



# POST RUN-OFF PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION REPORT NO.4

The Report focuses on trends and patterns in politically motivated human rights and food related- related violations in the post run off presidential era. The Report comes against the background of one of the most volatile run ups in Zimbabwe's post independence electoral history. The Report is also presented at a time when the two main political parties, ZANU PF and the MDC, are engaged in protracted unity and power-sharing talks. However, while there are high expectations of a peaceful post election era, reports from provinces tell a different story. Violence practices are stubbornly retreating with most pre election vices still manifest, a month after elections. It is political business as usual in most provinces as post era violence has assumed extortionist inclinations with perpetrators now seeking to make quick capital out of the political plight of their victims by charging a returnee's fee, protection fee, acceptance/clearance fee, pardon fee, registration fee, Victory Celebration subscriptions, among others. In some provinces, pre-election base camps are still operational with some that had temporarily closed reportedly re-opening as youth training or information centers. The Bacossi program which should bring food relief to both rural and urban areas is also at high risk of political abuse, worse still, if the ban on Humanitarian NGOs and the political impasse drags on. ZPP recommends that the political leadership walk the talk of peace and tolerance, taking concerted effort to cascade the message of peace to their grassroots structures. Reports of the enforcement of Operation WANGA WATUMWA NANI [Who Gave Authority] are a welcome development that should be enforced with more vigor in all the ten provinces. Post election efforts should be directed towards solving the plight of the Victims of Violence as well as monitoring Food Politics in existing Government food distribution networks. The GNU route should also be closely monitored as its success/failure has a direct bearing on prospects of peace and justice in Zimbabwe.

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## **OVERVIEW**

### **The Background**

This Report comes against the background of one of the most highly politically charged election periods in Zimbabwe's post independence electoral history, an era typical of a nation at war with itself. As chronicled in the June Post Election Violence Report, rural areas were virtually sealed off from opposition rallies while freedom of movement was severely curtailed with villagers being asked to carry passes and other authorizing letters if they intend to visit another village. Hate speech, incitement of violence, and threats of war characterized electoral campaign rhetoric.

Calls by Thabo Mbeki [the South African President and commissioned SADC mediator between ZANU PF and MDC], Jacob Zuma [the South African ruling ANC president] and the former South African President [Nelson Mandela] to postpone the election, exhorting the two political actors to engage in power-sharing talks did not see the light of day as the ruling party presidential candidate argued that they were only amenable to negotiations after the election and ridiculing those criticizing the decision to go ahead with the poll as "making idiotic noises that would not bother us". So were the calls by the then SADC chairperson and president of Zambia, the late Levy Mwanawasa; the SADC Organ on Politics, Defense and Security, and Jean Ping, the Chairperson of the African Union Commission.

The condemnations that accompanied the run up also dogged the election outcome with world leaders dismissing the presidential run-off as a "sham" or "farce", the African National Congress Youth League Chairperson Julius Kalembe calling it "a joke of the worst order", UK based Zimbabwean lawyer and political analyst Alex Magaisa describing the election outcome as "pyrrhic victory for ZANU PF" while South African based Zimbabwean businessman Mutumwa Mawere referred to it as an election that had "no sheen of legitimacy" with another local commentator caricaturing the election as "stone-age politics on display".

Reports by the Pan African Parliament Observer Team, the African Union Observer Mission, the Botswana Observer Team, and the SADC Election Observer Mission [SEOM] Preliminary Report also roundly condemned the election process and outcome as generally "not giving rise to the conduct of free, fair and credible elections", "falling short of accepted AU standards", "not representing the will of the people of Zimbabwe", and "not conforming to SADC Principles and Guidelines Governing Democratic Elections", among others. The Group of Eminent African leaders that include Nelson Mandela also expressed visible disquiet on the conduct of elections, generally describing the election as illegitimate and in fact a dark patch in Africa's electoral history.

### **Observed Scenarios**

While elections have come and gone amid reports of a resumption in inter-party talks between ZANU PF and the two formations of the MDC, scenarios from July ZPP

monitoring reports tell a different story. Election violence is reportedly in stubborn retreat!

The political climate remains tense, fear of retribution still haunting the nation. Society is yet to come to terms with the ugly scars of the pre-election era. Opposition politics is still viewed as a political crime. Tolerance of different political views or even the sight of someone donning opposition regalia remains on the low side in both urban and rural areas, while opposition activities remain on blackout on the national electronic and press media. Just a week after the election, an incident of arson was recorded in Chitungwiza on 6 July when a factory belonging to Kambuzuma MDC MP Elect was reportedly petrol bombed.

While unity and peace talks are going on at the political leadership level, in some provinces, it is business as usual. The message of peace is yet to cascade to grassroots structures. In most rural constituencies, new violence campaigns have emerged under operations *Show Red Finger, No Vote No Food, Why Did You Vote and Akavhotera MDC Muno Ndiyani [Account for the MDC Vote]*. Under Operation *Show Red Finger*, not having the indelible red ink on one's finger was akin to endorsing the MDC NO VOTE campaign. At Hopley farm in Harare, by 28 June, a witch-hunt for those who voted for the MDC had started with reports of eviction threats to those suspected to have voted for the MDC or spoiled ballots.

Under *Akavhotera MDC Muno Ndiyani [Account for the MDC Vote]*, rural residents were reportedly asked to account for any votes in their areas with headmen and chiefs ordered to sniff and identify those likely to have voted for the opposition in their jurisdictions. In Nyika area, Chikunguru villagers were on the 30<sup>th</sup> of June reportedly assaulted by ZANU PF youths and war veterans and ordered to account for the 6 votes which were cast for the MDC T presidential candidate at the local polling station.

Retributive violence has also reared its ugly head in the form of subscriptions to the 27 June ZANU PF Presidential Victory Celebrations which are presented to villagers as a must for everyone, irrespective of one's political affiliations. Known and suspected MDC supporters are reportedly targeted to foot the Celebrations bill through donations in maize, money, chickens or beasts, this at a time when villagers are reeling under acute starvation!

Victims of retributive violence are reportedly still denied medication. In the Gokwe Chireya of Midlands, a MARS ambulance which was coming from collecting victims of violence was on 6 July reportedly impounded by police at Gokwe centre. In Manicaland, nurses at Chikore Rural Health Centre were reportedly under "order not to serve any sick or injured MDC members".

Family and community social relations are reportedly at grave risk as political intolerance worms its way into rural and urban family settings infusing political friction among family members. In some cases, tensions have reportedly flared up in families where wife and husband, brother and sister or in-laws pursue different political pursuits. In Harare a Dzivarasekwa woman was on 13 July 2008 reportedly

severely assaulted by her brother for commenting that “Mugabe is not a legitimate president”.

Returnees are greeted with new threats of “your case is not yet over although elections are over” before reportedly being hauled before village kangaroo courts or base camps headed by war veterans and militia to answer charges of “selling out” and “seeking refuge” and disgracing the country’s name by seeking refuge at embassies of foreign countries with those found guilty asked to pay a fine or perform community service in their respective areas. In one reported case, community service entailed watering fields belonging to war veterans for a specified number of days while in Mberengwa West, twelve victims of political violence who had fled to Zvishavane during the run up to the presidential run-off elections, were reportedly ordered to pay one ox each by Chief Mapiravana as “fine for being MDC members and for them to be pardoned”.

Extortionist practices are fast becoming visible features of post run off violence. Village heads are reportedly making money out of the crisis with suspected or known opposition supporters reportedly being asked to pay a “protection fee”, “returnees fee” or “acceptance/clearance fee” “registration fee” [either in ZANU PF or on the Bacossi food list]. On 3 July 2008 some villagers in Choruwa, Murewa South were allegedly ordered to pay a fine in the form of a beast by village head for their names to be cleared and “registered in ZANU PF” while on 4 July, teachers at Chimou Government School were forced to pay 100 billion dollars and 750ml cooking oil to the Chimou base commander for their names to be cleared of the opposition tag.

Far from being a relief to the villagers, Bacossi<sup>1</sup>/People’s Shops are emerging as fertile havens for food politics. At most village meetings in the rural areas, the program is reportedly projected as a political bonus for those who remained resolute in their support for the ruling party while suspected or known MDC supporters are threatened with denial of registration on the Bacossi program.

