

A report by the Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum indicates organized violence and torture increased in association with the various parliamentary by-elections that took place.<sup>1</sup> However, there was an absolute increase in organized violence and torture from the middle of the year 2008 as the campaign for the Presidential election gained momentum up to present day. As the violence generally increases, so does the number of cases in which members of the army are implicated as the primary perpetrators.<sup>2</sup> Below are statistics of cases of political violence reported between March 2008 and July 2009 in Zimbabwe with named perpetrators classified by the violator institution. Each number represents individual Zimbabweans tortured, injured, murdered or rendered destitute by arson in the political violence perpetrated by the state during and after the March 2008 ‘harmonized’ and presidential elections.

Table 4<sup>3</sup>

<b>Perpetrator Institution</b>	<b>No. of violations</b>
Zimbabwe National Army	245
Central Intelligence Organisation	56
ZANU-PF & War Veterans Militias	2802
Zimbabwe Republic Police	77
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>3180</b>

Investigations by international human rights watchdog, Human Rights Watch (HRW), also implicated the military in widespread electoral abuses. In a report, HRW stated that the scale of military attacks exceeds anything seen previously during Zimbabwe's long history of electoral violence. Soldiers carried out scores of attacks in Harare and surrounding townships.<sup>4</sup> The military takeover has meant an explosion in the level of violence in Zimbabwe. Names of top military commanders accused of masterminding the ruthless campaign to keep President Robert Mugabe in power include Air Vice Marshal Henry Muchena, Air Commodore Michael Karakadzai, Air Vice Marshal Abu Basutu, Major General Engelbert Rugeje, Retired Major General Gibson Mashingaidze and Brigadier General Douglas Nyikayaramba.

According to the HRW report, witnesses interviewed identified numerous senior military officers as being directly involved in the violence. The report further claimed that documents leaked by disgruntled army officers named 200 of them, each assigned an area to oversee in *Operation Makavhoterapapi? or Operation Where Did You Put Your Vote?*, a campaign to punish those who voted for the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC), particularly in areas perceived to be traditional ZANU-PF strongholds of Masvingo, Mashonaland, and

<sup>1</sup> Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum; Torture by State Agents in Zimbabwe

<sup>2</sup> Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum; Torture by State Agents in Zimbabwe

<sup>3</sup> Table adapted from Zimbabwe Democracy Now, [http://www.zimbabwedemocracynow.com/wp-content/uploads/2009/10/Violence\\_Chart\\_July\\_2009.gif](http://www.zimbabwedemocracynow.com/wp-content/uploads/2009/10/Violence_Chart_July_2009.gif)

<sup>4</sup> Sunday Times (2006) 'Zimbabwe soldiers behind wave of heists', Sunday Times, South Africa, 2 July.

Manicaland provinces. One victim, quoted in the report described armed soldiers going from house to house in the township of Chitungwiza searching for MDC supporters and beating them:

I did not know my assailants, but they were in army uniform and drove an army truck. They were boasting of being given a three-day assignment to 'bring hell' to the people.<sup>5</sup>

Army officers have been personally involved in a number of 're-education' meetings at which local residents are forced to renounce opposition and swear allegiance to the ruling party after being beaten and tortured. The Army however continues to deny any involvement in the violence and speaking on this Army deputy public relations officer, Major Alphios Makotore, said:

The Zimbabwe National Army (ZNA) wishes to raise concerns over articles being published in the print and the electronic media on allegations relating to the alleged political violence, assaults, harassment and robberies perpetrated by men in army uniforms ... the army categorically distances itself and any of its members from such activities.<sup>6</sup>

The military's meddling in political and civilian affairs has been strongest in Mashonaland East, where soldiers at Joko Army Barracks have taken army drills to villages. In Manicaland province traditional chiefs were summoned to an "indoctrination workshop" where the Brigadier-General Douglas Nyikayaramba told them to support ZANU PF or be deposed from their positions.

