



Australian Government
Refugee Review Tribunal

Country Advice

Zimbabwe

Zimbabwe – ZWE37383 – ZAPU – ZANU
– ZIPRA – ZANLA – Joshua Nkomo –
Gukurahundi Massacres – Matabeleland –
Munyaradzi Musariri

21 September 2010

1. Deleted.
2. **Would being a high ranking member of PF Zapu make you a target of ZANU-PF today?**

ZANU split from ZAPU in May 1963 and the relationship between the two organisations became bitter; violent clashes resulting in deaths have been well documented.¹ The rivalry was such that in 1983 and 1984 the North Korean trained 5th Brigade of the Zimbabwe National Army (ZNA), primarily comprised of former ZANU militia members (known as the Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army or ZANLA) massacred between ten and twenty thousand ethnic Ndebele in Matabeleland and the Midlands, most of whom were thought to have been either members or sympathisers of ZAPU/ZIPRA. These mass killings are commonly referred to as the Gukurahundi massacres. On 22 December 1987 ZANU and ZAPU signed a peace deal, which today is marked in Zimbabwe as National Unity Day.² Prior to this peace deal, ZANU PF demonised ZAPU/ZIPRA supporters as ‘enemies of the state’.³ Consequently, post-1987, being a former member of ZAPU no longer made you a target of ZANLA or other ZANU PF militants. Indeed, following the deal, ZAPU members officially became members of ZANU PF.

In December 2008 the former head of ZAPU/ZIPRA intelligence, Dumiso Dabengwa, resigned from ZANU PF and withdrew ZAPU from the 1987 merger agreement. Dabengwa is now reportedly attempting to re-establish ZAPU as a major political force in Zimbabwe.⁴ Despite this de-merger, there are no reports that ZANU PF militants have

¹ Chitiyo, K. & Rupiya, M. 2005, ‘Tracking Zimbabwe’s political history: The Zimbabwe Defence Force from 1980–2005’, Institute for Security Studies, p.333

http://www.iss.co.za/pubs/Books/Evol_Revol%20Oct%2005/Chap13.pdf – Accessed 16 September 2010 – Attachment 3

² Gonda, V. 2009, ‘Zimbabwe: Zapu Calls for ‘Neutral’ Unity Day’, *All Africa Global Media*, source: *SW Radio Africa*, 22 December <http://allafrica.com/stories/200912221194.html> – Accessed 16 September 2010 – Attachment 4

³ Eppel, S. ‘Chapter 3 ‘Gukurahundi’ – the need for truth and reparation’ in Raftopoulos, B. & Savage, T. 2004, *Zimbabwe: Injustice and Political Reconciliation*, Institute for Justice and Reconciliation, Cape Town, p.49 <http://www.africanminds.co.za/books/Zimbabwe%20-%20Injustice%20and%20Political%20Reconciliation.pdf> – Accessed 15 September 2010 – Attachment 5

⁴ Ncube, N. 2010, ‘Zimbabwe: Move Over MDCs, Here Cometh ZAPU’, *All Africa Global Media*, source: *Financial Gazette*, 3 September <http://allafrica.com/stories/201009100218.html> – Accessed 16 September 2010 – Attachment 2

resumed the targeting of ZAPU/ZIPRA veterans or new members and supporters. As yet, the resuscitated ZAPU does not constitute a genuine threat to ZANU PF political supremacy in the way that the MDC does.

ZAPU traditionally drew its support from ethnic Ndebele in Matabeleland and the Midlands, while ZANU primarily drew its support from Shona in Mashonaland and Manicaland.⁵ It remains to be seen whether these two ethnic/tribal groups once again align themselves politically along such lines, or whether ZANU PF resumes its demonisation of ZAPU as an enemy of the state.

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4. **Is there any information that indicates that non-politically active family members of politically active people are subject to serious harm in Zimbabwe? Are family members of former and current members of the MDC and PF Zapu currently subject to serious harm in Zimbabwe?**

There is no information indicating that members/supporters of the reconstituted ZAPU and their family members experience ill treatment or threats of serious harm at the hands of ZANU PF members/supporters or authorities since the 1987 peace agreement described above. As stated previously, prior to the signing of the peace deal between ZAPU and ZANU in December 1987, members and supporters of ZAPU, and its armed wing ZIPRA, were deemed to be enemies of the state by the ZANU leadership.⁶

