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INSTITUTE OF PEACE, LEADERSHIP AND GOVERNANCE

**AN INVESTIGATION INTO THE CAUSES OF POLITICAL VIOLENCE
DURING THE MARCH 2002 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION IN ZIMBABWE,
WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO RUSITU VALLEY, CHIMANIMANI
DISTRICT.**

BY

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DECLARATION AND APPROVAL

I declare that the material fact in this research are of my own work and is not a replica of someone else's work and all authors have been given full acknowledgement in this project.

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STUDENT SIGNATURE & DATE

APPROVED FOR EXAMINATION

.....

NAME & SIGNATURE OF SUPERVISOR & DATE

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DEDICATION

The project is dedicated to the late Professor Gatian Lungu for his foresight and inspiration that Africa has a potential to solve its own ills despite her bad past. I also dedicate it to God for giving me the courage to undertake this somewhat formidable task. I also remember those who died on account of the political violence in Zimbabwe 2002 Presidential Elections.

LIST OF ACRONYMS

AFRODAD- Africa Forum and Network On Debt and Development

CIO- Central Intelligence Officer

EISA-Electoral Institute of Southern Africa,

FPTP- First Past The Post

HRF -Human Rights Forum

IMF-International Monetary Fund

IRDP- Integrated Rural Development Programme

MDC- Movement for Democratic Change

USIP- United States Institute of Peace

ZANU-PF- Zimbabwe African National Union- Patriotic Front

ABSTRACT

Political violence and multivariate conflicts that have marked the region's political landscape and prompted by resource distribution, ideological contestation, social differentiation along class, gender, ethnic and racial cleavage, clearly have enormous impact on prospects for nurturing and consolidation of democratic governance in Southern Africa. Multiparty elections held by many sub-Saharan African states throughout the 1990s up to the present have been plagued by a plethora of problems that included political violence, rigging and mismanagement. Elections are central to the theory and practice of constitutional democracy. A decision to exclude particular groups from the political process through political violence represents a fundamental setback about the nature and character of legitimate political conflict going on in Africa. Investigating how such flaws affect the level and likelihood of political violence requires strict and systematic scrutiny. This study investigated the causes of political violence during the March 2002 Presidential elections in Chimanimani, Zimbabwe. Among the causal factors pointed out included, structural violence, alienation, power hunger, grievances, unequal distribution of resources and idleness on the part of youths. The research was conducted over a period of one-month using a sample of 100 participants who were interviewed by the researcher. Participants answered an administered questionnaire. The major impediment to the complete success of this research was that the spirit of fear was deep skinned to such an extend that people were preferring to discuss nicodemously on what happened. Also, due to limited time, the area was not fully covered by the researcher as it coincided with the raining period.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Few would disagree that organised political violence has had disastrous consequences for human life, and civilisation in this century. War, dictatorship, terrorism, genocide, and systems of social oppression have conspired to take millions of lives, divert precious economic resources from other human enterprises, and place the continued existence of humanity in question. Yet while a conclusion may be reached at rationally, that people may not survive our collective dependence on violence, both national states and insurgent movements cling to its use. In the absence of the international rule of law or a just world order, organised violence appears to be the ultimate recourse against intolerable conditions and grave threats to our lives, interests, and values. It persists, on the one hand, because of a widespread, but largely unexamined belief that it 'works' and on the other hand, because there are no generally recognised alternative means of resolving those critical conflicts in which one or both parties perceive the stakes as too high to permit compromise. Kruegler and Parkman (1992). Good governance is perceived by a sizeable proportion of the community as a necessary condition to the restoration and preservation of peace, stability, security and enjoyment of the good things of life. Good governance is not only regarded as essential to the legitimacy of governments and the empowerment of civil society generally, but is now seen as probably the only way out of the quagmire of crises facing the continent at the present time particularly Zimbabwe.(Lungu 1999). This was also echoed by other practitioners that good governance is now regarded as a pre-requisite for a people's welfare and a condition for donor support throughout the world. Africa Forum and Network on Debt and

Development (AFRODAD 2003). The key attributes of good governance according to AFRODAD are participation, transparency and accountability. It also promotes the rule of law and the equitable distribution of resources. Donor countries and international financial institutions have in recent years used a country's governance performance as a criterion to determine the donor's assistance. Clause 79 of the NEPAD document, reads as follows: 'It is generally acknowledged that development is impossible in the absence of true democracy, respect for human rights, peace and good governance.' Tsunga (2003)

On the other hand the IMF has used the practice of good governance as a condition for providing balance of payments support to several Africa countries. (AFRODAD, 2003).

According to Rapoport and Weinburg (2001), good governance includes the holding of elections regularly to choose leaders freely and fairly. A new atmosphere of non-violence is creating a democratic climate, which facilitates free and fair elections of representatives. They further argued that elections have been held to choose parliamentarians, presidents, church leaders and student leaders.

Elections conducted under calm conditions have brought sustainable peace throughout the world. This view was also supported by Hyden (1999). Elections conducted under a calm environment enables citizens to express their will in choosing their government. On the other hand, elections held under violent conditions have been characterized by conflicts, which have often escalated into civil wars in most of the African countries whenever the opposition rejects or boycotts them as reported by the United States Institute of Peace (USIP 2003). The Human Rights Forum 2000 report also asserted that representatives must be chosen peacefully, freely and fairly.

Rapoport and Weinberg (2001) reported that elections throughout the world may serve

important functions in democratic states, namely: (1) elections are important because they legitimatise democratic states by combining political obligation with consensual participation. To do this, elections must be public, free and should give citizens access to politically relevant information. (2) insofar as they bind citizens and parties to the state, elections may perform an integrating function in democratic states. (3) elections and the rules that govern them may also play an important socializing role in the teaching and transmission of democratic values to the citizenry. (4) elections may provide conventional means for the transfer of political power. Each of the four functions may help to reduce the possibility of political violence.

Without a culture of tolerance, free and fair elections are not possible in most parts of Africa (Daily News, 2 March 2002). This research therefore, is intended to investigate the major causes of political violence during the 2002 elections in Rusitu Valley, situated in the Chimanimani area. A non-violent culture is necessary to restore peace and confidence in the elected and local leadership of the country. People of any state yearn for an opportunity to express themselves freely to avoid conflicts in the future. Intimidation, violence, corruption, limited access to the media, all militate against principles of democracy, hence the need to investigate the causes of violence. Elections are an important feature of democracy, before forming 'a government of the people, by the people and for the people'. Representatives must be chosen peacefully, freely and fairly (HRF, 2000). Ideally, the constitution or laws of the country should establish the frequency with which elections are held. (Hyden, 1997).

