Questions

1. What are the policies and agendas of the MDC?
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12. Is it plausible that having been beaten and tortured by members of the CIO a known MDC supporter would continue to be employed in a government agency?
13. Is there a MDC office in Australia?

RESPONSE

1. What are the policies and agendas of the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC)?

Background and Policies

The Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) was founded in September 1999 to offer a broad-based alternative to the ruling Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF). The party is politically centrist favouring industrialisation, privatisation, dialogue with international agencies on Zimbabwe’s economic situation and strict adherence to the rule of law in the land distribution process. Banks writes that the MDC was an outgrowth of the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU) and the National Constitutional Assembly (NCA). The MDC president is Morgan Tsvangirai. The MDC divided in 2005 and is Zimbabwe’s principal opposition party (Day, Alan J. (ed) 2002,
Banks states the core components of the MDC include workers, students, middle-class intellectuals, civil rights activists and white corporate executives opposed to the ZANU-PF. According to the MDC website the party is backed by business, church, women’s organisations, students, human rights and civic groups, the impoverished rural population and the urban poor (Banks, Arthur S., Muller, Thomas C. and Overstreet, William R. (eds) 2006, Political Handbook of the World: 2005-2006, CQ Press, p.1326 – Attachment 2; ‘About MDC’ (undated), Movement for Democratic Change website http://www.mdczimbabwe.org/About/about.htm – Accessed 23 March 2007 – Attachment 4).

For the MDC’s view on the formation of the party see: ‘About MDC’ (undated), Movement for Democratic Change website http://www.mdczimbabwe.org/About/about.htm – Accessed 23 March 2007 – Attachment 4.

The MDC split in 2005 over participation in the Senate elections although there were long-simmering leadership divisions. Both factions claimed the MDC name and logo. The Anti-Senate faction is led by Morgan Tsvangirai and the Pro-Senate group is led by Arthur Mutambara. The Anti-Senate Tsvangirai group appears to have maintained the bulk of the grassroots support. The International Crisis Group (ICG) noted that the party was not irreparably damaged by the split and it is recognised that a joint strategy is required to re-energise the party. Personal friction between the two leaders remains the key obstacle to the party’s reunification (US Department of State 2007, ‘Elections and Political Participation’ in Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 2006 – Zimbabwe, 6 March – Attachment 3; International Crisis Group 2007, Zimbabwe: An End to the Stalemate?, Africa Report No. 122, 5 March, p.8,9 – Attachment 5).

Wikipedia1 noted that the first contest between the two factions was a by-election for the seat of Budiriro in May 2006 which was easily won by the Tsvangirai faction. Budiriro is said to be “arguably the safest MDC seat” in Harare. The successful Tsvangirai candidate was Emmanuel Chisvure. The MDC Mutambara candidate, Gabriel Chaibva, won only 504 votes. The by-election was held following the death of the MDC member Gilbert Shoko (‘Results of the Zimbabwean parliamentary election, 2005’ 2007, Wikipedia website, 3 March http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Results_of_the_Zimbabwe_parliamentary_elections,_2005 – Accessed 26 March 2007 – Attachment 6; Godwin, Gandu 2006, ‘Will the real MDC please stand up’, Mail & Guardian Online, 23 May http://www.mg.co.za/articlePage.aspx?articleid=272495&area=/insight/insight__africa/# – Accessed 27 March 2007 – Attachment 7).

Leadership

1 Users should be aware that Wikipedia is a Web-based free-content encyclopaedia which is written collaboratively by volunteers. Country Research recommends that users of Wikipedia familiarise themselves with the regulatory practices which Wikipedia employs as a preventative measure against vandalism, bias and inaccuracy.
The Anti-Senate (Tsvangirai) faction has listed its MDC’s Leadership and Management Committee on the MDC website (http://www.mdczimbabwe.org/) as follows:

- President: Morgan Tsvangirai
- Vice-President: Thokozani Khupe
- National Chairman: Isaac Matongo
- Vice National Chairperson: Lovemore Moyo
- Secretary General: Tendai Biti
- Deputy Secretary General: Tapiwa Mashakada
- Treasurer General: Roy Benett
- Deputy Treasurer General: Elton Mangoma
- Organising Secretary: Elias Mudzuri
- Deputy Organising Secretary: Morgan Komichi
- Information Secretary: Nelson Chamisa

(‘Contact Information’ (undated), Movement for Democratic Change website http://www.mdczimbabwe.org/Profiles/profiles.htm# – Accessed 23 March 2007 – Attachment 8).

