# ZIMBABWE

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# Police Commissioner-General Chihuri's words portray extreme partisanship

The Zimbabwe Republic Police -1 " lic Police shall not and I repeat shall not sit on its laurels while innocent citizens of this country let alone police officers are being decimated by uncouth opposition political elements in a naïve and imbecilic attempt to make our country ungovernable" were the bold words spoken by Police Commissioner-General Augustine Chihuri at the funeral of a police officer who was allegedly fatally assaulted by MDC-T supporters in Glenview last week.

Again the police commissioner-general is seen here sulking on behalf of another political party. What opposition political elements? We have always thought there was a government of national unity that Chihuri is under oath to serve professionally in a nonpartisan manner. How can a nonpartisan uniformed officer refer to any political party in Zimbabwe as the 'opposition' or Chihuri is perhaps confirming the obvious that all along he has been a partisan ZANU-PF supporter who has been masquerading as a police commissioner but has in fact lost all objectivity and professionalism?

In his public statements Chihuri speaks as though he was a ZANU-PF spokesman rather than a police officer who subscribes to the principles of natural justice that every person is innocent until proven guilty by a competent court of law. He declares 'opposition political elements' guilty suggesting that he himself belongs to a 'ruling party'.

Instead of playing the role of investigator and keeper of peace the Commissioner is seen here issuing threats on behalf of another political party. How did Chihuri prove beyond reasonable doubt that it was the MDC-T behind this heinous crime? Why is he so sure that ZANU-PF did not in fact murder this policeman in a calculated move to frame the MDC-T?

Or perhaps the policeman could have been killed in incident unrelated to politics. We have a Commissioner of police here who has already assumed the role of the courts and is making irresponsible public statements that prejudice other political parties especially the accused. By choosing to politicize a 'nightclub' incident and leaving the blame squarely at the door of the MDC-T the Commissioner assumes the role of the court – dealing a fatal blow to any chances that the accused MDC-T supporters will get a fair trial.

He completely disregards the principles of natural justice and abandons his role as investigator and usurps the roles of the attorney general and the judiciary to determine the guilt of the suspected individuals. While the murder of this police man is deeply deplorable and must be condemned in the strongest terms, it is unfortunate that the Commissioner has identified an opportunity to slander political parties that he doesn't like in the process. The Commissioner appears to have a hidden agenda to portray the MDC-T as a violent party so as to justify future selective application of the law by his force.

The behavior of the Commissioner in this whole situation is unfortunate and should be a confirmation to SADC of a highly partisan security sector whose refor-



LOYAL TO THE PARTY: Police Commissioner Augustine Chihuri has not hidden where his true loyalties when executing the duties of his office. -zimbabweinpictures.com

mation has become an emergency. Chihuri's words remove all doubt on where his allegiance lies and poses more questions than answers on whether justice will be delivered. His reference to the MDC-T as an 'opposition' party despite the party being in the GNU and also controlling parliament has left all doubters crystal clear about whose interests the Commissioner serves.

While the death of this policeman should not be overshadowed and justice pursued in bringing the perpetrators to book, Commissioner Chihuri's behavior and utterances must be put in their proper context and recognized as a threat to justice in this country. He legitimizes all the accusations that have been made against the security sector as a willing appendage of ZANU-PF to perpetuate repression.

Chihuri clearly sees himself as a ZANU-PF member by branding the MDC-T as an opposition party. While his right to support the party of his choice is reserved. it is when his love for ZANU-PF begins to interfere with his public duty to protect all Zimbabweans regardless of political affiliation that we all begin to worry.

His willingness to use the police as a vengeance tool rather than to promote peace and justice must not escape unnoticed. His unrestrained behavior has eroded the little credibility left of the ZRP as a professional police force.

The attack on this police officer should be viewed as frustration by the masses of the biased and repressive behavior of the police. It is a wake up call for the regime that the masses will not be intimidated any more. SADC's focus must now be on a possible uprising looming in Zimbabwe as the masses begin to show signs of impatience with the regimes unrestrained repression.

Chihuri must be reminded that stepping up the repression machinery will not necessarily yield his desired outcome of submission but could escalate resistance as seen by the increasing attacks on police officers by members of the public.

By Malvern Mkudu, a political & social commentator.