SITE DESCRIPTION

Rusitu Valley in Chimanimani District borders Mozambique and is part of the Eastern Highlands of Zimbabwe. The area is heavily populated with more than 70 people per km². (IRD, 2002). The Rusitu Valley comprises 3 wards namely Manyuseni, Ngorima A and Muchadziya (21,22,and 23). The total population of the Valley is of 21 611 as shown in the table below:

Population Distribution as per District, Valley and Ward in Chimanimani.

Table 1

District	Valley	Ward 21	Ward 22	Ward 23
115 250	21 711	7 177	7 673	6 861
26 425 h/holds	4 543 h/holds	1481 h/holds	1 659 h/holds	1 403 h/holds

Source: Central Statistics Office 2002 Census

Table 2

Ward	Ward 21	Ward 22	Ward 23	Total
Male	3 397	3 456	3 035	9 888
Female	3 780	4 217	3 826	11 823
Total	7 177	7 673	6 861	21 711

Source: Central Statistics Office 2002 Census

Rusitu Valley is 50 km from the administrative center, 42 km from the nearest town Chipinge and 160 km from Mutare the provincial city. It is located in a sloppy terrain and any new comer to the area will wonder how the community survives. People in the Valley depend on fruit production and the marketing of major fruits such as bananas, citrus fruits, guavas, pine apples, paw-paws, avocado peas and to a lesser extent maize

production. Rusitu Valley receives high rainfall since it is in ecological region 1. There are very few families that keep cattle and goats although some manage to keep poultry for commercial purposes. (IRDP, 2002). The two major political parties found in this area are the MDC and ZANU-PF. See map in Appendix 2.

HYPOTHESIS

The site was selected for investigation after noting that the spirit of tolerance and good governance was minimal and reported incidences of political violence in the valley in the run up to 2002 presidential elections. Some of the basic tenets of democracy did not seem to be prevalent. For this reason the need to cultivate a culture of tolerance and the holding of free and fair elections appears paramount.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Zimbabwe is a country in crisis. Zimbabwe's 2002 Presidential election results remain under dispute. The opposition is challenging the legitimacy of the current president and of many members of parliament. Political relations are polarised and political tolerance is absent. The judiciary and other administrators of justice are operating under severe constraints. The MDC scored success in the 2000 parliamentary elections and won half of the contested seats. MDC won 57 seats and ZANU-PF 62, (EISA, 2003). There was serious politically motivated violence and severe restrictions on the party's ability to campaign. Between March 2000 and the period just before the 2002 elections, at least 107 people were reported killed. More than 750,000 people were internally displaced as a result of violence allegedly perpetrated by supporters of the government (Moyo,

E.L.2002). The Zimbabwe Human Rights Forum (HRF) reported that during 2002 alone there were 58 murders attributed to political machinations, and 1,061 cases of torture, the majority of whom were members of the opposition MDC. The opposition rejected the results, alongside many Civil Society organisations. However, some groups accepted the results. Just prior to the presidential elections US “smart sanctions” premised on human rights abuses included travel bans and freezes on assets owned by government officials. In March 2002, President Robert Mugabe was controversially re-elected to another six-year term in office. Again elections were held amidst a political atmosphere characterised by extreme polarity and violence. Human rights reports cited politically motivated murders, intimidation and harassment (HRF, 2002). The culture of political violence which marred the 2002 plebiscite caused some of the western countries to impose sanctions on Zimbabwe and the ordinary citizen is the one mostly affected hence the need to investigate what caused the political violence in Rusitu during the elections and possible remedy. (<http://www.mg.co.za/content/13.asp>) 17 February 2004. This project will focus on Rusitu Valley in Chimanimani in an attempt to answer the following questions:

1. What were the major causes of political violence in Rusitu Valley?
2. Who were the perpetrators of violence in the area?
3. What can be done to reduce incidences of political violence during elections in the future?

DEFINITION OF TERMS

Governance: Governance is the exercise of political, economic, social and administration authority in managing efficiently and effectively public affairs, in a transparent and accountable manner.

Political Violence: Acts of disruption, destruction, and injury, whose underlying conditions have political significance.

Violence: An intentional damage or destruction of property or people, often represents another of resource waste. Such damage or destruction constitutes the price paid by a conflict group for the ends sought.

Elections: A process where people choose their leaders by voting in institutions such as club, church, councils, parliament and government.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

According to Rapoport and Weinburg (2001) no subject attracts political scientists more than elections do. Still, the intimate link with violence has scarcely been noticed. A sparse recent literature exists on how ballots may eliminate bullets in civil war settlements: questions concerning why ballots create occasions for bullets and the relationship between violence-producing and violence reducing propensities of elections are ignored. They further argued that everywhere else, elections are secular events. Because elections are crucial ingredients of modern democracy, good democrats according to Rapoport (2001), will be dismayed to learn that elections are often associated with outbursts of violence, and particular in Africa. At the outset, a paradox exists in this relationship between elections and violence, a paradox, inherent in all modes of legitimate succession. According to Hope, (1997a); Olorunyomi, (2000) quoted in Hope Snr. (2002), “tampering with elections and the electoral process, for example, can lead to political violence and instability which, in turn, will destroy expensive infrastructure and scare foreign investment away. Instead, what is required is the kind of leadership that will locate the progress of the African continent in a direction away from the failure in the management of governance to which the populace has been subjected for the past several decades. The Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) reported that violence is caused by the increase of populist politicians attempting to rally mass support and as a result a coup or political violence is inevitable.(www.acdi-cida.gc.ca/cida_ind.nsf).