Pre-election bases are still operational with some that had temporarily closed reportedly re-opening as youth training centres or “information centres”. In some rural areas, villagers are reportedly still forced to attend base camp meetings and make contributions in money, mealie-meal, goats, chickens and other such to sustain base operations. In Manicaland, between 10 to 15 war veterans and around 200 youth militia were by mid July reportedly still camped at Dowa primary school while a base camp at Inyati mine which had temporarily closed was reportedly reopened.

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<sup>1</sup> **BACOSS**I (Basic Commodities Supply Side Intervention) – a multi dimensional Reserve Bank initiative set up to ensure the availability of basic commodities to the vulnerable members of the Zimbabwean society with a sole objective alleviate the current shortages in the formal markets, especially in the rural areas. **(Extract from “Basic Commodities Availability and Social Safety: the case for Zimbabwe” by Dr. G Gono Reserve Bank Governor – 26/07/08)**

A retaliatory mood is reportedly building up in some provinces with yester-victims turning into perpetrators. Some previous victims have turned into perpetrators themselves either to protect themselves or in retaliation to violence perpetrated against them. This retaliatory mood seems to arise from growing perception that reporting to the police is an exercise in futility as victims are often referred further to war veterans in the area [who may have been behind the attack in the first place]!

The month of July was also witness to pockets of fresh farm invasions and increases in wild-life poaching. A Ceuta farmer Ben Freeth and members of his family were allegedly assaulted on 30<sup>th</sup> June after a raid on their farm by suspected ZANU PF members. Footage of the badly beaten farmers was shown around the world. According to press reports, a group of war veterans reportedly raided Imire Safari Ranch in Marondera demanding that farmer John Travers shoot three impala for them to eat [Standard, 6 July 2008]. The perpetrators reportedly left with the impala after informing the farmer that Imire Farm was among the farms listed for take-over. Imire is involved in rhino conservation work. It is designated as a black rhino breeding area and is therefore not part of the land redistribution program. If the perpetrators [who appear to have taken the law into their hands] succeed in evicting Travers, animals at the ranch would be slaughtered.

An environmental catastrophe is looming in Gwayi and Lupane Conservancy of Matebeleland North due to an upsurge in wild-life poaching activities in protected areas by alleged ZANU PF militias camped at bases throughout the province. Elephants and buffaloes at conservancies, national parks and Communal Areas Management Program for Indigenous Resources Program [CAMPFIRE] are at high risk of over-hunting. Bases which were reportedly established in each ward since April have not been dismantled even after the 27 June run-off.

A new version of scorched earth post election violence is reportedly taking shape in cotton producing areas where known or suspected displaced MDC supporters have their cotton picked or looted as political punishment.

In some cases, post election retribution has also assumed a-moral dimensions with one bizarre incident in Manicaland where a known MDC supporter from village 4, Headlands was on 6 July allegedly forced to have open sex with a suspected MDC woman while the militia allegedly “watched and sang”!

Also disturbing is the continued pre-election NGO indefinite suspension, a particularly worrying issue given that most parts of the country are drought-hit and therefore directly dependent on NGO relief agencies for their survival and that the highly politicized access to the scarce subsidized GMB maize.

### **SOME ENCOURAGING DEVELOPMENTS**

However, reports of inter-party talks between ZANU PF and the two factions of the MDC are indeed a refreshing development raising hopes of a quick fix to the political crisis that has gripped the nation for the past eight years.

There are also reports of the dismantlement of ZANU PF bases by the police, arrests of some members of the ZANU PF militia who had reportedly terrorized suspected MDC supporters in the countdown to the June run off, reportedly under operation *Wanga Watumwa Nani? [Who Gave Authority?]*. In Matebeleland North, 61 year-old war veteran of Bulilima East was allegedly sentenced to 9 years for stock theft on 7 July. The war veteran had reportedly forcibly driven villagers' cattle to feed war veterans and militia camped at Mghegula base camp during the run up. On 9 July 2008, ZANU PF activists from Gwanda [reportedly in fear of "Operation Wanga Watumwa Nani" [Who Gave Authority?]] ordered war veterans to disperse from their camps and go back to their homes. In Chegutu, around 48 people linked to ZANU PF on charges that include robbery, stock-theft, kidnap and assault were arrested during the first week of July. Some of the detained youths were allegedly facing charges of robbing and assaulting white farmers in Mashonaland West province.

By the 10<sup>th</sup> July, calm was also reportedly returning to the high density suburbs of Mbare with reports that a group of suspected ZANU PF youths militia that used to force people to attend midnight vigils and to vote for the ruling party candidate were arrested on common assault charges.

On 6 August, the MDC and ZANU PF political leadership reportedly issued a joint communiqué [for the first time] condemning violence, hopefully the exhortation will cascade to political grassroots structures across the country. It is also hoped that in the name of peace and justice, the political leadership will walk the talk by ensuring that all reported cases and the yet to be reported cases of violence are investigated and perpetrators brought to book.

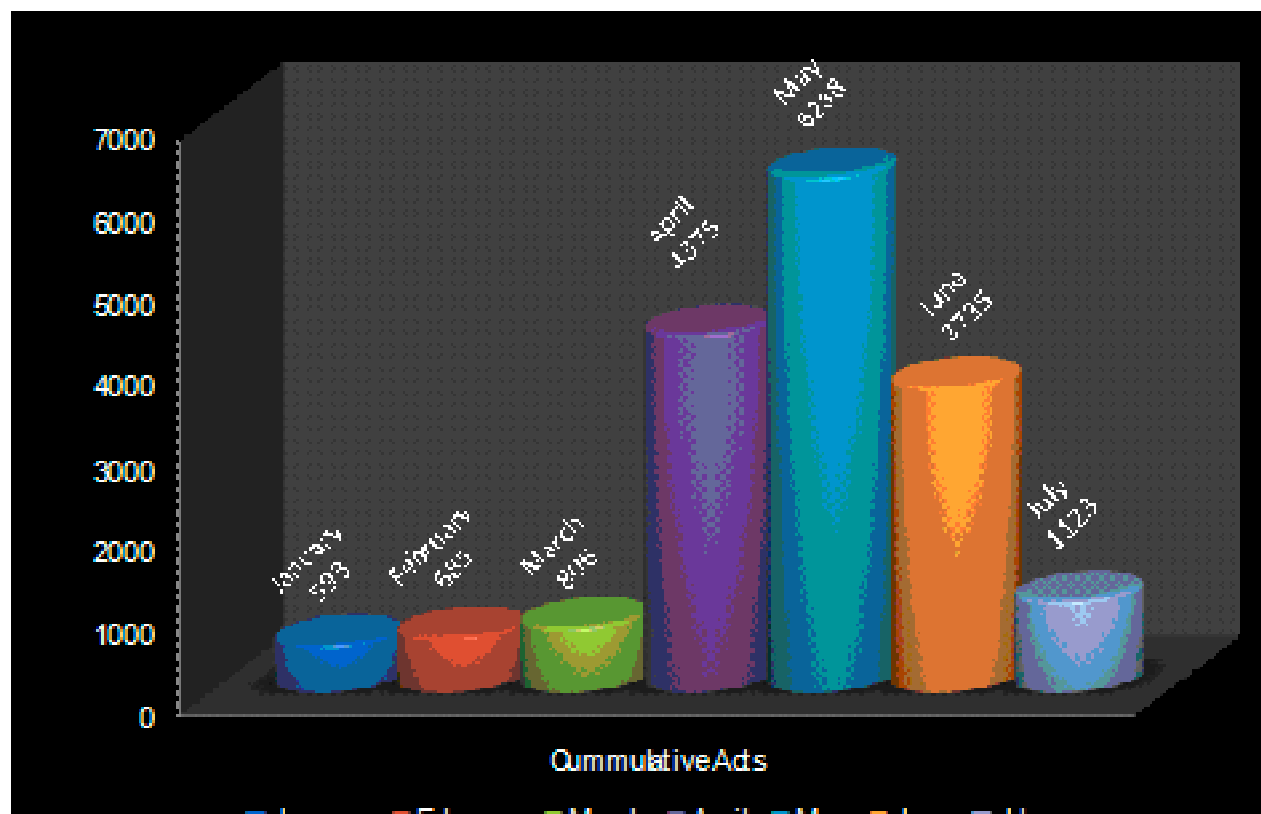
### **CUMULATIVE HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS: JANUARY-JULY 2008**

