

Who should be sanctioned?

**A P Reeler.
Former Director, Amani Trust.
Executive Committee Member, The
International Rehabilitation Council
for Torture Victims.**

31 January 2003.

Since the beginning of the Zimbabwe crisis in February 2000, an enormous number of reports have been published on the gross human rights violations that have been perpetrated upon the people of Zimbabwe. The vast majority have come from within Zimbabwe, and mostly from the Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum and its member organisations. There have also been corroborating reports from highly respected international human rights organizations: Amnesty International, the International Rehabilitation Council for Torture Victims (IRCT), Human Rights Watch, and Physicians for Human Rights (Denmark). These latter reports have universally corroborated the reports of their Zimbabwean counterparts.

These reports, taken together, paint a very grim picture of the organized violence and torture that has afflicted Zimbabwe since February 2000. They confirm that gross human rights violations have become routine in Zimbabwe, unrepudiated in general by the government, and certainly do not show that there have been any credible attempts by the government to prevent or stop these violations from occurring. The reports overwhelmingly implicate supporters of ZanuPF as the major perpetrators, as well as showing an alarming degree of involvement by state agents such as the police, the intelligence services, and, to a lesser extent, the army.

Terrible things have been done, the former Chief Justice of Zimbabwe, Anthony Gubbay, put it, and they continue to be done. The evidence shows that all the following gross human rights violations have been perpetrated on the citizens of Zimbabwe, and especially the supporters of the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC):

- Summary executions;
- Extra-judicial killings;
- Disappearances;
- Torture;
- Mass psychological torture;
- Political rape;
- Rape;
- Illegal arrests;
- Unlawful detentions.

The purpose of all these terrible crimes has been totally transparent: they have been committed in order to win elections and to maintain political power in the hands of ZanuPF. This is not just the conclusion of the human rights monitoring bodies, but also of all responsible election observer missions to the various elections that have taken place in the past three years. The repudiated elections have led to Zimbabwe being accorded pariah status in the international community: suspended from the councils of the Commonwealth, suspended from receiving development aid by a large number of countries, including the European Union, and, in near-desperation, to the application of personal sanctions by the United States and the EU against those perceived to be responsible for the debacle that is Zimbabwe currently.

And yet, despite all the pressure and the diplomacy, both “quiet” and noisy, little changes in Zimbabwe. The human rights violations continue, the economy slides further and further down the slope to catastrophe, starvation looms for increasing millions of Zimbabweans, and there are considerable fears for politicide certainly, and possibly genocide¹.

Tackling the problem

Apart from demarches, suspension of aid, and personal sanctions, how can this looming catastrophe be averted? Robert Mugabe is impervious to all diplomatic pressure it seems, and certainly does not worry about diplomatic demarches. The suspension of development aid now contributes massively to the economic melt down, but this economic collapse now requires that the international community consider increasing humanitarian support to a government that shows no signs of taking the steps to correct the economic slide. Some commentators raise the possibility of military intervention, but this seems unlikely given that the international community cannot even stand united on the illegitimacy question; simply, if the “President” and

¹ See ZimNews, 22 January 2003, *“Is Zimbabwe on the Brink of Genocide?”* [www.zimnews.com].

the ZanuPF government hold power on the basis of illegitimate elections, can they be considered to be a legitimate government? The world is divided on this question, but, a number of so-called Third World states, and especially African states, seem to accept that the *de facto* power of the Mugabe regime is in some way *de jure*. The “illegitimacy problem” clearly deserves more attention than it gets at present, and the international community needs to keep this at the forefront of all discussions on Zimbabwe. They also need to keep firmly in mind that this is an illegitimate government doing terrible things to all whom oppose it, and against those who have chosen the path of peace and civil action, not violence, in their challenge to the illegitimacy problem. This makes the organized violence and torture even more sinister and reprehensible.

One possible way forward is to increase the pressure upon those responsible for the mess, and to indicate in the strongest possible terms that they are responsible and will be held responsible for the events that occur from now on. This short paper will examine the “responsibility problem”, drawing on the information publicly available.

Increasing pressure on those responsible: targeting the “middle managers”

Robert Mugabe has an uncanny ability, seen recurrently over the past 20 years, to hold together an unruly party. He may well be able to retain sufficient control over the internal politics of Zimbabwe to head off the pressure to expedite the election petition, and to quash all moves to support an independent judiciary. If this is the case, then there is only one other route to change, and that is to make it clear to his own party that there will be costs to continuing to support Robert Mugabe. It is clear that we know who these supporters are, and many of the more senior supporters are already on the lists of the United States and the EU for personal sanctions. However, there are many others equally deserving of sanctions who are not so senior in the ZanuPF hierarchy, but are crucial to maintaining ZanuPF in its state of illegitimacy.

This latter group is not invisible. Indeed, they are known through the many reports of the human rights groups in Zimbabwe; they are known to the communities in which they operate; and they are protected by the impunity offered by the state, both formal and informal. It is no secret who are these “middle managers”; they are names in a number of reports produced by the Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum, and these reports have been in the public domain for some time now. Three reports, in particular, are important for understanding the “middle managers”:

- *Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum (2000), Who is responsible? A preliminary analysis of pre-election violence in Zimbabwe, HARARE: ZIMBABWE HUMAN RIGHTS NGO FORUM*
- *Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum (2001), Who was responsible? A consolidated analysis of pre-election violence in Zimbabwe, HARARE: ZIMBABWE HUMAN RIGHTS NGO FORUM.*
- *Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum (2002), “Are They Accountable?: Examining alleged violators and their violations pre and post the Presidential Election March 2002”, HARARE: ZIMBABWE HUMAN RIGHTS NGO FORUM.*

What follows is an analysis of these reports, supported by a large number of additional reports. Using this publicly available information, the data has been examined to see who are the most frequent offenders mentioned in the reports, and who might be the most culpable of these offenders. It also attempts to look at patterns, and the implications of those patterns.

How many are responsible?

The reports of the Human Rights Forum indicate that a total of 1,352 individual persons are mentioned in the statements given by victims. There are also a very large number mentioned in the same reports derived from press reports, but we have concerned ourselves only with the names that have come directly to the Human Rights Forum, since these are supported by affidavits and medical reports. This is a large number of names, but it should be stressed only represents a sample of the actual total. The names are derived from only those who reported to the Forum, and cannot be even an indicator of the actual total. The actual total can only be determined by a Commission of Inquiry or epidemiological investigation².

The first step in the analysis was to look at differences between the Parliamentary Election in 2000 and the Presidential Election in 2002. As can be seen from Table 1 below, there are not great differences in the total numbers of perpetrators identified between the two elections. There is about a 10% increase in the number of perpetrators identified for the Presidential Election. The interesting changes are in the types of perpetrators identified between the two elections.

Table 1.
Percentages of different categories of perpetrators reported to human rights organizations in the Parliamentary and Presidential Elections

	2000 n=648	2002 n=704
Member of Parliament	3.4	0.57
Central Intelligence Organisation	1.39	0
Zimbabwe Republic Police	2.01	6.68
Zimbabwe National Army	0	0.85
Zimbabwe Prison Service	0	0.28
Zimbabwe National Liberation War Veterans Association	19.8	23.6
ZanuPF supporter	67.4	63.9
ZanuPF (YOUTH)	3.7	0.14
ZanuPF (OFFICIALS)	0.93	0.14
Movement for Democratic Change	0.15	0.28
Government Official	0.46	0.14
Unknown	0.77	3.27

(These percentages are based on the number of names mentioned and do not reflect the number of times that a name is mentioned.)

The number of reports involving the MDC is wholly insignificant³, and hence the remainder of this report will not concern itself with the MDC, but concentrate on the other categories of perpetrators.

As is seen from Table 1, ZanuPF supporters form the overwhelming majority of the perpetrators, and together with the war veterans (ZNLWVA), the second most frequent category, account for over 85% of the perpetrators in both elections. We see a small trend during the Presidential Election for more categories of perpetrators to appear: as the percentage of ZanuPF supporters falls slightly – from 67% to 64% - so is there a corresponding increase in the percentages for the Zimbabwe Republic Police (ZRP), the Zimbabwe National Army (ZNA), and the Zimbabwe Prison Service (ZPS). There is also a relatively marked decrease in the number of Members of Parliament mentioned in the

² Here it is relevant to point out that previous research into past epidemics of gross human rights violations in Zimbabwe have shown that the numbers can be frighteningly large. For example, epidemiological investigation of the numbers affected during the Liberation War of the 1970s indicated that 1 adult in 10 over the age of 30 years was a survivor of torture, whilst figures on the Gukurahundi period indicate 5 adults in 10 were survivors. A more recent study, on commercial farm workers indicated that 71% of the sample had suffered from torture: *see Amani (2002), Preliminary Report of a Survey on Internally Displaced Persons from Commercial Farms in Zimbabwe, HARARE: AMANI TRUST.*

³ This is a conclusion supported throughout the many human rights reports on current Zimbabwe, and is additionally supported by the conclusions of the many reports from election observer groups. Hence, it is not a problematic or contentious assertion to exclude the MDC from analysis.