Nyatsanza (2001) reported that "there has been an increasing intolerance for opposite or different views. This perhaps according to her was as a result of the June 2000 parliamentary elections, which ushered in a new era of a parliament made up of predominantly of two political parties". Nyatsanza, further argued that " it is always difficult to let go or relinquish the power one has enjoyed for sometime. This is the case in Zimbabwe. In the lead up to the elections after the wake up call of the NO vote at referendum, there was a need for the ruling party to regain its power base and position as the main political party in Zimbabwe. This has resulted in an upsurge in violence. The 2000 parliamentary elections were extremely bloody with at least 30 people killed and hundreds tortured psychologically and physically and displaced from their homes." Nyatsanza, asserted that, "the culture of intolerance and violence has its root in the belief that only I am right. It discounts another person's reality. The principle example is the passing of the Presidential Pardon in 2000 for politically motivated crimes. Since some independent observers have noted that most of the violence was perpetrated by the ruling party or state agents, or at the very least the state structures were not responding to the needs of the people when confronted for violence, the implications of the Pardon are to say that violence especially when perpetrated by those in power is permissible in election or land invasions".

United States Institute of Peace (USIP), 2002, reports that the violence and inflammatory rhetoric did not cease with Mugabe's contested victory in the presidential elections. Throughout 2002, government television and radio continuously played a celebratory song for the land reform program titled "*Chave Chimurenga*". This roughly translated as

“now it is war,” which had blatantly anti-white overtones. During a 2003 funeral address USIP recorded Mugabe launching a blistering attack against the MDC, accusing the party of terrorism, comparing himself to Hitler, and concluding that “those who play with fire will not just be burned but will be consumed by that fire.” In this culture of impunity, violent threats against the country’s core democratic institutions, including the judiciary have become common place. The late Chenjerai Hunzvi, a war veteran leader and Member of Parliament, said, “the judiciary must go home or else we will chase them and close the courts indefinitely. USIP in 2002 further argued that the widespread use of torture is not a new development in Zimbabwe noted the panelists, who attended a USIP seminar on the torture in Zimbabwe. It dates back to the 1970s war of liberation from the white-controlled government of Ian Smith and has been prevalent during various upheavals since then, Epidemiological studies taken in the mid-1970s found out that about 10 percent of Zimbabweans over 30 had been tortured during the so-called Smith War.

According to Himes (1980) alienation has been cited frequently as the leading cause of collective violence. Kornhauser quoted in (Himes, 1980) saw alienation as a central feature of mass society and the major contributor to mass violence. On the other hand, Graham and Gurr (1969:xxvi) also quoted in Himes (1980), also noted that sociologists and political scientists have generally stressed the tension-generating aspects of incompatible social values and maladaptive institutions as a source of violent conflicts among groups. Himes (1980) also argued that violent conflict can occur when enough power is applied by one actor against another to produce injury, disruption, or

destruction. If, as King (1963:81) suggested as quoted in Himes (1980), a social movement generated great 'tension' and 'crisis', but left not permanent or significant damage, the struggle could be called nonviolent. If however, in the conflict relationship property were damaged, the social structure significantly disintegrated, or people were injured or killed, the process would be violent conflict. Most writers agree that violent conflict always leads to the injury or death of persons, the injury or destruction of human psyches, the disruption or destruction of social organisation, and/or the damage or destruction of material property.

Wunsch J.S. (1990) stated that in the most ideologically radical countries, severe violence was accepted as the process to be paid for single party dominance. For example, in Ethiopia today and in Toure's Guinea in the past there was ruthless suppression of those elite members deviating even slightly from the dominant leader's views. According to one estimate, Toure had several hundred thousands supposed opponents killed, including 35 close associates and cabinet members. Finn(2001) as quoted in Rapoport(2001) suggested that elections are not an alternative to political violence, but instead its source. "The relationship between electoral regimes and political violence in constitutional democracies is more complicated than we might assume: elections are not simply or always safety valves or a peaceful, non-violent means of political participation. In some cases, elections, if not the source of political violence, are at least the occasion for violence. Finn further argued that elections sometimes unloose great passion, instead of the 'reason and deliberation' in public affairs so prized by constitutionalists". Finn (2001) also, said that "election is conflict, albeit of a highly styled sort. Possible sources

of conflict in nearly every election include a losing party unwilling to cede power, as well as the tendency of frustrated parties and their supporters, encouraged by inflammatory rhetoric, to 'demonise' opponents. On the other hand, Finn further asserted that "in addition to fermenting unreason and passion, elections may contribute to violence by employing structures and rules that alienate significant actors and interests, which provide incentives for other, less gentle means of participation in political life. Electoral rules themselves can be the subject of conflict, especially insofar as 'institutions are weapons' in the struggle for political power. And in so far as election violence derives from a failure or inability to solve basic constitutional issues, the rules that govern the electoral process may themselves manifest that larger constitutional conflict, especially when it concerns not only the design, but also the desirability of constitutional forms".

McLuhan (1968) as quoted in Himes (1980), advanced the notion that electronic mass communication creates situation that generate violence. He argued that these modern communications are transforming and retribilising society, creating an intense immediacy of human contact and experience, a strong tendency immediacy of human contact and experience, a strong tendency toward violent action. In one form or another this electronic tribalising theory has been adduced to explain many violent events of recent years. Because of the traumatic and intense experience, the electronic media are held to be directly responsible for personal violence, quite apart from the operation of all other variables. Although the McLuhan thesis has been persuasive and seductive, it contributes little that is new to the explanation of modern violence. Many young people who have experienced electronic communication have committed acts of violence, but it is also true that many others come through the same experience without resorting to violence. Miller

and Schaen as quoted in Rapoport (2001) argued that violence is a depiction of the flawed social structure of any society. The violent outbursts according to them, was a manifestation of a larger power struggle among the politicians. They further argued that violence also is brought about as a result of oppression and discrimination especially in the several countries. “The failure to implement social programmes has seen outbreaks of violence in the black community, especially in the United States of America”. The research (Turner and Killian, 1972:199-222) has demonstrated persuasively that the impacts of mass communication is filtered through and conditioned by interpersonal contacts as reported in Himes (1980).

Johnston (1997) as quoted in Gutteridge (1997), also said that violence associated with political rivalry is exacerbated by acts of omission and commission by security forces, the prevalence of localised ‘micro-conflicts’, and the pathological social conditions, which are apartheid’s legacy, with reference to South Africa.