Since January there has been a phenomenal growth in human rights and food-related violations. By July, a cumulative total of 17 605 incidents had been recorded, an increase of 107 % from their June cumulative level of 16 482. While on comparison, June [3735] and July records [1123] suggest a significant drop in incidents of violence, even this level is hardly sustainable given that elections are over and that unity talks are going on between the two main political parties. Particularly disturbing is that violence remains visibly inclined towards gross forms with loss of 15 innocent lives, 12 cases of rape, and 57 cases of MDPs having been recorded in a month when the nation is supposed to be celebrating in peace and tranquility. Also disquieting is the continued visibility of displacements [96], a month after elections. The table below portrays cumulative trends in violations since January:

CUMULATIVE VIOLATIONS TABLE 2008

| VIOLATIONS | MONTH |
|------------|-------|
|------------|-------|

|                                       | Januar | Februa<br>ry | March | April | May  | June <sup>2</sup> | July | TOTAL |
|---------------------------------------|--------|--------------|-------|-------|------|-------------------|------|-------|
| Murder                                | 0      | 0            | 7     | 26    | 47   | 78                | 15   | 173   |
| Rape                                  | 1      | 1            | 4     | 4     | 1    | 4                 | 12   | 27    |
| Kidnapping/abductio<br>n              | 3      | 7            | 5     | 149   | 85   | 133               | 27   | 409   |
| Assault                               | 163    | 178          | 219   | 767   | 704  | 793               | 366  | 3190  |
| Theft/looting                         | 14     | 6            | 8     | 80    | 64   | 98                | 55   | 325   |
| Malicious Damage to<br>Property (MDP) | 20     | 12           | 38    | 345   | 214  | 141               | 57   | 827   |
| Torture                               | 6      | 2            | 6     | 157   | 60   | 102               | 19   | 352   |
| Unlawful Detention                    | 18     | 8            | 6     | 125   | 114  | 100               | 12   | 383   |
| Harassment/Intimida<br>tion           | 343    | 449          | 475   | 1484  | 4288 | 2125              | 426  | 9590  |
| Displacement                          | 15     | 12           | 23    | 1219  | 670  | 129               | 97   | 2165  |
| Discrimination                        | 10     | 10           | 15    | 19    | 32   | 24                | 27   | 137   |
| Attempted Rape                        | -      | -            | -     | -     | 5    | 6                 | 7    | 18    |
| Attempted Murder                      | -      | -            | -     | -     | 4    | 2                 | 3    | 9     |
| TOTAL                                 | 593    | 685          | 806   | 4375  | 6288 | 3735              | 1123 | 17605 |



## CUMULATIVE VIOLATIONS CHART 2008

### PROVINCIAL EXPERIENCES

#### Mashonaland Central

The political climate is still agitated with most base camps yet to be disbanded. People are still being taken to bases and forced to contribute for the upkeep of war veterans and militia at the base camps while suspected or known opposition supporters are threatened with denial of registration on the Bacossi program.

Returnees are facing retribution, forced to go through rigorous questioning and asked to pay a fine before re-admission to their village. A ZESN observer of Kapatsimoyo village in Mt Darwin, who had been displaced during the 29 March Elections, was, on his return to his village after the run-off, asked to show “red ink on his finger”.

In Mazoe, a man from Madziwa area was assaulted at a village base for allegedly refusing to surrender MDC regalia and for not voting in the 27 June Election. In Rushinga, villagers are still forced to attend base camp meetings with known or suspected MDC members forced to surrender opposition regalia to ZANU PF youth.

Those who are evicted from their villages have their cotton picked or looted as political punishment. In Rushinga District, a man from Chimukutu village was on 10 July 2008 reportedly attacked by a group of unknown people during the night, forced to flee the area while his cotton was picked and looted. In the same area, on 15 July 2008, a woman was severely assaulted by a group of suspected ZANU PF supporters, her granaries burnt while cotton was also picked and looted as punishment.

<sup>3</sup>MDPs and displacements are still surfacing. In Bindura District, a known MDC activist was on 2 July 2008 reportedly assaulted and evicted from his Butcombe homestead by suspected ZANU PF youths. In Mazoe District, another MDC activist reportedly had his five [5] pigs worth three trillion dollars slaughtered on 26 July 2008 as punishment for “being the brains behind the MDC landslide victory” in the area on the 29 March.

In Rushinga District, a man was on 6 July 2008 reportedly attacked and left for dead with a broken ankle while his house was burnt down. In the same constituency, a well known MDC activist of Chimukutu area was on 18 July 2008 attacked and his house and property burnt down by youth allegedly organized by an ex-combatant. The family was left homeless while children are no longer going to school.

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<sup>3</sup> **MDP** (Malicious Damage to Property) – this includes arson, vandalism and malicious injury to property

In Muzarabani, a man from Mberikwazvo village had his homestead destroyed on 9 July 2008 allegedly for being a known MDC activist. The victim has since fled the village. In Mt Darwin East, a man was on 21 July 2008 severely assaulted and sustained broken hands while his huts were burnt down while in Mazoe District, a man from Gweshe village was on 27 July displaced from his village allegedly by Chief Negomo's aid and suspected ZANU PF youth. The victim has since relocated to South Africa.

Food politics is still rampant in the province. Even the recently introduced RBZ Bacossi program/All People's Shop is at serious risk of political abuse with increased reports of known and suspected opposition members reportedly removed from the Bacossi register while others are asked to pay in order to access the Bacossi facility, a practice that appears to be more pronounced in Mt Darwin South.

In Kamoyo village, Mt Darwin, an old woman was on 5 July 2008 reportedly refused registration for Bacossi allegedly because "her children work in towns and are MDC members". In Bindura District, residents of Bindura Town who were suspected of being MDC supporters were on 20 July 2008 asked to pay money in order to be registered on the Bacossi program. Those who surrendered during the campaigns were forced to pay \$100 billion in order to benefit from the Bacossi program while those who refused to surrender MDC regalia were threatened with deregistration from the Bacossi list.

### **Mashonaland East**

As in other provinces political tolerance remains on the low side in most parts of the province with people reportedly being asked to pay a fine [for instance, a beast] to have "their names registered in ZANU PF".

In the immediate post 27 June run off, Rapid Farm villagers in Marondera [incidentally villagers who benefitted from the AI resettlement program] were reportedly ordered to write down serial numbers which were on their ballot papers so that authorities can identify those who voted for ZANU PF.

Registration on the Bacossi program depends on one's political track record as a ZANU PF supporter. Those whose names do not appear on the ZANU PF base register were reportedly denied registration for Bacossi. Hunhu villagers of Mutoko North were on 20 July allegedly denied registration for Bacossi.

Returnee safety is still at risk. On 13 July, returnee from Machoni village, Murewa South had his livestock and property torched.

Equally disturbing are increased reports of people being forced to donate for ZANU PF "Victory" Celebrations, those refusing to donate threatened with evictions from their areas. On 4 July teachers at Chimou Government School were reportedly forced to pay 100 billion and 750 ml of cooking oil to the base commander. MDC Councillor Elect-Sanyangwa was on 11 July reportedly asked to donate a goat and 2 bags of maize for ZANU PF Victory Celebrations.

Displacements and MDPs remain a visible post election feature. On 1 July, Mkunadi of Hunzwi village, Farm No.15 of Murewa South [and a suspected MDC supporter] reportedly had his homestead torched. The victim has since fled his village, family property and livestock was left unattended and at high risk of looting.

### **Mashonaland West**

ZPP reports point to continued cases of assaults, harassment, farm invasions, displacements, and politically motivated food discriminations. As in the pre-election era, NGO volunteers remained prime targets of victimization with some people simply victimized for wearing NGO T-shirts.

Reports of farm invasions were also received with reports of invasions of Richmond, Hansen and Hunters farms in Mhangura on 16 July while the farm owner, Mr Barat, was reportedly ordered to leave the farm within 2 days. The farmer was allegedly accused of celebrating the 29 March victory and accommodating other former white farmers at his farm.

Cases of assaults and harassments were also visible. In Zvimba East, an MDC activist was reportedly severely assaulted on 6 July, his homestead and chicken-run were burnt by alleged suspected ZANU PF youths while in Zvimba North, a motorist was on 10 July 2008 allegedly stopped and dragged out of his car and frog-marched to a 27 June Victory Celebration at Buwi Primary School Grounds, only to be released after celebrations.