There is evidence that some MDC officials and their families continue to face threats of serious harm from ZANU PF militants, despite the signing of a power-sharing deal in 2008. In April 2010 *SW Radio Africa* reported that Mike Chiwodza, a ZANU PF district chairman in Mashonaland East, “has been going around the province telling villagers ‘We will kill you after the World Cup.’” Furthermore, “Chiwodza, backed by a gang of thugs armed with machetes and barbed-wire clubs, was seen roaming villages in Marambapfungwe and threatening MDC supporters...A week later, Chiwodza visited more villages in the province and threatened to deal with family members should their targeted MDC activists flee the crackdown. He said if the MDC activists escaped, they would find their spouses and children and kill them, after the World Cup showcase in South Africa.”⁷

IRIN News reported in May 2010 that the wife of Freddie Matonhodze, “an official of the opposition Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) in Muzarabani district, in Mashonaland Central Province”, died from injuries sustained while trying to escape

⁵ Chitiyo, K. & Rupiya, M. 2005, ‘Tracking Zimbabwe’s political history: The Zimbabwe Defence Force from 1980–2005’, Institute for Security Studies, p.333
http://www.iss.co.za/pubs/Books/Evol_Revol%20Oct%2005/Chap13.pdf – Accessed 16 September 2010 – Attachment 3

⁶ Eppel, S. ‘Chapter 3 ‘Gukurahundi’ – the need for truth and reparation’ in Raftopoulos, B. & Savage, T. 2004, *Zimbabwe: Injustice and Political Reconciliation*, Institute for Justice and Reconciliation, Cape Town, p.49
<http://www.africanminds.co.za/books/Zimbabwe%20-%20Injustice%20and%20Political%20Reconciliation.pdf> – Accessed 15 September 2010 – Attachment 5

⁷ Sibanda, T. 2010, ‘ZANU PF threatens crackdown on MDC after SA World Cup’, *SW Radio Africa*, 22 April
<http://www.swradioafrica.com/news220410/zanuthreatens220410.htm> – Accessed 16 September 2010 – Attachment 6

ZANU-PF thugs in 2009. Matonhodze told *IRIN* sources that when he later returned to his property his house and his livestock had been destroyed.⁸

In August 2009 Human Rights Watch (HRW) reported the July bashing of 73 year old Athanacia Mlilo, the mother of the MDC's international relations coordinator, Ngobizitha Mlilo. HRW stated that on 22 July 2009, Athanacia Mlilo was attacked by suspected ZANU PF militants "with iron bars". The same report also states that on 1 August 2009 three soldiers assaulted Howard Makonza, a gardener at the home of Finance Minister Tendai Biti. HRW reports that "[w]hile Makonza was reporting the assault at a police station, one of the soldiers who had assaulted him threatened – in the presence of the police – to assault Makonza again."⁹

Despite the signing of the MDC/ZANU PF power-sharing deal in 2008, MDC members of parliament (MPs) and their families continue to be harassed by authorities allied to ZANU PF. A number of MPs have been charged with various crimes and sources suggest that this is part of a ZANU PF tactic to have MDC MPs dismissed and imprisoned in order for ZANU PF to regain a majority in parliament. As part of this strategy, sources indicate that family members of MDC officials and MPs have been harassed. In September 2008 the wife of MDC MP for Epworth, Eliah Jembere, was "detained and interrogated by police for seven hours." According to *SW Radio Africa*, this followed Eliah's Jembere's arrest "on charges of rape". MDC officials and lawyers argue that the charges are fabricated.¹⁰

In June 2008 Abigail Chiroto, the wife of the MDC Mayor of Harare, Emmanuel Chiroto, was abducted and murdered. Abigail's four year old son was also abducted, however he was reportedly "dumped at Marlborough police station later that day".¹¹

Human Rights Watch stated in August 2009 that, "[d]espite signing a power-sharing agreement with the MDC, ZANU-PF members and supporters continue to intimidate, harass, and arbitrarily arrest MDC supporters and others perceived to be critical of ZANU-PF. ZANU-PF has also used its partisan control of the judicial system to jail human rights defenders and harass members of the media, all in direct contravention of the power-sharing agreement."¹²

5. Is Munyaradzi Musariri the Assistant Commissioner of Police? Please provide relevant information on him, including whether there is any evidence that he is a veteran of the war of independence.

