

INTRODUCTION

The national harmonised elections held by Zimbabwe on July 31, 2013 were massively rigged by a network of groups and organisations hired by the Zanu PF system for the sole purpose of fraudulently denying Zimbabweans their constitutionally guaranteed right to vote and express their free will and also give Zanu PF and its leader, Robert Mugabe an illegitimate victory.

Through confidential links with the structures and organisations that were involved in the rigging mission, details of the whole plan and how it was executed were obtained. Further, investigations spread across the national political and electoral framework helped in the establishment of facts, details and all the necessary information used in compiling this report.

The rigging machinery started seriously preparing for the mission as early as February 2013, with some of the strategies having been rolled out since 2012 under a very thick veil of secrecy and with the Zanu PF system abusing its control and manipulation of key state institutions as well as departments.

A total amount of US\$100 million was used for the rigging mission, which involved a monolith system and structure comprising largely secretive and shadowy organisations as well as individuals.

This report outlines, analyses and assesses the whole mechanism that was used to rig the polls, clearly identifying the players that were involved, the strategies and dirty tactics they employed as well as showing how they influenced the results which were announced by the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (ZEC).

Local organisations, individuals and structures within the state's security sector were at the epicentre of the rigging machinery and under the command of military and intelligence senior personnel, which supervised and directed the network and processes. Vast technical expertise and support was also incorporated and provided by foreign individuals and organisations. A firm run and operated by Mossad, the Israeli spy agency, Nikuv Projects played a major role in the manipulation and corruption of the processes of voter registration and compilation of a shambolic voters' roll, which were primarily the initial phases for the rigging processes.

This report outlines the role played by Nikuv Projects and how it literally took over the management of the voters' roll from the Registrar General. It further reveals the clandestine existence and operating relationship between the group and the Zanu PF system, including secretive payments of huge amounts of funds for the work it carried out.

The Zanu PF system also hired experts from China that played a major role in the training and orientation of militia and Zanu PF structures that were used to carry out specific tasks and worked under the command of the military and intelligence.

These tasks included ballot stuffing, creation of fake IDs and fake voter registration slips as well as spearheading multiple voting.

The Chinese experts were also instrumental in the development and use of a special water marked ballot paper, which was designed to give all the votes cast on it to Zanu PF candidates through sophisticated paper technology.

Secret command centres were operated by the rigging machinery across the whole country, at military bases, Zanu PF premises and also at farms, which hosted militia and activists that were trained and deployed to carry out the mission.

The secret bases were also used to stock material such as ballot paper, fake IDs, fake registration slips and also for tasks of ballot stuffing.

This report provides a breakdown of the major secret bases that were used by the rigging machinery.

It shall also be revealed and outlined in this report that the rigging mission was carried out at provincial level and with specific strategies and mechanisms being used for each province, varying and determined by specific objectives that the Zanu PF system had for each of the country's provinces.

The architects of the rigging mission initially identified political dynamics, voting patterns and also the distribution of seats in previous elections to come up with specific targets and objectives for each and every province. They, for example, identified provinces which they resolved to go all out and make clean sweep of the parliamentary seats and that meant employing specific strategies to achieve that.

Subsequently, it shall be noted and explained in this report that due to the varying targets and objectives as well as strategies from one province to another, the rigging plans ended up being sophisticated and complicated.

To manage that situation, the Zanu PF system ensured that it deployed key intelligence and military operatives at each and every level and stage of the system and processes, who effectively wielded the most power and operated the programmes, reducing proper channels and officials to being bystanders and rubber stampers.

Retired intelligence and military personnel were summoned and deployed across the country to supervise and direct the rigging plans and programmes, as a way of boosting the numbers of those currently still in the service.

That factor also meant the need for huge funding and a wider resource base, which the Zanu PF system alone could not cater for and that brings in further involvement of external players who provided funding. Among them were leaders and organisations from within the African, who knowingly abetted the rigging mission through providing funding.

Presidents of Equatorial Guinea and the DRC personally provided funding for the rigging machinery.

The Zanu PF system exploited its corrupt stranglehold on the Marange diamonds to fix illegal deals that helped it raise funds for the rigging mission.

This report provides all the details and information about the individuals, organisations and entities that were involved, as well the budget, funding and the rigging strategies and methodologies.

It also provides deeper analysis and assessment of the rigging processes to provide a clearer understanding of how they contributed to the cocktail of outcomes, including disenfranchising many voters, creating millions of ghost voters and how that was manipulated to inflate voting numbers, carry out ballot stuffing as well as even turning votes cast for the MDC candidates into reflecting for Zanu PF candidates.

FULL REPORT

This section provides details of the rigging mission, covering all the aspects from structures and organisations that were involved, the strategies and budget.

It further proves how the mechanisms and strategies effectively denied Zimbabweans the opportunity to freely and credibly express their true will in electing their leaders at local governance, parliamentary and presidential level.

