

ZIMBABWE HUMAN RIGHTS NGO FORUM

POLITICAL VIOLENCE REPORT: DECEMBER 2002

16 January 2003

A report by the Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum

OVERVIEW

ZANU PF youths are said to have continued to offer food in exchange for ZANU PF membership. In the Highfield constituency, party officials at distribution points were allegedly seen holding lists of names of ZANU PF members, and of those on the lists, only those with party cards had access to maize. Those who were not on the lists were ignored. Similarly, in the month of November, the Zimbabwe Human Rights Forum documented incidents that suggested that, in the absence of a pending election, ZANU PF was controlling access to food aid, denying those perceived to be MDC supporters access¹. Political discrimination along party lines has thus continued in the month of December and this is despite repeated government denials that it is not politicising the distribution of food.²

War veterans and ZANU PF youths are purported to be intimidating civilians, assaulting them and forcing them to attend rallies in an effort to retain support. In Mbare West, Chamunorwa, Kanyoka and Tanhira, MDC supporters claim that the youths assaulted them with sticks, electric cables, small whips and other weapons, and then force-marched them to ZANU PF offices in the area. This was seen as a way of punishing the victims for not being at a ZANU PF rally that was held in the area. In a related incident, about forty ZANU PF supporters are said to have damaged property at Francis Dhlakama's offices, after accusing him of usurping the powers of the Mayor by insulting the ZANU PF deputy Mayor of the city, Onias Mariyapera. Dhlakama is the MDC Executive Mayor for Chegutu. In UMP, Takawira Chipunza, an MDC supporter, claims that Godfrey Chikono, Bigboy Muroza, Shepard Mushamba and other war veterans assaulted him all over the body with sticks, chains and booted feet. He suspects that he was assaulted owing to his political affiliation.

War veterans have reportedly continued their wave of farm evictions and property destructions. The Zimbabwe Human Rights Forum documented an incident indicating that, Joseph Mwale, a CIO official and other police officers, are said to have raided Charleswood farm owned by Roy Bennet, MDC MP for Chimanimani, rounded up everyone, and ordered all the farm workers to stop work and leave the farm immediately.

Two arms of the state, the ZRP and ZNA, have reportedly been accused by some residents of Mudzi of being discriminative, intimidatory and of disturbing the peace enjoyed in the area. Villagers

¹ *Zimbabwe Human Rights Forum November 2002 report, page 2*

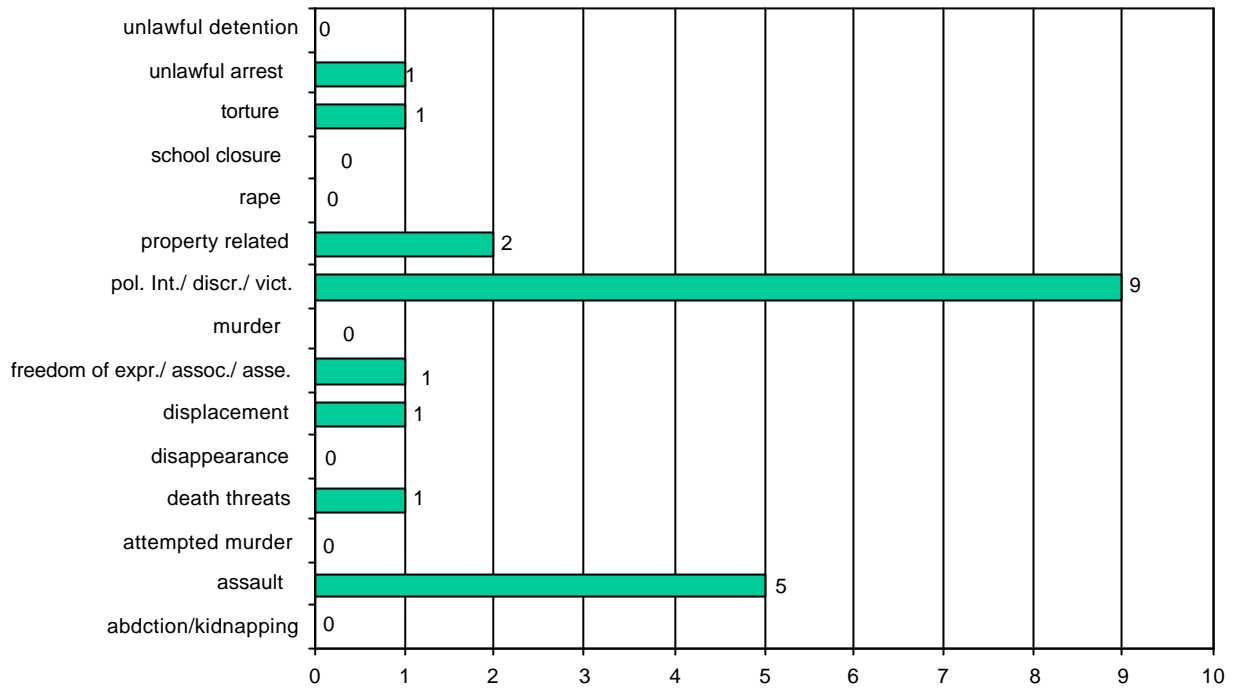
² *The Daily News, 6 December 2002, page 2*