Who should be sanctioned?

Presidential Election. Presumably MPs were more prepared to be involved in violence in their own cause than in the cause of their President.

There may also be a measure of caution being shown by these MPs, having been previously mentioned in the Human Rights Forum report – “*Who is Responsible?*” – as well as many of them having been subject to public scrutiny through the election petitions mounted by the MDC in the aftermath of the Parliamentary Elections. It may be that there is after all a preventive effect for publishing reports of gross human rights violations.

The reports of the Forum do not allow much analysis of the category – ZanuPF supporter – and it is therefore not possible to make any comments on the role of the youth militia, but this group has been mentioned in other reports of the Forum and in the reports of member organisations of the Forum⁴.

There are 1,352 names mentioned in these reports, but many names only appear once, either for the Parliamentary Election or the Presidential Election. It is thus of interest to examine cases of multiple involvement in gross human rights violations, both in the sense of being involved at different times and also in the sense of being involved in multiple incidents – and in different places – within the same time frame. It is also of interest to examine cases where persons having some official status – MP, policeman, member of the CIO, soldier, party official, government or local government official, etc – are named as perpetrators, as these are persons whose office should demand that they are impartial. Where officials are involved, it also raises the question about the government’s involvement in gross human rights violations: do these officials get involved in their personal capacity or as agents of the Government?

Thus, the analysis then sorted through the names mentioned in the reports, and removed all cases in which the person was only mentioned once, and did not hold any public office or political office, such as a party official. When this was done, the total number of cases was reduced considerably; from 1,352 to 608, a drop of 55%. However, it still meant that 45% of the names mentioned were either officials or multiple offenders. Table 2 below is thus an extension of Table 1 above.

Table 2.
Serious offenders in the Parliamentary and Presidential elections, and in both Elections (percentages).

	2000	2002	Serious Offenders from both elections. N=608
Member of Parliament	3.4	0.57	4.28
Central Intelligence Organisation	1.39	0	1.15
Zimbabwe Republic Police	2.01	6.68	9.21
Zimbabwe National Army	0	0.85	0.49
Zimbabwe Prison Service	0	0.28	0.16
Zimbabwe National Liberation War Veterans Association	19.8	23.6	4.11
ZanuPF supporter	67.4	63.9	76.3
ZanuPF (YOUTH)	3.7	0.14	0.99
ZanuPF OFFICIALS	0.93	0.14	1.32
Movement for Democratic Change	0.15	0.28	0
Government Official	0.46	0.14	1.97
Unknown	0.77	3.27	0

As can be seen from Table 2, the relative percentages do not change much when we consider only the serious offenders. The major perpetrators remain overwhelmingly ZanuPF

⁴ See here especially, Amani (2002), *Beating your opposition. Torture during the 2002 Presidential campaign in Zimbabwe*, HARARE: AMANI TRUST.

supporters and war veterans (ZNLWVA), but, interestingly, the ZRP becomes a higher ranked category and MPs become the second ranked category. This clearly speaks to the suggestions made by all human rights groups that this campaign of violence was organized, the clear implication to be drawn from the involvement of state agencies.

Table 3 below shows the numbers of persons in each category, the number of times that this group was involved in alleged torture, and the percentages. Statistically, the average number of times that this group as a whole was involved in torture was 2.64 (s.dev.1.63). However, some individuals distinguished themselves and were reported on many occasions as having been involved in torture. Mr Norman Josaya was mentioned no less than 16 times, whilst Messrs Mupamombe (15), Mashonga (14), "Biggie" Chitoro (11), and Rwodzi (10) all received frequent mention.

Table 3.
Total numbers of times persons in each category identified as a perpetrator

Category of Perpetrator	Nos.	Nos. of times mentioned.	Percentage
Member of Parliament	26	58	4.2
Central Intelligence Organisation	7	9	0.65
Zimbabwe Republic Police	56	88	6.31
Zimbabwe National Army	3	9	0.65
Zimbabwe Prison Service	1	0	0
Zimbabwe National Liberation War Veterans Association	25	150	10.8
ZanuPF (Supporter)	464	1045	74.9
ZanuPF (Youth)	6	13	0.93
ZanuPF (Official)	8	7	0.5
Government & local government officials	12	15	1.08
Total:	608	1,394	

Amongst the Members of Parliament, there were a large number who were mentioned more than once. Shadreck Chipanga (6), Saviour Kasukawere (5), Border Gezi (5), Elliot Manyika (5), J.B. Matiza (4), and Mark Madiro (4) were all multiple offenders according to the reports received by the Forum. Dr. Chenjerai Hitler Hunzvi, the deceased Member of Parliament for Chikomba and leader of the Zimbabwe National Liberation War Veterans Association (ZNLWVA), of course is probably the most notorious, as is the deceased Border Gezi. In respect of the latter, there has been at least one report to the Human Rights Forum alleging that Border Gezi had set in place a "hit squad"⁵. Doctor Hunzvi made no attempt to hide his involvement in violence and was on record many times threatening violence, and clearly indicating that he was in charge of the "war veterans".

Over 13% of the total above can be considered to be "officials" of one kind or another, and this again speaks very strongly to the idea that the violence was organized and condoned by the State. The involvement of Members of Parliament in gross human rights violations is a very serious problem, and this has been recognized by the placing of most of these MPs on the personal sanctions lists of the US and the EU. We will return to this issue later, as well as the issue of the most notorious of the perpetrators, but it now worth while looking at patterns, especially as they relate to elections.

Provinces and Constituencies

Many of the reports on the elections, as well as the human rights reports, make the observation that there was a curious association between the violence and the areas in which ZanuPF would have been expected to have done well in elections⁶.

⁵ See Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum (2000), *Who is responsible? A preliminary analysis of pre-election violence in Zimbabwe*, HARARE: ZIMBABWE HUMAN RIGHTS NGO FORUM.

⁶ See especially Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum (2002), *Human Rights and Zimbabwe's Presidential Election: March 2002*, HARARE: ZIMBABWE HUMAN RIGHTS NGO FORUM

Table 4.
Provinces in rank order of gross human rights violations reported.

PROVINCE	2000	2002	Total
MASHONALAND EAST	281	229	510
MASHONALAND WEST	194	118	312
MANICALAND	40	201	241
MIDLANDS NORTH	80	154	234
MIDLANDS SOUTH	199	25	224
MASHONALAND CENTRAL	84	114	198
HARARE	45	73	140
MASVINGO	13	48	61
MATABELELAND SOUTH	6	21	27
BULAWAYO	0	5	5
MATABELELAND NORTH	0	2	2

It is curious that so much torture was reported from areas in which ZanuPF would expect to be strong, and it is tempting to merely conclude that the organized violence and torture from both elections was merely to ensure demand for ZanuPF and abandonment of the MDC. This was undoubtedly part of the purpose, but it should also be noted that the Provinces that rank highly are also those Provinces in which there reside large numbers of commercial farm workers, and particularly plantation workers. Some Zimbabwean Provinces have very high numbers of farm workers, whilst others do not, and the difference lies in whether the climate allows cropping, which involves large manpower, or livestock, which requires only small numbers of people.

This links directly to the so-called land reform process, which, while it was clearly a major propaganda issue for the ZanuPF government, it was also a pretext for eliminating the support in an enormous constituency for the MDC. The union representing the plantation workers, the General Agricultural and Plantation Workers Union of Zimbabwe (GAPWUZ), had been part of the trade union support for the NCA, and the rejection of the draft Constitution in February 2000. It is very clear in retrospect that the votes from this sector would have wholly overcome the advantage that ZanuPF held in the agricultural, as opposed to the livestock, Provinces. Whatever else the land reform campaign was, it was also a pretext for attacking the support for the MDC in the commercial farm worker population. Here it is argued that the attacks upon the commercial farmers was a pretext to the attacks upon their workers. Here all reports, both local and international, have commented upon the support, both manpower and logistical, that the government gave to the land invasions.