TOP STRUCTURE OF RIGGING MACHINERY

The rigging mission was planned and directed right from the top of the Zanu PF system and had the consent, blessing and approval of President Robert Mugabe.

He deployed and delegated his trusted lieutenants to spearhead the mission and they continuously reported to him.

Mugabe, for example, directly met leaders and representatives of foreign organisations that were involved in the mission, such as those from Israeli firm, Nikuv Projects and experts that came from China under the facilitation of the Chinese Communist Party.

Mugabe met and hosted Nikuv Projects' Chief Executive Officer, Emmanuel Antebion June 20 and July 30 in Harare for briefings about the rigging mission as well as payment arrangements for the secret services the company was doing in the rigging mission.

Mugabe delegated senior Zanu PF officials led by Emmerson Mnangagwa to supervise and command the whole mission. Others that were involved at the highest level included Sydney Sekeramayi, Saviour Kasukuwere, Webster Shamu, Ignatius Chombo, Kembo Mohadi, Christopher Mushowe, Nicholas Goche and Obert Mpofu.

These senior Zanu PF officials constituted the high command that planned and supervised the rigging mission on.

The high command was set up in October 2012 when the Zanu PF system resolved to drag the nation into an election and that was after it had convinced itself that the circumstances were best suited for its rigging mission.

The high command formulated the rigging framework and work plan after obtaining information and data from the investigations and assessment carried out by national intelligence teams and Nikuv regarding the national political situation, the mood of voters, possible voting patterns and even projected results.

That is the basis upon which specific targets and objectives were outlined and determined by the high command for each of the country's provinces.

Intelligence that had been provided to the rigging machinery high command showed them that the MDC would win local governance and parliamentary elections as well as the presidential polls with a clear majority.

Led by Mnangagwa, members of the High Command undertook secret missions to Israel, China, Angola, Central Africa Republic and the DRC for the purposes of obtaining advice as well as facilitate deals for funding of the rigging mission.

The high command constantly monitored the rigging machinery through regular reports that came from the implementing structures and organisations across the country and across the board. Further, Mugabe himself was always kept informed of developments, progress as well as plans through regular updates by Mnangagwa.

MILITARY & INTELLIGENCE CONTROL

Below the High Command was the management and implementing committee, which was controlled as well as led by military and intelligence officials.

Air Vice Marshall Henry Muchena, Major General Douglas Nyikayaramba and Central Intelligence Organisation (CIO) Deputy Director General, Aaron Daniel Tonderai Nhepera led the committee.

The military and intelligence top officials literally ran the rigging machinery and implemented the plans and programmes formulated by the High Command and approved by Mugabe.

As shall be revealed further in this report, the military and intelligence structure was very ubiquitous across the whole electoral organisation and management system and cascaded all the way to the lowest structures.

The military and intelligence structure was charged with ensuring close and tight monitoring as well as supervision of all individuals and organisations variously involved in the rigging mission and keep them within the confines of the plans, objectives and targets.

It is through the involvement of military and intelligence at the very top levels that it was effectively ensured that virtually all the electoral management organisations being infiltrated and brought under total control and influence of the secret rigging structure and machinery.

Each and every organisation and structure involved in the running of elections had military and intelligence officials assigned to it who effectively ran the show from behind the scenes and implemented the specific tasks of the rigging machinery.

All plans and programmes that were carried out by all the electoral management organs had to be approved and monitored by the military and intelligence leadership, which had been deployed to work on the rigging mission on a full time basis. That included budgets and even communications which were made by heads of organisations and departments such as the Registrar General's Office and the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission.

Regular meetings of the management and implementing committee were secretly held during the election period, which included all the organisations and structures involved in the running and conduct of elections.

RECALLING OF RETIRED OFFICIALS

A total number of 1000 retired senior army and intelligence officials were recalled in June to boost the numbers of those still in service and perform very critical roles in the rigging plan. The military and intelligence officials were taken through induction in specific strategies and tactics by the hired experts from Israel and China before being deployed across the whole country and at each and every level of the election management and conduct system.

Every structure or team involved in any way in the running of elections had an army or intelligence plant secretly controlling it and directing its operations.

For example, every mobile voter registration team had an intelligence or army plant controlling and directing everything as well as reporting through the secret structures all the way to the top.

The same applies for the rest of the structures and departments at the RG's office and ZEC.

Military and intelligence officials led, controlled and directed operations at the National Elections Command Centre, all provincial command centres, going all the way down to each and every polling station.

Their major task was to ensure that specific plans were implemented, such as disenfranchising voters, allowing ballot stuffing, voting with fake registration slips, enforced assistance voting, multiple voting and also use of the water marked ballot papers.

SECRET MILITARY BASES

The rigging machinery set up and operated secret bases at military camps across the whole country, which hosted youth militia for training and execution of various strategies such as marking ballot papers used for ballot stuffing.

Under the supervision and directing of army and intelligence officials, the election rigging units at army bases were well resourced and funded to implement the mission.