Displacements also remain visible issues in the province. In Zvimba North, a suspected MDC supporter was told to vacate his homestead at village 6 Umvo Estate leaving behind 6 beds of Tobacco Nursery and five hectares of wheat while at Red Acres Farm in Zvimba North, teachers and school children of Chiringi Primary School were on 3 July 2008 threatened with eviction from the house at the farm, allegedly by two war veterans.

### **Manicaland**

The political climate remained tense a month after the run off with some villagers reportedly still in hiding in the mountains several weeks after the elections. Those found in possession of transistor radios and MDC T shirts are still assaulted while nurses were reportedly still under order not to treat MDC suspects.

Pre election base camps at Inyati mine, Rusununguko, Dziwa and Dowa are reportedly still operational and still camped by war veterans and youths while some that had temporarily closed were reportedly reopened as youth training centres.

*Operation Akavhotera MDC Ndiyani Muno* was reportedly in force during the first week after the run-off, villagers being forcibly taken to base camps where they were asked to account why “a number of people in their areas had voted for the MDC”. In village 40, Headlands, the Mwedzi family was on 9 July allegedly summoned to a local base where they were assaulted and asked to pay a beast as fine for “having voted for the opposition”. The beast was taken to a base for slaughter.

On returning to their villages, displaced people were reportedly summoned to report to war veterans at base camps where they go through intense interrogation sessions by war veterans, youths militia, kraal and village heads and chiefs upon which they are forced to pay a *returnee's fee* in the form of money, beast, goat, chicken, or community service depending on the severity of the matter. An MDC activist from ward 4 in Mutambara in Chimanimani was reportedly sentenced to perform three weeks of community service which was later reduced to three hours due to “extenuating circumstances” [namely that his homestead had been burnt down before the elections and that he had also surrendered a goat which had been slaughtered and fed to the youth militia at a base in Gonzoni Village in the same district].

Food discriminatory practices remain pronounced in the province perpetrated under operation *NO VOTE NO FOOD* with known or suspected MDC supporters and teachers as main victims. Victims were reportedly denied registration on the subsidized GMB or Bacossi facility list for “not having voted in the June 27 presidential elections”, for “refusing to surrender to the ruling party” or not “wearing ZANU PF T shirts at party meetings”.

Displacements remain a cause of concern. By 19 July, cases of Malicious Damage to Property and displacements were still being reported in several parts of Manicaland. In Makoni, a Masvosva village man was reportedly evicted from his homestead by 8 suspected ruling party youths while his fowl-run and property worth trillions of dollars were destroyed. On 13 July 2008, two men from Gwangwadza village in Makoni were reportedly forced to flee their homes as war veterans and youths militia embarked on operation *Akavhotera MDC Ndiyani Muno*. Up to the time of this report, the victims were reportedly still in hiding in Odzi.

## Harare

A climate of fear still prevails over metropolitan Harare, the public generally afraid to publicly comment on ongoing peace negotiations between ZANU PF and the MDC.

Political intolerance is reportedly tearing apart family relations. On 13 July 2008, a Dzivarasekwa woman was reportedly severely assaulted by her brother for commenting that “Mugabe is not a legitimate president”.

A month after elections, wearing MDC or election observer regalia remains a political crime in most high density areas of Harare. On 12 July, an MDC supporter was reportedly taken to a base by youths simply for wearing T shirts while in Glen View 3, Ward 32, a group of MDC supporters were on 4<sup>th</sup> July reportedly ordered to surrender opposition T shirts because “they have lost the 27 June Elections”.

Youths still roam about threatening people, looting vendors ostensibly to “deal and terminate black market” while bases are still operational in most parts of Harare such as Zengeza East, Glen Norah [Glen Norah Park Garden Base and Youth Base at Spacemen], and Chitungwiza [C Base 4504 in ward 32].

Consistent with trends in other provinces, the Bacossi facility is abused to meet political ends. On 20 July 2008, market vendors at Fourth Street Terminus, Harare Central, were reportedly forced to denounce opposition party loyalty in order to access food on the Bacossi program.

## **Midlands**

While some parts of the Midlands are experiencing political calm, most parts of Gokwe remained politically risky areas as people are still assaulted on suspicion that they voted for the MDC in the just ended presidential run-off. In Mapfungautsi, an MDC activist was on 3 July allegedly assaulted by war veterans and youths for having “voted for the MDC at Zhombe SDA Polling Station” while villagers from Gokwe Sesane had their huts set on fire on 1 July allegedly for being MDC activists.

Known and suspected MDC supporters also face food discrimination across the province, with this practice most visible in drought-hit areas of Mberengwa and Gokwe. Those displaced during the run up to the 27 June Election, are on returning to their villagers still facing retribution. On 1 July, a returnee from Charumbira village was greeted with new threats of “your case is not yet over although elections were over” and had to pay 2 goats to the militia for pardon.

Perpetrators are also making business capital out of the political crisis. Known and suspected MDC supporters are reportedly asked to pay *finés* for “voting for the MDC”. In several incidents reported, payments included 50 kg bags of maize or even beasts.

## **Masvingo**

The province remained largely on political high alert with cases of high records of assaults, harassment and displacements. Rural residents are forced to donate food and money for celebrations, forced to attend ruling party meetings, forced to bases, victimized for not going to vote, while suspected and known opposition supporters are asked to pay a fine in the form of a goat, money or maize as protection fees.

A new form of politically motivated extortion has emerged in the form of *protection fee* while known and suspected MDC supporters are refused registration on the subsidized maize allocation list. In some parts of the province, villagers are still told that “war is still on until we have cleared all MDC members” while those assaulted are reportedly still denied access to the hospital.

Zero tolerance to opposition politics remains visibly low. Kraal and village heads and Chiefs are reportedly under instruction to compile a list of all MDC supporters in their areas through their headmen with MDC supporters publicly beaten at chiefs’ homesteads. On 7 July 2008, an MDC supporter was summoned to Chief Marozwa for public beating as punishment for involvement in opposition politics while on 13 July 2008, some suspected MDC supporters in Machingambi village, Bikita, were reportedly summoned to headman Tapera Mupfeka for public beating.

MDC MPs and Councillors elect are still targets of politically motivated violence. In Mutaba village, Bikita, Councillor Rukweza [a newly elected MDC councillor of ward

11] was on 18 July 2008 reportedly approached by 45 ZANU PF supporters, severely beaten while his homestead and property were torched. The victim was reportedly later taken to a base at Bikita Minerals.

ZESN observers are still victimized. On 7 July, in Nherere village, Bikita West, a ZESN observer who was accredited as an observer at Beadmore Primary School polling station in the 29 March Elections was taken to a base where he was severely assaulted allegedly for having “manipulated the vote at the polling station he was observing”. Beadmore polling station had polled many votes for Tsvangirai and a few for Mugabe. On 9 July 2008, a man from Sojera village under Chief Marozwa in Bikita was reportedly abducted from his homestead, beaten and left for dead. He was so badly injured that he had to undergo surgical operation at South Medical Hospital in Chitungwiza, his offence being an MDC supporter.

### **Matebeleland South**

While politically motivated violence was generally on the low side, some traditional leaders were reportedly part of the violence perpetration infrastructure. A man from ward 6, Khozi village in Gwanda was on 12 July reportedly assaulted with a sjambok by the chief of Ngameni for “failing to attend a ruling party rally”.

Politically motivated murders have also been reported. On 24 July, a man from Impu village, ward 11 in Gwanda reportedly died after being assaulted by MDC party youths, allegedly in self defence. The man had earlier reportedly tried to attack members of the MDC.

*Operation Wanga Watumwa Nani [Who Gave Authority]* is reportedly under enforcement, an operation under which those who committed crimes under the guise of political violence, risk arrest. In Bulilima East, 61 year-old war veteran Ferdinand Tshuma was on 7 July sentenced to 9 years for stock theft committed during political violence. On 9 July, ZANU PF activists from Gwanda, reportedly in fear of *Operation Wanga Watumwa Nani* had ordered war veterans to disperse from their camps and go back to their homes.

Villagers who refuse to contribute towards funding the ruling party celebrations are threatened with exclusion from buying cheap groceries under the Reserve Bank facility.