Table 5.
The 20 worst constituencies in the Parliamentary and Presidential Elections based on the total number of human rights violations reported per constituency.

CONSTITUENCY	2000	2002	Total
HURUNGWE	184	16	200
GOKWE	80	96	176
MBERENGWA EAST	119	23	142
HARARE	119	73	107
BINDURA	22	68	90
MUREHWA NORTH	37	38	75
BUHERA	9	65	74
MUDZI	72	2	74
UMP	15	59	74
GURUVE	0	72	72
MUTOKO	45	11	56
CHIKOMBA	28	26	54
MT DARWIN SOUTH	42	10	52
MUREHWA SOUTH	36	12	48
MAKONI EAST	30	15	45
HWEDZA	16	28	44
ZHOMBE	0	40	40
ZVISHAVANE	34	2	36

Table 5 shows the 20 worst constituencies for the Parliamentary and Presidential elections combined. The total picture is shown in Appendix 3, but the “top twenty” are shown for illustrative purposes.

As can be seen from Table 5, some constituencies show consistent patterns for both elections; for example, Gokwe, Harare, and Murehwa North had relatively consistent patterns for both elections. Hurungwe, Mberengwa East Mudzi, and Zvishavane show higher violence for the Parliamentary elections, whilst Bindura, Buhera, Guruve, and UMP show much higher violence for the Presidential Elections.

There is obviously an association between the worst constituencies and the worst Provinces, and also between both of these and the officials involved. For example, most of the MPs mentioned are those from constituencies in Mashonaland Central, East and West, whilst the remainder come from constituencies where the reported violence and torture was high. In Mashonaland Central, Border Gezi, Mark Madiro, Elliot Manyika, and Saviour Kasukwere were all frequently mentioned: it takes no rocket science to discern the pattern, nor to conclude that this was not random but organized, and organized with the connivance of the government.

The “Top Fifty”: The worst of the worst

As will be seen from Table 6 (also Appendix 2), the 50 most frequently mentioned perpetrators, from amongst the total of 608, show a very interesting spread of affiliations, and this spread to some extent modifies some of the trends above.

Category of Perpetrator	% of total	% of the worst
Member of Parliament	4.2	12
Central Intelligence Organisation	0.65	2
Zimbabwe Republic Police	6.31	4
Zimbabwe National Army	0.65	0
Zimbabwe Prison Service	0	0
Zimbabwe National Liberation War Veterans Association	10.8	28
ZanuPF (Supporter)	74.9	54
ZanuPF (Youth)	0.93	0
ZanuPF (Official)	0.5	0
Government & local government officials	1.08	0

“War veterans” and ZanuPF supporters previously accounted for about 85% of the total, and this trend is again seen in the top 50, but the weightings for the two groups change. Amongst the worst, “war veterans” now account for 28% and ZanuPF supporters only 54%. This again suggests organization behind the violence, with the role of “war veteran” leaders such as Dr Hunzvi and Border Gezi being complimented by their subordinates such as Norman Josaya or Biggie Chitoro.

MPs again form a much higher percentage of the worst perpetrators, with the overall percentage shifting from 4% of the total to 12% of the worst. This again reinforces the view that the violence and torture was organized, and that, at the core of the organization, were important ZanuPF supporters and government officials.

As will be seen from the list of names in Appendix 2, the worst perpetrators are also persons mentioned many times in the reports of the Human Rights Forum, as well in the data derived from the Zimbabwean press reports. Very few – Biggie Chitoro and Joseph Mwale only – are implicated in extra-judicial killings or summary executions, and the majority are involved in torture. Torture is the most frequent gross human right violation, and torture – either as assault with intent to commit grievous bodily harm or common assault – was one of the categories of crime covered by the Presidential Amnesty of October 2000. This amnesty is yet

another piece of evidence supporting the assertion, made through this paper, that the violence and torture were organized and condoned by the ZanuPF government.

Conclusions

Quite obviously this analysis can only be a partial examination of the gross human rights violations and those responsible for these. It draws only on the published data, and can be no substitute for a full-blown commission of inquiry, but it raises very serious questions indeed about the responsibility of the ZanuPF government for gross human rights violations against the people of Zimbabwe. This is not the first time such concerns have been raised, and there is still no credible accounting for the gross human rights violations committed in the 1980s.

This analysis shows the involvement of MPs, policemen, government officials, “war veterans”, and ZanuPF party supporters, and repeated involvement. It shows patterns of involvement around elections, and in areas in which severe threats to ZanuPF’s political hegemony have been posed. This analysis shows few changes between the two important recent elections in Zimbabwe – the Parliamentary Elections of 2000 and the Presidential Election of 2002 – and indicates one of the strategies behind ZanuPF’s campaign to maintain political power.

It is evident that impunity has been an important factor in allowing the violence and torture to continue, and this impunity has been both formal, using Presidential amnesties, and informal through the failure to ensure that the Zimbabwe Republic Police enforce the law and their constitutional duty. This strongly supports the argument that the violence and torture was organized and condoned.

However, as indicated above, remonstrances, demarches, and publication of the facts have little effect upon the ZanuPF government. Not even sanctions seem to have had an effect. So what can be done to stop further horror and return the country to legality and the rule of law.

Several suggestions can be made.

Firstly, there must be strong pressure exerted by the international community for independent investigations of gross human rights violations and the allegations made by Zimbabwean human rights bodies. This should be a concern not merely for the EU, but for the Commonwealth, SADC, and the AU. Perhaps a multi-platform commission, comprised of representatives of all these bodies, might be mounted and sent to Zimbabwe in order to investigate these allegations. It is no longer enough for the international community to derive misplaced solace from the relatively small number of deaths, and time for the testing of the assertion that massive levels of torture approximate to genocide⁷.

Secondly, perhaps it is time to review the personal sanctions: not with the intent to remove these, but to apply them more extensively. The persons to whom sanctions should be applied must be those who are accountable for the problems in Zimbabwe. It should include not only those who are politically responsible or responsible for gross corruption, but also those who are allegedly guilty of gross human rights violations.

As this analysis has shown, we know who this latter group of people are likely to be, and they should be not only the subject of sanctions, but also of investigation for gross human rights violations. Although Robert Mugabe and his doubtfully legitimate government are ultimately responsible for events in Zimbabwe, it must also be the case that sanctions and penalties are applied more widely to include those who commit gross human rights violations. This would send a signal the perpetrators that responsibility for violence and torture will have consequences, and will indicate to those members of ZanuPF who desire the return to legitimacy, the rule of law, and international acceptance, that part of the solution lies in their hands too.

⁷ See here especially ZimNews, 22 January 2003, “*Is Zimbabwe on the Brink of Genocide?*” [www.zimnews.com].

Appendix 1. **Reports of the Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum**

Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum (1999), *A Consolidated Report on the Food Riots 19—23 January 1998*, HARARE: ZIMBABWE HUMAN RIGHTS NGO FORUM.

Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum, (1999), *Organised Violence and Torture in Zimbabwe in 1999*, HARARE: ZIMBABWE HUMAN RIGHTS NGO FORUM.

Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum (2000), *Organised Violence and Torture in Zimbabwe in 2000*, HARARE: ZIMBABWE HUMAN RIGHTS NGO FORUM.

Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum (2001), *Organised Violence and Torture in Zimbabwe in 2001*, HARARE: ZIMBABWE HUMAN RIGHTS NGO FORUM.

Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum (2000), *Who is responsible? A preliminary analysis of pre-election violence in Zimbabwe*, HARARE: ZIMBABWE HUMAN RIGHTS NGO FORUM.

Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum (2000), *Report on political violence in Bulawayo, Harare, Manicaland, Mashonaland West, Masvingo, Matabeleland North, Matabeleland South and Midlands*, HARARE: ZIMBABWE HUMAN RIGHTS NGO FORUM.

Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum (2000), *A report on Post-Election Violence*, HARARE: ZIMBABWE HUMAN RIGHTS NGO FORUM.

Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum (2000), *Report on Pre-election Political Violence in Mberengwa*, HARARE: ZIMBABWE HUMAN RIGHTS NGO FORUM.

Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum (2001), *Report on Election-related Political Violence in Chikomba*, HARARE: ZIMBABWE HUMAN RIGHTS NGO FORUM.

Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum (2001), *Human Rights and Zimbabwe's June 2000 election*, HARARE: ZIMBABWE HUMAN RIGHTS NGO FORUM.

Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum (2001), *Who was responsible? A consolidated analysis of pre-election violence in Zimbabwe*, HARARE: ZIMBABWE HUMAN RIGHTS NGO FORUM.

Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum (2001), *Politically motivated violence in Zimbabwe 2000–2001. A report on the campaign of political repression conducted by the Zimbabwean Government under the guise of carrying out land reform*, HARARE: ZIMBABWE HUMAN RIGHTS NGO FORUM.

Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum (2001), *Evaluating the Abuja Agreement*, HARARE: ZIMBABWE HUMAN RIGHTS NGO FORUM.

Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum (2001), *Evaluating the Abuja Agreement: Two Months Report*, HARARE: ZIMBABWE HUMAN RIGHTS NGO FORUM.

Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum (2002), *Human Rights and Zimbabwe's Presidential Election: March 2002*, HARARE: ZIMBABWE HUMAN RIGHTS NGO FORUM

Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum (2002), *"Are They Accountable?: Examining alleged violators and their violations pre and post the Presidential Election March 2002"*, HARARE: ZIMBABWE HUMAN RIGHTS NGO FORUM.

Appendix 2.

The fifty most frequently mentioned perpetrators of gross human rights violations.

Josaya, Norman (16)	Hurungwe East	ZNLWVA
Mupamombe (15)	Hurungwe East	ZNLWVA
Mashonga (14)	Hurungwe East	ZNLWVA
Chitoro, Biggie (11)	Mberengwa East	ZNLWVA
Rwodzi (10)	Hurungwe East	ZNLWVA
Ngoni (9)	Hurungwe East	ZNLWVA
Chingodza, M (9)	Hurungwe East	ZPF
Mujuru (8)	Mudzi	ZPF
Kasambarare, Givemore (7)	Goromonzi	ZPF
Karungaire, E (7)	Hurungwe East	ZNLWVA
Chinotimba, Joseph (6)	Harare	ZNLWVA
Kazembe (6)	Hatfield	ZPF
Musauki, Joseph (6)	Guruve North	ZPF
Salim, Abraham (6)	UMP	ZPF
Hunzvi, Chenjerai(6)	Budiriro	ZPF
Chipanga, Shadreck(5)	Makoni East	MP
Paprika (5)	Hurungwe East	ZNLWVA
Chuitsi, T (5)	Gokwe North	ZPF
Gava, Simon (5)	Zhombe	ZPF
Masenda, J (5)	Hurungwe East	ZPF
Gezi, Border (5)	Bindura +	MP
Kasukawere, Saviour (5)	Bindura +	MP
Manyika, Elliot (MP) (5)	Bindura	MP
Kaukonde, J (5)	Mudzi	ZPF
Chiwara, Lucky (4)	Gokwe North	ZNLWVA
Donsa, C (5)	Mberengwa East	ZNLWVA
Jamela, Festo (5)	Mberengwa E	ZNLWVA
Mangena, Langton (5)	Mberengwa East	ZNLWVA
Chinembiri, Elliot (5)	Zhombe	ZPF
Chivata (5)	Hatfield	ZPF
Danda, Webster (5)	Zhombe	ZPF
Denere, Lazarus (5)	Zhombe	ZPF
Jimmy (5)	Hurungwe East	ZPF
Kirmukiyani, Emmanuel (5)	Guruve North	ZPF
Mapako, B (5)	Zvishavane	ZPF
Mativenga, Tauya (5)	Zhombe	ZPF
Maumburudze (5)	Hatfield	ZPF
Mavingwa, Collin (5)	Zhombe	ZPF
Mufari, Nelson (5)	Zhombe	ZPF
Nyoka, Frian(5)	Murehwa North + South	ZPF
Sakahowa, Lovemore (5)	Shurugwi	ZPF
Kagodo, Last (4)	Muzarabani	ZPF
Machona, Constable (4)	Buhera North	ZRP
Madiro, Mark (4)	Hurungwe East	MP
Mafiosi, Dickson (4)	Bindura	ZPF
Matiza, Joel(4)	Murehwa North + South	MP
Mazinyani, Sgt. (4)	Shurugwi	ZRP
Mhiripiri, Punish (4)	Makoni West	ZPF
Mutemachani, Boniface (4)	Chiredzi North	ZNLWVA
Mwale, Joseph(4)	Buhera North	CIO

Appendix 3.
Name, constituency and role of perpetrators

NAME	CONSTITUENCY	ROLE
Chinyere, Chief	UMP	CHIEF
Muawata, Chief	Mudzi	CHIEF
Tshovani, Chief	Chiredzi North	CHIEF
Chitektekto	UMP	CIO
Chiwara, Artwell	Shamva	CIO
Makomba, P	Marondera East + West	CIO
Masocha	Chikomba	CIO
Zimunya, Aaron	Mutare South	CIO
Porusingazi, Enock (3)	Chipinge South	CIO
Simongo, K (2)	Zvishavane	CIO
Mwale, Joseph	Chimanimani	CIO
Mwale, Joseph(3)	Buhera North	CIO
Chiteve, John(2)	Bindura	COUNCILLOR
Gatsi, Councillor	Unknown	COUNCILLOR
Hove, Richard	Mberengwa East	COUNCILLOR
Jacob, Edmund(2)	Mutoko North + South	COUNCILLOR
Makoni, (Councillor) (3)	Chikomba	COUNCILLOR
Gara, Tony	Mbare East	MP
Shumba, Josphat	Mberengwa East	MP
Gezi, Border (5)	Bindura +	MP
Chimutengwende, Chen	Mazowe East	MP
Kasukuwere, saviour(5)	Bindura +	MP
Mujuru, Joyce	Mount Darwin North	MP
Mutasa, D.	Makoni West	MP
Gumbo, Joram	Mberengwa East	MP
Herbert Murerwa	Goromonzi	MP
Hokoyo, Gladys(3)	Budiriro	MP
Madiro, mark (4)	Hurungwe East	MP
Manyika, Elliot (MP) (5)	Bindura	MP
Murerwa Herbert	Goromonzi	MP
Musamadya, M.P.	Mutoko North	MP
Mutiwekuziva (MP) (2)	Chikomba	MP
Gumbo, Rugare	Mberengwa East	MP
Chapfika, David	Mutoko North + South	MP
Kaukonde, J (5)	Mudzi	MP
Matiza, Joel(4)	Murehwa North + South	MP
Chipanga, Shadreck(5)	Makoni East	MP
Kuruneri, Christopher	Mazowe West	MP
Thembani, sabina(4)	Mufakose	MP
Chidengedzu, Headman	Makoni West	OFFICIAL
Marufu, Mutami (Kraalhead)	Guruve North/South	OFFICIAL
Ngoroma, Kraalhead	Guruve North/South	OFFICIAL
Zemura, Mai (Legal Projects Office)	Murehwa South	OFFICIAL
Bangidza, Colonel (3)	Chimanimani	ZNA
Masabeya, Captain (3)	Chimanimani	ZNA
Zephania, Major (3)	Chimanimani	ZNA
Dungiro, John (war veterans)		ZNLWVA
Ncube (war veteran) (3)	Murehwa South	ZNLWVA
Chinotimba joseph (6)	Harare	ZNLWVA

Who should be sanctioned?