Each and every base hosted specific numbers of youth militia for training by the experts in strategies and operated from there to implement various rigging tasks.

Every army base also had secret batches of ballot papers that were delivered two weeks before the day of voting, for the purpose of marking and later use for ballot stuffing. Other election materials such as ink and voters' roll were also secretly smuggled into these bases for various purposes towards fulfilling the election rigging plans and programmes.

It was established in Harare that the KGV1 was the hub of a secret team which comprised members of Nikuv and military as well intelligence officials that worked with the Registrar General's Office to doctor and manipulate the voters' roll for rigging purposes.

Breakdown of major bases across the country;

- Manyame Air Base (Harare)
- Inkomo Barracks (Harare)
- KGV1 (Harare)
- Brady Barracks (Bulawayo)
- Lliwellin Barracks (Bulawayo)
- Thornhill Air Base (Gweru)
- Mutare 3 Brigade Army Barracks
- Masvingo 4 Brigade Army HQ

The army bases were also used as the provincial and regional command centres for the rigging machinery in the respective areas and hosted coordinating and implementing teams of the secretive structures.

Setting up of the army bases for the rigging machinery started in April 2013 after the Zanu PF high command and management committee of the rigging machinery drew up its framework and work plan.

ZEC'S ROLE

The national body tasked and mandated with running and conducting elections was reduced to a bystander in the electoral rigging fiasco and merely forced to play the rubber stamping role as the secret structure of military and intelligence officials deployed to implement the rigging mission directed and controlled everything.

The official structure, led by chairperson, Justice Rita Makarau was virtually rendered useless and forced to follow behind the planted rigging agents.

Three Commissioners provided information in confidentiality and clearly stated that the official ZEC structure totally ceded authority and control of the election planning and conduct to the rigging machinery.

Each and every department at ZEC had plants that controlled and directed all plans and operations in conformity with instructions and guidelines provided from the military and intelligence management committee.

The military and intelligence personnel deployed at ZEC regularly engaged and took instructions from the security chiefs in the management committee, from where plans and programmes for the operations of the electoral body came.

Muchena, Nyikayaramba and Nhepera deployed senior CIO official, Silas Nyanungo to the ZEC headquarters in Harare to assume the role of chief operations officer in a secretive capacity.

Nyanungo set up a system and structure within ZEC that ensured his total control of all the processes, programmes and decisions.

ZEC Commissioners, who were supposed to formulate policy framework and guidelines, were subsequently forced to just watch everything being directed by the invisible hand, leading to a number of them feeling very uncomfortable with that situation.

Three commissioners, whose names are withheld, raised concerns with the chairperson in July, two weeks before the voting day but were met with an unfavourable response as Makarau indicated that she was also in the same predicament of having to be a bystander whilst the invisible hand orchestrated everything.

Information obtained from confidential sources that were involved at ZEC shows beyond any doubt that the body was virtually reduced to a window dresser for the sophisticated rigging machinery and the official structure painstakingly ended up just folding hands and doing nothing about blatant electoral fraud.

On July 15 Makarau, after being pressured by the majority of commissioners, approached the Registrar General, Tobaiwa Mudede requesting an explanation over the lack of transparency

as well as progress in the voter registration and preparation of the voters' roll following widespread outcry and condemnation of the corrupted process. However, Mudede refused to own up and explain the chaos around voter registration but rather, Makarau was ordered to leave the matter by Muchena.

In addition to virtually being barred from playing its role of monitoring and controlling the voter registration exercise, ZEC's official structure was also kept in the dark about the process of preparing the voters' roll, which was being done secretly by the rigging machinery.

Makarau and the rest of commissioners were also kept in the dark about the processes as well as plans behind the printing of ballot papers, again, which was wholly controlled and supervised by the military and intelligence leaders of the rigging machinery.

The ZEC official structure cannot up to now account for the number of ballot papers that were printed, how they were distributed and used. The commissioners were merely given figures to issue out but without at all being allowed to observe, monitor or even take stock of this vital aspect of an election.

The ZEC Commission was forced to take instructions and information from the rigging machinery even on other key aspects of the election such as setting up of polling stations, deployment and vetting of key election officers and a host of other logistical as well as operational gritty-nitties involved on the day of voting. These included the fraudulent use of fake voter registration slips, huge numbers of forced assisted voters and multiple voting.

REGISTRAR GENERAL'S ROLE

The Registrar General Tobaiwa Mudede was instructed and obliged to a plan that resulted in the processes of voter registration and preparation of the voters' roll being spearheaded and directed by Nikuv Projects, leading to the deliberate disenfranchisement of close to a million voters as well as creation of many ghost voters for the rigging mission.