#### Introducing A New Partnership with The Zimbabwean

his edition of the Zimbabwe Briefing marks the beginning of a new and exciting partnership with a popular Zimbabwean newspaper. The Zimbabwean has kindly agreed to publish and circulate our weekly briefing newsletter as an insert in the newspaper published every Thursday. This enables us to be more effective in reaching a wider audience in Zimbabwe, within SADC countries and beyond.

This is an interesting phase in the development of the Zimbabwe narrative - SADC will meet in Sandton at the end of the week to deliberate over a proposed Zimbabwe elections roadmap that may give hope to millions in Zimbabwe that life will retain to normal once again.

However, cent events on the ground are not encouraging at all. Last week the unfortunate death of a police inspector following a brawl at a nightclub in Harare saved to highlight how the police force continues to be partisan and non-professional. Police carried random raids in the suburb or Glenview and arrested scores of MDC supporters and charged them with murder. The accused were denied access to their lawyers and they reported torture by police while in custody. Senior members of the police have issued public statements blaming the MDC for the murder and insinuating that

the arrested suspects are guilty even before they appeared before a competent court of law.

The incident has been used as propaganda fodder to entrench polarization on the completely baseless view that the MDC is somehow responsible for the unfortunate fatality. Preparations for the special SADC Summit on Zimbabwe are in full swing - and one hopes that SADC will see the light and focus, not only on getting parties to sign a clear roadmap, but more importantly on crafting clear time-frames and a mechanism to enforce decisions agreed upon.

The mantra for SADC should be: implementation, implementation, implementation. Otherwise, alongside the GPA, we will end up with a progressive roadmap that noone is willing to implement because there are no measures attached to non-compliance.

Look out for The Zimbabwean Thursday! every

## ZANU PF and the Securocrats' shameful violence narrative

s the SADC Special Meeting on Zimbabwe scheduled for South Africa this weekend approaches, ZANU PF's propaganda machinery, elements of the partisan securocrats have been desperately trying to create a false and delusional violence narrative where they want to portray themselves as the paragons of virtues, norm compliant and the protector of citizens' fundamental civil and political liberties.

This opinion attempts to unmask this shameful and disheartening false narrative that is premised on the unfortunate murder of Police Inspector Petros Mutedza two weeks ago by elements that are yet to be convicted by the courts of law through a professional and competent judicial process.

I will also seek to expose the pervasive nature of the selective application of the law by the security establishment in Zimbabwe, ZANU PF's legacy of impunity, the crimes against humanity committed by elements of the security apparatus from the Matebeleland and Midlands massacres between 1981-1987, the 1985 violent elections, the 1998 food riots, the 2000 violent farm invasions and the murder of more than 15 white commercial farmers and workers to the 2000, 2002, 2005 and 2008 violent polls.

The arrests and attacks against journalists from the independent media and lawyers as well as the fire-bombing of The Daily News printing machine in February 2001 and its offices in central Harare in 2000 with no single prosecution to date clearly show the political thread of violence  $associated \,with \,the \,ZANU\,PF\,government.$ My argument is that the extra-legal and extra-judicial behavior of the security apparatus associated with events during above periods must be put into context whenever the discourse on human rights violations, the rule of law and the democratization of Zimbabwe is raised any level and platform.

A victim of ZANU PForchestrated political violence.-zimbabwedemocracynow



These cases will assist my postulation that the political violence narrative that ZANU PF attempts to shift to the democratic forces that are struggling to return Zimbabwe to democratic norm compliance premised on the observation of the rule of law and the protection of individual liberties is a nullity and an exercise in futility.

Failing to take these historical events into account in post independence discourse on Zimbabwe's democratization will allow the devil to run away with the Bible, exactly what ZANU PF and the security apparatus is attempting to do as the country faces SADC leaders this weekend. I seek to argue with evidence that it is as clear as a goat's behind that ZANU PF and the security apparatus' attempt to blame the democratic forces and main formation the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) for acts of political violence is meant to hoodwink SADC leaders, the general public and the rest of the international community who want to see

the democratic resolution of Zimbabwe's twin crisis of legitimacy and governance through free, fair and democratic elections free from political violence and involvement of the partisan security apparatus.