Chitoro, biggie (11)	Mberengwa East	ZNLWVA
Chiwara, lucky (4)	Gokwe North	ZNLWVA
Donsa, C (5)	Mberengwa East	ZNLWVA
Dube, Felix (3)	Gokwe North	ZNLWVA
Dube, Manuel (3)	Unknown	ZNLWVA
Gift (3)	Shurugwi	ZNLWVA
Hove, Kennedy (2)	Mberengwa East	ZNLWVA
Jamela, Festo (5)	Mberengwa E	ZNLWVA
Josaya, Norman(16)	Hurungwe East	ZNLWVA
karungaire, e (7)	Hurungwe East	ZNLWVA
Machambanje, A (2)	Mberengwa East	ZNLWVA
Mangena, Langton (5)	Mberengwa East	ZNLWVA
Mashonga (14)	Hurungwe East	ZNLWVA
Mavigi (2)	Hurungwe East	ZNLWVA
Mpofu, E (2)	Zvishavane	ZNLWVA
Mupamombe (15)	Hurungwe East	ZNLWVA
Mutemachani, B (4)	Chiredzi North	ZNLWVA
Ngoni (9)	Hurungwe East	ZNLWVA
Nkomo, Lyford (2)	Mberengwa East	ZNLWVA
Paprika (5)	Hurungwe East	ZNLWVA
Rwodzi (10)	Hurungwe East	ZNLWVA
Shiri, Elly (3)	Mberengwa East	ZNLWVA
Shupikai (3)	Hurungwe East	ZNLWVA
Chigega, Gilbert	Bindura	ZPF
Unnamed (at Hunzvi's surgery) (7)	Budiriro	ZPF
Chigega, Blessing	Bindura	ZPF
Chigubu, Themba	Guruve South	ZPF
Chikanga, Never	Murehwa North	ZPF
Chikono, Godfrey	Guruve South	ZPF
Chikono, Kudzanai	Bindura	ZPF
Chimbwanda, Doben	Murehwa South	ZPF
Chimombe, Chimwanza	Murehwa North	ZPF
Chimutashu	Mount Darwin South	ZPF
Chimutsa, Anyway	Mount Darwin South	ZPF
Chinaka, Ben Dzingai	Bikita East/West	ZPF
Chingosho, Mr	Murehwa North + South	ZPF
Chingururu, J	Mudzi	ZPF
Manyame, John	Murehwa South/North	ZPF
Chawarura, Force	Bindura	ZPF
Chawarura, Jack	Bindura	ZPF
Chifodya, T	Mutoko South	ZPF
Chijange, E	Chiredzi North	ZPF
Chifodya, L	Mutoko South	ZPF
John Gumpo	Kariba	ZPF
Chiweshe, Josephat (4)	Hurungwe West & Chinhoyi	ZPF
Makwananzi, Issac	Mazowe West	ZPF
Chigega, Norbert (3)	Bindura + Shamva	ZPF
Chigega, Never Noel (4)	Bindura + Shamva	ZPF
Armstrong (2)	Kariba	ZPF
Banda, Masauso (2)	Kwekwe	ZPF
Banda, Mr (3)	Kambuzuma	ZPF
Bandera (3)	Hatfield	ZPF
Bangojena, H (2)	Shurugwi	ZPF
Bheka, Shepard	Gokwe Central	ZPF

Who should be sanctioned?

Bhiza, Godfrey (2)	Shamva/ Bindura	ZPF
Bhozo, A (4)	Hurungwe East	ZPF
Bimbiko, B (3)	Gokwe Central	ZPF
Binduko, Cephas (2)	Gokwe Central	ZPF
Botha, Taurai (2)	Chinhoyi	ZPF
Bukutu, Lovemore (2)	Makoni East	ZPF
Bumhira, Enock	Mbare East/West/Mazarabani	ZPF
Chakawarika (3)	Murehwa South	ZPF
Chanyarova	Murehwa South	ZPF
Chanyorowa	Mutoko North	ZPF
Chanyuruka, Raga (2)	Murehwa North	ZPF
Chapondo, T (4)	Murehwa North + South	ZPF
Charise, Sam (3)	Chegutu	ZPF
Chigombe, Gilbert (2)	Shamva	ZPF
Chigubu, Themba	Murehwa North	ZPF
Chigwedere, Fanwell(2)	Hwedza	ZPF
Chigwizura, Adam	Mutare West	ZPF
Chigwizura, Samuel (2)	Mutare West	ZPF
Chihona (4)	Hatfield	ZPF
Chijange, K	Chiredzi North	ZPF
Chikanye, Francis	Murehwa North	ZPF
Chikono, Godfrey	Murehwa North	ZPF
Chikono, Nelson (2)	Bindura	ZPF
Chikowore, Patrick (2)	Gokwe Central	ZPF
Chimanga, Enock (2)	Mutasa	ZPF
Chimbo, Simba (2)	Mutasa	ZPF
Chimbwanda, Durban	UMP	ZPF
Chimombe, Chimwanzi	Makoni East	ZPF
Chimonzo	Bindura	ZPF
Chimuka	Buhera North	ZPF
Chimukate, Clifford	Mount Darwin South	ZPF
Chimunondo, Givemore (2)	Hatfield	ZPF
Chimutashu, Nicholas	Mount Darwin South	ZPF
Chimutsa, Lovemore	Mount Darwin South	ZPF
Chin'ono, Godfrey (3)	Makoni North	ZPF
Chinaka, Macdonald	Bikita East/West	ZPF
Chinembiri, Elliot (5)	Zhombe	ZPF
Chingodza, M (9)	Hurungwe East	ZPF
Chingozho, Gilbert	Murehwa North + South	ZPF
Chingururu, R	Mudzi	ZPF
Chinomona, Ignatius	Mutoko North + South	ZPF
Chinomona, Trancis(2)	Mutoko North + South	ZPF
Chinono, Godwin (2)	Makoni North	ZPF
Chinwengwaenene, t (2)	Mberengwa East	ZPF
Chinyani	Mount Darwin South	ZPF
Chinyani, Jona Murape	Bindura	ZPF
Chinyike, Charles (3)	Bikita West	ZPF
Chinyoka	Zvishavane	ZPF
Chinyoka, H	Zvishavane	ZPF
Chinyoka, R	Mberengwa East	ZPF
Chiota, Cephas (2)	Murehwa North	ZPF
Chiota, Kurai	Murehwa North	ZPF
Chipanga, Shadreck	Makoni East	ZPF
Chiraya, Milton (2)	Murehwa North	ZPF

Who should be sanctioned?

Chiremba, Nhamo (2)	Gutu North	ZPF
Chirinda (2)	Murehwa North	ZPF
Chisaga (2)	Gokwe Central	ZPF
Chisango (3)	Hurungwe East	ZPF
Chisango, Douglas	Gokwe North	ZPF
Chisango, s (2)	Gokwe North	ZPF
Chisango, Simba	Gokwe North	ZPF
Chitate, Muzvondiwa (2)	Bindura	ZPF
Chitsa, Panganai (2)	Mutare South	ZPF
Chitsa, Prisca	Mutare South	ZPF
Chitura, Sparks(2)	Mount Darwin South	ZPF
Chiutsi, t (5)	Gokwe North	ZPF
Chiutsi, Taurai (2)	Gokwe North	ZPF
Chivata (5)	Hatfield	ZPF
Chiwara	Shamva	ZPF
Chiwara, goddie (4)	Gokwe North	ZPF
Chodzodzo, Farai(2)	Hwedza	ZPF
Choto, Better(2)	Hwedza	ZPF
Dafi, Happymore(2)	Makoni East	ZPF
Danda, Webster (5)	Zhombe	ZPF
Denere, Lazarus (5)	Zhombe	ZPF
Dhauka (2)	UMP	ZPF
Dube, H	Mberengwa East	ZPF
Dube, James	Buhera North	ZPF
Dube, Mapungwana	Buhera South	ZPF
Dube, Mr	Shurugwi	ZPF
Dube, Ndabezimhle	Unknown	ZPF
Dube, S	Gokwe North	ZPF
Dube, Victor	Bulilimangwe North/South	ZPF
Dzenga, Kuruza (2)	Gokwe Central	ZPF
Dziva, Taona (2)	Mberengwa East	ZPF
Dzvairo, Cathbert	UMP	ZPF
Erengwe (3)	Makoni East	ZPF
Foloma, A (4)	Zvishavane	ZPF
Gapa (2)	Hurungwe East	ZPF
Garan'anga, Nicodimus	UMP	ZPF
Garan'anga, Tafireyi	UMP	ZPF
Gava, Simon (5)	Zhombe	ZPF
Gava, U (3)	Gokwe Central	ZPF
Gode, Godfrey	Mount Darwin South	ZPF
Gode, Godfrey	Mt Darwin North/South	ZPF
Gomo, Desmond (3)	Guruve North	ZPF
Gumbo, Benard	Guruve North	ZPF
Gumbo, T	Gokwe North	ZPF
Gutsa, Paul (2)	Bindura	ZPF
Gutsa, Savha	Bindura	ZPF
Gwahwara, Hazvinei	UMP	ZPF
Gwakwata	UMP	ZPF
Gwamura, Everson(2)	Goromonzi	ZPF
Gwashe, W (4)	Gokwe North	ZPF
Hodzi	UMP	ZPF
Hodzi	Mutoko North + South	ZPF
Hodzi, M	Mutoko North	ZPF
Hove, D	Mberengwa East	ZPF

Who should be sanctioned?