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<sup>5</sup> Zimbabwe Human Rights Forum, Monthly Violence Reports, May and June 2008, <[http://www.hrforumzim.com/frames/inside\\_frame\\_monthly.htm](http://www.hrforumzim.com/frames/inside_frame_monthly.htm)>

<sup>6</sup> Zimonline, *Zimbabwe: Army speaks on political violence*, 8 May 2008.

## 5. Patronage and Military Entrenchment in the National Economy

Through an elaborate patronage system established to reward partisan senior military officials and keep them loyal to ZANU-PF and to President Mugabe, the military has increasingly played central and critical role in directing production and controlling ownership of the means of production.<sup>7</sup> The military, through political patronage, has become a significant part of the domestic bourgeoisie class and many top commanders have teamed up with politicians and businessmen to form political and economic interest groups venturing into lucrative businesses such as platinum and gold mining.<sup>8</sup> This section examines the extent to which ZANU-PF's political patronage has entrenched the military in national economic affairs and the likely impact on electoral processes.

Retired and serving senior military officers have, in the recent past, been appointed in large numbers to run various state-owned companies. For instance, Retired Colonel Samuel Muvuti was appointed by President Mugabe to head the country's sole buyer and seller of maize, the Grain Marketing Board (GMB) before his dismissal in 2008 on corruption allegations in what may have been mere in-fighting within ZANU-PF. President Mugabe in 2004 appointed Retired Major-General Mike Nyambuya provincial governor of Manicaland and later Minister of Energy up to 2007. Previously Retired Colonel Christian Katsande, now the deputy secretary to Cabinet, headed the state-owned oil procurement company – the National Oil Company of Zimbabwe (NOCIZM).

Senior military officers were also appointed to lead strategic state institutions including the Zimbabwe Prisons Service (ZPS), the Zimbabwe Republic Police (ZRP), the Central Intelligence Organization (CIO), the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (ZEC), National Railways of Zimbabwe (NRZ) (under retired Air Commodore Michael Karakadzai) and The Department of National Parks and Wildlife. The increased militarization of the state has led to the military taking control of an expanding range of decisions and actions, from political strategy to the formulation and implementation of agrarian and economic policy.<sup>9</sup>

Retired Major General Jevan Maseko is Zimbabwe's ambassador to Cuba while retired Brigadier-General Elisha Muzonzini heads the mission in Kenya.<sup>10</sup> In late 2008 Mupfuhira and most of the Minerals Marketing Corporation of Zimbabwe board were abruptly replaced. Rtd. Col. Nelly Abu Basutu heads the MMCZ while her husband, Air Vice-Marshal Titus Abu Basutu, is deputy to the Air force Chief Perence Shiri.<sup>11</sup>

In 2009 the ZANU-PF Information and Publicity Minister, Webster Shamu, in violation of the Global Political Agreement (GPA) appointed eight senior military officials to boards of media and information state companies – the Broadcasting Authority of Zimbabwe (BAZ),

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<sup>7</sup> Zimbabwe Institute, (June 2008), The security- military Business complex and the transition in Zimbabwe

<sup>8</sup> Ibid

<sup>9</sup> Jocelyn Alexander and Blessing Miles Tendi, 'A Tale of Two Elections: Zimbabwe at the Polls in 2008', Concerned Africa Scholars, Bulletin, No. 80, Winter 2008.