Thorough investigations carried out at the RG's department revealed the following;

- The Registrar General was instructed to cooperate with experts from Nikuv in manipulating and corrupting processes of issuance of national IDs and voter registration to disenfranchise close to 950 000 voters in urban areas, known to be MDC strongholds. Harare alone had 350 000 people that were disenfranchised.
 - The strategies used included deliberate delay and slowing down of the voter registration processes as well as other deliberate measures to prevent voters in urban areas from registering to vote, such as demands for proof of residence, marriage certificates and employers' letters.
- The Registrar General also carried out an instruction from the rigging command to dilute urban constituencies and achieved that through issuing documents to hordes of Zanu PF members and supporters that enabled them to register and vote in constituencies they did not reside, most of them having come from rural and farming communities.
- About 250 000 people were brought to dilute the Harare constituencies through the Registrar General's strategies.
- Similar strategies of issuing fake IDs and other registration documents resulted in more than 1,5 million names appearing on the voters' roll across the country, which

were either fake, or belonged to deceased persons as well as others staying outside the country permanently and not available to vote.

- The processes of voter registration and preparation of the voters' roll at the RG's Department were carried out under a veil of secrecy and directed by Nikuv experts, away from the glare of the public and also sealed off from any monitoring or assessment by ZEC or other stakeholders such as political parties.
- The team that prepared the voters' roll was moved from the RG's Department to operate from the KGV1 army headquarters on July 15, after the MDC had raised concerns about the lack of transparency in the process and there was a lot of media coverage of the rigging plan.
- The Registrar General was given orders by the rigging command to hold onto the voters' roll and prevent any individual or organisation from accessing it until a few days before the voting started. Mudede obliged with that instruction and made sure that repeated requests by political parties and even ZEC for copies of the voters' roll yielded nothing until two days before the voting day.
- After completing the voters' roll with nine days before the day of voting, Mudede surrendered both the hard copy and electronic version to the military and intelligence management committee and to the Zanu PF rigging machinery command.
- The Registrar General only submitted hard copies of the voters' roll to ZEC on July 29, two days before voting commenced but carried out an instruction from the military and intelligence not to issue out an electronic copy of the voters' roll.
- The hard copy version of the voters' roll which Mudede handed to ZEC less than 48 hours before voting commenced was not a consolidated national register of voters as required by the law, but was made of various and different versions of provincial or even constituency rolls of voters. The various versions were dominated by deliberate repetition of hundreds of thousands of ghost voters, used to justify the strategies of multiple voting and ballot stuffing.

NIKUV PROJECTS

The Zanu PF regime assigned the Israeli firm to spearhead, control and direct the rigging mission through working with the Registrar General on the processes of voter registration and preparation of the voters' roll.

Nikuv Projects were granted a contract to help rig the 2013 elections by Mugabe himself in June 2012 on the strength of previous work that the Israeli firm had carried out for the Zanu PF regime since elections in 2002.

CEO for the Israeli firm, Emmanuel Antebi visited Mugabe in June 2012 as a culmination of meetings and engagements with Emmerson Mnangagwa and other senior Zanu PF officials in the rigging high command.

The contract for rigging the 2013 elections was worth US\$13 million, which the Zanu PF regime paid in staggered instalments and batches, starting from November 2012.

Annexure A of this report provides details of electronic transfers that were done by the Zanu PF system, secretly through the Registrar General's Office, with a total of US\$10,5 million paid between February and July 2013.

All this money was paid without the consent and knowledge of the Ministry of Finance as required by procedure.

Information obtained from the banking system and the RG's office, shows that these payments were accompanied by invoices and receipts exchanged between the RG Department and Nikuv Projects' office in Harare.

Confidential information from the Zanu PF system reveals that another US\$2,5 million was paid to Nikuv Projects directly from Mugabe himself after the July 31 elections.

The specific tasks of Nikuv Projects were executed as follows;

- It provided technical expertise and guidance to intelligence and Zanu PF for a reconnaissance and assessment programme that was carried out at the end of 2012 and concluded in January 2013 to establish the political situation in Zimbabwe, possible voting patterns and the general mood of the electorate.
- The information obtained from the reconnaissance and assessment mission was used by Nikuv, Zanu PF and the intelligence to come up with the framework for the rigging mission, on the basis of determination made from possible voting patterns and forecast electoral outcomes, which showed that the MDC would win local governance, parliamentary and presidential elections.
- Nikuv experts formulated strategies that would avoid defeat and rig the election for a Zanu PF victory, through disenfranchising voters, diluting MDC strongholds, creating ghost voters and facilitating for multiple voting as well as ballot stuffing.
- Three experts from Nikuv arrived in Zimbabwe in November 2012 and were assigned to start preparing for the rigging mission with initial strategies that included issuance of fake IDs, identifying names of dead people and those in the diaspora for inclusion in the voters' roll.
- The Nikuv team was empowered to take the lead in the processes of voter registration, issuance of national registration and also some technical demographic research and assessment carried out across the country for the purpose of obtaining information that was eventually used in manipulation of the voters' roll.
- The voters' roll was doctored and manipulated on the basis of a framework and guidelines that were drawn by Nikuv experts upon the rigging machinery's objectives and targets for each province and even in some selected cases, for specific constituencies, which Zanu PF identified to wrestle from the MDC through fraudulent means.
- Nikuv's experts prepared a shamolic voters' roll working in collaboration with the Registrar General's and created copies of various versions to achieve the rigging mission at provincial level and also constituency level in some cases.
- Nikuv experts also employed technical number crunching and sorting methods to doctor and fix the voters' roll for the rigging mission.

CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY

The rigging machinery was also beefed up by experts from China that contributed in the formulation and implementation of strategies as well as brought special materials used in the electoral fraud.

The Chinese Communist Party arranged and facilitated the deployment of agents and experts from China involved in the areas of election manipulation and rigging that were assigned to the Zanu PF rigging machinery.

Before the deployment of the Chinese experts, teams from Zanu PF, led by Mnangagwa, had visited China and were hosted by the Communist Party for meetings and engagements through which they obtained input towards formulation of the rigging strategies.

Jing Huwao was deployed from China to Harare in June 2013 to join the military and intelligence rigging management committee and played a major role until the elections were held and the results were released.

The Chinese experts brought a special water marked ballot paper from China, which was used in Zimbabwe's four selected provinces to fraudulently swing the vote in favour of Zanu PF candidates at all levels of the harmonised elections.

Technical expertise was also provided by the Chinese towards formulation and implementation of some of the rigging strategies, such as ballot stuffing and facilitation of multiple voting.

The Chinese were the major driving force behind the youth militia's programmes in the constituencies, aimed at frustrating MDC campaigns through covert forms of intimidation and violence, including infiltration of the election conduct system by the youth militia.

The Chinese Communist Party shipped thousands of tonnes of cheap second hand household utensils, clothes and electrical gadgets that were used by Zanu PF for vote buying.

In return, the Chinese were offered farms and mining concessions by the Zanu PF regime.

YOUTH MILITIA

A total of 35 000 youths were drawn from Zanu PF structures and also products of the infamous national youth training centres for special roles in the rigging of elections.

Army bases in Harare, Gweru and Bulawayo were used for the initial enrolment and training of youths before some of them were despatched to bases in other provinces.

Confidential information shows the following breakdowns in numbers of youths that were trained;

Manyame Air Base (Harare) – 9 500

Inkomo Barracks (Harare) – 7 343

Thornhill Air Base (Gweru) – 5 000

Brady Barracks (Bulawayo) – 8 700

Llewellyn Barracks (Bulawayo) – 6 000

The youths were taken through training by Chinese and Nikuv experts before they were later deployed to execute the following objectives;

- To populate and depopulate provinces with the help of traditional leaders, military and intelligence officials.
- Ban and disrupt campaigns by the MDC.
- Intimidate the electorate and threaten them with violence.
- Jam short-wave radio signals.
- Facilitate the movement of Zanu PF supporters from rural and farming communities into urban areas to register and then vote.
- Organise fake and fly-by-night housing cooperatives which were used for vote buying in urban and peri-urban areas, also through which thousands of people were fleeced money channelled for Zanu PF campaigning and rigging mission.
- Infiltrate populated market areas such as MbareMusikain Harare and coerce all operators to prove affiliation to Zanu PF or risk victimisation. Thousands were forced to vote for Zanu PF after being told by the youth militia that they would trace and identify them if they voted for the MDC.
- Other groups of the youth militia stayed at the army bases and carried out the task of marking ballot papers that were used for stuffing purposes.
- Confidential information obtained from the rigging machinery shows that 3 million ballot papers for local governance, parliamentary and presidential voting were smuggled into army bases and marked by the youth militia.
- The youth militia were used to carry out ballot stuffing, working in link with military and intelligence officers that were planted along the election management network, from national level, all the way to polling station.

FUNDERS OF THE RIGGING MISSION

A total budget of US\$100 million was used by the Zanu PF rigging machinery, mainly towards payment of agents, organisations and the tens of thousands of militia and security personnel that performed various roles in the plan.

The Zanu PF regime obtained funding from organisations and corporations that have either benefited from its patronage system in key sectors such as the mining industry and others that were threatened with victimisation or sabotage.

Anjin Pvt (LTD) & Mbada Diamonds

Companies involved in the mining of Chiadzwa diamonds, Anjin and MbadaDiamonds were ordered to contribute towards the election rigging budget and both provided US\$10 million each.

Meikles Africa Group

The Meikles Africa Group, owned by John Moxon, was threatened with take-over and other forms of sabotage by Zanu PF and made a compromise by donating US\$2 million towards the election rigging budget.

Zimbabwe Defence Industries

Zanu PF also obtained an amount of US\$3 million from the Zimbabwe Defence Industries, which is engaged in illicit arms deals and making huge profits as a conduit for arms from China and Israel into the African region.

Sino Zimbabwe

Zanu PF's Chinese allies, including the Chinese Communist Party, channelled a total amount of US\$5 through Sino Zimbabwe, an organisation that brings together business interests of the two countries and is involved in diversified operations in Zimbabwe.