Hove, Gan'eni	Mberengwa East	ZPF
Hove, Josikia (3)	Mberengwa East	ZPF
Hove, Judson (2)	Mberengwa West	ZPF
Hove, Portia (2)	Mberengwa East	ZPF
Hove, Simba (4)	Mberengwa East	ZPF
Hove, V.	Mberengwa East	ZPF
Hove, Z	Mberengwa East	ZPF
Hungwe, Philip (2)	Mberengwa East	ZPF
Hungwe, S	Mberengwa East	ZPF
Hunzvi, Chenjerai(3)	Budiriro	ZPF
Hunzvi, Chenjerai(3)	Chikomba	ZPF
Huranda, S (3)	Shurugwi	ZPF
January, Itai (2)	Gokwe Central	ZPF
January, Katande (2)	Gokwe West	ZPF
January, Makomo (2)	Gokwe West	ZPF
Jezenga, Cliff(2)	Mudzi	ZPF
Jimmy (5)	Hurungwe East	ZPF
Jisi, Mr	Murehwa North + South	ZPF
Jiti, Mr	Murehwa South	ZPF
Jongororo, Enock (2)	Marondera East	ZPF
Jongwe, Petros (2)	Marondera East	ZPF
Jonhasi, Christopher	Guruve North	ZPF
Jonhasi, Koshiwe (4)	Guruve North	ZPF
Jume, Jacob(2)	Mount Darwin South	ZPF
Juru, Boster	Goromonzi	ZPF
Juru, O	Goromonzi	ZPF
Kagodo, Exidos	Muzarabani	ZPF
Kagodo, Ivo (2)	Muzarabani	ZPF
Kagodo, Last (3)	Muzarabani	ZPF
Kaimba, Obey (2)	Shamva	ZPF
Kaitano, S (2)	Mudzi	ZPF
Kambazvi, Godfrey	Guruve North	ZPF
Kambazvi, Jerina	Guruve North	ZPF
Kamedza, Causewell(2)	UMP	ZPF
Kamhaka, Albert	Mudzi	ZPF
Kamhaka, Joe	Mudzi	ZPF
Kamoti, Dount(2)	Marondera East	ZPF
Kamunhukamwe, Peter	Guruve South	ZPF
Kamunhukamwe, Peter	UMP	ZPF
Kamuti, Norman (2)	Hwedza	ZPF
Kandoro, Mufundirwa	Guruve South	ZPF
Kandoro, Mufundirwa	Bikita East	ZPF
Kanokanza, Simba	Mount Darwin South	ZPF
Kanokanza, Trackfone	Mount Darwin South	ZPF
Kapere (2)	Hwedza	ZPF
Kasambarara	UMP	ZPF
Kasambarare	UMP	ZPF
Kasambarare, Givemore (7)	Goromonzi	ZPF
Kasambarere, Collins	Hwedza	ZPF
Kasambarere, Esam	Hwedza	ZPF
Kavhumbura, J	Murehwa South	ZPF
kavhumbura, p	Murehwa South	ZPF
Kazembe (6)	Hatfield	ZPF
Kazembe, Mrs	Hatfield	ZPF

Who should be sanctioned?

Khumalo (2)	Mazowe West	ZPF
Khumalo, W	Mberengwa East	ZPF
Khupe, Leon (2)	Bulilimangwe North	ZPF
Kirmukiyani, Emmanuel (5)	Guruve North	ZPF
Kiwa (2)	Murehwa South	ZPF
Kudawafeya, S (2)	Unknown	ZPF
Kufuka, Abel	Marondera east	ZPF
Kufuka, Mande Cleopas	Marondera West	ZPF
Mabhena	Mberengwa East	ZPF
Mabhena, R	Mberengwa East	ZPF
Mabhunu, Luke (2)	Chipinge	ZPF
Mabhunu, Tongai	Chipinge	ZPF
Mabhunumuchapera, N (2)	Hurungwe East	ZPF
Mabika, Cletos (2)	Gokwe North	ZPF
Mabvirakure, Rutendo (2)	Mutasa	ZPF
Machakaire, Alois	Buhera North	ZPF
Machakaire, Batsirai	Buhera North	ZPF
Machakaire, Simon	Buhera North	ZPF
Machakata, Stuart (2)	Gokwe North	ZPF
Machangwe, Jacob (3)	Makoni North	ZPF
Madiro, F	Hurungwe West	ZPF
Madiyanikwe, John	Chimanimani	ZPF
Madzikatire, John	Chimanimani	ZPF
Madzikatire, Silvester	Chimanimani	ZPF
Madzudzo, Alfonso	Bindura	ZPF
Madzudzu, Alfonse	Bindura	ZPF
Mafios, Dixon	Mount Darwin South	ZPF
Mafiosi, Dickson (3)	Bindura	ZPF
Magauze (3)	Mudzi	ZPF
Magaya, Clever (2)	UMP	ZPF
Magomo (3)	Hwedza	ZPF
Magunje (4)	Hurungwe East	ZPF
Mahoza	Mutoko North	ZPF
Mahoza, T	Mutoko North + South	ZPF
Mahuni, Flaviano Tichatonga (2)	Mutoko South/north; Guruve South	ZPF
Mairos, Kenneth (2)	Makoni North	ZPF
Majengwa, Ali(3)	Mbare East	ZPF
Majonga, edwin(3)	Murehwa North + South	ZPF
Makaye, Farirai	Bikita East	ZPF
Makaye, Sylvester	Bikita East	ZPF
Makaza, Lakeness (3)	Goromonzi	ZPF
Makaza, Robert	Hurungwe East	ZPF
Makaza, Wirimai	UMP	ZPF
Makiyi	Hurungwe East	ZPF
Makombe (4)	Mberengwa East + West	ZPF
Makombe, Tendai	Mazowe West	ZPF
Makoni, Gerald	Gutu North	ZPF
Makoni, Kennedy	Gutu North	ZPF
Makonza, G (2)	Hurungwe West	ZPF
Malunga, Alfred(2)	Bindura	ZPF
Mambohaatemwi, Arnold (2)	Makoni East	ZPF
Mandlovu (3)	Mberengwa East	ZPF
Mangondo, Rainos (2)	Gokwe South	ZPF
Mangondo, Rainos (2)	Gokwe West	ZPF

Who should be sanctioned?

Manyame, Dominic	Murehwa South/North	ZPF
Manyanga, Ernest	Guruve North	ZPF
Manyanga, Mrs	Guruve North/South	ZPF
Mapako, B (5)	Zvishavane	ZPF
Mapaunzi, Guilt	Bikita West	ZPF
Mapaunzi, Sungisai	Bikita West	ZPF
Mapfumo, Given (3)	Gokwe North	ZPF
Mapfumo, Given (3)	Gokwe North	ZPF
Mapingire, Mai	Mberengwa East	ZPF
Mapingire, S	Mberengwa East	ZPF
Mapiye, I (4)	Mberengwa East	ZPF
Mapungwana, James (2)	Buhera North	ZPF
Marau, Dungu (2)	Murehwa South/North	ZPF
Marodza	Mount Darwin North	ZPF
Marodza, R	Marondera East + West	ZPF
Marodza, Terry (8)	Mount Darwin South; Mudzi	ZPF
Masaka, Jasman	Mutare South	ZPF
Masaka, Onias (2)	Mutare South	ZPF
Masama, Annanias	Buhera	ZPF
Masenda, J (10)	Hurungwe East	ZPF
Mashamva, Sally	Bikita East/West	ZPF
Mashanda, Crispen	Bikita East	ZPF
Mashanda, Mambunya	Bikita East	ZPF
Mashanda, Saliwe	Bikita East/West	ZPF
Mashazhu, T (2)	Shurugwi	ZPF
Masiyaneya, Godfrey	Chipinge North	ZPF
Masiyaneya, Pardon	Chipinge North	ZPF
Masonda, P	Mberengwa East	ZPF
Masunda	Mberengwa East	ZPF
Masvusvu, James	Gokwe Central	ZPF
Masvusvu, Ramios	Gokwe Central	ZPF
Mataka, Sikhangezile (4)	Mberengwa East	ZPF
Mataka, Sithabile (3)	Mberengwa East	ZPF
Matangira, Remgio	Bindura	ZPF
Matangira, Tawanda	Bindura	ZPF
Matapa, K (2)	Hurungwe East	ZPF
Matavire	Mazowe west	ZPF
Matavire, Mai	Mberengwa East	ZPF
Matiirira, Address (2)	Marondera West	ZPF
Mativenga, Tauya (5)	Zhombe	ZPF
Matonhodze, Kudzai (2)	Bikita East/West	ZPF
Mauchezani, Danmore (2)	Chipinge North	ZPF
Maumburudze (5)	Hatfield	ZPF
Mavingwa, Collin (5)	Zhombe	ZPF
Mazhara, Godfrey (3)	Gokwe Central	ZPF
Mazhindu, Charles (2)	Buhera North	ZPF
Mazungura, Bornface(2)	Mudzi	ZPF
Mhaka (2)	Mount Darwin South, Bindura	ZPF
Mhiripiri, Mr	Makoni East	ZPF
Mhiripiri, Punish (3)	Makoni West	ZPF
Mhonyera, Felix	Murehwa South	ZPF
Mhonyera, M	Murehwa North + South	ZPF
Mishamiviri, Mrs (2)	Bindura + Shamva	ZPF
Moyo (2)	Hurungwe East	ZPF

Who should be sanctioned?