Sources confirm that Munyaradzi Musariri is an Assistant Police Commissioner in Zimbabwe. Munyaradzi Musariri is described as "bearing wide responsibility for serious

⁸ 'Freddie Matonhodze, "We fear there could be a blood bath"' 2010, *IRIN News*, May <http://www.irinnews.org/HOVReport.aspx?ReportId=89084> – Accessed 16 September 2010 – Attachment 7

⁹ Human Rights Watch 2009, *False Dawn: The Zimbabwe Power-Sharing Government's Failure to Deliver Human Rights Improvements*, 31 August pp.5-6 – Attachment 8

¹⁰ Bell, A. 2008, 'MDC MP's wife detained as pressure on members continues', *SW Radio Africa*, 9 September <http://www.swradioafrica.com/news090908/mdcwife090908.htm> – Accessed 16 September 2010 – Attachment 9

¹¹ Karimakwenda, T. 2008, 'MDC Mayor's wife found dead and ZESN observer murdered', *SW Radio Africa*, 18 June <http://www.swradioafrica.com/news180608/mdcmayorswife180608.htm> – Accessed 16 September 2010 – Attachment 10

¹² Human Rights Watch 2009, *False Dawn: The Zimbabwe Power-Sharing Government's Failure to Deliver Human Rights Improvements*, 31 August p.5 – Attachment 8

violations of the freedom of peaceful assembly.” Consequently, Munyaradzi Musariri is banned from entering a number of countries, included European Union member states.¹³

The only reference located that refers to Munyaradzi Musariri as a war veteran is a 6 January 2010 article in *The Zimbabwe Mail*. The article concerns the compromise reached between Swiss corporate giant Nestlé and Grace Mugabe, wife of Robert Mugabe, whose dairy farm was controversially supplying Nestlé with milk. Under international pressure, Nestlé has stopped purchasing milk directly from Grace Mugabe, however *The Zimbabwe Mail* reported that Nestlé has agreed to buy the milk via “a mysterious third party believed [to] be a Musariri Farm in Chegutu... owned by the wealthy Zanu PF businessman Tobias Musariri. He owns an abattoir that supplies meat to the Zimbabwe National Army and most of the top hotels in Harare and he does not own a Dairy (sic) farm.” Tobias Musariri is a brother of Munyaradzi Musariri, who *The Zimbabwe Mail* describes as “an Assistant Police Commissioner and ‘War veteran’ who has been involved in numerous crimes in Mashonaland West, and he is responsible of (sic) many recent farm invasions in the province, was one of the Senior police officers behind the harassment on (sic) Nestlé management.”¹⁴

It is widely known in Zimbabwe that many of the so-called ‘war veterans’ who have been involved in harassment of MDC members/supporters and the seizure of white owned farms did not serve in either ZIPRA or Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (ZANLA) during the war, primarily due to the fact that most are too young. The former chairman of the National War Veterans Association, Jabulani Sibanda, was born on 31 December 1970, making him less than ten at the time of independence.¹⁵ Consequently, almost all non-ZANU PF controlled media place the term ‘war veteran’ in inverted commas. *The Zimbabwe Mail*’s placement of ‘war veteran’ in inverted commas when referring to Munyaradzi Musariri indicates that they are not only aware of his association with the so-called war veterans, it also suggests that they are sceptical of Musariri’s war service credentials.

6. Please provide a brief summary on the Matabeleland/ Gukurahundi massacres.

The so-called Gukurahundi massacres have been well documented. Beginning in January 1983, the mass killings were carried out by the notorious 5th Brigade of the Zimbabwe National Army (ZNA), a group of North Korean trained commandos directly under the command of Robert Mugabe. It is estimated that between ten and twenty thousand people, mostly ethnic Ndebele, were killed during the atrocities.

Gukurahundi is a Shona term that translates as “the early rain which washes away the chaff before the spring rains”.¹⁶ The 5th Brigade was formed in August 1981 by Robert

¹³ Council of Europe 2009, ‘Council Common Position 2009/68/CFSP of 26 January 2009 renewing restrictive measures against Zimbabwe’, *Official Journal of the European Union*, 27 January, person 136, p.52
<http://www.regjeringen.no/upload/UD/Vedlegg/eu/councilCPZimbabwe.pdf> – Accessed 16 September 2010 – Attachment 11

¹⁴ ‘Nestlé now takes delivery of Grace’s milk through mysterious Zanu PF official’ 2010, *The Zimbabwe Mail*, 6 January <http://www.thezimbabwemail.com/zimbabwe/4242.html> – Accessed 16 September – Attachment 12

¹⁵ Council of Europe 2009, ‘Council Common Position 2009/68/CFSP of 26 January 2009 renewing restrictive measures against Zimbabwe’, *Official Journal of the European Union*, 27 January, person 188, p.56
<http://www.regjeringen.no/upload/UD/Vedlegg/eu/councilCPZimbabwe.pdf> – Accessed 16 September 2010 – Attachment 11

