attachment 14

¹⁴ Solidarity Peace Trust 2003, ‘National youth service training – “shaping youths in a truly Zimbabwean manner”’, 5 September, p.21 http://www.solidaritypeacetrust.org/download/report-files/youth_militia.pdf – Accessed 28 June 2010 – Attachment 13

¹⁵ Solidarity Peace Trust 2003, ‘National youth service training – “shaping youths in a truly Zimbabwean manner”’, 5 September, p.21, 53-54 http://www.solidaritypeacetrust.org/download/report-files/youth_militia.pdf – Accessed 28 June 2010 – Attachment 13

¹⁶ ‘History of the camps’ (undated), Zimbabwe Child Soldier Victim Foundation website <http://www.zimbabwechildsoldiers.com/existing-camps/history-of-the-camps/> – Accessed 22 June 2010 – Attachment 17

¹⁷ Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada 2006, ZWE101401.E – *Zimbabwe: The National Youth Service (NYS) training program; the type of training involved; age of participants; whether the training program is mandatory; whether there are exemptions; and the penalty for refusing to serve or for desertion (2001 – 2006)*, 22 June – Attachment 14

¹⁸ Solidarity Peace Trust 2003, ‘National youth service training – “shaping youths in a truly Zimbabwean manner”’, 5 September, p.56 http://www.solidaritypeacetrust.org/download/report-files/youth_militia.pdf – Accessed 28 June 2010 – Attachment 13

employment in the security forces.¹⁹ When compulsory NYS training was announced in 2003, the then Minister for Higher Education reported that “no students leaving high school would be given their A- or O-level certificates until they had completed six months’ service”.²⁰ Similarly, Vice President Joseph Msika stated in 2003 “that without the training, no youth will enter tertiary training or the civil service in future”. The Solidarity Peace Trust claims that the NYS program effectively excludes all non-ZANU-PF children from tertiary education opportunities. Some qualified training candidates have reported being accepted into courses initially, before being dismissed for failing to produce completion certificates from the NYSTP. Lack of access to the civil service is particularly limiting for non-NYS graduates, since it has been described as “virtually the only remaining large source of formal employment in the country”.²¹ Additionally, unemployment in Zimbabwe is estimated to be 95 percent, further limiting the prospects for non-NYS graduates.²² The IRB reports that some individuals have fled Zimbabwe due to the lack of opportunities that non-NYS graduates face.²³

However, there are conflicting reports as to whether the NYSTP is still in operation. It is clear that the activities of the NYS training camps were seriously affected by financial difficulties from at least 2007 onwards. An April 2010 report by the Youth Initiative for Democracy claims that “[t]he centres were officially closed in 2007 when the state could not [financially] sustain the programme though there are still pockets of activity”.²⁴ Information provided by the Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada (IRB) in 2006 cites a May 2006 article in the *Zimbabwe Independent* which “reported that all of the NYS training camps across Zimbabwe had been shut down because of food and resource shortages”. The article claimed “that since the “last intake” of youths in 2005, there had been no new recruits to the NYS”. The IRB further states that despite more than 100

¹⁹ UK Home Office 2007, *Country of Origin Information Report: Zimbabwe*, 2 May, p.55 – Attachment 18; Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada 2006, ZWE101401.E – *Zimbabwe: The National Youth Service (NYS) training program; the type of training involved; age of participants; whether the training program is mandatory; whether there are exemptions; and the penalty for refusing to serve or for desertion (2001 – 2006)*, 22 June – Attachment 14; United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) 2010, *Education Under Attack*, UNESCO website, p.243 <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0018/001868/186809e.pdf> – Accessed 9 June 2010 – Attachment 15; US Department of State 2010, *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 2009 – Zimbabwe*, 11 March, Section 6 – Attachment 1

²⁰ United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) 2010, *Education Under Attack*, UNESCO website, p.243 <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0018/001868/186809e.pdf> – Accessed 9 June 2010 – Attachment 15

²¹ Solidarity Peace Trust 2003, ‘National youth service training – “shaping youths in a truly Zimbabwean manner”’, 5 September, pp.21-22 http://www.solidaritypeacetrust.org/download/report-files/youth_militia.pdf – Accessed 28 June 2010 – Attachment 13

²² Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) 2010, ‘World Factbook: Zimbabwe’, CIA website, 27 May <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/zi.html> - Accessed 29 June 2010 – Attachment 19

²³ Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada 2006, ZWE101401.E – *Zimbabwe: The National Youth Service (NYS) training program; the type of training involved; age of participants; whether the training program is mandatory; whether there are exemptions; and the penalty for refusing to serve or for desertion (2001 – 2006)*, 22 June – Attachment 14

²⁴ Youth Initiative for Democracy in Zimbabwe 2010, ‘Youth’s position on the proposed reintroduction of National Youth Training Programme (Youth Service)’, Kubatana website, 15 April <http://www.kubatana.net/html/archive/chiyou/100415yidz.asp?sector=CHIYOU> – Accessed 1 July 2010 – Attachment 20

training camps in operation in 2002, this number had decreased by 2005, possibly due to budget constraints.²⁵

However, an October 2009 article cites MDC-T secretary for social welfare Kerry Kay, who claims that “Zanu PF has “re-activated” its terror squads and camps in the rural areas”.²⁶ A July 2009 news article similarly states that “[v]icious militia camps, mostly in rural areas, have still not been dismantled”.²⁷ Furthermore, the inclusive government’s 2008 Global Political Agreement committed to the reintroduction of a National Youth Training Programme, although it is stated that the programme “must be run in a non-partisan manner and shall not include partisan political material advancing the cause of any political party”.²⁸

- 3. Please comment on the reasonableness of relocation within Zimbabwe as a means of avoiding persecution for known or suspected pro-MDC views. Are there any parts of Zimbabwe safe for such a person? Please also provide information on whether relocation to another part of Zimbabwe, such as Bulawayo, might reduce the risk of forced recruitment with the NYSTP. Please also comment on any tribal factors that might make relocation to Bulawayo non-viable for a Shona.**

MDC supporters

Advice received from the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT) in August 2009 states that “MDC supporters can live safely, that is free from politically-motivated violence, in Harare and other major population centres in Zimbabwe. The only exception might be the squatter district of Epworth on the fringe of Harare, where community violence is not uncommon”. Furthermore, aside from the Marange diamond field (which is closed to anyone who is not authorised to mine there), previous ‘no-go’ zones in the country have been removed. As such, perceived or actual MDC supporters now have full access to all parts of the country, although it is noted that movement in the provinces of Mashonaland West, Mashonaland East, and Mashonaland Central is still monitored by local authorities.²⁹

However, in October 2009 *IRIN News* reported an outbreak of violence in former ZANU-PF stronghold Mashonaland Central Province, as ZANU-PF supporters attacked teachers

²⁵ Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada 2006, ZWE101401.E – *Zimbabwe: The National Youth Service (NYS) training program; the type of training involved; age of participants; whether the training program is mandatory; whether there are exemptions; and the penalty for refusing to serve or for desertion (2001 – 2006)*, 22 June – Attachment 14

²⁶ Chimhete, C. 2009, ‘Violence intensifies after MDC-T pull out’, *The Zimbabwe Standard*, 31 October – Attachment 8

²⁷ Gonda, V. 2009, ‘Government Dedicates Three Days to National Healing’, *AllAfrica Global Media*, source: *SW Radio Africa*, 22 July – Attachment 21

²⁸ Youth Initiative for Democracy in Zimbabwe 2010, ‘Youth’s position on the proposed reintroduction of National Youth Training Programme (Youth Service)’, Kubatana website, 15 April <http://www.kubatana.net/html/archive/chiyou/100415yidz.asp?sector=CHIYOU> – Accessed 1 July 2010 – Attachment 20; ‘Agreement between the Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) and the two Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) formations, on resolving the challenges facing Zimbabwe’ 2008, Kubatana website, 15 September http://www.kubatana.net/docs/demgg/mdc_zpf_agreement_080915.doc – Accessed 12 August 2010 – Attachment 22