The UK Home Office has sourced the leadership positions of the Pro-Senate (Mutambara) faction in September 2005 as:

- President: Arthur Mutambara
- Foreign Affairs: Moses Mzila-Ndlovu
- Home Affairs: Timothy Mkhahlera
- Economic Affairs: Edwin Mushoriwa
- Health: Blessing Chebundo
- Education & Culture: Njabuliso Mguni
- Industry & Commerce: Milton Gwetu
- Labour & Social Welfare: Pumula Luveve
- Lands & Agriculture: Edward Mkhozi
- Local Government: Trudy Stephenson
- Gender & Youth Development: Goodrich Chambaira
- Mines: Joel Gabbuza
- Defence & Security: Job Sikhala
- Transport & Communications: Abednico Bhebhe
- Chief Whip: Blessing Chebundo
- Deputy Chief Whip: Nomalanga Mzilikazi Khumal
- Parliamentary Spokesperson: Priscilla Misihairambwi Mushonga


MDC Headquarters

**MDC Logo**

Information accessed on the MDC website identifies its election symbol as:

![MDC Logo](http://www.mdczimbabwe.org/About/sloganandsymbol.htm)


The MDC election symbol of an open hand represents its transparency. The MDC writes:

...We have nothing to hide, we carry no weapons and we promote the ideals of a peaceful democracy. In addition it illustrates that each one of us has the power to change the current political status quo in Zimbabwe. We have that power in our hand and we can exercise it when we vote in this year’s elections. ('About MDC’ (undated), Movement for Democratic website http://www.mdczimbabwe.org/About/sloganandsymbol.htm – Accessed 23 March 2007 – Attachment 14).

The MDC states that its slogan is:

In Shona – “Chinja Maitiro, Maitiro Chinja”.

In Ndebele – “Guqula Izenzo, Izenzo Guqula”.

The closest English translation is; “Now is the time, fight for change, support the Movement” ('About MDC’ (undated), Movement for Democratic website http://www.mdczimbabwe.org/About/sloganandsymbol.htm – Accessed 23 March 2007 – Attachment 14).

No information on this logo was found in the sources consulted. However, the logo is found on other MDC documents, for example see:

![MDC Logo](http://www.mdczimbabwe.org/Profiles/NewNationalExecutive.htm)


**National elections**
Sources indicate that parliamentary elections were held in June 2000 and March 2005 and a Senate election in November 2005. Presidential elections were held in March 2002.


The US State Department also reported following the parliamentary elections in March 2005 the MDC held 41 of the 120 elected seats. It also indicated that the elections were not free and fair (US Department of State 2006, ‘[Introduction]’, ‘Elections and Political Participation’ in Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 2005 – Zimbabwe, 8 March – Attachment 19).


In September 2005 the government passed a constitutional amendment establishing a 66 member senate. The MDC president, Morgan Tsvangirai, called for a boycott of the elections whilst other MDC leaders opposed the boycott. Consequently 26 MDC candidates contested the elections. Of the 50 elected seats the pro-senate MDC won seven. However, the 19% turnout of eligible voters was a historic low (US Department of State 2006, ‘Elections and Political Participation’ in Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 2005 – Zimbabwe, 8 March – Attachment 19).


Treatment of MDC members

In March 2007 the ICG reported that Zimbabweans have suffered systematic repression for seven years under laws aimed at stifling opposition and preventing anti-government protests. The government has increasingly resorted to violent tactics and draconian laws over the past six months to suppress dissent, including massive arrests and severe beatings as its response to civil society protests (International Crisis Group 2007, Zimbabwe: An End to the Stalemate?, Africa Report No. 122, 5 March, p.3 – Attachment 5).
According to the UK Home Office since the MDC was formed in 1999 many party activists have been subjected to restrictions on their freedom of expression, political intimidation, assault, arbitrary arrest and detention, imprisonment, torture, kidnapping, rape and murder. This treatment is mainly carried out by the government, the security forces, ZANU-PF activists and youth and war veteran groups (UK Home Office 2006, Operational Guidance Note – Zimbabwe, 13 January, p.4/para.3.6.2 – Attachment 21).


In February 2007 the police crashed the presidential campaign launch of MDC leader Morgan Tsvangirai, leaving three people feared dead. A rally by the Arthur Mutambara faction was banned (International Crisis Group 2007, Zimbabwe: An End to the Stalemate?, Africa Report No. 122, 5 March, p.3 – Attachment 5).