The critical point that should be observed is a well-defined, structured institutional thread of violence by the security apparatus and vigilante groups associated with ZANU PF's. The argument being advanced is that the arena of political violence is one for ZANU PF to contest against itself and should not be allowed to mislead anyone that the party and its surrogate security apparatus have repented and reformed. President Mugabe, the leader of ZANU PF has publicly confessed that his party is a violent institution when he ranted about "having degrees in violence" in the run up to the violent June 2000 elections. After Mugabe threatened his political opponents, the country experienced an orgy of violence where perceived opponents of ZANU PF were murdered in cold blood while others lost their properties. As a result of the legacy of impunity associated with Mugabe and ZANU PF's rule none of the perpetrators were arrested, some of them remain on the pay roll of the State.

In fact, Mugabe abused his powers of clemency and pardoned ZANU PF activists who had committed heinous crimes on behalf of his party. Today, some of these elements continue to abuse human rights because they know that there are no consequences at law for their criminal conduct because of the protection they get from the State.

The use of violence by ZANU PF is legendary and uncontested. In his book, The Story of My Life published by Sapes Trust in 2001, the late Vice President of Zimbabwe Joshua Nkomo described how the President Mugabe and the government-controlled media incited violence against him and Continued on Page 4

## No dignity in death for diaspora deceased

This is my first column for the Zimbabwe Briefing. As with all first contributions, I have put a lot of thought to the title and subject of interrogation. After much agonizing, in the end I organized my thoughts on the issue of conscience, drawing from a book on torture, in human and degrading treatment that I have recently read. I have labored on the title of the column and topic of discussion not because of shortage of material to write on, but because there is simply too much, especially when the issue is Zimbabwe and the region.

This column will deal with moral values, principles

and standards that govern individual and institutional behavior not only as it relates to human rights and wrongs, but also to our inter-relationships as a collective of the human family. In sharing opinions, I will also try to avoid semantics and the temptation of being to didactic in approach. My first topic will focus on the friends and relatives who have passed on while in exile, but have not been accorded decent treatment, even in death. Before I do that, I will have to define what conscience means.

and others that we may not even get to know. During the weekend, I had to go to Mabopane just outside Pretoria to make inquiries and to offer support after the death of Reverent Mufaro Stig Hove in suspicious circumstances. For those who may not know him, Reverend Hove was a fearless champion of human rights in Zimbabwe who was based in South Africa. He appeared frequently on television in this country, and was known for his hardhitting articles on his blogs such as The Radical Soldier. As with other activists and human rights defenders, Remember Moyo was tortured for allegedly kill-

the country. This last month alone saw the deaths in exile

of Remember Moyo, Jimmy Mhlanga, Lawrence Shana,

ing Cain Nkala, a senior war veteran in Zimbabwe.

Conscience be my Guide with Gabriel Shumba

#### **Conscience defined**

Conscience has generally been defined as "The awareness of a moral or ethical aspect to one's conduct together with the urge to prefer right over wrong." (http://www.answers.com/topic/conscience). It has also been interpreted as "the inner sense of what is right or wrong in one's conduct or motives, impelling one toward right action..." and "the complex of ethical and moral principles that controls or inhibits the actions or thoughts of an individual." (http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/conscience). Below I want to explore why conscience is important in our treatment of Zimbabweans who have died outside the Motherland, but I will begin with a look at their plight.

#### **Deaths in the Diaspora**

I have spent 8 years in exile in South Africa. During this time, I have attended funerals or been asked to assist in repatriating bodies of many loved ones who perished outside He spent over a year in prison for a crime he did not commit until he was forced to flee to South Africa. Those of us who have been externally displaced often endure indignity both alive and in death.

To begin with, some of us have been tortured or raped, thus forcing our subsequent move into exile. While in exile, there is the double trauma of not having legal documents, food, shelter, jobs and other basic rights. Others are raped while in transit to Botswana, South Africa and neighbouring countries.

In South Africa and Botswana, there is the added debasement of xenophobic treatment in which a significant number has been killed. Once dead, you would expect that we would be treated with a modicum of decency, but alas, many who have died in exile have been given pauper's burials. In part, this is because those displaced have no funeral policy, nor friends and relatives to assist with the needed resources to enable decent burial, let alone repatriation to Zimbabwe. Friends and relatives have thus been exposed to degradation, vainly appealing for assistance from one under-resourced institution to the other. This therefore undermines the ability with which siblings, surviving spouses and other relatives are able to give decorum to the burial of loved ones.