²⁹ DIAC Country Information Service 2009, *Country Information Report No. 09/63 – CRS Request No. ZWE9736: Update of country information post February 2009*, (sourced from DFAT advice of 31 August 2009), 1 September – Attachment 12

who, as a group, are considered to be sympathetic to the MDC. The violence also reportedly spread to other provinces such as Mashonaland West and East, Manicaland and Masvingo, as well as in Harare.³⁰ In November 2009, the MDC claimed to have evidence of ZANU-PF meetings in all 10 provinces aimed at reviving “terror squads to harass, intimidate and torture people” to accept the Kariba Draft Constitution endorsed by President Mugabe.³¹ An April 2010 report states that war veterans and ZANU-PF youth militia have established military bases in various parts of the country, including “Muzarabani, Epworth, Harare South, Kamativi Mutasa North, Mudzi, Mutoko, Chiredzi, Zaka and Gutu and most [of] rural Mashonaland”.³²

National Youth Service

When the NYSTP was established, training camps were located across the country and trainees were recruited from all areas. In particular, a number of training camps were established in the provinces of Mashonaland Central, Mashonaland West, Matebeleland North, Matebeleland South, Manicaland and Midlands.³³ In 2006, the Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada advised that although the exact number is unclear, several sources highlighted “approximately ten camps...located in such places as Border Gezi, Dadaya, Guyu, Kamativi, Mushagashe, Vumba, Mutare, Manicaland, and Zvishavane”.³⁴ As mentioned in response to question two, a number of sources suggest that most of the camps were closed in 2007 due to budget constraints. However, it is also reported that pockets of activity remain throughout the country and in some rural areas, youth militia squads are re-emerging. Therefore, relocation may not necessarily remove the threat of forced recruitment into a NYS training camp. It is certain, however, that in 2010 there are fewer training camps, fewer resources and fewer recruits than in 2003 – 2007.

Tribal factors in Bulawayo

Ethnic tensions between Shona and Ndebele people in Bulawayo have occurred in the past, mainly over limited employment and educational facilities. However, there is little recent evidence of Shona people being attacked or discriminated against in the area. Furthermore, despite ethnic differences, residents of Bulawayo tend to be sympathetic to supporters of the MDC, including those of Shona ethnicity.

The Ndebele are Zimbabwe’s largest minority, comprising about 14 percent of the population. The traditional lands of the Ndebele are around Bulawayo, in which they form

³⁰ ‘ZIMBABWE: Violence spikes after MDC’s withdrawal from government’ 2009, *IRIN News*, 27 October <http://www.irinnews.org/Report.aspx?ReportId=86773> – Accessed 9 August 2010 – Attachment 7

³¹ UK Home Office 2009, *Country of Origin Information Report: Zimbabwe*, 23 December, p.71 – Attachment 4

³² Phiri, G. 2010, ‘Zanu (PF) continues to thwart MDC ... political persecution, violence continues’, *New Zimbabwe*, 28 April – Attachment 5

³³ ‘ZIMBABWE: “Green Bombers” deserting poor conditions in camps’ 2004, *IRIN News*, 23 January <http://www.irinnews.org/Report.aspx?ReportId=48241> – Accessed 22 June 2010 – Attachment 16; ‘Hundreds of ZANU PF youths are still being trained at torture camps scattered around Mashonaland Central’ 2002, *The Daily News*, 21 March – Attachment 23; Solidarity Peace Trust 2003, ‘National youth service training – “shaping youths in a truly Zimbabwean manner”’, 5 September, pp.15-16 http://www.solidaritypeacetrust.org/download/report-files/youth_militia.pdf – Accessed 28 June 2010 – Attachment 13

³⁴ Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada 2006, *ZWE101401.E – Zimbabwe: The National Youth Service (NYS) training program; the type of training involved; age of participants; whether the training program is mandatory; whether there are exemptions; and the penalty for refusing to serve or for desertion (2001 – 2006)*, 22 June – Attachment 14

the majority.³⁵ Bulawayo has traditionally been ‘hostile’ to ethnic Shona President Mugabe, with MDC candidates often defeating ZANU-PF in elections.³⁶ An entry on Bulawayo in the Columbia Encyclopedia states that “[a]fter Zimbabwe gained its independence in 1980, Bulawayo was beset with violence between the Shona and Ndebele peoples until 1988 when an accord was reached”.³⁷