Moyo, H (2)	Mberengwa West	ZPF
Moyo, Lovemore	Unknown	ZPF
Moyo, Manjanje	Mberengwa East	ZPF
Moyo, Manjanje	Guruve South	ZPF
Moyo, Peter	Unknown	ZPF
Moyo, Peter Danida (3)	Shurugwi	ZPF
Moyo, Thando (3)	Matobo	ZPF
Mpandawana, Farai (2)	Gutu North	ZPF
Mpandawana, Steven (2)	Gutu North	ZPF
Mpofu, George (2)	Zhombe	ZPF
Mpofu, J	Gokwe East	ZPF
Mpofu, S	Gokwe East	ZPF
Muchimbu, Mfundisi Siako (2)	Gokwe North	ZPF
Muchingami, Adam (2)	Mutare West	ZPF
Muchingami, Nyasha	Mutare West	ZPF
Muchingami, Samuel	Mutare West	ZPF
Mudimu, Brian (2)	Hwedza	ZPF
Mudiwakure, Bornface	Mudzi	ZPF
Mudiwakure, M	Mudzi	ZPF
Mudiwakure, T	Mudzi	ZPF
Mudiwakure, W	Mudzi	ZPF
Mudziwepasi, Edward	Chimanimani	ZPF
Mudzongachiso, Bibi (2)	Guruve North	ZPF
Mufari, Nelson (5)	Zhombe	ZPF
Mufundisi, Dzingai (2)	Makoni North	ZPF
Mugabe, J (3)	Zvishavane	ZPF
Muguriri (2)	Gokwe North	ZPF
Mujuru (8)	Mudzi	ZPF
Mujuru, Mr	Murehwa South	ZPF
Mujuru, Mr	Hatfield	ZPF
Mujuru, Solomon	Marondera East/West	ZPF
Mukarambira (2)	Hwedza	ZPF
Mukoka, James	Rushinga	ZPF
Mukoka, Tapiwa	Rushinga	ZPF
Mukono, Pedzayi (2)	Chimanimani	ZPF
Mungenge, Chamunorwa (2)	Marondera East/West	ZPF
Munhedu, G (2)	Kariba	ZPF
Munjoma, Getrude (2)	Makoni West	ZPF
Munotengwa, Mabasa (4)	Gokwe North	ZPF
Munotengwa, Mabasa (4)	Gokwe North & Zhombe	ZPF
Munyoma, Eriya	Chikomba	ZPF
Munyoro, Dombo	Chikomba	ZPF
Mupukuta, Lovemore	Gokwe Central	ZPF
Mupundu, Lverage	Buhera North	ZPF
Muramba, Alfred (2)	Marondera West	ZPF
Murefu (2)	Murehwa South/North	ZPF
Murosa, Big	Murehwa North/South	ZPF
Muroza	Murehwa North/South	ZPF
Musamba, Evans(2)	Chinhoyi	ZPF
Musauki, Joseph (6)	Guruve North	ZPF
Musauki, Nyande (3)	Guruve North	ZPF
Musauki, Peace	Murehwa North/South	ZPF
Musauki, Pius (3)	Guruve North	ZPF
Musekiwa (2)	Gokwe Central	ZPF

Who should be sanctioned?

Musengezi, Takawira (3)	Mberengwa East	ZPF
Muserkua, Itai	Guruve North	ZPF
Museruka, Public	Guruve North	ZPF
Mushangwe (2)	Murehwa North/South	ZPF
Mushonga, (2)	Murehwa North	ZPF
Mushonga, Joseph	Marondera East/West	ZPF
Muskwe, (Mrs) Mission	Hwedza	ZPF
Muskwe, Aaron	Hwedza	ZPF
Muskwe, Claus	Hwedza	ZPF
Muskwe, Tanyanyiwa	Hwedza	ZPF
Mutata, Clara (2)	Chikomba	ZPF
Mutati, Ezekiel (2)	Mberengwa East	ZPF
Mutema (3)	Chinhoyi	ZPF
Mutema, Tompson (3)	Gokwe North	ZPF
Mutsetwa, K (2)	Shurugwi	ZPF
Mutsungi, Z (3)	Mberengwa East	ZPF
Muzama, Lucky (2)	Mutare West	ZPF
Muzenda (2)	Hwedza	ZPF
Muzhizhi, Andrew (3)	Makoni North	ZPF
Mwanakatsomwa, E (2)	Hurungwe West	ZPF
Navhaya, Alec	Mudzi	ZPF
Navhaya, Alec	Mudzi	ZPF
Ncube	Hurungwe East	ZPF
Ncube, Christina	Mberengwa East	ZPF
Ncube, N (2)	Mberengwa West	ZPF
Ncube, M	Hurungwe East	ZPF
Ncube, S	Mberengwa East	ZPF
Ncube, V	Mberengwa East	ZPF
Ndlovu	Budiriro	ZPF
Ndlovu (4)	Hatfield	ZPF
Ndlovu, Leonard (3)	Bulilimamangwe North/South	ZPF
Ndlovu, Mrs (3)	Hatfield	ZPF
Nndlovu, p(2)	Hurungwe East	ZPF
Ndongwe (3)	Makoni East	ZPF
Nenge, David (2)	Makoni East	ZPF
Ngezenyu, V (2)	Mberengwa East	ZPF
Ngezvenyu	Mberengwa East	ZPF
Nguwoyembudzi, Dick (2)	Guruve North	ZPF
Ngwenya	Hurungwe East	ZPF
Ngwenya, T	Mberengwa East	ZPF
Nhaudzawanda, Wilbert	Gokwe West	ZPF
Nhaudzawanda, William	Gokwe Central	ZPF
Nhemura, F (3)	Hurungwe East	ZPF
Nherera, R (2)	Murehwa South	ZPF
Nherera, R (2)	Murehwa South	ZPF
Nhokwara, Mark (2)	Marondera West	ZPF
Nkomo, Jezeni	Mberengwa East	ZPF
Nkomo, Lesson	Mberengwa East	ZPF
Nyakarare (2)	Hwedza	ZPF
Nyamombe, Revai(2)	Makoni East	ZPF
Nyamweda, Prayer (3)	Mbare East/West	ZPF
Nyauna, S	Bindura	ZPF
Nyauye, I (3)	Hurungwe East	ZPF
Nyoka, Frian(5)	Murehwa North + South	ZPF

Who should be sanctioned?