<sup>10</sup> [http://www.thezimbabwean.co.uk/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=33815:mugabe-sets-up-military-state-&catid=69:sunday-top-stories&Itemid=30](http://www.thezimbabwean.co.uk/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=33815:mugabe-sets-up-military-state-&catid=69:sunday-top-stories&Itemid=30)

<sup>11</sup> "Diamonds and clubs. The militarized control of diamonds and power in Zimbabwe," Partnership Africa Canada

Zimbabwe Broadcasting Holdings (ZBH), Zimbabwe Newspapers group (ZIMPAPERS), NewZiana, Transmedia and Kingstons.<sup>12</sup>

President Mugabe has gone to great lengths to ensure the military's continued loyalty, including distribution of land, housing and prominent political positions to top-ranking military officials and the distribution and production of food.<sup>13</sup> Mugabe placed national food distribution and various agriculture programmes directly under the control of the army through control of Grain Marketing Board sales since 2002.<sup>14</sup>

Senior military officials rank among the top beneficiaries to the violent and chaotic commercial farm invasions that began at the instigation of ZANU-PF in February 2000. An investigation by a Zimbabwean online publication revealed that of the 200 army officers from the rank of Major to Lieutenant General of the Zimbabwe National Army, at least 90% benefited from farm invasions and have farms in most fertile parts of the country.<sup>15</sup> The Zimbabwe Defence Forces Commander, Constantine Chiwenga owns two farms near Harare including a 1,200-hectare farm known as Chakoma Estates while Air Marshall Perence Shiri owns at least two farms in Marondera and Shamva.<sup>16</sup> Retired Army General, Solomon Mujuru and his wife, Vice President, Joyce Mujuru together with their close family members allegedly own at least 25 farms totaling 105,000 Hectares.<sup>17</sup>

A number of government and independent land audits have found widespread evidence of corrupt allocations and looting of farm equipment by senior politicians and military officers.<sup>18</sup> General Mike Nyambuya is implicated in the looting of essential farm equipment at the invaded Kondozi Horticultural Estate in Manicaland, which was one of the biggest agro- export industries in the region before invasion.<sup>19</sup>

Members of the Zimbabwe National Army aligned to ZANU-PF were also implicated in the looting and plundering of the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC)'s natural resources following Zimbabwe's intervention in the DRC war between August 1998 and July 2003.<sup>20</sup> A United Nations expert panel investigating the plunder of DRC resources found that joint venture companies to exploit resources were formed between 'generals and other top officers in the Ugandan and Zimbabwean army and other top officials and unsavory politicians in the government of the DRC.'<sup>21</sup> Among the top military leadership, General Vitalis Zvinavashe (the late), was a major stakeholder in a company called Operation Sovereign Legitimacy (OSLEG) which had lucrative mining contracts in the DRC through a partnership with a firm owned by DRC's late president, Laurent Kabila.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> [allafrica.com/stories/200910020854.html](http://allafrica.com/stories/200910020854.html)

<sup>13</sup> Zimbabwe's security sector (June 2008), [www.cfr.org/publication/15793/zimbabwes\\_security\\_secctor.html](http://www.cfr.org/publication/15793/zimbabwes_security_secctor.html)

<sup>14</sup> See "Operation Taguta/Sisuthi – Command Agriculture in Zimbabwe: its impact on rural communities in Matebeleland," Solidarity Peace Trust, April 2006.

<sup>15</sup> ZimOnline Report

<sup>16</sup> Zimonline Report

<sup>17</sup> Ibid

<sup>18</sup> Zimbabwe Institute, (June 2008), The security- military Business complex and the transition in Zimbabwe

<sup>19</sup> "Ministers, party officials accused of looting Kondozi equipment," Zimbabwe Independent, 13 April 2006.

<sup>20</sup> UN Expert DRC Panel Report S/2001/357, 12 April 2001.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid

Below is a table from the United Nations Expert Panel Report on the DRC war showing companies which exploited minerals in the DRC:

Table 1:<sup>23</sup>

Joint venture company	Alleged Zimbabwean partner	Alleged Congolese partner	Alleged other partners
SENGAMINES – the largest joint venture company formed during the DRC conflict	<p>OSLEG (OPERATION SOVEREIGN LEGITIMACY).</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 40% share of the Sengamines venture company.</li> <li>• Controlled by Zimbabwe Defence Industries and Zimbabwean military personnel.</li> <li>• Main contribution was to provide security for the Sengamines mining project</li> <li>• No financial or technical capability to exploit minerals.</li> </ul>	<p>COMIEX CONGO</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 20% share of the Sengamines venture company.</li> <li>• Provision of the resources to be exploited.</li> </ul>	<p>ORYX NATURAL RESOURCES.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 20% share of the Sengamines venture.</li> <li>• Provision of financial and technical capabilities needed for resource exploitation.</li> </ul>
ORYX ZIMCON	<p>ZIMCON</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 90% share of the Oryx Zimcon.</li> <li>• Main contribution was the deployment of troops to the Kasai area to protect the project</li> </ul>		<p>ORYX</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 10% share of Oryx Zimcon</li> <li>• Provision of financial and technical expertise for the exploitation of the</li> </ul>

<sup>23</sup> Source: UN Expert DRC Panel Report S/2001/357

	infrastructure from invasion by disgruntled resident communities.		resources.
COSLEG Largest timber exploration operation in the world.	OSLEG	COMIEX	

The Marange diamond fields in the east of the country are under the tight control of the military who control access to them. However, there is rampant systematic smuggling of Marange diamonds and a thriving illicit trade in the diamonds across the porous Mozambican border. The global blood diamond watchdog to which Zimbabwe belongs, the Kimberley Process Certification Scheme (KPCS) has so far failed to end the smuggling or the widespread abuses in Marange diamond fields in which soldiers are implicated. There are genuine fears that diamond revenue from Marange which is not properly accounted for is being used by the military and those aligned to ZANU-PF to build a war chest to fund electoral violence should Zimbabwe go to elections in 2011 as ZANU-PF so much wants.

The companies that were granted licenses to mine diamonds in Marange under unclear circumstances and in violation of Zimbabwe's laws and regulations regarding tender procedures are controlled by senior military officers. The chairperson of Mbada Holdings is former Vice Air Marshal, Robert Mhlanga, who was Mugabe's helicopter pilot for over 20 years and a key state witness in the treason trial against MDC President, Morgan Tsvangirai in 2003 while Canadile Miners' Director is Retired Captain Kurotwi. Several military officers are also listed as shareholders in both companies.<sup>24</sup>

As the table below shows, at least 52 military personnel run key state institutions.

Table 2<sup>25</sup>

<b>Name</b>	<b>Institution</b>	<b>Position</b>
Lt Gen Michael Nyambuya	Ministry Of Energy	Former Minister & Former Governor Of Manicaland
Brig Ambrose Mutinhiri	Ministry Of Youth Development	Former Minister
Saviour Kasukuwere (Ex-CIO)	Ministry Of Youth Development Empowerment And Indigenization	Current Minister
Lt Col Herbert Nyanhongo	Ministry Of Transport And	Former Deputy Minister

<sup>24</sup> The Zimbabwean on Sunday Vol 3 No. 11, 21 March 2010.