EXTERNAL FUNDING

Mugabe also drew financial support towards the rigging mission from some of his long-time allies in Africa, including;

President Teodoro Obiang Nguema Mbasogo (Equatorial Guinea)

The Equatorial Guinea dictator, serving for the 34th year, paid back Mugabe for the latter's role in foiling a coup that had been planned to ouster Nguema Mbasogo in 2004 through a US\$10 million funding towards the rigging mission.

Nguema Mbasogo responded to a request by Mugabe to help fund the rigging mission, which the Equatorial Guinea dictator fully backed, himself having rigged elections repeatedly to stay in power.

President Joseph Kabila (DRC)

Another close ally of Mugabe, Kabila provided US\$10 million towards the rigging mission of Zanu PF in his personal capacity.

Mugabe's relations date back to Kabila's late father, Desire Laurent and which the incumbent took over and sustained along the lines of Mugabe's deployment of troops to help the DRC regime fight off rebels, clandestine diamond deals in the DRC and also supporting each other in regional politics.

DIAMOND DEALS

Another avenue through which the Zanu PF system raised huge amounts of money to fund the rigging mission was the illegal diamond deals that were fast-tracked and pushed through during the election period and information obtained confidentially revealed the following;

Angola deal

A delegation of buyers from Angola purchased a consignment from Chiadzwa through the Zanu PF system, and paid US\$10 million in cash at the beginning of July 2013.

Israel and China deals

Buyers also came from Israel and China at the beginning of July, with four weeks before elections and paid US\$40 million for a consignment of Chiadzwa diamonds that had been clandestinely obtained by Zanu PF through the Minister of Mines.

RIGGING STRATEGIES AND METHODS

The strategies that were used to rig the elections included;

1) Manipulation of the voter registration process

- Through the expert guidance of Nikuv, obstacles were created by the rigging machinery to deliberately slow down the registration process in urban areas, known to be MDC strongholds.
- There was also under registration and frustration of people aged between 18 and 35 years across the whole country.
- During the initial voter registration exercise, urban areas were allocated fewer mobile registration teams to deliberately slow the process and that resulted in hundreds of thousands being left out. Comparatively, Harare had five mobile registration teams but Mashonaland East had 18, despite the former having a population more than three times of the latter province.
- Harare had 27 000 new voters registered after the 30-day intense exercise, Mashonaland East had 50 000 new voters, Mashonaland Central had 48 000, Mashonaland West had 42 000, showing the deliberate plan to populate the rural constituencies on the voters' roll while at the same time depopulating urban constituencies.
- The rigging machinery also created channels through which fake Identity Cards were issued to Zanu PF militia and supporters in order to facilitate their eligibility to vote as well as assume wrong identities.
- For example, as shown in Annexure B of this report, registration details of long deceased people were retrieved and used to create fake IDs for Zanu PF youth, who in some cases were even still below 18 years of age. The copy of ID shows how registration particulars of an old man were doctored to reduce his age to 18 when the picture clearly shows him to be well beyond prime age.
- The example of fake ID shown on Annexure B exposes how the rigging machinery was coordinated to allow such blatant anomalies to pass through.

2) Disenfranchisement of many voters in MDC strongholds

- A total of 950 000 people in urban areas were disenfranchised, 350 000 in Harare alone.
- The Registrar General of voters used a host of tactics to frustrate the huge numbers that wanted to register to vote, such as demanding proof of residence, letters from landlords or employers or marriage certificates.
- In clear violation of the law, the RG's teams also prevented many aliens from registering to vote and their voting population in the whole country is more than 1 million.
- Huge numbers were turned away from the voter registration process, with hundreds of thousands of potential voters also turned away on the day of voting after failing to find their names on the voters' roll or having learnt of displacement of their entries to other constituencies, including as far as hundreds of kilometres away.

- According to information provided by ZEC, 305 000 voters were turned away on voting day but independent assessments showed the number to exceed 500 000 voters that were turned away at polling stations.
- A survey carried out in three sampled suburbs of Harare showed that on average, out of 10 potential voters, four were disenfranchised and failed to register whilst another three had registered but were turned away on the day of voting, reflecting about 70% of voters that were affected by the deliberate bungling and sabotage tactics of the rigging machinery.
- In Bulawayo 180 000 people were disenfranchised with surveys showing an average of 60% of potential voters that were barred from voting.
- Midlands Urban had 100 000 people affected, with an average of 50% potential voters failing to exercise their right.
- Masvingo Urban recorded 140 000 disenfranchised voters at an average rate of 60% of potential voters denied the right to choose their leaders.
- Mutare had 80 000 voters disenfranchised and an average of 54 % failed to cast their votes.