claim that the soldiers, sent by the government to ostensibly tighten the control and distribution of the food to the residents, have disturbed the peace in the area and the smooth flow of grain distribution by confiscating the grain. In another incident, ZCTU officials suffered political intimidation at the hands of police officers, as they claim that riot police assaulted them while holding a meeting at Gorlon Building in Harare, on allegations that the meeting was politically motivated and illegal. However, the ZCTU members claim that the meeting was merely for consultation with teachers from across the country, clamouring for action to protect their interests.

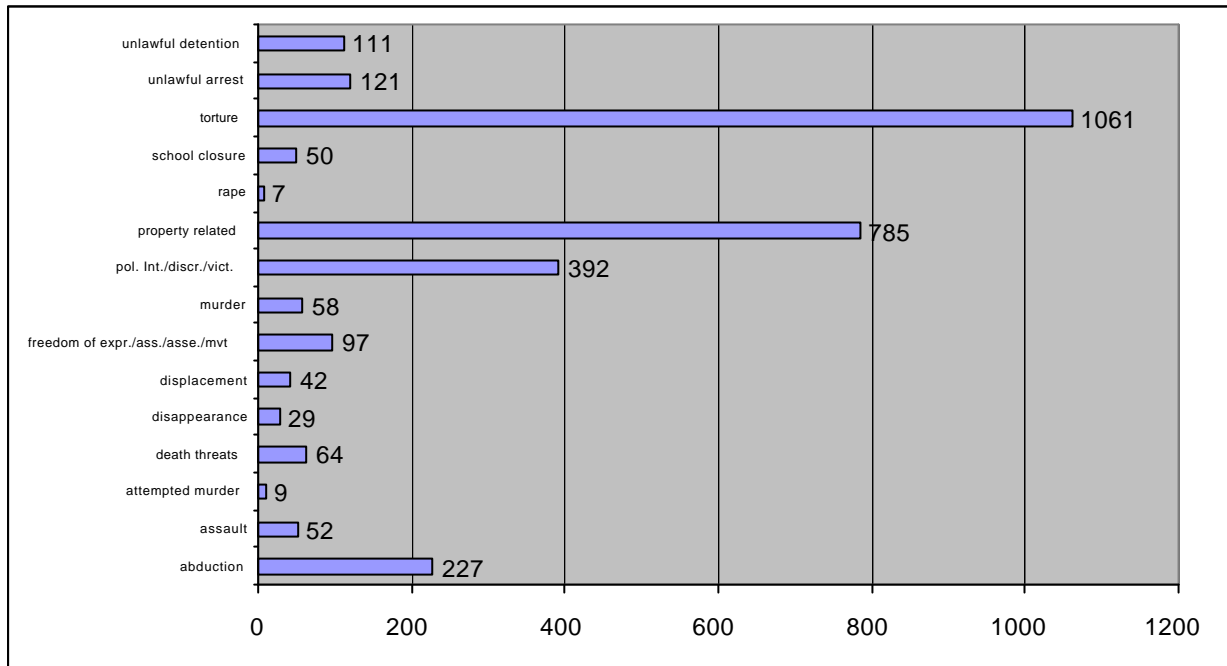
MDC MP for Seke, Ben Tumbare-Mutasa, claims that police in Dema called him, harassed him and ordered him to stop a rally he intended to hold in the area despite having received a letter from Superintendent Chisoro on behalf of the officer commanding Marondera district, granting him permission to go ahead with the public meeting.