The United States Institute of Peace (USIP 2003), reported that ZANU PF has relied on the use of violence and coercive tactics to consolidate and maintain power for more than two decades. The primary opposition party following independence, the ZAPU was coercively merged into ZANU-PF in 1987. USIP further reported that ZANU-PF came to power after independence in 1980 with over 60 per cent of the popular vote. These founding elections were flawed by irregularities, violence, and intimidation-patterns that have persisted throughout the post-independence era. Hence, the 2002 presidential

elections draws its mandate for violence from the founding elections in 1980. In essence, ZANU PF has functioned as a hegemonic party; it has attempted to blur lines between party and state and to limit political activism outside the party. Due in part to a brutal colonial history and a prolonged period of white-minority rule, violence is an established feature of Zimbabwean politics. The 1896 Chimurenga (war of liberation), the first attempt to throw off colonial rule, gave rise to a mythology and language of war. In the second Chimurenga-the war for Zimbabwe's independence from colonial rule (late 1960s and 1970s)- combatants used typical guerrilla warfare tactics. The white minority Rhodesian government brutally retaliated and the war took an immense toll on the population. (USIP, 2003:3).

According to Matlosa (2003), he asserted that the type of electoral systems can also contribute to violence as major players may be sidelined through the winner takes all principle. FPTP system is conventionally regarded as critical for ensuring political stability, as it does not lend itself to coalition governments. However, this model has been identified as one of the factors behind different types of violent and non-violent conflict, as seen in Lesotho, Zambia, Zimbabwe and Tanzania although, as described above, it has not triggered conflicts of such magnitude in Botswana. He further asserted that the most interesting outcome of FPTP in the region to date, is the ushering in of a possible two-party system scenario in the recent general election in Zimbabwe. Hence, it causes violence when some smaller parties are not given chance to participate in political decision making, argued Matlosa, (2003)

Table 3: Zimbabwe Parliamentary election results, 2000

PARTY/ REPRESENTATION	NO. OF VOTES	% OF VOTES	NO. OF SEATS	% OF SEATS
ZANU PF	1 205 844		62	51.7
MDC	1 171 167		57	47.5
Zanu-Ndonga	15 776		1	0.8
OTHER	114 186		0	0.0
TOTAL	2 507 973	100.0	120	100.0

Source: Electoral Institute of Southern Africa

According to Matlosa (2003) the Proportional Representation (PR) is relatively more complex than FPTP. It draws its inspiration from the traditions of social democracies. Countries that have adopted this system include, *inter alia*, Denmark and Sweden. Although the system has multiple variants, that commonly used is the party-list. In Southern Africa, only Angola, Mozambique, Namibia and South Africa use this variant of PR. PR has a number of tenets and features with implications for the election outcome, democratisation and political stability.

According to the World Bank (2000), the constitutional innovations introduced at independence partly sought to promote long-repressed local values. But these were unavoidably blended with the formal structures of national governance introduced by European colonialism. With notable exceptions like Kenya and Zimbabwe, British

colonialism bequeathed to its former dependencies the legacy of "indirect rule," which provided considerable autonomy to "traditional" rulers-whether these were genuinely traditional or not against the backdrop of English common law.

The World Bank (2000) report recorded that the other major challenge of African countries is achieving peaceful political succession. For this, a sound institutional base and commitment to democratic principles are required. The rule of law and due process should apply to political leaders who must be held accountable for their actions in office. Violations of human rights should not be tolerated, as they have degenerated into political violence especially during elections.

The World Bank (2000) further argued that elections are not the panacea to Africa's problems. Elections alone do not create functioning democracies, and many African states that have moved to free and fair elections need to fortify basic tenets. Several factors stand in the way, including the incongruence between Western electoral systems and Africa's ethnic politics. African countries must develop democratic systems that facilitate political inclusion and representative parliaments, able to respond to the needs of a citizenry that defines itself largely in terms of ethnic kinship, it argued.

Furthermore, the World Bank report argued that most countries adopted electoral systems from established Western democracies, making little attempt to adopt them to local realities or needs. In many countries elections have been conducted on a winner takes all basis, excluding some groups from political power and this has degenerated into political violence and sometimes civil war. The report asserted that there is a high price to be paid

for this, as the most economically successful and best-educated minorities have sometimes been among those excluded.

In order to bring harmony and avoid political violence, the Bank argued that ways must be found to make electoral systems more inclusive, through diverse arrangements at the national and local levels. These might include proportional representation or hybrid systems. Even when people vote in ethnic or religious blocs, electoral systems can promote factional representation and stability. What is required, they argued, is more consensus based, decentralised, federalist-oriented inclusive forms of governance.

On the other hand although a strong state is needed and economic policy considerations should inform proposals for political reform, there are a number of options for broader and more inclusive representation in Africa.

According to Magstadt and Schotten (1984) as reported in Rapoport (2001) argued that the characteristic of totalitarian revolution is the use of violence and terror as accepted instruments of political policy. Revolutionaries have found violence to be particularly useful in reinforcing the political effect of propaganda. One student of totalitarian tyranny has observed that “terror without propaganda would lose most of its psychological effect, whereas propaganda without terror does not contain its full punch”. According to the Nazis theorist Eugene Hadamovsky, “Propaganda and violence are never contradictions. Use of violence can be part of the propaganda”. They further argued that the kind of violence commonly associated with terrorism ranges from highly selective acts such as assassinations and kidnappings to indiscriminate bombings and

sabotage that result in death and injury to innocent bystanders. Whereas sabotage is designed to disrupt production transportation, and communications systems and thereby the political stability of the state, terror is aimed at the psychological sense of personal security that is always a precondition for social stability. The epidemic of organised political violence and torture that has afflicted Zimbabwe since February 2000 has its roots both in the history of violent political problem-solving that is so characteristic of Zimbabwe as well as in the profound disrespect of the government for the rule of law. The history of organised political violence and torture, both in the past and currently, has been extremely well documented by a variety of organisations. It provides a compelling picture of governments too easily persuaded to respect to violence by pragmatic political considerations. The failure to adhere to the rule of law, and even constitutionality, is also amply described by the historical record. According to the 2000 report, the organised violence and torture have been an integral part of the political campaign by ZANU PF to maintain political power. The crisis of the rule of law is not only about the land crisis, and the failure of the government to adhere to the law and court rulings, but it is also about the way in which the government has declined to use the law to prevent violence and even excuse violence.