Politically motivated displacements are still going on in the province. On 2 July 2008, a man from Solwezi Settlement in Bulilima was reportedly forced out of the farm for not “taking part in ZANU PF activities” while at Brunapeg in Mangwe, the Bron family [medical doctors from Holland] were allegedly attacked by war veterans. The family had been supplying Brunapeg hospital and primary schools with drugs and reading material respectively.

### **Bulawayo**

Though on the lower side, intimidation, discrimination, assaults, and displacement of known or suspected MDC supporters is still going on. People are still harassed and

assaulted for wearing MDC T shirts while shop owners are forced to sell basic goods on party lines.

Food politics remain a cause of concern in the province. At Konron Supermarket, Lobengula West constituency, ZANU PF supporters [mealie-meal Committees] were on 14 July reportedly selling mealie-meal on party lines while Pumula East residents were on 14 July reportedly buying mealie-meal at Tashas Store on party cards. In the same constituency, the mealie-meal Committee at Pumula east was on 24 July, selling only to those with ZANU PF T-shirts.

### **Matebeleland North**

Food politics risks worsening starvation in the drought-hit province. People are reportedly denied access to subsidized GMB grain for not having voted for the President during the 27<sup>th</sup> June run off. On 7 July, a diabetic patient from Hwange was reportedly denied to buy food at the GMB reportedly because “GMB only sells mealie-meal to ZANU PF card holders and civil servants only”. On 4 July 2008, Saba villagers of Binga [suspected to be MDC supporters] who had purchased GMB food delivered at Saba Business Centre, allegedly had their maize re-possessed as punishment for supporting the MDC.

Cases of displacements, abductions and torture were also reported. A man from Goodwood Farm 10, Bubi was on 1 July allegedly confronted by war veterans, evicted from the village while his homestead and grain reserves were torched. On the same farm, a man from the Nkiwane family of ward 20, village 3, was on 2 July reportedly detained by war veterans at a base for 4 days [allegedly without eating] after confronting them wanting to know why his parents had been displaced from the village. As a result of this, the victim reportedly missed work for 4 days.

NGO operations remain politically suspect and suspended. On 10 July 2008, Ntengwe [an organization which helps AIDS orphaned children] was summoned by the Acting DA to explain their operations in Binga. The operations of CADEC, another Binga-based NGO also remain under suspension.

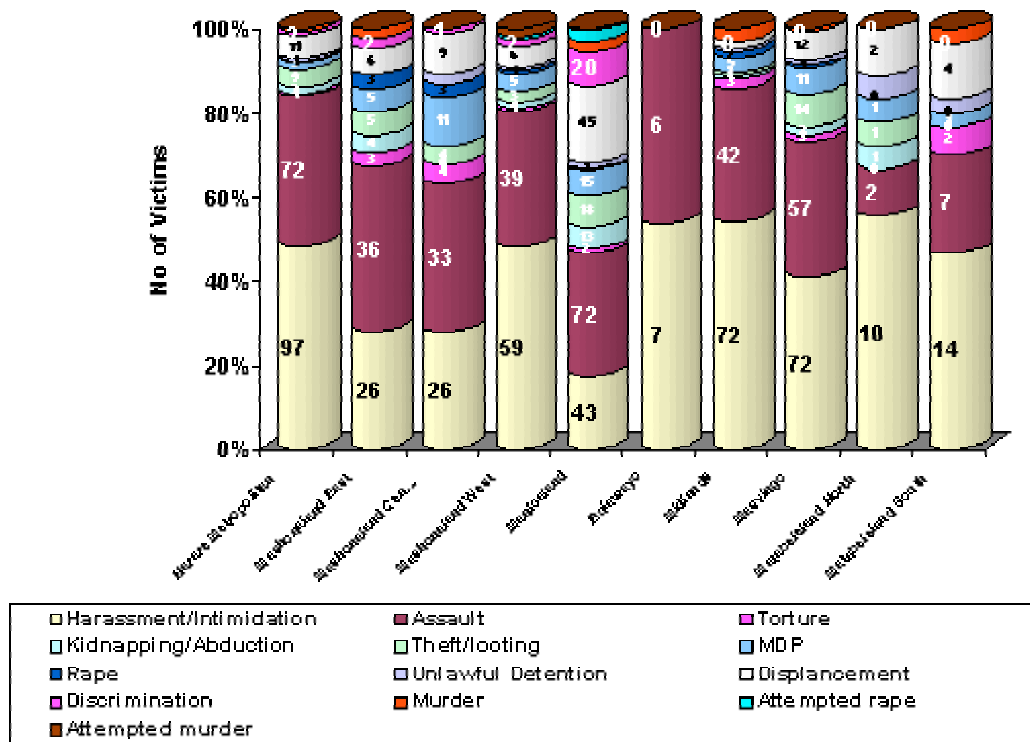
## **TABLE AND GRAPHIC REPRESENTATION OF REPORT FINDINGS BY PROVINCES**

### **July Acts Analysis**

| <b>ACTS</b>             | <b>Midlands</b> | <b>Byo</b> | <b>Mat. South</b> | <b>Mat. North</b> | <b>Masvingo</b> | <b>Manicaland</b> | <b>Harare</b> | <b>Mash. East</b> | <b>Mash West</b> | <b>Mash Central</b> | <b>TOTAL</b> |
|-------------------------|-----------------|------------|-------------------|-------------------|-----------------|-------------------|---------------|-------------------|------------------|---------------------|--------------|
| Murder                  | 4               | 0          | 1                 | 0                 | 1               | 6                 | 1             | 2                 | 0                | 0                   | 15           |
| Rape                    | 2               | 0          | 0                 | 0                 | 1               | 1                 | 1             | 3                 | 1                | 3                   | 12           |
| Kidnapping/Abduction    | 1               | 0          | 0                 | 1                 | 3               | 13                | 3             | 4                 | 2                | 0                   | 27           |
| Assault                 | 42              | 6          | 7                 | 2                 | 57              | 72                | 72            | 36                | 39               | 33                  | 366          |
| Theft/Looting           | 1               | 0          | 0                 | 1                 | 14              | 18                | 9             | 5                 | 3                | 4                   | 55           |
| MDP                     | 5               | 0          | 1                 | 1                 | 11              | 15                | 3             | 5                 | 5                | 11                  | 57           |
| Torture                 | 3               | 0          | 2                 | 0                 | 3               | 2                 | 1             | 3                 | 1                | 4                   | 19           |
| Unlawful Detention      | 1               | 0          | 1                 | 1                 | 2               | 3                 | 1             | 0                 | 1                | 2                   | 12           |
| Harassment/Intimidation | 72              | 7          | 14                | 10                | 72              | 43                | 97            | 26                | 59               | 26                  | 426          |

|                  |            |           |           |           |            |            |            |           |            |           |             |
|------------------|------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|------------|------------|------------|-----------|------------|-----------|-------------|
| Displacement     | 2          | 0         | 4         | 2         | 12         | 45         | 11         | 6         | 6          | 9         | 97          |
| Discrimination   | 0          | 0         | 0         | 0         | 0          | 20         | 2          | 2         | 2          | 1         | 27          |
| Attempted Rape   | 0          | 0         | 0         | 0         | 0          | 6          | 0          | 0         | 1          | 0         | 7           |
| Attempted Murder | 0          | 0         | 0         | 0         | 0          | 1          | 0          | 0         | 2          | 0         | 3           |
| <b>TOTAL</b>     | <b>133</b> | <b>13</b> | <b>30</b> | <b>18</b> | <b>176</b> | <b>245</b> | <b>201</b> | <b>92</b> | <b>122</b> | <b>93</b> | <b>1123</b> |