#### **More Challenges**

Apart from repatriation difficulties, the challenge that people in exile face when they pass on, especially asylum seekers and refugees, is that of resources. There is a misconception that the Diaspora is well resourced. This means that those in Zimbabwe who might have been able to contribute to a decent burial often do not do so, thus

further straining relationships that have been undermined by the displacement of those who have left the country. Secondly, for those who look up to political parties and the government through the embassies for support, the assistance has been very minimal if any, thus adding to the feeling of alienation and betrayal within the Diaspora community. Such feeling of rejection usually undermines patriotism, and may place a hurdle on the possibility of successfully repatriat-

ing skills back home when conditions become conducive.

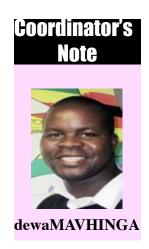
#### My Call on Conscience

In calling on conscience, I suggest that it is important for the government to set aside separate funding that can be channeled through embassies for funeral assistance of the Diaspora. I also encourage business people outside the country to work with civil society organizations and churches in order to set up a fund that can be used for this purpose. It is also important for Zimbabweans based outside the country to start a project or policy that can assist in this respect and to work closely with host countries to ensure that the indignities that we suffer in exile do not follow us in death.

Gabriel Shumba is a Human Rights Lawyer and Executive Director of the Zimbabwe Exiles Forum. He is based in Pretoria, South Africa.

## **SADC Urgently Requires A Robust Enforcement Mechanism**

The SADC Organ



n Saturday, 11 June, SADC leaders will meet in Johannesburg to discuss the perennial Zimbabwe crisis for the umpteenth time. The conclusion of those talks, however, is forgone: some kind of roadmap to Zimbabwe elections will be agreed upon by Zimbabwe's political leadership and guaranteed by SADC. The challenge, however, is the implementation of agreed terms, which spotlights the urgent need for SADC to institute a robust enforcement mechanism for its decisions.

Traditionally, SADC has always arrived at decisions on the basis of consensus resulting in weak decisions regarding regional peace and security matters. On Zimbabwe the approach was not to openly criticize the ZANU-PF regime in deference to principles of absolute state sovereignty and noninterference in the domestic affairs of member states. For these reasons, the fairly straightforward political and governance crisis in Zimbabwe proved difficult to resolve with any degree of finality and has dragged on for much of the last decade.

Troika on Defense, Politics and Security resolutions on Zimbabwe taken in Livingstone, Zambia on 31 March this year signified a departure from SADC's traditional modus operandi. For the first time SADC leaders publicly noted 'with grave concern the polarization of the political environment as characterized by, inter alia, resurgence of violence, arrests and intimidation in Zimbabwe.' They boldly demanded an immediate end to violence, intimidation, hate speech or harassment. The SADC Organ Troika leaders further resolved that the inclusive government in Zimbabwe should complete all the steps necessary for the holding of the election including the finalization of the constitutional amendment and the referendum. They offered to assist Zimbabwe to formulate guidelines that will assist in holding an election that will be peaceful, free and fair, in accordance with the SADC principles and Guidelines Governing Democratic Elections.

The very positive and hope inspiring SADC Troika resolutions can only

be relevant to the needs of ordinary Zimbabweans if they can be translated into positive action. But of course president Mugabe and ZANU-PF, the party that wields de facto political power in Zimbabwe, are unwilling to implement credible reforms to ensure free and fair elections where violence and intimidation play no part. So we rule out the possibility that these resolutions will ever be voluntarily be implemented in Zimbabwe - present a need to explore other options that SADC has to consider to ensure that its resolutions on Zimbabwe are implemented fully.

Previously, SADC agreed positions on Zimbabwe have collapsed at the hurdle of implementation. President Mugabe and ZANU-PF had no problems appending their signatures to the Global Political Agreement (GPA) on 15 September 2008 - a transitional power-sharing agreement guaranteed by SADC and the African Union – knowing that, as they promptly did, they could ignore the GPA with virtually no consequences. From the day the GPA was signed to date the MDC formations have been struggling with a list of complaints and outstanding issues stemming from the non-implementation by ZANU-PF of clear GPA provisions. For instance, in terms of the GPA, parties agreed to bring the security sector under civilian control and oversight through the installation of the National Security Council where prime minister Tsvangirai is a member, and the immediate dissolution of the notoriously partisan Joint Operations Command (JOC). The National Security Council, though in existence on paper, is defunct, while JOC continues to function.