3) Creation of 1,7 million ghost voters

- Names of deceased persons, numbering over 800 000 were deliberately included in the voters' roll by the rigging machinery and concentrated mainly in rural constituencies.
- Another 900 000 names of persons that are permanently staying in the diaspora and did not come home to vote were included in the voters' roll.
- A thorough assessment of copies of the voters' roll that were used in Mashonaland East, Mashonaland West and Mashonaland Central Provinces showed that in all the constituencies, the numbers of voters on the register were strangely disproportionate and higher than the census figures released in 2012 and what was recorded as the adult population.
- For example, Marambapfungwe constituency in Mashonaland East had more than 28 000 names on the voters' roll when census statistics showed that the population of adults was below 20 000 in that constituency.
- Virtually all the constituencies in the three Mashonaland provinces had huge disparities between the numbers of the voters' roll and the population figures from latest census, indicating that the Registrar General and Nikuv used the ghost voters as one of the major strategies in these provinces.
- An investigation into the voters' roll used in Mashonaland Central's Rushinga constituency showed that out of 30 000 names, 8 000 belonged to the deceased and people staying in the diaspora.
- The trend in the Midlands, Matabeleland North, Matabeleland South, Masvingo and Manicaland provinces showed that there were specific constituencies that were targeted by the rigging machinery and flooded with ghost voters on the voters' roll.

- For example, in Midlands province's Chiwundura constituency the voters' roll had 22 000 names compared to an adult population of less than 18 000 people from the census.

4) Massive doctoring and corruption of the voters' roll

- The rigging machinery deliberately created a shambolic voters' roll as the first trump card for the rigging mission during voting and for that reason, made sure to resist all efforts to have a national, consolidated hard copy and electronic copy released on time.
- Investigations revealed that the Registrar General, working with Nikuv experts, deliberately created a shambolic voters' roll through the combination of displacing names of many voters from their constituencies, deleting hundreds of thousands of names and also flooding the register with names of deceased persons or those living in the diaspora,
- The voters' roll was compiled in a manner based on guidelines or rigging objectives, resulting in various and different versions being produced and distributed. There was not a consolidated national voters' roll as required by the law.
- Copies of the voters' roll differed and varied along provincial and even constituency lines and through that, the rigging machinery had hundreds of thousands of names with multiple appearances in more than one province or constituency, to facilitate for, and justify, multiple voting and ballot stuffing.
- The voters' roll for urban areas had hundreds of thousands of names, mainly of people aged between 18 and 35 years, deleted or misplaced through a meticulous secretive process that involved the Registrar General and Nikuv.
- Through the dirty tactics that were applied in preparing the voters' roll, the rigging machinery achieved the goal that was set by the Zanu PF leadership, of disenfranchising close to 1 million MDC supporters while at the same time creating 1,7 million ghost voters.
- Investigations carried out in Harare's Mt Pleasant constituency showed that about 8 000 voters failed to vote because their names had been deleted or misplaced under far away constituencies. Of the 15 000 names on the voters' roll, 5 000 belonged to Zanu PF supporters who resided outside Harare and were bussed to cast their votes on the voting day. Through this sinister plan, Zanu PF won the constituency with 7 945 votes against 3 817 for the MDC.
- The similar trend was established to exist in other constituencies of Harare, such as Harare East, Harare North, Harare South, Hatfield, Mbare, Dzivarasekwa and where the strategy helped Zanu PF get votes to either reduce the margin of MDC wins or in some cases, even claim victory.
- Masvingo and Manicaland provinces also witnessed the same strategy being used to dilute urban constituencies with huge numbers of names that appeared on the voters' roll but belonged to people who stayed in rural and farming constituencies.

- For example, in Masvingo Urban constituency, 7000 names of people staying away from the city were on the voters' roll and the people were transported to help Zanu PF win that seat on the day of voting with 10 928 votes against 10 424 for the MDC.
- It must be noted that the people that were transported into urban constituencies in most cases voted twice as they also appeared on the voters' roll of their rural or farming constituencies.

5) *Fake voter registration slips*

- The Zanu PF rigging system created 200 000 fake voter registration slips and which were distributed across the whole country for use by youth militia and Zanu PF supporters to vote in constituencies they were not registered and in some cases used by persons who were not eligible to vote.
- A syndicate involving the Registrar General, Nikuv experts and Zanu PF structures produced the fake slips and established networks at polling stations that paved way for the fraudulent use of the slips.
- Six Zanu members were arrested in Harare's Hatfield constituency on the day of voting after they were found with fake voter registration slips that didn't have block numbers, meaning they could not be used to vote at any polling station. However, to show the complicity of law enforcement agents in the rigging mission, no action was taken against the offenders.
- The use of fake registration slips was widespread across the whole country and there were targeted constituencies where Zanu PF militia and supporters were specifically deployed to use the slips in order to balance the numbers for rigging objectives.