## ACTS ANALYSIS



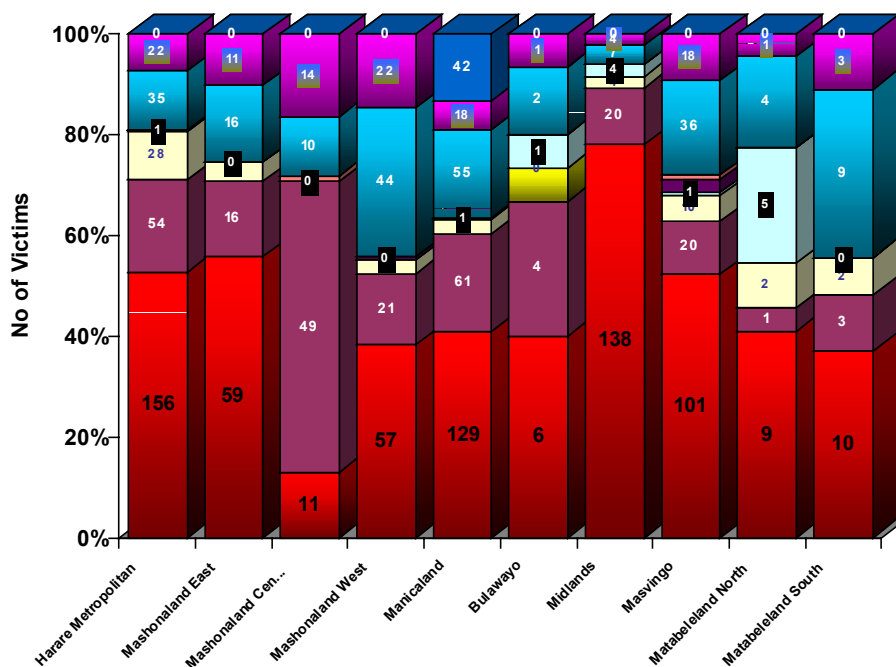
## Observations

- Incidents distribution suggest that retributive practices are stubbornly retreating with most pre- election era forms of violence still manifest, a month after the run off.
- Although the total violence toll record has apparently dropped from its June recording of 3735 to 1123, even this level is hardly sustainable given that elections are over and that unity talks are going on between the two main political rivalries.
- Particularly disturbing is that violence remains inclined towards gross forms of violence with loss of 15 innocent lives, 12 cases of rape, 366 cases of assault, and 57 cases of Malicious Damage to Property having been recorded at a time when the nation is supposed to be celebrating in peace and tranquility.
- Equally disconcerting is that the proclivity to gross forms of violence is almost spread across with death records as high as 6 in Manicaland, 4 in Midlands while at least a murder case has been recorded in Mashonaland East, Masvingo and Harare.
- The fact that incidents of Malicious Damage to Property [57], looting/theft [55], and displacements [96] are still visible suggests that pre-election era scorched earth tactics are still at play. This statistical spread is not surprising at all given that evictees had their cotton, livestock, and property looted while their homesteads and fowl-runs were torched as political punishment.

- The looting record of 55 is consistent with reports that perpetrators have resorted to cashing in or capitalizing on the political plight of those victimized. A cocktail of fines such as returnee fines, protection fines, registration fines, pardon fines, Victory Celebration subscriptions, among others were invoked to extort money, scarce maize, livestock, chicken etc from victims. The high visibility of village heads, chiefs, war veterans, youths and councilors in such extortionist practices is particularly disquieting.
- Though on a lower scale, election violence remained concentrated in Manicaland, Harare, Masvingo, Midlands, Mashonaland West, Mashonaland East, and Mashonaland Central, a not surprising development given that base camps were reportedly yet to be disbanded in most provinces and that militia presence is still visible.
- As in June, the Matebeleland region cast an incomparable contrast with incident records as low as 13 in Bulawayo, 19 in Matebeleland North and 30 in Matebeleland South.

## JULY GENDER VICTIM-PERPERTRATOR ANALYSIS

### Gender-Victim Analysis



JULY 2008

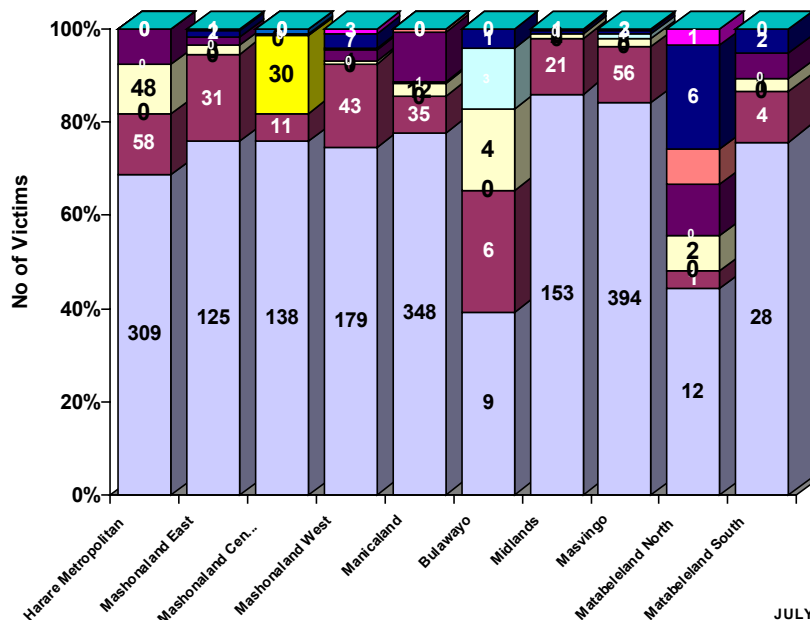
|                    |                   |                    |                |
|--------------------|-------------------|--------------------|----------------|
| ■ MDC - Male       | ■ MDC Female      | ■ Unknown MDC      | ■ Zanu PF Male |
| ■ Zanu PF - Female | ■ Unknown Zanu PF | ■ State Male       | ■ State Female |
| ■ Unknown State    | ■ Unknown -Male   | ■ Unknown - Female | ■ Unknown      |

### Observations

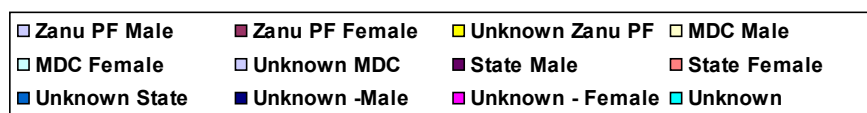
- Although the total victim toll dropped from its June record of 4545 to 1385 in July [by 328 %], it is instructive to note that the bulk of these decreases were in the ZANU PF and State camp. The MDC victim toll [926] remained significantly high constituting 67% of the total victim toll.
- High victim tolls were recorded in Manicaland, Harare Metropolitan, Masvingo, and Midlands with least victim records in the Matebeleland provinces, trends that are generally consistent with the traditional “hotspot”/”relative calm” tag of the provinces.
- Although there are more of male victims than female victims in both ZANU PF and MDC, the number of MDC female victims is significantly high, suggesting that victimization is not gender specific.
- As was the case in June, the number of ZANU PF victims across both sexes remains on the low side. At 75, the ZANU PF victim toll is 8 % of the MDC toll of 926, 11 % of the MDC male victim figure of 676 and 30 % of the MDC female victim toll.
- The State-victim toll is so low that it is statistically insignificant while the victim toll of the Unknown [368] remain pronounced, constituting 27 % of the gross victim toll. That the Unknown victim toll remains high points to the still widespread nature of victimization.