Overall, although slight statistical decreases in violence and torture are apparent, we would like to note that due to the festive season holidays, the Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum was not able to document many incidents of political violence. This was because most of our partner NGOs, which form part of our source of information, were closed for the holidays. This therefore implies that, since all the cases included in this report are extracted from the press, the decrease in statistics for the month of December may reflect a lack of input from our normal source of information, rather than a decline in the types of political violence.

Totals 1 to 31 December 2002



Cumulative Totals 1 January 2002 – 31 December 2002



Sources: The information contained in the monthly violence reports is derived from statements made to the Legal Unit of the Zimbabwe Human Rights Forum, CFU reports, newspaper reports, and statements taken by the member organisations of the Human Rights Forum. (See last page for list of member organisations).

However for this issue, information has been extracted from press reports only.

Notes to the tables:

Torture:

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

The four elements of torture are:

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

Those individuals referred to in point # 4 include the ZRP, ZNA, ZPS and the ZNLWVA (as a reserve force of the ZNA) and by any other grouping when directly sanctioned by the state.

Unlawful arrest and detention:

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

Abduction/kidnapping:

A kidnapping by a member(s) of an organised group that is not the ZRP organisation. political party, ZNLWVA, ZNA, MDC, Zanu PF etc

Disappearance:

Kidnapped persons whose whereabouts remained unknown at the time of reporting. Their whereabouts have still to be ascertained through follow –up reports or further investigation.

Property related

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

Key Abbreviations

CIO – Central Intelligence Organisation

MDC – Movement for Democratic Change

MP – Member of Parliament

NCA – National Constitutional Assembly

PTUZ – Progressive Teachers Union of Zimbabwe

UMP – Uzumba Maramba Pfungwe

ZANU PF – Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front

ZNA – Zimbabwe National Army

ZNLWVA – Zimbabwe National Liberation War Veterans Association

ZRP – Zimbabwe Republic Police

Cases of Political Violence

Note: The identities of victims that have not been published in the press and are not public officials are protected by the use of initials.

HARARE

Harare Central

4 December 2002

- ZCTU members who had gathered to discuss issues on protection of their rights as teachers, claim that riot police operatives assaulted them while in the midst of their meeting at Gorlon Building, on allegations that the meeting was politically motivated and illegal. Earlier in the afternoon, the police had arrested ZCTU Deputy Secretary, Colleen Gwiyo, ZCTU Secretary General, Wellington Chibhebhe, as well as five other teachers outside the Monomotapa Hotel, when Chibhebhe was directing the workers towards Gorlon Building to hold their meeting. Chibhebhe claims that they were assaulted and ordered to sing MDC slogans on the way to the police station. The victims are said to have refused to do so, as they perceived this to be a trick by the police to get them to the police station singing, availing them a chance to charge them on arrival. They were held in police custody and released after two hours when the police saw that they had no charge to hold against them.

1 December 2002

- MDC youth chairman for Harare Province, Eddison Mukwasi, claims that he was at home with Fidellis Kanyemba and his family when police officers reportedly approached them and accused them of possessing and distributing pamphlets which called for the stripping of Zimbabwe's hosting of the cricket World cup in 2003, because of the political and economic meltdown in the country. Mukwasi alleges that the ZRP officers ordered him to 'abandon alliance with the neo-colonialists', the MDC, 'while it was still day'. He claims that they were arrested and taken to the police station where they were tortured and interrogated by Officer Jena and Sergeant Chikande. Despite suffering from chest pains, Mukwasi is said to have been denied the chance to seek medication. Instead, he was arrested, taken to the ZANU PF base, and is said to have been forced to sleep in a house that was teeming with insects and lice. The police refused to comment on the arrest. The ZRP officers are said to have initially charged Kanyemba and his

accomplices with contravening section 15 of the Public Order and Security Act. However, on their release, the charge stated on their Admission of Guilt Forms had changed to: “committing” conduct like to cause a breach of the peace.