Paradzai	Hurungwe East	ZPF
Pasi (2)	Kwekwe	ZPF
Rex Jesus (3)	Hurungwe East	ZPF
Ringiro, Edmond (2)	Gokwe Central/ West	ZPF
Ruparangana, Emma (2)	Chimanimani	ZPF
Rwodzi, Knowledge	Bindura	ZPF
Sakahowa, Lovemore (Gunpowder (5)	Shurugwi	ZPF
Salim, Abraham (6)	UMP	ZPF
Shiri, Elias Masendu (2)	Mberengwa East	ZPF
Shiri, M	Mberengwa East	ZPF
Shirir, Fi	Mberengwa East	ZPF
Shiri, Fi	Mberengwa East	ZPF
Shoko, E (2)	Mberengwa East	ZPF
Shoko, Gilbert (2)	Makoni West	ZPF
Shoko, Lock	Mberengwa East	ZPF
Shoko, Shepherd (3)	Buhera North / South	ZPF
Shonhiwa, Mashumba (3)	Chegutu	ZPF
Shumba, K	Mberengwa West	ZPF
Shumba, Lifa	Mberengwa East	ZPF
Sibanda, E+A589 (3)	Zvishavane	ZPF
Sibanda, Godwell(3)	Hwedza	ZPF
Sibanda, Percy (2)	Chegutu	ZPF
Sithole (2)	Mutoko South	ZPF
Siziba, B (3)	Gokwe Central	ZPF
Siziba, Bernard (4)	Gokwe Central	ZPF
Siziba, Chinyama	Gokwe North	ZPF
Stulo (2)	Bulilimangwe North	ZPF
Tanyanyiwa	Mutoko South	ZPF
Tanyanyiwa, Boster	Goromonzi	ZPF
Tanyara, Piniel	Bikita East/West	ZPF
Tapfumaneyi, McLean	Mazowe East	ZPF
Tapfumeneyi, Henicha	Mazowe East	ZPF
Tindike, C	Guruve North	ZPF
Tindike, Justice	Guruve North	ZPF
Tsavanhu, Collen (3)	Chinhoyi	ZPF
Tsavanhu, Thomas (3)	Chinhoyi	ZPF
Tsvuura, George(3)	Mbare East	ZPF
Tunha, Mrs (2)	Hatfield	ZPF
Wevhu, Sigauke (3)	Buhera North	ZPF
Zanga, Ten (2)	Goromonzi	ZPF
Zaranyika, Jesika	Hatfield	ZPF
Zaranyika, Mr	Hatfield	ZPF
Zengeza, Biggie (2)	Hurungwe West	ZPF
Zhanda, Paddington	+	ZPF
Zhanda, Paddington (2)	Murehwa South + Goromonzi	ZPF
Zharima, Edward(3)	Murehwa North + South	ZPF
Zhou, B	Mberengwa East	ZPF
Zhou, Canaan	Mberengwa East	ZPF
Zhou, Fana	Mberengwa East	ZPF
Zhou, K	Mberengwa West	ZPF
Zimunya, Kainos(3)	Buhera North	ZPF
Zvakamwe, M	Chikomba	ZPF
Zvakamwe, M	Chikomba	ZPF
Gumpo, J (2)	Kariba	ZPF OFFICIAL

Who should be sanctioned?

Mudyiwa, Thomas	Mazoe west	ZPF OFFICIAL
Vhera, Mr	Mutoko North + South	ZPF OFFICIAL
Dziya, Milcoat	Mberengwa East	ZPF OFFICIAL
Munotengwa Max (4)	Gokwe north	ZPF YOUTH
Janga the youth Commander	Mount Darwin South	ZPF YOUTH
Bernard (youth leader)	Hurungwe East	ZPF YOUTH
Chinhere, Njodzi (3)	Gokwe North	ZPF YOUTH
Tavaruya Tawanda (2)	Gokwe North	ZPF YOUTH
Tavaruya, Tarisai (2)	Gokwe North	ZPF YOUTH
Dube, Lot (2)	Umizigwane	ZPS
Majora, Asst. Insp (2)	Chikomba	ZRP
Dowa, Ass. Insp	Harare North/central	ZRP
Chinyoka, Chief Inspector	Chipinge South	ZRP
Jambwa, Detective (2)	Buhera North/ South	ZRP
Jongwe (Inspector)	Hurungwe East	ZRP
Mabvuku Police, Member in Charge	Mabvuku	ZRP
Chidyamakono, Sgt.	Shurugwi	ZRP
Chimedza	Gokwe North/East/West	ZRP
Chineka, Constable	Buhera North	ZRP
Chinembiri, Constable	Chimanimani	ZRP
Chipinda, Ernest (2)	Kwekwe	ZRP
Chirere, Constable	Chimanimani	ZRP
Desmore	Chikomba	ZRP
Dhakiwa, Dauti	UMP	ZRP
Dhliwayo, Mr	Harare Central	ZRP
Dube, E	Mberengwa East	ZRP
Dube, Sergeant	Bulawayo South	ZRP
Dzimbanhete (2)	Mt Darwin/Bindura/Rushinga	ZRP
Dzvairo, Constable	UMP	ZRP
Gumbo, Constable	Chimanimani	ZRP
Mahuwa, Constable (2)	Buhera North	ZRP
Makiyi	Mudzi	ZRP
Makore, Cst. (2)	Shurugwi	ZRP
Mandeya(2)	Mt Darwin Sth, Bindura, Rushinga	ZRP
Manzunzu, Constable (3)	Buhera North	ZRP
Mapfumo, Cuthbert(2)	Chikomba	ZRP
Mazmabani	Murehwa South	ZRP
Mhaka	Harare North	ZRP
Mnangagwa	Harare South / Murehwa North	ZRP
Mukwena, Chrispen (2)	Kwekwe	ZRP
Mukwena, Tichaona (2)	Kwekwe	ZRP
Munandi, John (2)	Kwekwe	ZRP
Mungofa, Ngonidashe (2)	Bindura	ZRP
Munyandiani, Silas	Mutare West	ZRP
Murada, Munyaradzi (2)	Kwekwe	ZRP
Mushamba, Sherperd	Murehwa North/South	ZRP
Mushowe, Jefta (2)	Kwekwe	ZRP
Musoni(2)	Mount Darwin South, Bindura	ZRP
Mutandavari (2)	Kwekwe	ZRP
Muziwi, Pindukai	Mutare West	ZRP
Nyanyire, Officers	Buhera North	ZRP
Nzuma, Saul	Buhera North	ZRP
Usayi	Mazowe East	ZRP
Zishiri(2)	Mount Darwin South, Bindura	ZRP

Who should be sanctioned?

Mapete, Constable	Chimanimani	ZRP
Machivenyika (Constable)	Hurungwe East	ZRP
Machona, Constable (4)	Buhera North	ZRP
Mazinyari, Cst.	Shurugwi	ZRP
Dzambwa, Detective (3)	Buhera North/ South	ZRP
Muyambo, Inspector	Buhera North	ZRP
Mabunda, Inspector (2)	Hurungwe East	ZRP
Mudziwapasi (Member In Charge		ZRP
Mazinyani, Sgt. (3)	Shurugwi	ZRP
Shumba, Sergeant	Buhera North	ZRP
Chikono, Godfrey(3)	UMP	ZRP
Nechibaba, Constable	Mazowe West	ZRP

Appendix 4.**Organised violence and torture per Constituency: 2000 Parliamentary and 2002 Presidential Elections.**

CONSTITUENCY	2000	2002	TOTAL
BIKITA	0	32	32
BINDURA	22	68	90
BUHERA	9	65	74
BYO SOUTH	0	1	1
BULILIMANGWE	0	11	11
CHEGUTU	0	11	11
CHIKOMBA	28	26	54
CHIMANIMANI	0	29	29
CHINOYI	3	16	19
CHIPINGE	0	26	26
CHIREDDI	12	0	12
HARARE	12	73	107
BUDIRIRO	20	0	20
GOKWE	80	96	176
GOROMONZI	19	14	33
HGURUVE	0	72	72
GUTU	0	11	11
HURUNGWE	184	16	200
HWEDZA	16	28	44
KARIBA	7	0	7
KWE KWE	0	18	18
MAKOKOBA	0	2	2
MAKONI EAST	30	15	45
MAKONI NORTH	1	15	16
MAKONI WEST	0	11	11
MARONDERA EAST	10	14	24
MARONDERA WEST	0	19	19
MATOBO	6	6	12
MAZOWE EAST	15	1	16
MAZOWE WEST	2	14	16
MBERENGWA EAST	119	23	142
MBERENGWA WEST	13	0	13
MHONDORO	0	3	3
MT DARWIN NORTH	2	3	5
MT DARWIN SOUTH	42	10	52
MUDZI	72	2	74
HARARE	13	0	13
MUREHWA NORTH	37	38	75
MUREHWA SOUTH	36	12	48
MUTARE SOUTH	0	7	7
MUTARE WEST	0	21	21
MUTASA	0	9	9
MUTOKO	45	11	56
MUZARABANI	1	13	14
MWENEZI	1	0	1
NKAYI	0	2	2
NYANGA	0	3	3
PUMULA/LUVEVE	0	2	2
RUSHINGA	0	5	5
SEKE	1	1	2
SHAMVA	2	5	7
SHURUGWI	33	0	33
UMZINGWANE	0	2	2
UMP	15	59	74

Who should be sanctioned?

UNKNOWN	16	3	19
ZAKA EAST	0	5	5
ZHOMBE	0	40	40
ZVISHAVANE	34	2	36
	958	991	1971