SADC has so far failed to ensure that the GPA - which it guaranteed together with the AU - is fully implemented. If, as many are hoping, the Livingstone Troika resolutions spirit endures and SADC leaders come up with a clear roadmap to fresh Zimbabwe elections, then the challenge will be how SADC enforces that roadmap. If it is to give effect to its resolutions, SADC now has to institute a robust enforcement mechanism for its decisions. President Mugabe and ZANU-PF should be clear that failure to timeously implement SADC resolutions will attract appropriate action from SADC. Of what use would it be for SADC to guarantee arrangements that it cannot enforce? Or to give ultimatums that are without punitive measures if ignored?

An effective Zimbabwe elections roadmap guaranteed by SADC should have clear timeframes within which agreed critical reforms, including of the security sector, must be carried out. SADC must also spell out clearly what actions it will take to enforce its decisions. A Zimbabwe elections roadmap without an enforcement mechanism would be a sheer waste of resources and time. It is up to SADC to bring the issue of Zimbabwe to closure and to acknowledge that sometimes dictators understand one language - that of action - and not endless talkshops that yield no tangible results for the suffering masses in Zimbabwe.

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## A visit to the National Archives of Zimbabwe

recently visited the National Archives of Zimbabwe and was captivated by what I saw there. It is one of those places I pass by daily but had never thought of actually visiting and touring the place. During one of my classes in the last week, I had the opportunity to tour the place and what I found there was rather interesting.

It made me reflect on my activism and the kind of contribution that we can all make in transforming Zimbabwe. It also made me realize that this whole issue of transforming the nation has different faces and depending on what side one stands, the perspective changes totally. Moreover, I realized that what goes around comes around and that truly, nothing is new under the sun!

The pictures, newspaper clippings and historical context were intriguing. What caught my attention the most were the newspaper headings... The Rhodesia Herald of Saturday 4 March 1978 read, "Leaders in historic signing," Reflecting on this, I was reminded of Zimbabwe in September 2008 when the Global Political Agreement was signed by the three main parties which include the two MDC formations and ZANU PF. It was a historical moment indeed but what still baffles my mind to this day as it does many of the young people and women of this beautiful country Zimbabwe is that, just as it was back then in 1978, the representation of these two special interest groups was absent! Moreover, despite the fact that the women and youth had been key players in the liberation struggle, their interests were not represented. The question then is, for how long will the women and youth stand by and let other people take control of their destiny and let their lives be run and defined by other people who purport to represent their interests when the opposite is true?

This is the time that transformation has to occur and that people are inspired by the mere vision of having a Zimbabwe where everyone can participate and have their voice engraved in the history of the nation. Another interesting headline that caught my attention was the one from The Chronicle of Monday 8 March 1980 – Rhodesia is now a Republic. When one takes up the word republic and looks at it, I would settle for Rhodesia being called a democracy. In that regard, it meant that the nation was now to be defined by equality, fairness, justice and an almost Canaanite "land of milk and honey".

However, three decades after this declaration, it is sad that the very basic freedoms (freedom of speech, association and expression) that many gallant daughters and sons of this nation sacrificed their lives for is still a mirage. It is difficult to start to imagine the kind of legacy that is being imprinted on the minds of the younger generations. What with no clean drinking water, electricity, poor educational standards and yes, the list could go on. It is no wonder Zimbabwe has lost its place in Africa as the bread basket! As a young woman activist, I have always believed in transformation

of the self to better the society and I still stand by that. It is the moment today that Zimbabweans should begin to reclaim their heritage and define this country as the Republic that it should be. It is up to you and me to make that difference that we would like to see in this nation.

True, we may not be impressed by the standard of leadership we see in various circles but it is too our responsibility to ensure that we begin to write the kind of history we will not flinch when future generation read about. A legacy that will inspire those to come to want to build onto what has been made because it will be exemplary and the true model of a republic the sort that was celebrated for on that day in March 1980!

Let us redefine what sovereignty means for the youth and women of Zimbabwe, as WE see it! Zimbabwe is born! That was the head line that hit The Herald on Friday April 18 1980 as I continued my tour of the Archives. Looking back, it is obvious the joy the people in Zimbabwe felt as their faces showed it. After so much toiling, bloodshed, sweat and struggle! Finally, their hard work had paid off and Zimbabwe was indeed born! However, the fruit of their labor has been lost... the gains of their toil forgotten and their memory almost nonexistent. There has been so much suffering in Zimbabwe that others wish there could be the birth of another nation. Unfortunately, there is no other birth; this is the Zimbabwe that you and I have to live with.