Chitungwiza

December 2002

- About ten youths from the Border Gezi Youth National Service Training Centre are alleged to have assaulted Lancelot Masiwa, leaving him with bruises on his back and face and cuts on his head. Masiwa claims that he had disembarked from a bus coming from the city centre carrying three loaves of bread when he was confronted by the youths, accusing him of selling bread at an inflated price. Masiwa is said to have told the assailants that he was not a retailer, and that he had only bought the bread for his family. The youths allegedly took the bread from him and assaulted him with clenched fists and some objects. Masiwa said that his brother, whom he was walking with, tried to rescue him but was also assaulted. He fled the scene in fear. Masiwa made a report to the police at Chitungwiza Town Centre and investigations are reportedly underway. Border Gezi National Training Service Centre youths were said to be moving around Unit H identifying people who were selling bread at inflated prices and assaulting them. The government is being accused of enlisting desperate and unemployed youths into its controversial National Youth Service and brainwashing them to become violent zealots of the ruling ZANU PF party.

Highfield

5 December 2002

- Nqobani Ndlovu is said to have been severely assaulted by suspected ZANU PF youth militia at a ZANU PF base at the Gazaland Shopping Centre. He claims that the youths accused him of being an MDC supporter, and they stole \$4 000 cash and a carton of matches from him.
- ZANU PF youths are said to have continued to offer food in exchange for ZANU PF cards. Chaos was reported at Machipisa Shopping Centre as thousands of people, mostly women, allegedly battled to buy maize-meal at the ZANU PF offices by proving they were card-carrying Zanu PF supporters. This is despite repeated government denials that it is not politicising the distribution of food. Residents claimed that party youths ordered people to queue according to their ZANU PF branches, while party officials, clutching lists with names of their members,

collected money for the mealie-meal. Those who were not on the lists were ignored. A by-election for the constituency is due following expulsion of the MDC MP, Munyaradzi Gwisai.

Mbare West

1 December 2002

- Tobias Chamunorwa, Givemore Kanyoka and Pergety Tanhira, MDC supporters, claim that ZANU PF youths assaulted them with sticks, electric cables, small whips and other weapons, and then force-marched them to ZANU PF offices in the area. This was done to punish the victims for failing to attend a ZANU PF rally held in the area. One of the youths reportedly wanted to strike the three victims with a rake, but he was stopped by one of the party members who said that they did not want the people to die on them. The three claim that they were only released when the assailants suspected that the police were coming to their 'offices'. Tanhira had a swollen face, while Tobias and Kanyoka had bruises and weals on their bodies. ZANU PF youths in the area were reportedly intimidating and forcing people to attend a rally at the National Sports Stadium. Trucks going to the stadium were seen to be full of people, some of whom had ZANU PF t-shirts.

MANICALAND

Chimanimani

December 2002

- Joseph Mwale, a CIO agent, and other police officers raided Charleswood Farm, which belongs to Roy Bennet, MDC MP for Chimanimani, ostensibly in search of fire arm licences. On not finding what they were looking for, the assailants allegedly rounded up everyone and ordered all the farm workers to stop work and leave the farm immediately. However, some of the workers stopped temporarily while the rest continued working, saying they would only stop if the directive came from Bennet. Bennet has allegedly vowed not to move from his farm as it falls under the Export Processing Zone.

Makoni East/ West/ North/ South

December 2002

- There is a reported increase in the number of youths from the Border Gezi National Service Training Centre who are being accused of terrorising shop owners with impunity. It has been alleged that the perpetrators of the intimidation started when the government gazetted a new list of goods with controlled prices. The residents accused the youths of physically threatening them when they queue for food aid. Most of the residents claim that they now fear the youths to the extent that they no longer protest, even when the children went without food. One of the villagers alleges that they had witnessed the youths severely assaulting people for promoting the black market. The youths have also been accused of making unspecified threats to the shop owners for overpricing their goods. An Asian shop owner in the town reported that war veterans and youths, led by Nathaniel Punish Mhiripiri, ZANU PF Chairman for the District Coordinating Committee, raided several shops in the town of sugar, mealie meal, soap, and other basic goods, and ordered the owners to stick to the controlled prices or face unspecified action. A Police report was made but no action has been taken as yet.