An April 2007 BBC News article noted that:
…analysts say there may be more unrest on the horizon, with more than 80% of Zimbabweans living in poverty, chronic unemployment and inflation running at more than 1,700% – the highest in the world (‘SA ‘must act quickly’ on Zimbabwe’ 2007, BBC News, 2 April http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/6517819.stm – Accessed 3 April 2007 – Attachment 26).

2. How many branches does the MDC have?

No information was found in the sources consulted on this question.

3. Who was the leader of the Matombo branch of the MDC?

4. How many members of the MDC belonged to the Matombo branch?

No information was found in the sources consulted on these questions.

However, undated information accessed from the MDC website names the MDC leaders for Harare Province as:

- Chairperson: Morgan Femai
- Secretary: Last Maengahama
- Treasurer: Gilbert Shoko
- Org. Secretary: Tichaona Munyanyi
- Women Chair: Rona Dandajena
- Youth Chair: Costa Machingauta


5. Did the Mashonaland West Province have branches of the MDC?


Country information indicates that the MDC does have branches in the Mashonaland West Province.

After the MDC split in 2005 the ICG noted that virtually all branches in the Shona-speaking provinces, including Mashonaland West, remained loyal to Tsvangirai (International Crisis Group 2006, Zimbabwe’s Continuing Self-Destruction, Africa Briefing No. 38, 6 June, footnote 44/p.6 – Attachment 28).

Undated information accessed from the MDC website names the leaders for Mashonaland West Province as:

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Chairperson: Jephat Karemba  
Secretary: Michael Chinembiri  
Treasurer: Biggie Haurovi  
Org. Secretary: David Mungezi  
Women Chair: Jane Vhurumu  
Youth Chair: Mukudzei Chigumburu

(‘National Executive and Portfolio Secretaries’ (undated), Movement for Democratic Change website  


6. Can you provide information about the MDC in the Zvimba district?
7. Who were its leaders?
8. Where and how often did members meet?


No information was found in the sources consulted on the leaders of the MDC in Zvimba district or how often they meet. The MDC contested the Zvimba North and Zvimba South seats in Mashonaland West in both the 2000 and 2005 parliamentary elections. The seats were won by the ZANU-PF party.

The UK Home Office in reporting murders and violence in Mashonaland in December 2001 stated that Titus Nheya, the defeated MDC candidate for Zvimba South, was stabbed to death by suspected ZANU-PF militants (UK Home Office 2002, Zimbabwe Bulletin 1/2002, January, pp.6-7 – Attachment 33).


It is of interest that the successful ZANU-PF candidate for Zvimba South in both elections was Sabina Mugabe, Robert Mugabe’s oldest sister. She has been Zvimba’s parliamentary member since 1985. Her eldest son, Innocent, was director of the Central Intelligence Organisation (CIO) until his death in June 2001. Zvimba is Robert Mugabe’s home area (Bridgland, Fred and Goddard, Jacqui 2002, ‘Mugabe’s sister harassed white farmer for land before murder’, The Scotsman, 21 March http://thescotsman.scotsman.com/index.cfm?id=309732002&format=print – Accessed 28 March 2007 – Attachment 36).

9. What elections were held between 1997-2003 in the Zvimba district?

Elections were held for Zvimba seats in the national parliamentary elections held in 2000 and 2005. In 2002, Zvimba district voted in the national presidential elections. Although there is a report that rural district elections were held in 1998, no information was found in the sources consulted of these elections in Zvimba. Rural district elections were held in Zvimba in 2002 and by-elections in 2003. No other information was found in the sources consulted on rural district council elections or other elections held in Zvimba in the period 1997-2003.

More detailed information on the elections in Zvimba during this period is in question 10 below.

See also questions 6-8 above on the MDC in Zvimba district.

10. What were the results of those elections between 1997-2003 in the Zvimba district?

Below is information on elections in Zvimba district between 1997-2003.
1997

No information was found in the sources consulted on results of elections held in Zvimba during 1997.

On rural district elections the US State Department reported that:


1998

No information was found in the sources consulted on results of elections held in Zvimba during 1998.


1999

No information was found in the sources consulted on results of elections held in Zvimba during 1999.

2000


2001

No information was found in the sources consulted on results of elections held in Zvimba during 2001.

2002


2003

Information from the sources consulted noted that rural district by-elections were held in March 2003 for an unspecified number of wards in Zvimba district. ZANU-PF party was elected unopposed (‘Zanu-PF Thrashes MDC in Council Elections’ 2003, All Africa, source: The Herald, 29 April – Attachment 42).