A 2007 paper on ethnicity in Zimbabwe argues that “Shona-Ndebele tensions in urban centres like Bulawayo have centred on limited employment and educational facilities, with Ndebeles accusing their Shona counterparts of taking ‘their jobs and vacancies at teacher and nurse training colleges’. The former Mayor of Bulawayo in the 1990s, Joshua Malinga, the late MP Sydney Malunga and the former Governor of Matebeleland North, Welshman Mabhena, were the most vociferous in airing Ndebele feelings of marginalisation”.³⁸ A post on a Zimbabwe internet forum in April 2010 claims that a Ndebele man in Bulawayo, Sifiso Ndlovu, “was caught red-handed by police officers on patrol fondling a woman’s buttocks, accusing her of living in the wrong province...Ndlovu allegedly started bothering her on tribal grounds, saying she was useless and was not supposed to be living in Matabeleland”.³⁹ However, it is not evident whether the victim was of Shona ethnicity.

4. Please provide information about the MDC party, including its founding, key milestones, key leaders, party structure and details of the main MDC candidates/figures in the Harare district since 2000.

The Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) was formed on 11 September 1999. According to the party’s official website, the party was formed “on the basis of carrying on the struggle of the people, the struggle for jobs, decency and democracy, equal distribution of resources, justice, transparency and equality of all Zimbabweans”.⁴⁰ The *Political Handbook of the World* states that the MDC’s core members and supporters include “workers, students, middle-class intellectuals, civil rights activists, and white corporate executives opposed to the perceived corruption of the ZANU-PF government as well as its management of the economy”.⁴¹

³⁵ Minority Rights Group International 2008, *World Directory of Minorities and Indigenous Peoples – Zimbabwe: Overview*, June <http://www.minorityrights.org/4504/zimbabwe/zimbabwe-overview.html> – Accessed 18 February 2009 – Attachment 24

³⁶ ‘Tensions simmer in Zimbabwe opposition stronghold’ 2007, Africasia website, source: *AFP*, 17 March – Attachment 25

³⁷ ‘Bulawayo’ 2008, The Columbia Encyclopedia, Sixth Edition, Encyclopedia.com website <http://www.encyclopedia.com/topic/Bulawayo.aspx> – Accessed 11 August 2010 – Attachment 26

³⁸ Muzondidya, J. and Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S. 2007, ‘Echoing Silences’: Ethnicity in Post-Colonial Zimbabwe, 1980-2007’, *African Journal on Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 7, No. 2, p.288 http://kms1.isn.ethz.ch/serviceengine/Files/ISN/98414/ichaptersection_singledocument/dc8ba952-63e0-4258-b336-222d2808e65a/en/Chapter11.pdf – Accessed 11 August 2010 – Attachment 27

³⁹ Mokoena, T. 2010, ‘Ndebele Man caught fondling Shona woman ‘for living in wrong province’’, New Zimbabwe Forums, 17 April <http://forum.newzimbabwe.com/index.php?topic/13712-ndebele-man-caught-fondling-shona-woman-for-living-in-wrong-province/> – Accessed 11 August 2010 – Attachment 28

⁴⁰ ‘Our History’ 2009, Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) website, 19 November http://www.mdc.co.zw/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=116&Itemid=107 – Accessed 6 August 2010 – Attachment 29

⁴¹ ‘Zimbabwe’ 2010, *Political Handbook of the World Online Edition*, CQ Press Electronic Library website http://library.cqpress.com/phw/document.php?id=phw2010_Zimbabwe&type=hitlist&num=0 – Accessed 9 August 2010 – Attachment 30

The party's inaugural congress was held on 26 January 2000, at which Morgan Tsvangirai was announced as the party's President. Although ultimately losing the June 2000 elections to ZANU-PF, the MDC did secure 57 out of the 120 elected seats, and "claimed fraud on the part of the government in some 37 of the 62 seats secured by the ZANU-PF". Morgan Tsvangirai narrowly lost the presidential election to ZANU-PF leader Robert Mugabe in 2002. In October 2005 the MDC party split into two factions, MDC-T led by Morgan Tsvangirai, and MDC-M led by Arthur Mutambara. In July 2006, however, the leaders of both factions agreed to work together against ZANU-PF, although unity between the factions was fraught with obstacles. Failure to unite strengthened ZANU-PF's prospects in the 2008 elections.⁴²