MASHONALAND EAST

Goromonzi

8 December 2002

- MDC MP for Seke, Ben Tumbare-Mutasa, claims that police in Dema called him, harassed him and ordered him to stop a rally he intended to hold in the area. This was despite having received a letter from Superintendent Chisoro on behalf of the officer commanding Marondera District, granting him permission to go ahead with the public meeting. Mutasa claims that he told them that it was not right for them to renege on their written undertaking, but they threatened to disrupt the rally if he went ahead with it. Heavily armed police officers reportedly mounted roadblocks on all roads leading to the venue, confiscated Mutasa's pistol, and later returned it after they realised that it was properly registered. They are said to have chased away more than eight thousand MDC supporters from the rally, disrupting the whole rally. Job Sikhala, MDC MP for St. Mary's, claims that he was also assaulted by police officers as he had accompanied Mutasa to address the rally. Mutasa alleges that he later learnt that ZANU PF was also scheduled to address a rally at the same venue and that this might have been the reason why the police were so quick to disrupt their rally at the growth point.

Mudzi

December 2002

- Residents claim that the soldiers sent by the government to ostensibly tighten the control and distribution of food are disturbing the peace and smooth flow of grain distribution by confiscating the grain. Chipso Mususa, one of the residents, claimed that the mere mention of the word maize is in itself a gateway to assault. The soldiers were reportedly brought in to curb the black market, but residents claimed that they were doing so ruthlessly. Residents reported that they were now living on food aid from World Vision, a donor agency, as they could no longer access the grain from the government because of the intervention of ZNA officers. Residents claimed that this was another attempt by the government to play the central role in the allocation and distribution of maize. Influential civil servants and ZANU PF candidates are said to be getting first preference to buy the maize.

Seke

5 December 2002

- John Muller claims that he was attacked and humiliated by about thirty-five ZANU PF youths for allegedly defying a government order to vacate his farm. The youths and war veterans assaulted the farmer, soaked him in a pool of muddy water mixed with cow dung, and accused Muller of lying that he had not received the Section 8 eviction order of the Land Acquisition Act. He was also assaulted for having allegedly refused to lend the settlers his tractor. However, the victim's wife said that Muller had in deed not received the eviction order and the youths would not believe what he was saying. The youths also forced the farm workers out of their houses and ordered them to leave the farm. Muller and his wife had to move out of the main house and into the garage at the main farm complex. The war veterans and ZANU PF youths allegedly refused to till their portion of the farm which they had been apportioned by the government, opting to farm on Muller's side. Police officers at Beatrice Police Station were called in to quell the disturbances and they confirmed the incident. The farm was divided between the commercial farmer, Muller, and the settlers by the government.

MASHONALAND WEST

Chegutu*December 2002*

- About forty ZANU PF supporters are said to have damaged property at Francis Dhlakama's offices, the Chegutu MDC Executive Mayor, after accusing him of insulting Onias Mariyapera, the ZANU PF deputy Mayor of the city. ZANU PF supporters allege that Dhlakama had usurped his powers as the Mayor when he insulted Mariyapera by ordering him out of his office. Gabriel Chaibva, MDC shadow Minister of Local Government and MP for Harare South, claimed that his party had tightened security around Dhlakama to avert his possible elimination from office by ZANU PF supporters. Phillip Chiyangwa, ZANU PF chairman for Mashonaland West Province, said that he had ordered ZANU PF leadership in the town to investigate the disturbances in an effort to promote peace in Chegutu.

MASVINGO***Masvingo North/ South/ Central****December 2002*

- Some top ZANU PF officials have reportedly been implicated in the maize shortages in the city, taking advantage of their power and hoarding large stocks of the staple food from the GMB. It is alleged that they later resell the grain at exorbitant prices to hungry villagers on the open market. In conjunction with three officers from the GMB, the ZANU PF top officials reportedly purchased maize at the depot and established selling points, where a 50kg bag would sell for \$6.500 instead of \$1 000, which is the controlled market price. ZRP officers in Masvingo are investigating the matter. The Central Mechanical Equipment Department and a GMB salesman found dealing in maize meal hoarding, in conjunction with the top officials, were arrested.