11. Can you provide information on the treatment of MDC supporters by the Central Intelligence Organisation (CIO) in the Zvimba district between 1997-2003?

No information was found in the sources consulted on the treatment of MDC supporters by the CIO in Zvimba district during 1997-2003. Nevertheless there are reports of the CIO killing and harassing MDC supporters in other parts of Zimbabwe.

The CIO, under the Ministry of State for National Security, is responsible for internal and external security. It has become increasingly politicised and is often used to suppress dissent and opposition to the government. According to Jane’s Sentinel Security Assessment, cited by the UK Home Office, the CIO has been used to spearhead the ZANU-PF political-economic programme, including farm occupations and the suppression of opposition politicians and media (US Department of State 2007, ‘Role of the Police and Security Apparatus’ in Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 2006 – Zimbabwe, 6 March – Attachment 43; UK Home Office 2007, Country of Origin Information Report: Zimbabwe, 21 February, para.11.51 http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/rds/pdfs07/zimbabwe-210207.doc – Accessed 27 February 2007 – Attachment 44).

In 2005 Human Rights Watch reported that in parts of Mashonaland the police and CIO routinely followed MDC members and civil society organisations. MDC candidates stated that during the 2005 parliamentary elections when they were allowed to hold public rallies there were severe restrictions placed on them, as well as CIO officers insisting on being present at the meetings (Human Rights Watch 2005, Not a Level Playing Field: Zimbabwe’s Parliamentary Elections in 2005, 21 March, p.14,20 – Attachment 45).

According to sources cited by the Canadian Immigration and Refugee Board, before the March 2002 election the MDC complained that its leaders were “constantly harassed, intimidated and detained by the CIO and the police” (Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada 2002, ZWE38738.E – Zimbabwe: Central Intelligence Organization (CIO) in Zimbabwe including its mandate, policies and procedures; whether its officers are armed, and what its uniforms look like; whether they arrest individuals on the street, or where they work, 26 April – Attachment 46).
Another 2001 Canadian Immigration and Refugee Board outlined allegations that the CIO was involved in several killings and torturing of MDC supporters in 2000 (Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada 2001, ZWE38050.E – Zimbabwe: The Central Intelligence Organization (CIO), including its structure and branches (sic) and whether its members commit human rights (sic) abuses. And if so, the branch which is involved, 2 November – Attachment 47).

12. Is it plausible that having been beaten and tortured by members of the CIO a known MDC supporter would continue to be employed in a government agency?

Information on this specific question was not found in the sources consulted. However, it was reported that from 1 January 2000 civil servants were prohibited from participating in party political activity.

McGregor, writing in *African Affairs* on war veterans and the local state in Zimbabwe with particular reference to Matabeleland North, noted that ZANU-PF tried to ensure its hold on all arms of the state, including the CIO. War veterans had the visible support of provincial authorities, the local CIO and police (McGregor, JoAnn 2002, ‘The Politics of Disruption: War Veterans and the Local State in Zimbabwe’, *African Affairs*, Vol. 101, No. 402, p.16,33 – Attachment 48).

In 2001 the Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum reported that:

However, with the recent growth of opposition politics, Zanu-PF feared that civil servants might be switching their allegiance to the MDC. From 1 January 2000, SI 1/2000 prohibited civil servants from participating in party political activity. The revised Public Service Regulations made it an act of misconduct for any civil servant to be an office-bearer in or even to address ‘any political party, organisation or movement’. However, permanent secretary for Defence Job Whabira – also a member of the pre-electoral constituency Delimitation Commission – was in April 2000 permitted to contest (unsuccessfully) the Zanu-PF primaries. A number of Zanu-PF candidates were civil servants and teachers. They were belatedly required to regularise their position by resigning. Whether they did so was not reported publicly (Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum 2001, ‘The Public Service’ in *Enforcing the Rule of Law in Zimbabwe*, September [http://www.hrforumzim.com/special_hrru/Special_Report_3_Rule_of_law.rtf](http://www.hrforumzim.com/special_hrru/Special_Report_3_Rule_of_law.rtf) – Accessed 2 April 2007 – Attachment 49).