According to Amani Trust, a non-governmental organisation that chronicled the incidents of political violence from mid February 2000 onwards even during the much disputed presidential elections, said that some 35 000 politically motivated criminal acts occurred during the pre-election period. It found that ZANU PF supporters committed over 90% of

these crimes. The state controlled mass media prominently reported all instances of alleged violence by MDC, but ignored or played down violence perpetuated by ruling party supporters. According to Sandra Nyaira, Lloyd Mudiwa and Columbus Mavhunga writers of the Daily News, 10 January 2002, article titled 'Army Backs Mugabe' The then Army Commander, General Vitalis Zvinavashe was quoted as saying, " the national defense and security chiefs would not accept a President who does not suit their requirements such as possessing credible liberation war credentials". Zvinavashe further argued that " we will therefore not accept let alone support or salute, anyone with a different agenda that threatens the very existence eof our sovereignty, our country and our people". The Manica Post dated 1-7 March, 2002, by Gilbert Chiromba, Justice Mungwira argued that 'the political violence currently bedeviling our country has created a climate for the commission of other opportunistic crimes, a high Court judge has said". She said the above words, while opening a High Court session in Mutare and she further said, " political violence had created an atmosphere of mistrust between the state and citizens and within communities". On the other hand, the Manica Post also reported, "The National Association of Social Workers has added its voice in condemning violence following the increase in politically motivated violence. Ina press statement, Mr Douglas Machiridza, the publicity secretary of the NASW, said that "as an organisation, they were disturbed by the increase in violence in the run-up to the 2002 presidential elections. He added that as social workers they identified with victims of violence. Violence and bloodshed only brought about short-lived results as history has shown, he said. "the NASW said that peaceful evolution remains the aim for human beings striving towards freedom, social justice and a world in which conflicts can be resolved by non- violent

means. Also, the Manica Post dated 1-7 March, reported by the court reporter, said that "Four MDC supporters appeared before magistrate 's court this week to answer allegations of contravening a section of the Public Order and Security Act. They are from Bumhira Village, were alleged to have caused violence after they attempted to take over the sale of drought relief maize which was being conducted by Nyanga Rural District Council employees at Nyamaropa clinic. Mduduzi Mathuthu reporting from Bulawayo in the Daily News dated 4 February 2002, "the Methodist Church of Southern Africa(MCSA) has called on Southern African leaders to urge President Mugabe to end the political violence in Zimbabwe. We respect Mugabe as a father and hero, but we are concerned about the things he is doing. Mogae and other leaders can persuade him to move peacefully and with dignity, said Bishop Dandala".

ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

The more appealing and fairly plausible explanation of the political culture of violence and instability in Southern Africa and Zimbabwe in particular is proffered by structuralist theorists among them Galtung. Structuralist approaches to the study of political culture of violence and instability in developing countries in general and Southern Africa in particular center on the triangle of conflict comprising: (a) contestation of state power; (b) struggle over distribution of resources; and (c) social stratification and diversity premised upon identity, gender and ideology. The capture of state power is perceived by the African political elite as an end in itself rather than a means to an end. Political power is seen as a guarantee or license for economic power through accumulation aimed not at sustainable national development but at self-aggrandisement by the elite. The

combination of both political and economic power is surely meant to ensure the hegemony and self reproduction of the ruling elite and the dominant party in politics both within and outside the state sphere. The qualitative research of Johan Galtung and his colleagues on peace studies constituted a milestone in conceptualising the nexus between political violence and constraints in society. Although the research has been used to analyse other international conflicts, the political violence research has a place in the analytical framework to explain the causes of political violence in elections. Johan Galtung(1969) originally framed the term structural violence to refer to any constraint on human potential due to economic and political structures. Unequal access to resources, to political power, to education, to health care, or to legal standing, are forms of structural violence. When inner city children for example have inadequate schools while others do not, when gays and lesbians are fired for their sexual orientation, when labourers toil in humane conditions, when people of colour endure environmental toxins in their neighbourhood, structural violence exists. According to Winter and Leighton (1999) "unfortunately, even those who are victims of structural violence often do not see the systematic ways in which their plight is choreographed by unequal and unfair distribution of society's resources. Galtung, the father of peace studies discipline defines violence broadly, 'that which increases the distance between the...potential and the actual condition' This type of violence is socially obscured as part of the common sense realities of life. A person's 'potential condition' in relation to the 'actual condition' changes with society's standards of accountability. Today there are greater expectations as to what is the content of the sense, common to our society. Galtung and Fairclough (Chouliaraki and Fairclough,1999:34) emphasises the importance of an effective public

sphere to establish what society reasonably expects from its members.

Galtung's structural violence is indirect violence where the actor is not evident. There may be no intent or motive to act violently yet this may not diminish the level of violence experience. Violence may be latent or manifest, latent in that it does not exist at the moment but might easily be created. The stone (or word) thrown maybe the catalyst for a manifest escalation.(www.kalbos.it/txt/4/05.ht). A major part of Galtung's theoretical framework deals with conflict theory.(Galtung, 1996a) in which he starts with the observation that every conflict contains an inner contradiction, either in that the same scarce goal is pursued by another actor or in that the actor pursues two incompatible goals. The first elementary conflict formation in Galtung's theory is labelled a 'dispute', whereas the second formation is called a 'dilemma'. The ensuing conflict realising creative energy can either lead to violent destruction('other'-destruction or 'self-destruction) or to constructive behaviour leading to peaceful outcomes. The innate contradiction is more specifically defined as 'incompatible goal-states in a goal-seeking system', and the underlying conflict is viewed as a composite of 'attitudes/assumptions+behaviour+contradiction/content'. The resulting triadic construct of the conflict is emphasised by Galtung who also stresses that all three must be actively dealt with in order to succeed in efforts to promote a constructive outcome. Galtung, (1996a,70ff) Without exploring further this rich theoretical framework, Galtung (1996a,78-79) is stressing the obvious, namely that ' conflict presupposes goal seeking systems, and goal-seeking systems presuppose life' which can be found in many places and that goal seeking systems or 'formations' have both harmonious and disharmonious aspects, showing cooperation and conflict side by