It is, however, not all doom that is spelt, there is hope for you and me and we can indeed work toward a re-birth of the nation of Zimbabwe. Let us say no to violence and the polarization of our communities. Let us not allow the army and other security sector agents to define our space as youth and women.

Let us become key players in the current affairs of this nation and redefine our destiny! Gandhi is famous for saying that we can be the sort of change that we want to see and this is the time that you and me as Zimbabweans can come together, hold hands and bring our heads together as we strategize on where Zimbabwe has to be headed.

There is nothing that is impossible and the more of us there are the merrier, Zimbabwe can be born again and it takes you and me. LET US NOT BE SILENT ABOUT INJUSTICE, CORRUPTION, VIOLENCE, ABUSE AND UNFAIRNESS, LET US SPEAK OUT AND MAKE THE DIFFERENCE! So the next time you see a museum or place that could be of historical significance, do not shy away, visit it reflect, it could be your moment of enlightenment to get Zimbabwe to the next level of transition and democratization!

Grace Chirenje is a female activist who writes from Zimbabwe. Her interests are women, youth and children issues.

UPCOMING ACTIVITIES:

Special SADC Summit on Zimbabwe, Sandton Convention Centre, Jo'burg, South Africa (11-12 June)
Zimbabwe Week (hosted by Ditshwanelo, the Botswana Centre for Human Rights), Gaborone, Botswana. (6-10 June)
IDAZIM Zimbabwe in Transition Seminar Series: SADC Mediation And Engaging With Security Sector Reform in Zimbabwe, Holiday Inn Sandton, Jo'burg. 8 June (from 2pm)
Zimbabwe Solidarity March and Rally for A Clear Elections Roadmap, Sandton Convention Centre, 11 June. (from 11am)

## ZANU PF and the Securocrats' shameful violence narrative

From Page 2

PF ZAPU supporters before the infamous Gukurahundi massacres begun in 1982.

Nkomo said, "Following my dismissal from government, my life became dangerous. Hostile publicity was directed towards me in the government-controlled press. My wife became seriously worried, especially when the Prime Minister liked ZAPU to a cobra and said the only way to deal with a snake is to strike and destroy it...Over the next year, ten people connected with the cooperative movement I was fostering were killed. In each case eye witnesses said the attackers were carried out by armed and uniformed men. Six district councilors elected as ZAPU representatives were killed in similar circumstances...In Parliament the Prime Minister (Mugabe) pointed a finger at me and proclaimed before the television cameras that the father of Zimbabwe had become the father of dissident."

These were the words of arguably Zimbabwe's leading nationalist. They point to a situation of lawlessness and incitement to violence against ZANU PF political opponents. Nkomo tells us how ZANU PF used the security apparatus to commit extra-judicial killings. He also tells us that there was no recourse to the justice system because the whole system was an appendage to ZANU PF.

Where was the police force that is currently making noise today? Are they telling us that the life of inspector Mutedza is more important than the life of the thousands who died during the Gukurahundi massacres and the other periods that followed? The Dumbutshena (1981) Chihambakwe (1983-4) Commissions and of inquiry into the Midlands and Matebeleland massacres commissioned by Mugabe vindicated Nkomo's cries of state-sponsored violence against unarmed civilians, a flagrant violation of both domestic and international law.

The Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace in Zimbabwe (CCJP) reported, Breaking The Silence, further authentic the atrocities committed by the security apparatus and ZANU PF vigilante groups with the acquiescence of the State. In 1998, during the food riots, more than 10 Zimbabweans were shot dead by the security forces. There were no investigations into the extra-judicial killings.

The elections that followed in 2000, 2002, 2005 and 2008 were marked by similar lawlessness and extra-legal activities including extra-judicial murders such as the murder of Talent Mabika and Tichaona Chiminya at Murambinda growth point in Buhera in April 2000 and the 2008 murders of Tonderai Ndira and Better Chokururama among more than 100 others In the case of the late Mabika and Chiminya, former High Court, judge, Justice James Devitte ruled during an election petition by the MDC in May 2001 that the murder of the two activists was "a wicked act" and ordered the police and Attorney General's Office to arrest and prosecute among others Joseph Mwale, a mem-



A member of the Zimbabwe National Army (ZNA) -zimeye

ber of the Central intelligence Organization (CIO).