6) *Bussing of voters*

- Urban constituencies in Harare, Masvingo, Kwekwe, Kadoma, Mutare and Gweru were flooded with voters from rural or farming communities, whose names were put on the voters' roll and bussed on voting day to dilute the MDC vote or even hand Zanu PF victory.
- In Harare, voters were bussed into the constituencies of Mt Pleasant, Harare East, Harare North, Harare South, Epworth, Mbare and Dzivarasekwa.
- All the constituencies in Chitungwiza had hordes of Zanu PF supporters bussed in from the rural areas of Seke, Mhondoro and Hwedza.
- In Manicaland thousands were bussed into Mutare urban constituencies and helped Zanu PF to claim victory in Mutare North, Mutare South and Mutare West constituencies.
- In Harare North constituency, 4000 Zanu PF supporters were bussed from Domboshava, Shamva and Musana areas and voted. Some of them had their names on the voters' roll as had been pre-arranged by the rigging machinery and others voted using fake voter registration slips.

- A voter that was bussed from Shamva revealed that soon after voting in the rural constituency, they were transported to Harare North by trucks and had the ink erased using a special chemical from China to facilitate their voting for the second time.

7) *Enforced assisted voting/abuse of traditional leaders*

- A total of 250 000 voters were assisted to cast their votes and that was mainly in the rural provinces where the Zanu PF rigging system had identified all voters known or suspected to support the MDC to force them into enlisting assistance in the polling booth.
- The assisted voters included teaching, health and agricultural extension professionals, who do not require assistance to cast their votes.
- The officials that were delegated to assist the voters had been clearly instructed to ensure that all the votes would go to Zanu PF, thereby robbing the voters their right to freely choose candidates and political parties to vote for.
- Traditional leaders played the role of identifying people in their villages they knew and suspected would vote for the MDC, before dragging them to the polling stations for enforced assisted voting.
- A survey carried out in Mashonaland East's Mutoko South constituency revealed that village headmen and chiefs compiled lists of people in their areas they knew or suspected to support the MDC, including professionals and handed them over to Zanu PF militia before the elections, which visited the voters and instructed them to ask for assistance on the day of voting against the threat of violence and murder.

8) *Extra ballot papers*

- The printing of ballot papers was done under the supervision and control of the rigging machinery to cover up for the fact that many extra ballots were produced and used for the rigging mission.
- The rigging machinery printed 10 million sets of ballots for local governance, parliamentary and presidential elections against 6,4 million voters that ZEC claimed were on the voters' roll.
- It was established that the ballot papers were printed at the Zimbabwe Republic Police Central Printers in Harare, without the ZEC commission being involved and monitoring the process as required by the law.
- The military and intelligence management committee remained in charge of the printing of the ballot papers until the process was done and a batch of 5 million ballots was handed over to ZEC two days before voting commenced.
- The other batch of 5 million ballot papers was channelled through the army bases and used for ballot stuffing.
- ZEC failed to account for the ballot papers that were printed, the numbers that were used and also those that were not used.

- The rigging machinery duplicated serial numbers on ballot papers to enable the strategy of stuffing of ballots. For example, information obtained from within the system showed that there were batches of ballot papers that were channelled through the military bases, which had similar serial numbers with batches that were dispatched to constituencies.
- During the special voting 300 000 presidential ballots were printed for special voting where about 70 000 people were eligible to vote and there was not proper accounting for the used or unused numbers.

9) *Water marked ballot paper*

- The Chinese Communist Party brought 1 million water marked ballot papers specially made in China and which had a special feature to activate the X on Zanu PF candidates upon any application of ink.
- Of the batch, 500 000 were technically designed for the presidential voting while the other 500 000 were designed for council and parliamentary voting in selected constituencies.
- Information obtained from the rigging system shows that four provinces were specifically identified for the use of the water marked ballot papers, which are Masvingo, Manicaland, Matabeleland North and Matabeleland South. In all these provinces, Zanu PF claimed victory through unjustifiable wide margins.
- The water marked ballot papers were used alongside the normal ballot papers in specific numbers determined by the rigging system to balance the votes and hand victory to Zanu PF.
- The military and intelligence management committee handled the ordering of the water marked ballot papers, distributed them and used the rigging network to ensure their use according to specific guidelines and targets.

10) *Ballot Stuffing*

- Extra ballots that were smuggled into army bases and marked by youths were used to rig the elections mainly in the rural constituencies across the country.
- Confirmed information shows that the rigging system that controlled the electoral process created avenues through which ballot stuffing was accomplished and also made sure to put obstacles that prevented MDC election agents from monitoring and recording all the stages of the voting, counting and verification process.
- Constituencies in the remote rural areas were targeted for massive ballot stuffing in the Matabeleland North and Matabeleland South provinces, Mashonaland provinces, Masvingo and Manicaland.
- In some cases ballot papers already marked were smuggled into polling stations before voting commenced before being included for counting through the rigging network.

- In other cases, ballot papers were smuggled into the polling stations to balance numbers as voting had been completed and various ways were used to prevent MDC agents from witnessing the fraud.
- Information obtained from the rigging machinery shows that an estimated 1 million ballot papers were used for ballot stuffing at various levels and stages of the harmonised elections.