side.(www.gmu.edu/academic/ijps/vol14_2/dedring.htm) thus to understand conflict, we must connect it to the real life human formation from which it comes in conscious as well as subconscious shape. What results is the identification of highly complex conflicts encompassing structural conflict, frustration, and elementary and complex actor conflicts of the dilemma or dispute types. Herewith according to Dedring quoting Galtung (1996a) the analyst or observer is enabled to describe the conflict formation and identify the actors and parties, the goals and the incompatibilities or contradictions. Conflict is much more than what meets the naked eye as 'trouble', direct violence. There is also violence frozen into structures, and the culture that legitimises violence. To transform a conflict between some parties, more than a new architecture for their relationship is needed. The parties have to be transformed so that the conflict is not reproduced forever. There are intra-party aspects to most inter party conflicts. Galtung (1969) further makes a vital distinction between physical violence and structural violence. Physical violence is for the amateur, using weapons in order to dominate. For Galtung, structural violence is the tool of the professional employing exploitation and social injustice to achieve domination. But beyond the latter, acting behind the scenes (and adjusting the scenery) is surely the conceptual violence of the super-professional, using disinformation and psychological operations(military psy-ops)- and the associated processes of brainwashing. Galtung (1969) quoted in Mitchel (1981) argued that Galtung emphasised three structural components, which are analytically considered separately but that, in any real world conflict, all three are intimately connected with each other in complex ways. Violence in this connection refers to the killing or injury of people and the destruction of property. Some scholars, notably Galtung (1968), have developed the concept of 'structural

violence', which is (roughly) applied to conditions in which a person is prevented by social deprivation or political repression from fulfilling his own aspirations (e.g. a situation in which a minority population is kept in deprivation with respect to the majority, but where there is no overt, violent behaviour because of the weakness of the minority and efficient policing by the majority). According to Robinson and Foster (1988) one of the most important contributions political anthropologists have made to our understanding of social conflict is that extreme and violent political behaviour cannot be dismissed as exceptional, irrational, immoral, meaningless, a sign of social pathology, of the result of either the actions of 'evil men' or the putative presence of 'violent instincts.' Just as it was once believed that social conflict and violence were inherently dysfunctional or a sign of social pathology, today, violence is still sometimes viewed as being inherently immoral and the result of either the failure of moral systems or a breakdown in social morality. However, anthropologists such as Gluckman (1955), Coser (1956), and Cohen (1969,1974) have shown that conflict and violence are not always the result of a lack or breakdown of morality, and that in fact both the occurrence of conflict and violence and the forms they take are often closely related to the moral ideologies of the conflicting parties. Conflict and violence may be the result of rational and pragmatic appraisals of moral obligations, and they may represent an affirmation of the legitimacy of moral systems rather than a sign of the breakdown. While in some contexts moral values, obligations, and constraints may serve to bind individuals and groups together, in other contexts they may also serve to divide them into conflicting parties. If there were more opportunities accessible to those young males, violence would have perhaps been reduced.

The political violence that occurred in Rusitu Valley had more to do with the structural violence and contestation over state power and the benefits that go with that for the political elite than with the simple outcome of the election of 2002. This is understandable for a structuralist point of view like Galtung and others that Rusitu Valley has a narrow economic base and the elite is perfectly aware that the state provides a critical avenue for accumulation. Thus contestation over the largesse that comes with control over state power is bound to be both fierce and violent at times. The researcher therefore suggest that there were compelling structural factors that propelled the 2002 political violence in Rusitu Valley during the 2002 Presidential elections than the simplistic reference in uncritical literature to the electoral process as such. Unequal access to resources, to political power, to education, to health care, or to legal standing, are forms of structural violence, hence the anger and frustration was expressed through the politically motivated violence that gripped Rusitu Valley. Any constraint to human potential due to economic and political structures has caused a lot of violent reactions throughout the world. According to Hovland(2003), he poses a question that why do individuals engage in violent acts/ And how should we understand and deal with violence? According to him "violence often inflicts great pain on people , and is therefore, understandably, condemned as senseless and irrational. His analysis which followed Keen's(197) argument that such condemnation does not actually help us if we wish to understand the causes of violence or how to address violence most effectively. He suggests that we should ask instead about strategies violence is (perhaps unintentionally) integrated into. According to Hovland, violence is located within a historical macro/micro dynamic-that is, the interaction between factors at a macro or socio-

economic, political level with factors at a micro or personal level. Tensions and structural violence at the macro level create tensions in people at the micro level. One of the most immediate expressions of this tension is found in individual violent acts. In South Africa and Zimbabwe for examples of this (macro-micro) dynamic can be found in the link between (macro-level) land distribution and (micro level) land invasions, sometimes accompanied by violence against the former personally. Hovland(2003) suggested that a transformative reconciliation process would need to be closely linked to an examination of root causes of violence in a society -carried out separately from government agendas.

CHAPTER 3

DISCUSSION

An investigation into the major causes of political violence was conducted in Rusitu Valley during a period of April 2004. The aim was to see the causes of political violence and to see how the communities have been affected. The research that was conducted in April 2004 in Rusitu Valley using an administered questionnaire and unstructured interview. 100 questionnaires were administered and the researcher managed to get back 50 of them. The area comprise two political parties, MDC and ZANU (PF). The following represents the data that was obtained from the Valley in March 2004 when the major causes of political violence were investigated. The major cause from the research revealed that supporting the opposition MDC or taking part in any opposition politics made one a clear target of the war veterans and youth militias as they assumed that the opposition wanted to reverse the gains of independence. The research revealed that there was violence before, during and after the Presidential elections in March 2002. This is illustrated in the following tables

Fig. 1

Violence Before	Violence During	Violence After
42	39	36

Other people were also threatened or intimidated to vote for the parties during the race and this is illustrated below: intimidation of opposition members or candidates was used to varying degrees and in some cases high degrees. 21 people who were interviewed agreed that they were intimidated or threatened by the perpetrators and 40 of the

respondents said it was targeted at other people but they also witnessed the events in the area. **Fig. 2**

Threats of Intimidation	
To respondents	Other people in the area
21	40

The other type of violence was on property and as illustrated below, besides targeting people, the perpetrators also destroyed houses in the process.