¹⁶ ‘Surreal succession’ 2006, *Africa Confidential*, Vol. 47, No. 23, 17 November, p.1 – Attachment 13

Mugabe, who stated at the time that it “was being raised to be used ‘purely for the purposes of defence and not for use outside the country’. It would be used ‘solely to deal with dissidents and any other troubles in the country’.” Sabelo Ndlovu-Gatsheni states that the 5th Brigade “marked the beginning of politicisation of the Zimbabwean military forces”, acting as “a purely ZANU-PF army” and “directly answerable to Robert Mugabe.” Most of the members of the 5th Brigade were Shona-speaking former members of ZANLA, the ZANU militia. The 5th Brigade would come to be known as the Gukurahundi.¹⁷

As mentioned previously, the Zimbabwe African People’s Union (ZAPU) suffered a split in 1963, with the Shona majority forming the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU). Consequently, ZANU formed ZANLA as a rival to ZAPU’s military wing, the Zimbabwe People’s Revolutionary Army (ZIPRA). Following the split, ZAPU became a primarily Ndebele organisation. Shari Eppel writes that by the 1970s deep “suspicion and distrust” had formed between ZIPRA and ZANLA. Following independence, during the process of integrating ZIPRA, ZANLA and the former Rhodesian army into the new Zimbabwe National Army (ZNA), clashes broke out, particularly in Bulawayo, resulting in a number of deaths.¹⁸ The conflict between ZIPRA and ZANLA was a reflection of the wider conflict between ZAPU and ZANU for the post-victory political spoils.

The ‘Gukurahundi’ 5th Brigade was trained by the North Koreans during 1982 before being deployed in Matabeleland North and the Midlands in January 1983. Shari Eppel states that within weeks of their deployment, 5th Brigade soldiers “had massacred thousands of civilians, and tortured thousands more. As they murdered and destroyed, [the] Brigade told victims that they were being punished because they were Ndebele – that all Ndebeles supported Zapu, and all Zapu supporters were dissidents. Massacres, mass beatings and destruction of property occurred in the village setting in front of thousands of witnesses, and few families were left untouched by this epidemic of violence.” After these massacres, the 5th Brigade was redeployed in Matabeleland South in February 1984, where thousands of civilians were detained in the Bhalagwe camp in the Matobo District. Thousands were reportedly tortured and killed in the camps, and their bodies were disposed of “down mine shafts”. In April 1988 all participants in the Gukurahundi massacres were granted a pardon.¹⁹

Minority Rights Group International states that between ten and twenty thousand Ndebele were killed in the “Gukurahundi pogroms” in Matabeleland and the Midlands between 1983 and 1987.²⁰ In October 2006 ZANU-PF spokesman, Nathan Shamuyirira, remarked that the actions of the 5th Brigade were “not regrettable as they (the Brigade) were doing a

¹⁷ Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S. 2009, ‘Nationalist-Military Alliance and the Fate of Democracy in Zimbabwe’, 6 March, p.66 http://kms1.isn.ethz.ch/serviceengine/Files/ISN/98119/ichaptersection_singledocument/f288c34f-ead4-4336-b60e-6395fe9a0ae9/en/Chapter4.pdf – Accessed 16 September 2010 – Attachment 14

¹⁸ Eppel, S. ‘Chapter 3 ‘Gukurahundi’ – the need for truth and reparation’ in Raftopoulos, B. & Savage, T. 2004, *Zimbabwe: Injustice and Political Reconciliation*, Insitute for Justice and Reconciliation, Cape Town, pp.44-46 <http://www.africanminds.co.za/books/Zimbabwe%20-%20Injustice%20and%20Political%20Reconciliation.pdf> – Accessed 15 September 2010 – Attachment 5

¹⁹ Eppel, S. ‘Chapter 3 ‘Gukurahundi’ – the need for truth and reparation’ in Raftopoulos, B. & Savage, T. 2004, *Zimbabwe: Injustice and Political Reconciliation*, Insitute for Justice and Reconciliation, Cape Town, pp.44-46 <http://www.africanminds.co.za/books/Zimbabwe%20-%20Injustice%20and%20Political%20Reconciliation.pdf> – Accessed 15 September 2010 – Attachment 5

²⁰ Minority Rights Group International 2007, *State of the World’s Minorities 2007*, March, p.59 – Attachment 15

job to protect the people”.²¹ Robert Mugabe, however, remarked in 1999 that the massacres were a “moment of madness”.²²