MATEBELELAND SOUTH

Bulililamangwe South

December 2002

- ZANU PF youths are reportedly harassing travellers at the Plumtree border post, conducting body searches and confiscating foreign currency from the travellers, allegedly on government orders, accusing them of sabotaging the economy by illegally trading in foreign currency. They are also said to be waylaying border jumpers and beating them up. One of the women was reportedly attacked and had property worth thousands of dollars confiscated. An official at the border post refused to comment. The police have reportedly not taken any action.

List of deaths reported as having resultant from political violence: 1 January 2002 – 30 October 2002

NB: This list is subject to update and correction as and when new/additional information becomes available.

Name, **Political Affiliation if known, Date of Death, Province, Constituency**

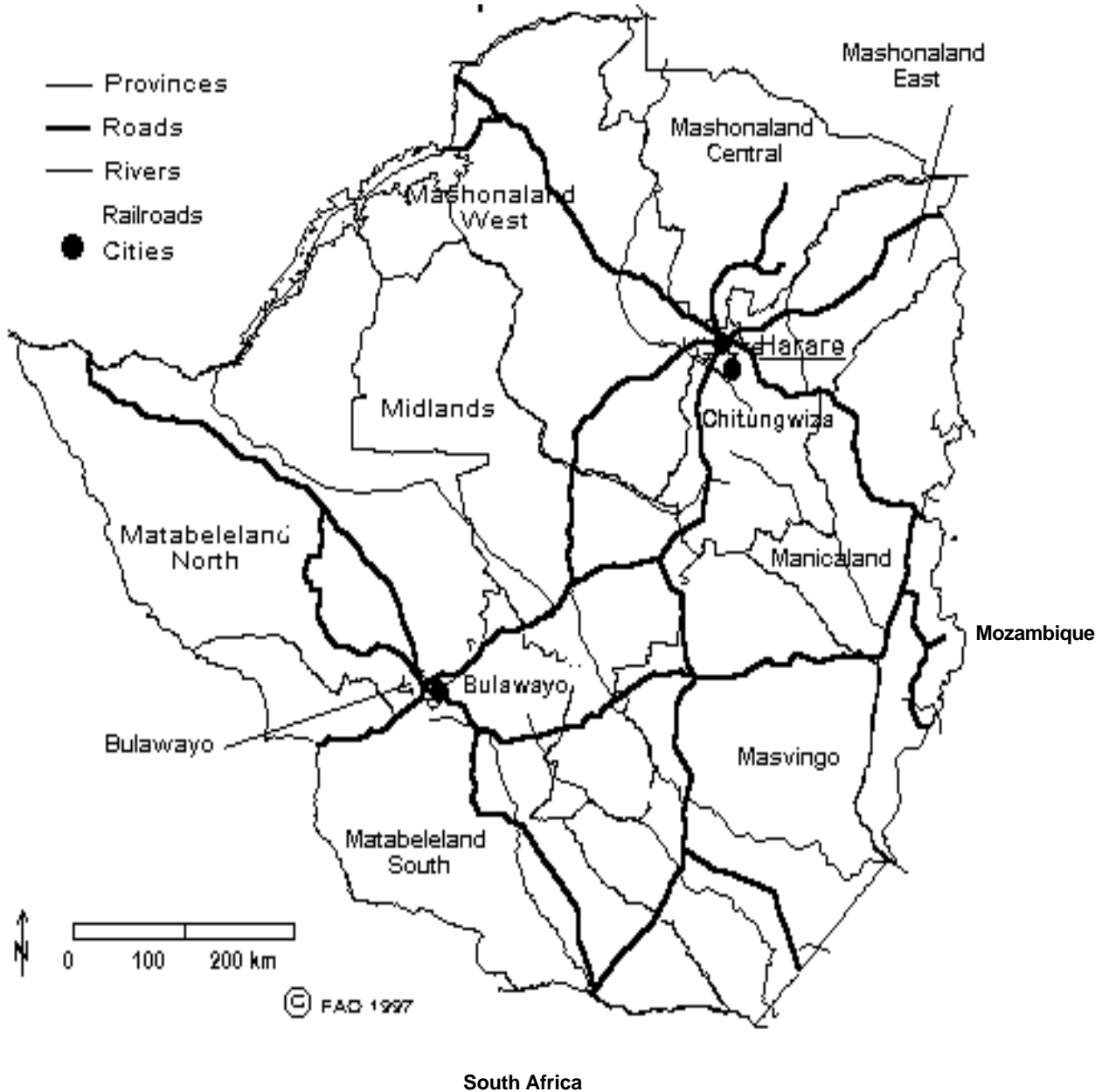
- 1 **BHEBHE, Newman** (MDC), February 2002, Matabeleland North, Nkayi
- 2 **CHATUNGA, Richard**, (MDC), 20 January 2002, Masvingo, Bikita East
- 3 **CHIDARI Micah**, (Zanu PF), 2 April 2002, Mashonaland West, Mhondoro
- 4 **CHITEHWE, Mr**, (ZNLWVA), January 2002, Harare, Hatfield
- 5 **CHIBVAMUDEVE, Nikoniari**, (MDC), 21 September 2002, Mashonaland West, Hurungwe West
- 6 **DUBE, Nqobizita**, (MDC), 1 March 2002, Bulawayo, Nkulumane
- 7 **FORD, Terry**, (commercial farmer), 18 March 2002, Mashonland West, Mhondoro
- 8 **GATSI, Ernest**, (MDC) 19 March 2002, Mashonaland Central, Guruve North
- 9 **GWAZE, Tafirenyika**, (MDC polling agent Rukwenjere), 12 March 2002, Mashonaland East, Mutoko South
- 10 **GWIDZIMA, Noah**, (Zanu PF), 4 April 2002, Manicaland, Makoni North
- 11 **JEFTHA, Peter**, 3 March 2002, Harare, Harare South
- 12 **JEKA, Petros**, (MDC polling agent), 4 April 2002, Masvingo, Masvingo North
- 13 **JERANYAMA, Donald**, (MDC polling agent), 25 March 2002, Manicaland, Mutasa
- 14 **KATSAMUDANGA, Tichaona** (MDC), 5 February 2002, Harare, Harare North
- 15 **KUMALO, Khape**, (MDC), 6 February 2002, Mashonaland West, Mhondoro
- 16 **KUVHEYA, Lawrence**, (MDC), March 2002, Mashonaland East, Chikomba
- 17 **MADHOBHA, Tipason**, (MDC polling agent), 2 May 2002, Midlands, Gokwe Central
- 18 **MAHUNI, Funny**, 13 March 2002, Midlands, Kwekwe
- 19 **MANJENGWA, Khan Ali**, (Zanu PF), 22 August 2002, Harare, Mbare West
- 20 **MANYARA, Owen**, (MDC), 17 March 2002, Mashonaland Central, Mount Darwin
- 21 **MAPHOSA, Richard**, (MDC), 20 January 2002, Masvingo, Bikita East