## Gender Perpetrator Analysis

JULY 2008



JULY 2008



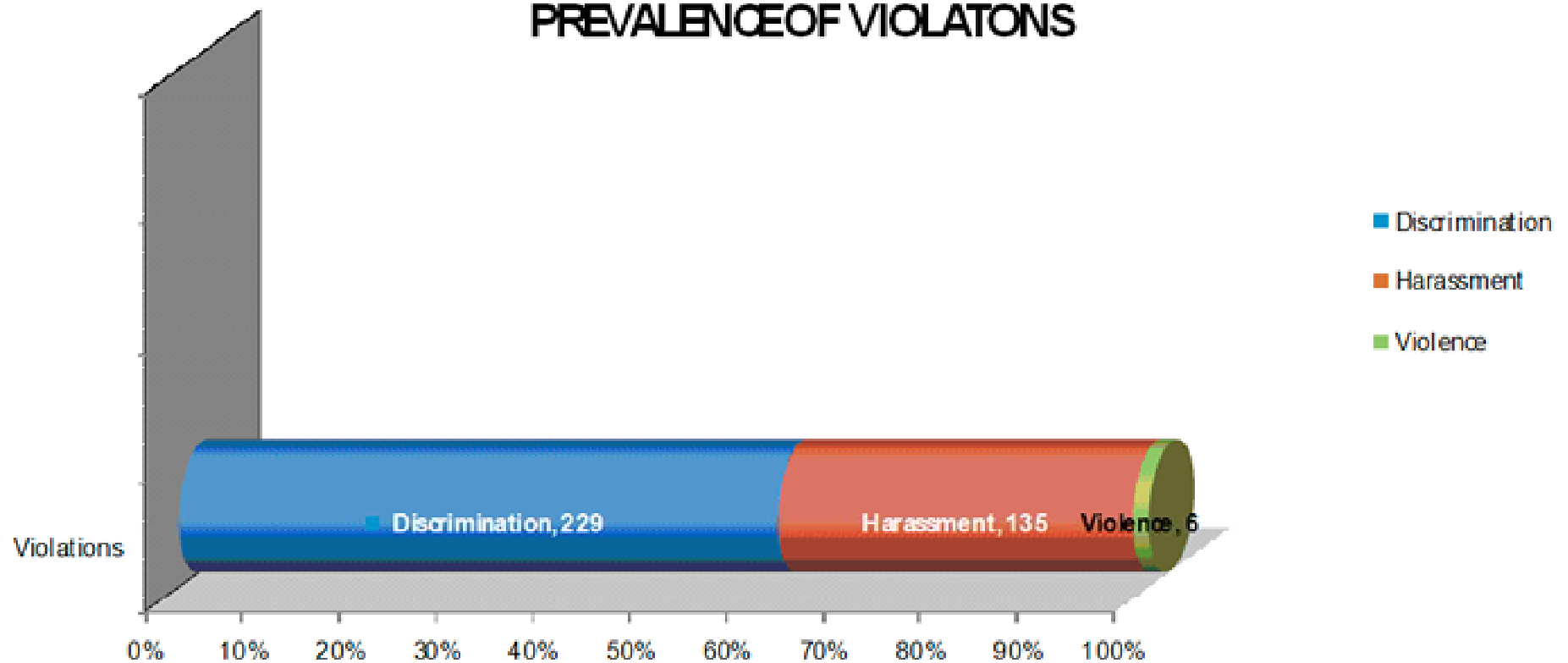
## Observations

- Although there was a drop in total perpetrator record from its June level of 6273 to 2218 in July, indicating a 282 % decline, this significant decline was attributed to a major drop in MDC perpetrator record in the month of July. Implied here is that far from what is implied in the drop, human rights violation perpetration remains a major cause of concern as the ZANU PF perpetrator record has remained high.
- Perpetrator density also remained heavy in Masvingo, Harare Metropolitan, Manicaland and Mashonaland Central, statistical scenarios that are generally consistent with their hotspot traditional tag.
- Also consistent with its relatively calm record, perpetrator toll remains on the low side in the Matebeleland provinces.
- While the ZANU PF perpetrator toll dropped from its June level of 5682 to 1991 in July, ZANU PF perpetrator toll remains formidable when compared with the MDC perpetrator figure of 89. The MDC perpetrator figure is 4% of ZANU PF perpetrator figure. Statistically implied here is that ZANU PF remained the main perpetrator a month after elections!
- While the main perpetrators in ZANU PF are male [1695], it is instructive to note that the ZANU PF female perpetrator figure [266] is 33% higher than the total MDC perpetrator figure [89]. Suggested here is that perpetrator proclivity within ZANU PF is on the high across genders.

## JULY FOOD REPORT ANALYSIS

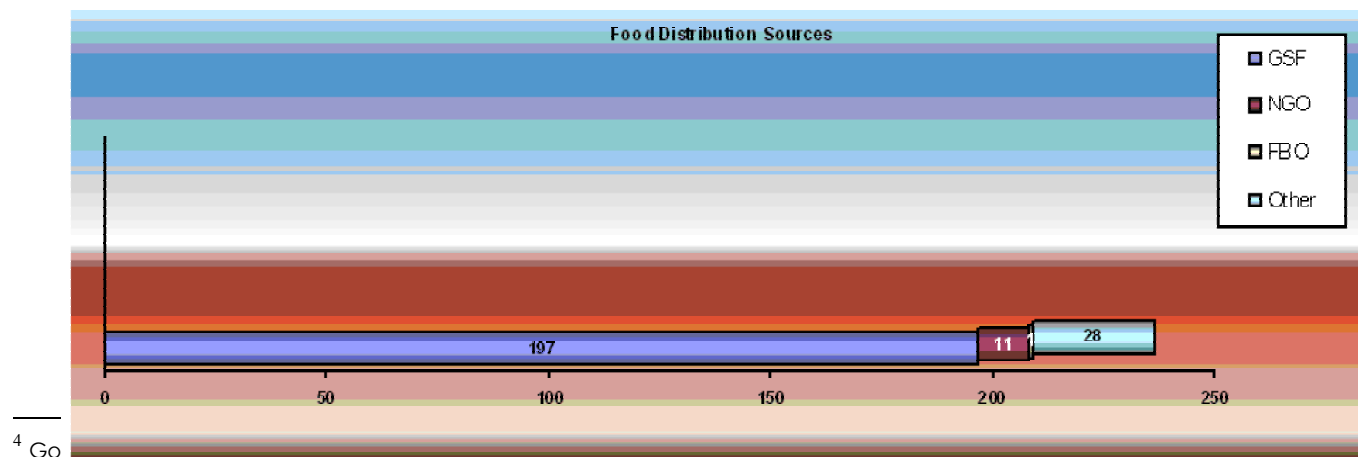
| FOOD DISTRIBUTION ANALYSIS JULY 2008 |           |           |            |                  |                  |                     |          |                    |                    |           |            |
|--------------------------------------|-----------|-----------|------------|------------------|------------------|---------------------|----------|--------------------|--------------------|-----------|------------|
| HARASSMENT                           | Masvingo  | Harare    | Manicaland | Mashonaland East | Mashonaland West | Mashonaland Central | Bulawayo | Matabeleland North | Matabeleland South | Midlands  | TOTAL      |
| Forced to attend political meetings  | 0         | 3         | 2          | 1                | 1                | 0                   | 0        | 0                  | 0                  | 0         | 7          |
| Ordered to produce party card        | 0         | 2         | 8          | 1                | 3                | 0                   | 2        | 0                  | 1                  | 1         | 18         |
| Ordered to take off party regalia    | 0         | 2         | 0          | 1                | 0                | 0                   | 0        | 0                  | 0                  | 1         | 4          |
| Forced to chant party slogans        | 0         | 2         | 0          | 0                | 2                | 0                   | 0        | 0                  | 0                  | 0         | 4          |
| Ordered to denounce one's party      | 0         | 1         | 5          | 13               | 1                | 2                   | 0        | 0                  | 0                  | 2         | 24         |
| Summoned to meeting                  | 0         | 0         | 1          | 0                | 0                | 0                   | 0        | 0                  | 0                  | 0         | 1          |
| Other                                | 0         | 0         | 0          | 3                | 1                | 27                  | 2        | 0                  | 0                  | 44        | 77         |
| <b>TOTAL</b>                         | <b>0</b>  | <b>10</b> | <b>16</b>  | <b>19</b>        | <b>8</b>         | <b>29</b>           | <b>4</b> | <b>0</b>           | <b>1</b>           | <b>48</b> | <b>135</b> |
| <b>VIOLENCE</b>                      |           |           |            |                  |                  |                     |          |                    |                    |           |            |
| Abduction/unlawful detention         | 0         | 0         | 0          | 0                | 0                | 0                   | 0        | 0                  | 0                  | 0         | 0          |
| Sexual violence                      | 0         | 0         | 0          | 0                | 0                | 0                   | 0        | 0                  | 0                  | 0         | 0          |
| Malicious Damage to Property (MDP)   | 0         | 0         | 0          | 0                | 0                | 0                   | 0        | 0                  | 0                  | 0         | 0          |
| Physical Attack                      | 0         | 0         | 1          | 0                | 2                | 2                   | 0        | 0                  | 0                  | 1         | 6          |
| Grievous bodily harm                 | 0         | 0         | 0          | 0                | 0                | 0                   | 0        | 0                  | 0                  | 0         | 0          |
| <b>TOTAL</b>                         | <b>0</b>  | <b>0</b>  | <b>1</b>   | <b>0</b>         | <b>2</b>         | <b>2</b>            | <b>0</b> | <b>0</b>           | <b>0</b>           | <b>1</b>  | <b>6</b>   |
| <b>DISCRIMINATION</b>                |           |           |            |                  |                  |                     |          |                    |                    |           |            |
| Denied access to GSF                 | 28        | 9         | 50         | 5                | 30               | 0                   | 0        | 4                  | 3                  | 34        | 163        |
| Denied seeds & fertiliser            | 2         | 0         | 0          | 1                | 0                | 0                   | 0        | 0                  | 0                  | 0         | 3          |
| Denied tillage support               | 0         | 0         | 0          | 0                | 0                | 0                   | 0        | 0                  | 0                  | 2         | 2          |
| Denied agricultural credit           | 0         | 0         | 0          | 0                | 1                | 0                   | 0        | 0                  | 0                  | 0         | 1          |
| Denied food loan                     | 0         | 0         | 0          | 0                | 0                | 0                   | 0        | 0                  | 0                  | 0         | 8          |
| Denied food relief                   | 4         | 2         | 2          | 0                | 3                | 0                   | 0        | 8                  | 0                  | 0         | 19         |
| Denied food aid                      | 0         | 0         | 0          | 0                | 0                | 0                   | 0        | 0                  | 0                  | 0         | 0          |
| Denied irrigation                    | 0         | 5         | 1          | 11               | 0                | 0                   | 0        | 0                  | 0                  | 0         | 17         |
| Denied Education Assistance          | 0         | 0         | 1          | 0                | 0                | 0                   | 0        | 0                  | 0                  | 0         | 1          |
| Other                                | 0         | 4         | 0          | 0                | 0                | 0                   | 2        | 1                  | 0                  | 8         | 15         |
| <b>TOTAL</b>                         | <b>34</b> | <b>20</b> | <b>54</b>  | <b>17</b>        | <b>34</b>        | <b>0</b>            | <b>2</b> | <b>13</b>          | <b>3</b>           | <b>44</b> | <b>229</b> |