Violence at property	Violence at people
33	21

The major causes of violence during the 2002 presidential elections were many and are summarised below. Political involvement in the opposition would cause violence in the participant. Also, the clashes between youth of different political parties, that is MDC and ZANU-PF would result in violence. Lack of tolerance in the valley for example harassing someone for holding a Daily Newspaper was evidence that the perpetrators were intolerant to others. During the elections some people were writing names of their perceived enemies and this caused the people to cause violence. Some members of the community were not interested in public debates on politics and this resulted in violence. The open recruitment of the opposition members provoked the Zanu-PF as this threatened their existence. As the elections were between two candidates, the need to win election on either side provoked violence as they exchanged insults in public. In most

cases as reported the need to please masters who were sponsoring their activities resulted in people clashing and this resulted into political violence. Both parties were not accommodating each other in their campaigns and this resulted in political violence in Rusitu Valley, Chimanimani. The anti-opposition campaign by the ruling ZANU-PF has sown seeds of violence before, during and after elections. The perpetrators were given incentives by the politicians so that they would continue with their political violence with impunity as the rule of law was suspended. Power hunger was also noted as the major cause of violence in the valley. Those who were supporting MDC and those supporting ZANU-PF wanted their leaders to be in power and those who have been enjoying power since 1980 were very aggressive to defend their position. ZANU-PF feared to lose elections and they resorted to their old styles of violence which was long engrained in the political system of Zimbabwe. Even if you were not a supporter of MDC, but sympathising with their ideologies and ideas would result in violence being done to them in form of political violence. Some youths wanted food and money which they were promised, would be given by the ruling elites and this resulted in them causing violence with impunity. Other people were doing political violence as a result of ignorance as they thought MDC wanted to take back the country to the whites and recolonisation of Zimbabwe by Britain. The people who were involved in the violence included the youths in the ruling party as well as the MDC youths, the war veterans, as well as the police. The CIO, the army and hired green bombers were also named as perpetrators of political violence as they were preventing free campaigning. ZANU-PF supporters were also named as perpetrating violence. Some teachers who were partisan to the ruling party were also causing violence and inciting the youth also beat people wantonly. The

situation created therefore would not allow for free and fair elections during the elections. Since the rule of law was supposed suspended the people were beaten, tortured, maimed, raped and others lost their lives. One teacher at Ndima secondary school passed away in unclear circumstances. Some people in Rusitu Valley were left with injuries and there was wanton destruction of property. There was an unofficial curfew. Targeted people in Rusitu Valley could not move freely as suspected members of the opposition were beaten, detained, raped and deprived of food. Other people were made to sit on burning wood, tortured and made to sleep man with man. During the presidential elections, war veterans and youths militias walked to the residents of those whom the suspected were opposition members and they were harassed. In the process of chaos property was looted from shops under the guise of terror and some houses were destroyed. People could be arrested for no apparent reasons and people voted under duress and some did not even vote as they were fearing that they will be victimised for voting the opposition. There were compulsory rallies and there were recorded verbal attacks and those who were brave enough to wear opposition t-shirts told to remove them and surrender to ZANU-PF leadership.

Those people who received injuries and burns were hospitalised. The researcher also asked if there were reports made to police and the following diagram depicts what happened. Some reported to police and some did not. The police reacted to the reports in a mixed feeling. At one time the arrested would be scot-free the next morning or they deliberately ignore the reports. The research that was carried in Rusitu Valley revealed that the 2002 Presidential elections was marred by political violence and there was no

climate for a fair and free elections.

Fig. 3.

Reports to Gata Rest Camp Police Station at Copa	
YES	NO
31	4

31 cases were reported and 4 were not reported. Out of the 31 cases, only few cases were investigated and the perpetrators would boast to have caused terror to opponents. This hindered the population of Rusitu Valley to exercise their right to vote and the election did not give room for fair campaigning.

The respondents' response on what could be done to reduce incidence of violence. Some said there is need for intervention of the United Nations especially on elections before, during and after elections to reduce incidences of violence. The participation of international observers were urged by the respondents at all centers throughout Zimbabwe. The youths who were the large share of perpetrators should be given something to do to alleviate the problem of violence eruption. The various political parties should be engaged in dialogue in order to find ways of alleviating the situation. The need to affiliate to any political party should be freed not restricted to one party. The security of the voting exercise should be strict. Both leaders especially from MDC and ZANU-PF, Morgan Tsvangirai and Robert Mugabe should sow seeds of tolerance in the country and there is need to allow observers from voter registration. Repressive legislations like Public Order and Security Act (POSA) and Access to Information Personal Private Act (AIPPA) should be repealed to allow for free association and access

to independent newspapers as the national ZBC station are dominated by ZANU-PF. In a situation such as the 2002 Presidential elections, the respondents responded that the police should not take sides in any situation and political leaders must teach their followers to abstain from violence. The other section of the respondents said that the opposition should not show off to provoke the ruling party. In all campaigning all parties were urged to respect human life and a culture of understanding/respecting a brother regardless of having different opinions. Political parties should be given common platform and times, as is the case on television in USA. People should be allowed to vote freely without let or hindrance, intimidation and threats as this militates against the dictates of democracy and good governance in society. People in Rusitu Valley need to be taught about their civil rights well ahead of elections, before the election fever grips the nation. Perpetrators should be brought to book like what Human rights Forum produces monthly. An overwhelming reaction was that there is need to establish an Independent Electoral Supervisory Commission like in South Africa, Botswana and other neighbouring countries. The respondents also suggested that the army, CIO, and police should be freed from political manipulation in as much as they have liberated the country. The statement by the joint security personnel towards elections was intimidatory to the voters as they said that they will not allow a leader without war credentials. The other strong view which came from the respondents was that the ruling ZANU-PF was angered by the emergence of a strong political party MDC since it was used to have ZANU-Ndonga, ZUM, ZUD and other smaller parties which were naturally destroyed. The opposition parties were not given chance to campaign at rallies, in the press or the national broadcaster. Drought relief food and farming inputs such as maize and fertiliser