McGregor also stated that civil servants were barred from holding political positions or addressing public gatherings. A July 2000 Public Service Commission Circular warned that:


The NGO Forum in another 2001 report stated that:

In September 2000 the late Minister Gezi said that he intended retrenching all civil servants and replacing them with ZANU (PF) supporters. He said: “If you want to work for the Government, you should be prepared to support ZANU (PF).” There followed a campaign led by the “war veterans” to get rid of all civil servants suspected of sympathising with the MDC. This has affected teachers, police officers, officials in Government offices such as rural district councils and district administrations, and many more.
The aim of these purges is to ensure that people in rural areas have no access to any locally based MDC sympathisers. Local officials who are members of ZANU (PF) are now in a position to reward party supporters by granting them drought relief, for example, and to withhold services from people who do not support ZANU (PF). Chiefs and Headmen, all of whom are appointed and paid by the Government, tend to be staunch supporters of ZANU (PF) and can be easily used by the party to influence people in their areas to vote for ZANU (PF) (Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum 2001, Politically motivated violence in Zimbabwe 2000–2001, August, p.18 – Attachment 50).

*The Daily News*, an independent newspaper in Harare closed by the Zimbabwe government in 2003, reported in 2002:

In the run-up to the recent presidential election a number of civil servants, particularly teachers and health personnel, were forced to flee from their workplaces after being accused of supporting the Movement for Democratic Change by war veterans and Zanu PF youths (‘Public Service Commission Vetting Potential Recruits’ 2002, AllAfrica.com website, source: The Daily News, 8 April [http://allafrica.com/stories/printable/200204080123.html](http://allafrica.com/stories/printable/200204080123.html) – Accessed 2 April 2007 – Attachment 52).

McGregor also wrote on the closure of district councils. She stated that negotiations with war veterans to re-open councils involved calls for the dismissal of selected officials, workers, teachers and councillors. A central aim of the closures and suspensions was to undermine the MDC by threatening its supporters with the loss of their jobs (McGregor, JoAnn 2002, ‘The Politics of Disruption: War Veterans and the Local State in Zimbabwe’, *African Affairs*, Vol. 101, No. 402, pp.24-26 – Attachment 48).


In respect of Mashonaland West it was reported that a MDC vice-chairman was fired from his job after threats by the so-called war veterans. Also, some 30 police officers were reportedly threatened with dismissal by allegedly attending a Christmas party hosted by a MDC politician (Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum 2001, Politically motivated violence in Zimbabwe 2000–2001, August, pp.35-36 – Attachment 50).

13. Is there a MDC office in Australia?

Sources indicate that the MDC has an office in Australia. However, an address for the branch was not found in the sources consulted.

An *Institute for War and Peace Reporting* article states that:

…MDC party branches in South Africa, Australia and the United Kingdom aligned themselves to one or other of the factions according to perceptions of which of the two was genuinely based on the founding principles of the party (Torwa, Takesure 2007, ‘MDC

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Suffers “Mugabe Syndrome”, Institute for War and Peace Reporting, 16 February, Africa Reports No. 95

The MDC website has a link to “MDC Australia & New Zealand” which returns the viewer to the top of the document (‘Contact Information’ (undated), Movement for Democratic Change website, http://www.mdczimbabwe.org/Profiles/profiles.htm# – Accessed 23 March 2007 – Attachment 8).

List of Sources Consulted

Internet Sources:
All Africa website http://allafrica.com/search.html

Databases:
FACTIVA (news database)
BACIS (DIMA Country Information database)
REFINFO (IRBDC (Canada) Country Information database)
ISYS (RRT Country Research database, including Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, US Department of State Reports)
RRT Library Catalogue

List of Attachments


13. Attachment deleted.


15. Attachment deleted.


26. ‘SA ‘must act quickly’ on Zimbabwe’ 2007, BBC News, 2 April

27. ‘Zimbabwe’ 2004, United Nations: Department of Peacekeeping Operations: Cartographic Section January


30. ‘Talks on as violence reports continue’ 2002, AllAfrica.com website, source: Financial Gazette, 4 April

31. ‘Mugabe steps up political violence despite clear signs of upper hand’ 2006, ReliefWeb website, 15 February

32. ‘Mashonaland West districts’ (undated), Wikipedia website


46. Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada 2002, ZWE38738.E – Zimbabwe: Central Intelligence Organization (CIO) in Zimbabwe including its mandate, policies and procedures; whether its officers are armed, and what its uniforms look like; whether they arrest individuals on the street, or where they work, 26 April. (REFINFO)

47. Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada 2001, ZWE38050.E – Zimbabwe: The Central Intelligence Organization (CIO), including its structure and branches (sic) and whether its members commit human rights (sic) abuses. And if so, the branch which is involved, 2 November. (REFINFO)


53. Torwa, Takesure 2007, ‘MDC Suffers “Mugabe Syndrome”‘, *Institute for War and Peace Reporting*, 16 February, Africa Reports No. 95