## PREVALENCE OF VIOLATIONS



## FOOD DISTRIBUTION SOURCES

| Source           | Masvingo  | Harare    | Manicaland | Mashonaland East | Mashonaland West | Mashonaland Central | Bulawayo | Matabeleland North | Matabeleland South | Midlands  | TOTAL      |
|------------------|-----------|-----------|------------|------------------|------------------|---------------------|----------|--------------------|--------------------|-----------|------------|
| GSF <sup>4</sup> | 28        | 10        | 50         | 14               | 30               | 25                  | 0        | 4                  | 2                  | 34        | 197        |
| NGO <sup>5</sup> | 1         | 6         | 1          | 0                | 3                | 0                   | 0        | 0                  | 0                  | 0         | 11         |
| FBO <sup>6</sup> | 0         | 1         | 0          | 0                | 0                | 0                   | 0        | 0                  | 0                  | 0         | 1          |
| Other            | 3         | 4         | 1          | 1                | 0                | 4                   | 2        | 11                 | 1                  | 1         | 28         |
| <b>TOTAL</b>     | <b>32</b> | <b>21</b> | <b>52</b>  | <b>15</b>        | <b>33</b>        | <b>29</b>           | <b>2</b> | <b>15</b>          | <b>3</b>           | <b>35</b> | <b>237</b> |



<sup>4</sup> Go

<sup>5</sup> Non-Governmental Organization

<sup>6</sup> Faith Based Organization

## **Observations**

- There was an almost invisible [0.8%] drop in food discrimination malpractices from their gross June record of 1432 to 1213 in July. Food politics is still very visible and in fact poised to worsen in months to come with the launch of the Government Bacossi/ People's Shops in most rural areas.
- As gleaned from the ZPP Victims-FMR graph, those on the receiving end of victimization are mainly suspected or known MDC supporters. 67% [242] out of the total 361 food-victim toll were MDC while a statistically insignificant figure of 2 [0.005%] ZANU PF food-victim tolls was recorded. Provincial reports showed that known and suspected opposition supporters were reportedly denied registration on subsidized GMB food, Bacossi list, People's Shops, basic commodities, allegedly on the basis that they did not vote in the 27 June Run Off, for not appearing on base meeting registers, for not having the red ink on their fingers, among other reasons.
- As also gleaned from the ZPP Perpetrator-FMR table, ZANU PF is statistically the main perpetrator. 355 [93%] of the total 383 food-perpetrators were reportedly ZANU PF with 2 [0.005%] being MDC-food-victim perpetrators.
- Incidents spread show that food politics was not only high but also prevalent across the provinces with the exclusion of the three Matebeleland provinces of Bulawayo, Matebeleland North and Matebeleland South. Why food related human rights violations have remained less pronounced in the drought-hit regions of Matebeleland while prevalent in other drought-hit provinces like the Midlands and Masvingo remain puzzling issues more so given that most food relief agencies are under suspension. Incidentally, the three Matebeleland regions are opposition strongholds. Could it be that those who initiate food politics are not calling the shots in the province?

## **TENTATIVE PREDICTIONS AND THE WAY FORWARD**

- **The Political leadership should walk the talk of peace and tolerance**

Politically motivated retributive practices are set to continue in their stubborn retreat, resurfacing under several guises as villagers are reportedly still told that "war is still on until we have cleared all MDC members". For the sake of sustainable peace and justice, it is imperative that while talks are ongoing, the political leadership of all parties should walk the talk of peace and tolerance, taking concerted public effort to cascade the message of peace to their grassroots structures. The dismantling of pre-election bases should be speeded up while all reported cases and the yet to be reported cases of violence are thoroughly investigated and perpetrators brought to book. Operation WANGA WATUMWA NANI [WHO GAVE AUTHORITY] should be enforced with vigor, spreading its tentacles to all the ten provinces.

- **Urgent attention should be given to the re-integration, rehabilitation and social healing of the Victims of Violence**

While pre and post election efforts have been preoccupied with defining the parameters of election violence as a political problem, the post election era should see a shift towards the solution of the plight of the victims of violence. A more

coordinated, information-fed effort is urgently needed to ensure the re-integration, rehabilitation and social healing of the victims of violence. Resources must be urgently mobilized to enable ZPP to execute its mandates of monitoring, gathering information and alerting society on the current social circumstances of the victims of violence, their implications on social peace and justice as well as identifying possible solutions to the victims of violence problem. In short, the victims of violence issue must be pursued to its logical conclusion.

- **The Peace implications of the GNU route should be monitored**

While the run off presidential election is over, prospects of peace in Zimbabwe remains a mirage. The presidential run-off, instead of providing the expected quick solution to the political impasse that has been dogging Zimbabwe since 2000, left the nation politically worse off, the political crisis raging on. Since these talks have a direct bearing on issues of peace and justice, ZPP predicts likely restlessness in the event that one of the main political parties refuse to sign the GNU agreement. The Report should also make tentative predictions on how such partnerships can be nurtured and sustained for future peace and justice in Zimbabwe.

- **Monitoring of existing food distribution networks should be stepped up**

With the indefinite suspension of humanitarian NGO operations in a country that is drought-hit and facing looming starvation in both rural and urban areas, food crisis and politically-motivated food discriminations are set to worsen in the post run off era. Government food distribution networks, besides being too centralized and partisan, are overwhelmed and struggling to cope with their expected mandates as Government is currently in a fiscal bind. Access to Government Subsidized Food [GSFs], agricultural inputs, tillage support, agricultural credit, food loan, and irrigation is through a tight vetting process in which village kraal heads, village chairpersons, ward councillors, war veterans, and ruling party youths are involved. July provincial reports strongly suggest that even the recently launched RBZ Bacossi program/All People's Shop is generally viewed within partisan contexts with known and suspected opposition reportedly being asked to pay first in order to be registered on the Bacossi facility list. Cases where residents/villagers from areas that were suspected to have voted for the opposition were subjected to community-targeted food sanctions were also widespread. Provincial reports suggest that the Bacossi program is mistakenly viewed as a political bonus to those who remained resolute in their support to the ZANU PF presidential candidate. These findings underscore the need to direct more effort towards monitoring food distribution networks in Zimbabwe, particularly so given that traditional supplementary sources have been disbanded. A report should be produced alerting the nation to the possible looming food crises and how this is set to compromise prospects for sustainable peace in Zimbabwe.

- **Politically motivated extortionist tendencies should be closely monitored**

The safety of returnees is poised to remain at risk for some months to come. On returning to their villages, displaced people were reportedly summoned to report to war veterans at base camps where they go through intense interrogation sessions by war veterans, youths militia, kraal and village heads and chiefs upon which they are forced to pay a returnee's fee/protection fee/pardon fee that also include community service depending with the severity of the matter.