- 22 **MAPHOSA, Stephen**, (Zanu PF), 2 February 2002, Harare, Budiriro
- 23 **MAPINGURE, Atnos**, , 9 January 2002, Masvingo, Zaka
- 24 **MASARIRA, Gibson**, (Zanu PF), 9 January 2002, Masvingo, Zaka
- 25 **MASEVA, Amos Misheck**, (ZNLWVA), 8 March 2002, Masvingo, Gutu North
- 26 **MATOPE, Kenneth**, (MDC), 13 January 2002, Mashonaland Central, Guruve
- 27 **MIJONI, Simwanja**, 15 January 2002, Midlands, Kwekwe
- 28 **MOYO, Henry**, (MDC), 7 February 2002, Masvingo, Masvingo Central
- 29 **MPOFU, Muchenje**, (MDC), 19 January 2002, Midlands, Mberengwa East
- 30 **MTETWA, Davis** (MDC), 27 April 2002, Harare, Zengeza
- 31 **MUDZIMUIREMA Cosamu**, (MDC), 16 July 2002, Manicaland, Buhera South
- 32 **MUKAKAREI, Tabudamo**, (MDC), 14 February 2002, Masvingo, Masvingo North
- 33 **Munyaradzi** (no surname given) (farm worker), 14 February 2002, Mashonaland East, Marondera East
- 34 **MUNIKWA, Isaac**, (Zanu PF), 17 January 2002, Masvingo, Zaka
- 35 **MUPAWAENDA, Takatukwa Mamhova**, 16 February 2002, Mashonaland West, Zvimba South
- 36 **MUTEMARINGA, Fungisai**, (MDC), 27 January 2002, Mashonaland East, Murehwa
- 37 **NCUBE, Richard** , (MDC), 18 July 2002, Midlands, Zhombe
- 38 **NCUBE, Sambani** (MDC), 17 March 2002, Matabeleland North, Hwange East
- 39 **NCUBE, Mthokozisi**, (MDC), 26 January 2002, Bulawayo, Pelandaba
- 40 **NEMAIRE, Solomon**, (MDC), 23 January 2002, Manicaland, Makoni
- 41 **NGAMIRA, Genus**, (MDC), 5 May 2002, Mashonaland Central, Bindura
- 42 **NGUNDU, Shepherd**, (MDC), 5 February 2002, Mashonaland Central, Mount Darwin South
- 43 **NHITSA, Takesure**, (MDC), 20 February 2002, Mashonaland Central, Rushinga
- 44 **NYANZIRA, Tariro**, (Zanu PF), 8 February 2002, Manicaland, Buhera North
- 45 **PILOSI, Simon**, (MDC), 26 March 2002, Mashonaland West, Zvimba South
- 46 **ROMIO, Edwin**, (MDC polling agent), March 2002, Mashonaland East, Mutoko
- 47 **SANYAMAHWE, Kuziva**, (MDC), 18 January 2002, Mashonaland East, Murehwa South