were given only to members of the ruling ZANU-PF. During the period in question (March 2002) any service was given based on the allegiance to ruling party. The major concern was that other people were ferried from one area to another so as to campaign for any political party as this would encourage violence. People who do not know the other parents would cause violence in impunity knowing fully well that they do not belong to that area. The fear that gripped the ruling ZANU-PF also contributed much to the violence as the people were dicing with win or lose situation, also the ruling party was said to be fearing to answer questions after losing elections. The President of the Republic of Zimbabwe was quoted as saying, he has degrees in violence and the subsequent training of Border Gezi youths was a direct indication that the loins were girded for a fight with the opposition. The other perception in the ruling party is that the party thinks that there is no party that can govern this country besides them since they liberated the country. The police played a crucial role in the political violence as the perpetrators of violence especially those from the ruling party were not arrested. Those who committed these acts from the opposition were arrested and some were charged with public violence. The elections under these findings were far from free and fair. The other major controversy was the land question, it was taken as a campaigning tool that MDC does not want the majority to have land, but the white minority. The MDC however, from their policy documents were concerned about the process of acquisition as this was classified as chaotic. Most of the youths who were involved in violence were paid to do so by the parties. The government trained youths militias who were zealous to experiment their newly acquired skills on their brothers and sisters. The people in the area generally were afraid as some of them have been victimised for taking part in

opposition politics during the 2002 Presidential Elections. The people of Rusitu Valley were beaten, killed, raped, maimed, intimidated and harassed by suspected war veterans and youth militias.

CHAPTER 4

APPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Having obtained the data that Rusitu Valley was marred by violence that was related to the 2002 Presidential plebiscite, there is need to address the issue of dealing with the causes of political violence. The structure of the society be it political, economic and socially should be examined to allow for all the people to have their full potential without hindrance from the violence targeted at them. The aspect of lacking tolerance should therefore be addressed by both parties as they should influence their supporters to be tolerant of each other. The root cause of the problem is more useful to deal with than to deal with the symptoms only. More research is needed to evaluate if peacebuilding initiatives can be problem solving in the Valley. The area can not be classified as ethnically divided but the shortage of satisfaction on the human needs and other essentials needs from this rich resource area usually result in violence. The major impediment to the complete success of this research was that the spirit of fear was deep skinned to such an extend that people were preferring to discuss nicodemously on what happened. Also, due to limited time, the area was not fully covered by the researcher as it coincided with the raining period.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In a nutshell, it can be concluded that the culture of tolerance, participation, transparency, freedom and other precepts of good governance are still new and scarce in Rusitu Valley hence the need to inculcate the culture of tolerance and democracy where different views are paramount to the development of the area. It may be argued that the political violence that engulfed Rusitu Valley may have also occurred in different parts of Zimbabwe. It may therefore be wise to conduct further researches in two or three districts to compare and make generalizations for the rest of the country. This emanates from the fact that some responses were also recorded from the literature review that indicated that violence was also experienced. The current situation of political violence emanates from the inaugural elections in 1980, which were reported as having been violent and the rest of them up to 2002. There is an urgent need to have an Independent Electoral Supervisory Commission, which will run the elections without fear or favour. This project strongly recommends that:

- ◆ A new constitution should be put in place so that the terms of office and powers of the executive are checked from time to time.
- ◆ The running of elections should be left to an independent electoral supervisory commission. Violence is likely to be fuelled when people have no confidence in the monitoring situation.
- ◆ I recommend that there is need for peace committees in the area to allow for tolerant of divergent views and opinions.
- ◆ To petition the United Nations that holding the 2005 general parliamentary elections under these same conditions, the results of the plebiscite are predictable, hence the

need to put in place mechanisms that promote for a free and fair election.

- ◆ Political parties should avoid bussing campaigners from other constituencies to come and cause violence in areas they are not known
- ◆ Members of the uniformed forces and CIOs should be not be partisan a to reject or accept an elected candidate and they should be scrutinised and made accountable for their actions whilst at work.
- ◆ More civic education to allow the people of Rusitu Valley to make informed decisions in life
- ◆ Research to be carried in more than three District to find out the causes of violence and recommend to the United Nations

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APPENDIX 1

QUESTIONNAIRE

Fill in the spaces provided, the appropriate answers for the questions.

1. When were you born?.....
2. Sex? Male.....Female.....
3. Were there any incidents of political violence before, during and after March 2002 Presidential elections?
Before During After
4. Did you receive any threats or intimidation during the Presidential elections?
Yes.....No.....
5. Was the political violence targeted at other people or yourself?.....
6. Was the violence targeted at property?.....
7. What were the major causes of political violence if there was any?

8. Who were involved in causing political violence?.....
9. What happened during the violence period?.....
10. Was any incident reported to the police? Yes.....No.....Were the perpetrators arrested? Yes.....No..... Do you know the people who beat/harassed you? Yes.....No.....
11. Did you experience political violence at any other time? Yes.....No.....
12. Have you been forced at any time to carry out political violence
Yes.....No.....
13. What are the situations where this has occurred?.....
14. In your own view what can be done to reduce occurrence of political violence during

elections?.....
.....

15. Any other comments that you feel contributed to political violence during the 2002 elections _____

APPENDIX 2 MAP

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Moses Semwayo was born on 30 October 1975 to Anna and Wilson Semwayo of Mutsvangwa, Chimanimani, Zimbabwe, Africa. He is the sixth born out of eight children. He is currently pursuing a postgraduate Diploma in Peace, Leadership and Governance at Africa University's Institute of Peace, Leadership and Governance. He holds a Bachelor of Arts with Education with speciality in Geography and Religious Studies. He started his education at Mutsvangwa Primary School, he did his Secondary education, both at Mutsvangwa and Rusitu Secondary School in Chimanimani. He later did his advanced Level at Chikore High School, Chipinge in 1996. He worked as a temporal teacher from February 1997 to May 1997 at Shundure Secondary School, Bocha, he worked as a timber handler at Forestry Commission, Mutare. He taught as a qualified teacher at Mutsvangwa Primary and Rimbi High School from the period September 2001 to March 2003. He worked in the Outreach Office where he assisted in the birth of the Institute of Peace, Leadership and Governance. He is currently the President of Mutsvangwa Youth Association and former President of Chipinge/Chimanimani University Students Association (CHUSA) at Africa University. (2000-2001). Semwayo has been the Faculty of Education class representative since 1997-2001. Semwayo has been involved in students and national politics. He is also a full member of the National Constitutional Assembly (NCA), which rejected the government-sponsored Constitution in February 2000. This project is not his first publication/article, he has contributed significantly in the Africa University Library "The Educational impact of Cyclone Eline: A case of Ndimba primary and Secondary Schools in Chimanimani", Africa University Student

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