The MDC won the March 2008 elections despite increased violence against party members and supporters, although Morgan Tsvangirai pulled out of the controversial June 2008 presidential run off election, "citing massive violence, brutal abductions and the maiming of [MDC] members". Mugabe retained power despite widespread international pressure for him to step down. After various negotiation rounds, Mugabe, Tsvangirai, and Mutambara signed the Global Political Agreement (GPA) in September 2008, and a unity government between the MDC and ZANU-PF was formed in February 2009, with Morgan Tsvangirai as Prime Minister.⁴³ Nevertheless, Human Rights Watch argues that "the deal left ZANU-PF with most of its power intact, effectively maintaining the status quo ante: It has kept control of all the senior ministries including justice, security, and defense. The MDC lacks real power and does not consistently speak out against the continued abuses, possibly seeking to save the fledgling power-sharing government".⁴⁴

Key Leaders and Party Structure

According to the 2010 *Political Handbook of the World*, the key leaders of the MDC include:

- Morgan Tsvangirai, President of the MDC-T faction
- Thokozani Khupe, MDC Vice President
- Tendai Biti, MDC Secretary General
- Arthur Mutambara, President of the MDC-M
- Gibson Sibanda, MDC-M Vice President

⁴² 'Our History' 2009, Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) website, 19 November http://www.mdc.co.zw/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=116&Itemid=107 – Accessed 6 August 2010 – Attachment 29; 'Zimbabwe' 2010, *Political Handbook of the World Online Edition*, CQ Press Electronic Library website http://library.cqpress.com/phw/document.php?id=phw2010_Zimbabwe&type=hitlist&num=0 – Accessed 9 August 2010 – Attachment 30

⁴³ 'Our History' 2009, Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) website, 19 November http://www.mdc.co.zw/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=116&Itemid=107 – Accessed 6 August 2010 – Attachment 29; 'Zimbabwe' 2010, *Political Handbook of the World Online Edition*, CQ Press Electronic Library website http://library.cqpress.com/phw/document.php?id=phw2010_Zimbabwe&type=hitlist&num=0 – Accessed 9 August 2010 – Attachment 30

⁴⁴ Human Rights Watch 2010, *World Report 2010: Zimbabwe*, January – Attachment 2

- Welshman Ncube, MDC-M Secretary General ⁴⁵

The official website of the MDC provides further information on members of the party and their positions in government.⁴⁶ The MDC’s website also sets out the structure of the party, which includes the Congress, the National Council, the National Standing Committee, Executive Committees and Assemblies at the national, provincial, district, ward and branch levels, a Youth Assembly and a Women’s Assembly:

- The Congress, described as “the supreme organ of the Party”, is comprised “of all members of the National Council, National Executive of Women, National Executive of Youth, Provincial Executive Committees, the Chairperson, Secretary, Organising Secretary and Treasurer from each District Executive Committee and Provincial and District levels of the National Assemblies of Women and Youth and external assemblies, the Chairperson of each Ward Executive Committee and all the party’s elected members of the house of Assembly, Mayors and chairpersons of local Authorities”.
- The National Council is responsible for implementing the party’s policies, leading the party and executing the party’s aims and objectives.
- The National Standing Committee is responsible for the daily operations of the party, and is chaired by the party president. Members of the National Standing Committee are as follows:

Morgan Tsvangirai : President	Thokozani Khupe: Vice President	Lovemore Moyo: National Chairman
Tendai Biti: Secretary General	Tapiwa Mashakada: Deputy Secretary General	Roy Bennet: Treasurer General
Elton S.Mangoma: Deputy Treasurer General	Elias Mudzuri: Organizing Secretary	Morgan Komichi: Deputy Organizing Secretary
Nelson Chamisa: Secretary for Information & Publicity	Theresa Makone: National Women Chairperson	Tamsanqa Mahlangu: National Youth Chairperson

- The National Executive Committee “exercises all the functions of the National Council in between meetings”, including “[a]dministrating and implementing authority of the party and [i]mplementing the decisions, recommend party policies and programmes and resolutions of the National Council”.
- The Provincial Executive Committee and Provincial Assembly is responsible for implementing party policies and decisions in the provinces, promoting the party in

⁴⁵ ‘Zimbabwe’ 2010, *Political Handbook of the World Online Edition*, CQ Press Electronic Library website http://library.cqpress.com/phw/document.php?id=phw2010_Zimbabwe&type=hitlist&num=0 – Accessed 9 August 2010 – Attachment 30