The Gukurahundi madness, however, was unleashed by Mugabe in a post-independence attempt to create a one party state (ZANU) and a national army out of ZANLA. Sabelo Ndlovu-Gatsheni writes that ZANU also set about adopting a historiography that portrays ZANU and ZANLA as the sole liberators of Zimbabwe from white Rhodesian oppression; “David Martin and Phyllis Johnson’s book *The Struggle for Zimbabwe: Chimurenga War* (1981) became the official master narrative of the liberation struggle that sidelined the other liberation forces and movements, elevating ZANU-PF and ZANLA to the centre of the whole nationalist history of Zimbabwe. This book was distributed to every secondary school in Zimbabwe, marking the beginning of partisan ethos in Zimbabwe.”²³

Attachments

1. Sibanda, N. 2010, ‘Zimbabwe: Ziyapapa Moyo’s Family Blasts Zanu PF’, *All Africa Global Media*, source: *The Standard*, 6 February <http://allafrica.com/stories/201002081286.html> – Accessed 16 September 2010.
2. Ncube, N. 2010, ‘Zimbabwe: Move Over MDCs, Here Cometh ZAPU’, *All Africa Global Media*, source: *Financial Gazette*, 3 September <http://allafrica.com/stories/201009100218.html> – Accessed 16 September 2010.
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5. Eppel, S. ‘Chapter 3 ‘Gukurahundi’ – the need for truth and reparation’ in Raftopoulos, B. & Savage, T. 2004, *Zimbabwe: Injustice and Political Reconciliation*, Insitute for Justice and Reconciliation, Cape Town <http://www.africanminds.co.za/books/Zimbabwe%20-%20Injustice%20and%20Political%20Reconciliation.pdf> – Accessed 15 September 2010. ([\\melsrv1.melref.internet.zwe37383.web.pdf](http://melsrv1.melref.internet.zwe37383.web.pdf))
6. Sibanda, T. 2010, ‘ZANU PF threatens crackdown on MDC after SA World Cup’, *SW Radio Africa*, 22 April

²¹ Ncube, N. & Sibanda, N. 2006, ‘Outrage Spreads Over Gukurahundi Remarks’, *All Africa Global Media*, source: *Financial Gazette*, 25 October <http://allafrica.com/stories/printable/200610260148.html> – Accessed 16 April 2007 – Attachment 16

²² Matibe, P. 2010, ‘Zimbabwe: Land – Zanu PF Tool in Suppressing Dissent’, *All Africa Global Media*, source: *Zimbabwe Independent*, 4 February <http://allafrica.com/stories/201002050853.html> – Accessed 16 September 2010 – Attachment 17

²³ Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S. 2009, *Nationalist-Military Alliance and the Fate of Democracy in Zimbabwe*, 6 March, pp.62-64 http://kms1.isn.ethz.ch/serviceengine/Files/ISN/98119/ichaptersection_singledocument/f288c34f-ead4-4336-b60e-6395fe9a0ae9/en/Chapter4.pdf – Accessed 16 September 2010 – Attachment 14

- <http://www.swradioafrica.com/news220410/zanuthreatens220410.htm> – Accessed 16 September 2010.
7. ‘Freddie Matonhodze, “We fear there could be a blood bath”’ 2010, *IRIN News*, May <http://www.irinnews.org/HOVRReport.aspx?ReportId=89084> – Accessed 16 September 2010.
 8. Human Rights Watch 2009, *False Dawn: The Zimbabwe Power-Sharing Government’s Failure to Deliver Human Rights Improvements*, 31 August.
 9. Bell, A. 2008, ‘MDC MP’s wife detained as pressure on members continues’, *SW Radio Africa*, 9 September <http://www.swradioafrica.com/news090908/mdcwife090908.htm> - Accessed 16 September 2010.
 10. Karimakwenda, T. 2008, ‘MDC Mayor’s wife found dead and ZESN observer murdered’, *SW Radio Africa*, 18 June <http://www.swradioafrica.com/news180608/mdcmayorswife180608.htm> – Accessed 16 September 2010.
 11. Council of Europe 2009, ‘Council Common Position 2009/68/CFSP of 26 January 2009 renewing restrictive measures against Zimbabwe’, *Official Journal of the European Union*, 27 January <http://www.regjeringen.no/upload/UD/Vedlegg/eu/councilCPZimbabwe.pdf> - Accessed 16 September 2010.
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 15. Minority Rights Group International 2007, *State of the World’s Minorities 2007*, March.
 16. Ncube, N. & Sibanda, N. 2006, ‘Outrage Spreads Over Gukurahundi Remarks’, *All Africa Global Media*, source: *Financial Gazette*, 25 October <http://allafrica.com/stories/printable/200610260148.html> – Accessed 16 April 2007.
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