<sup>25</sup> Crisis in Zimbabwe Coalition research 2011

				Communication		
Col Christian Katsande			Ministry Of Industry And International Trade	And	Former Permanent Secretary Now Deputy Secretary In The OPC	
Justin Mupamhanga (Ex CIO)			Ministry Of Energy And Power Development	And	Current Permanent Secretary	
Col Joseph Mhakayakora			Ministry Of Construction		Current Director	
Maj Anywhere Mutambudzi			Department Of Information		Current Under Secretary	
Brig Elisha Muzonzini			Ministry Of Foreign Affairs		Current Ambassador, Kenya	
Rtd Major George Chiweshe			Ministry Of Justice		Current High Court Judge President And Former ZEC Chairman	
Maj Gen Edzai Chimonyo			Ministry Of Foreign Affairs		Current Ambassador Tanzania	
Rtd Maj Gen Paradzai Zimhondi			Ministry Of Justice		Commissioner Of Prisons	
Air Commodore Michael Karakadzai			National Railways Zimbabwe (NRZ)	Of	Current General Manager	
Brig Gen Douglas Nyikayaramba			National Railways Zimbabwe (NRZ)	Of	Former Chairman	
Col Godfrey Nhemachena			Commercial Bank Zimbabwe (CBZ)	Of	Current General Manager	
Rtd Maj Gen Jevan Maseko			Foreign Affairs		Ambassador To Cuba	
Rtd Captain Noah Madziva			Zimbabwe Electricity Supply Authority (ZESA)		Board Chairman	
Rtd Brig Gen Agrippa Mutambara			Foreign Affairs		Ambassador To Mozambique	
Rtd Col Samuel Muvuti			Grain Marketing Board (GMB)		Former CEO	
Rtd Senior Police Assistant Commissioner Albert Mandizha			Grain Marketing Board (GMB)		Current CEO	
Rtd Lt Col Nelly Abu Basutu			Minerals Marketing Corporation Of Zimbabwe (MMCZ)		Current Chairperson	
Rtd Col Claudius Makova			NEW ZIANA		Board member	

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Rtd Brig-Gen Collin Moyo	Kingstons	Board member
Rtd Brig-Gen Livingstone Chineka	Transmedia	Board member
Rtd Brig-Gen Muchemwa	Felix Zimbabwe Broadcasting Holdings (ZBH)	Board member
Retired Brig-Gen Madzingira	Elasto Broadcasting Authority Of Zimbabwe (BAZ)	Board member
Brigadier-General Kanhanga	Epmarcus Zimbabwe papers (ZIMPAPERS)	Board member
Mr Alexander Kanengoni	Central Intelligence Organization	Senior agent
Rtrd Col Nhemachena	Sport and Recreation Commission Ministry of Education, Sport and Culture	Chief Executive Officer
Karikoga Kaseke	Zimbabwe Tourism Authority (ZTA)	Chief Executive Officer
Sobuza Gula-Ndebele ex-military intelligence officer	Ministry Of Justice	Former Attorney General
Brigadier Gilbert Mashingaidze	The Sports Commission and Zimbabwe Broadcasting Holdings board.	Former board member
Brig Gen Bonyongwe	Happyton CIO	Director
Brig Justin Mujaji	Sport and Recreation Commission	Commissioner
Col Levy Mayihlome	NRZ	Officer
Major Gen Engelbert Rugeje	ZBH	Board member
Brig Gen Sibusiso Moyo	ZBH	Board member
Maj Utuile Silaigwana	ZEC	Spokesperson
Sobusa Gula-Ndebele (former director of military intelligence)	Ministry of justice	Former Attorney General
Col Karikoga Kaseke	Zimbabwe Tourism Authority (ZTA)	CEO

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Brig Gen Epmarcus Kananga	Parks and Wildlife	Deputy Director General
Maj Clive Manjengwa	Comptroller and auditor general	Officer
Col Ronnie Mutizhe	Operation Maguta/Sisuthi	Head
Lt Col Arnold Hakata	Garikai/Hlalani Kuhle	Head
Lt Col Reuben Ngwayi	Potraz	Board Member
Wing Commander Kapondoro	Telone	Board Member
Gen Vitalis Zvinavashe	Parliament of Zimbabwe	MP, Gutu (Until March)
Col Makova	Parliament of Zimbabwe	MP, Bikita East (Until March 2008)
Mendy Chimene (CIO)	Parliament Of Zimbabwe	Senator Mutasa Mutare ( Until March 2008)
Lt Col Kallisto Gwanetsa	Parliament Of Zimbabwe	MP, Chiredzi South
Vivian Mwashita (CIO)	Parliament Of Zimbabwe	Senator Mbare Hatfield
Col Livingstone Chineka	Parliament Of Zimbabwe	MP Zaka East (Until March 2008)