⁴⁶ ‘In The Party’ 2009, Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) website, 20 November http://www.mdc.co.zw/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=123&Itemid=117 – Accessed 6 August 2010 – Attachment 31; ‘In Government’ 2009, Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) website, 20 November http://www.mdc.co.zw/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=124&Itemid=118 – Accessed 6 August 2010 – Attachment 32

the provinces, and nominating candidates for national elections from party members in the provinces.⁴⁷

MDC Candidates in Harare

The MDC website also provides information on the party's candidates in Harare, updated in November 2009. Some of the following candidates have held parliamentary positions in Harare since 2000; however, most were elected in March 2008:

- Tendai Biti, MDC-T Secretary General and Finance Minister of the Zimbabwe government, is the MP for Harare East, a post that he has held since March 2006.
- Gift Chimankire, a founding member of the MDC, is the MP for Southerton in Harare. In 2005, he was elected as legislator for Mbare in Harare. He was also the MDC's Deputy Secretary-General from 2000 to 2005, and is a member of the MDC National Executive.
- Theresa Makone is the MP for Harare North, and the Minister of Public Works in the inclusive government.
- Tapiwa Mashakada is the MP for Hatfield in Harare, the Deputy Secretary General of the MDC and a member of the MDC National Standing Committee. He has been elected as MP for Hatfield three times since 2000. In June 2000, he was elected as MP for Hatfield and elected as vice chairman for Harare Province. In 2005, he was re-elected as MP for Hatfield. In March 2006, he was elected as Deputy Secretary General of the MDC.
- Elias Mudzuri is the MP for Warren Park in Harare. Mudzuri was elected as the first Executive Mayor of Harare in March 2002, has held the positions of vice-chairman of the MDC at the ward level in Harare and vice-organising secretary for Harare Province, and was elected as the MDC's national organising secretary in March 2006.
- Willias Madzimure has been the MP for Kambuzuma in Harare since June 2000.
- Gift Lovemore Tapiwa Dzirutwe is the MP for Glen Norah in Harare. He was elected as ward chairman in Glen Norah in 1999 and is currently the deputy chairman in Glen Norah.
- Morgan Femai became the Senator for Chikomo in Harare in March 2008; however, Femai has held the position of MDC chairman for Harare province since 2000.
- Paul Madzore was elected to the position of MP for Glen View South in Harare in 2000. He was also chairman for the Glen View district from 2001 to 2002, and youth vice-chairman for Harare Province from 2002 to 2003.

⁴⁷ 'Our Party Structure' 2009, Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) website, 19 November http://www.mdc.co.zw/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=117&Itemid=108 – Accessed 6 August 2010 – Attachment 33

- Fani Munengami is the MP for Glen View North in Harare, and MDC chairman for the Glen View district. He also held the position of Harare City Councillor in 2002.
- Rorana Dandajena Muchihwa was elected as the Senator for Hwata in Harare in March 2008, having previously been elected treasurer of the MDC in Harare in 1999.
- Pearson Tachiveyi Mungofa became the MP for Highfield West in Harare in 2003.
- Margaret Matienga was elected as the MP for Sunningdale in Harare in March 2008.
- Shepherd Madamombe was elected as the MP for Mabvuku Tafara in Harare in March 2008.
- Jameson Zvidzai Timba was elected as the MP for Mt Pleasant in Harare in March 2008.
- Peniel Denga was elected as the MP for Mbare in Harare in March 2008.
- Obert Chaurura Gutu was elected as the Senator for Chisipite in Harare in March 2008.
- Eliah Jembere is the MP for Epworth in Harare.
- Fungayi Jessie Majome is the MP for Harare West.
- Cephas Makuyana is the Senator for Mvurachena in Harare.
- Evelyn Muzungu Masaiti is the MP for Dzivarasekwa in Harare.
- Lucia Gladys Matibenga is the MP for Kuwadzana West in Harare.
- Edward Musumbu is the MP for Norton just outside of Harare, and was MDC chairman for the Norton district in 2000.
- Alexei Musundire is the MP for Zengeza East in Chitungwiza just outside Harare.⁴⁸

Attachments

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