- 48 **SHELTON, Lloyd**, (Zanu PF) 27 February 2002, Mashonaland East, Chikomba
 - 49 **SIBANDA, Charles**, (MDC), 2 March 2002, Midlands, Zhombe
 - 50 **SIBANDA, James**, (MDC), February 2002, Matabeleland North, Nkayi
 - 51 **SIBINDI, Halaza**, (MDC), 30 January 2002, Matabeleland North, Tsholotsho
 - 52 **SIBINDI, Joseph**, (MDC) January 2002, Bulawayo
 - 53 **SICWE, Jameson**, (MDC), 29 January 2002, Matabeleland North, Lupane
 - 54 **Unnamed, (2)**, (farm guards), 23 January 2002, Masvingo, Mwenezi
 - 55 **Unnamed**, 26 February 2002, Bulawayo, Makokoba
 - 56 **VIKAVEKA, Darlington**, (MDC), 15 March 2002, Mashonaland East, Marondera East
 - 57 **WHITE, Fanuel**, (MDC polling agent), 29 March 2002, Mashonaland Central, Guruve North
- Total of 58 deaths

(Political affiliation: MDC- 38; Zanu PF- 8, ZNLWVA- 2, Unknown/none- 10)

Administrative Map of Zimbabwe



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

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

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

The Human Rights Forum operates a Legal Unit and a Research and Documentation Unit.

Core member organisations of the Human Rights Forum are:

- Amani Trust
- Amnesty International (Zimbabwe) (AI (Z))
- Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace (CCJP)
- Gays and Lesbians of Zimbabwe (GALZ)
- Legal Resources Foundation (LRF)
- Transparency International (Zimbabwe) (TI (Z))
- University of Zimbabwe Legal Aid and Advice Scheme
- Zimbabwe Association for Crime Prevention and the Rehabilitation of the Offender (ZACRO)
- Zimbabwe Civic Education Trust (ZIMCET)
- Zimbabwe Human Rights Association (ZimRights)
- Zimbabwe Lawyers for Human Rights (ZLHR)
- Zimbabwe Women Lawyers Association (ZWLA)

Associate Member:

- Nonviolent Action and Strategies for Social Change (NOVASC)

The Human Rights Forum can be contacted through any member organisation or through:

1. The Administrator, c/o P O Box 5465, Harare – email: admin@hrforum.co.zw
2. The Legal Unit, c/o P O Box 5465, Harare – email: legal@hrforum.co.zw
3. The Research Unit, c/o P O Box 5465, Harare – email: research@hrforum.co.zw

Telephone: 792 222, 737 509, and 731 660;

Fax: 772 860

4. The London Liaison Office, 33 Islington High Street, London N1 9LH – email: zimbabwe@article19.org;
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