Ten years later, Mwale remains an employee of the government and beyond the reach of domestic law for now. These incidents should remind human rights advocates that ZANU PF has no moral authority to speak about the death of a single officer as if the heavens have been brought down when we have the unconcluded Gukurahundi massacres and all other cases that follow. SADC and its leaders should trade carefully when ZANU PF talks about human rights violations.

It so argued because given the magnitude of the violations of human rights associated with the prior regime of ZANU PF, some of its leaders are potential candidates for the International Criminal Court (ICC) in the Hague. There is compelling evidence to argue for their indictment despite the fact that Zimbabwe is not a signatory to the Rome Statute establishing the ICC. However, like the case of leaders of Libya and Sudan that are not part to the Rome Statute, a UN Security Council referral will make them accountable to international justice.

This article does not seek to condone the death of inspector Mutedza but seeks to expose the dirty hands of ZANU PF and surrogate security apparatus in this case the police. It also seeks to remind the security apparatus and Zimbabwe's politicians that at all times, this country should not tolerate the selective application of the law. Just as it is imperative to bring to justice those who killed Mutedza, it is equally critical to bring to justice individuals responsible for the Matebeleland and Midlands massacres and those that lost their lives from the 1985 elections to the sham June 2008 elections.

It is also important to remind the State, ZANU

PF elements in the inclusive government and the blatantly partisan securocrats that Zimbabweans who lost their relatives during the sad historical episodes described in this article find it very offensive that the ZANU PF side of government and its blind sidekicks seem to be worried by the loss of one officer and remain aloof about the thousands who still cry for justice.

In this regard, the SADC leadership should trade carefully with evidence brought before it by ZANU PF and surrogates and put into perspective any propaganda claims of political violence because as far as the use of violence for political survival is concerned, there is a body of irrefutable evidence that ZANU PF needs to reform and address this scourge. It is at the epicenter of violent political activities in Zimbabwe.

Critically as well, human rights advocates and the democratic opposition should also carefully consider the kind of information they put in the public arena on political violence. I find it to be academically shallow, ignorant and abusive to talk about human rights violations in post independent Zimbabwe without premising the debate on the Matebeleland and Midlands massacres.

I argue so because in terms of the menu of human rights violations post 1980, the dinner was enjoyed in the 1980s and what we saw from the elections in 1990 to 2008 is dissert.

Pedzisai Ruhanya is a Senior Human Rights Researcher. He is also Senior Programmes Manager at the Criiss in Zimbabwe Coalition.

### Crisis Regional Office Addresses Botswana Civil Society Breakfast Seminar



n Tuesday, 7 June, Crisis in Zimbabwe Coalition Regional Coordinator, Dewa Mavhinga, joined ZIMRIGHTS director Okay Machisa, Southern African Litigation Centre director Ms Nicole Fritz and representatives from Zimbabwe Election Support Network in addressing a breakfast seminar in Gaborone organized by the Botswana Civil Society Coalition for Zimbabwe (BOCISCOZ) and facilated by

Ms Alice Mogwe, Director of DITHSWANELO, The Botswana Centre for Human Rights. The breakfast seminar which marked the beginning of 'Zimbabwe Week' – a week in which various films and documentaries on Zimbabwe will be screened, including the ZIMRIGHTS documentary on the 2008 electoral violence and national healing efforts that followed. Botswana government representatives together with Ango-

lan and South African Embassy officials attended the seminar. BOCISCOZ in a statement said, 'As members of Botswana civil society, we are deeply concerned with the crisis in Zimbabwe due to its direct impact on the lives of ordinary Zimbabweans as well as on Botswana. We have observed, with concern, the direction in which current talks appear to be going. We are also concerned about reports of arbitrary arrests.' With over 25 member civil

society groups including the Botswana Council of Churches, the Teachers Union, DITHSWANE-LO, and MISA, Botswana, BOCISCOZ commands a large following and has influence with the government of the country. Zimbabwe civil society representatives also addressed a groups of Zimbabwe immigrants at the Anglican Cathedral Church in Gaborone and discussed issues around elections and the need for a prop-

erly managed diaspora vote. On Thursday, 9 June, BOCIS-COZ will present a petition to the government of Botswana that has concerns from Zimbabwe civil society groups including a call on Botswana to support in SADC a credible elections roadmap that has clear time lines and an enforcement mechanism. We thank Botswana civil society groups for their active solidarity with the people of Zimbabwe.