With particular reference to the period June 2009 to December 2009:

1. Please provide information on whether there is a distinction between the Green Bombers and the Zimbabwe National Youth Service, and if there is, what is the distinction.

The ZANU-PF affiliated militia groups known as the Green Bombers are widely reported to be comprised of graduates of the National Youth Service training programme; the distinction between the militia groups and the National Youth Service is characterised in different ways by different sources, but appears to be quite narrow.

IRIN reported in January 2004 that Zimbabwe’s National Youth Service training camps “have churned out several thousand graduates, who have come to be popularly known as ‘Green Bombers’, because of the colour of their uniform”. According to IRIN:

The government has argued that the training programme, for those aged between 10 and 30 years, is meant to instill national pride, while equipping the youth with vocational skills. Instead, according to testimonies from graduates and human rights groups, the training courses emphasise military drill and the doctrines of the ruling ZANU-PF party... Graduates from the training centres have often been accused of mounting terror campaigns against opponents of the ruling party.¹

The training camps of the National Youth Service were similarly referred to as “the source of the youth militia forces, popularly known as ‘Green Bombers’” in the US Department of State’s report on human rights practices in Zimbabwe in 2003.²

Other sources characterise the Green Bombers as an integrated part of the National Youth Service: Human Rights Watch has referred to “the youth militia, also known in Zimbabwe as ‘green bombers’” as part of the National Youth Service Program³, and a report by the Council on Foreign Relations notes that “the youth militia, also known as the Green Bombers, is part of Zimbabwe’s National Youth Service”.⁴

Information from Jane’s Sentinel Security Assessment Country Profile – Zimbabwe reports that critics of the National Youth Service scheme had observed that training camps were

“effectively ZANU-PF indoctrination facilities aiming to brutalise and co-opt a new generation of supporters... nicknamed ‘Green Bombers’ or ZANU-PF Youth Militia”.

A 2008 report by the Congressional Research Service for the US Congress made no distinction between the two in referring to “Zimbabwe’s National Youth Service, also known as the ‘Green Bombers’”.

Without using the term “Green Bombers”, the US Department of State’s report on human rights practices in Zimbabwe for 2009 observed that there had been credible reports that graduates of the National Youth Service “were used by the government to carry out political violence”.

2. Is there evidence that young men are being intimidated to join the Green Bombers in Bulawayo, Zimbabwe, and if so what information is there on the means used to intimidate? In particular, please provide information on whether there have been abductions where young men have been forced to join the Green Bombers militia.

No information was found specifically on the subject of recruitment to the Green Bombers in Bulawayo; however, sources indicate that abductions are used by ZANU-PF supporters for the purposes of intimidating MDC supporters and recruiting young men to the national youth training programme, from which the ZANU-PF militias are sourced.

The US Department of State’s report on human rights in Zimbabwe in 2009 observed:

There were numerous credible reports of politically motivated abductions and attempted abductions during the year. MDC leaders reported that state security agents and ZANU-PF party supporters abducted and tortured dozens of opposition and civil society members, as well as student leaders, as part of an effort to intimidate MDC supporters and civil society members and leaders. In the majority of cases, victims were abducted from their homes or off the streets by groups of unidentified assailants, driven to remote locations, interrogated and tortured for one or two days, and abandoned.

Reporting on forced militia recruitment in the Mudzi district of Mashonaland East province in October 2009, SW Radio Africa provided the following detailed information on the use of threats to recruit “reluctant youths” to the Green Bombers:

A squad of ZANU PF militants, who were behind last year’s election violence, is moving around the Mudzi district forcibly recruiting innocent youths to join the notorious ‘green bomber’ militia. Our correspondent Lionel Saungweme reports that between the 12th and 14th of October dozens of villagers below the age of 35 were rounded up in the Chinake, Chatima, Murenyi and Denga areas of Mudzi. They were taken to Nyamapanda near the border with Mozambique and told they would undergo “unspecified” training.

Although a unity agreement signed between ZANU PF and the two MDC parties agreed on the need for a national youth training programme, a key condition was that it had to be apolitical and accommodate all youths, regardless of race, ethnicity, gender and religion. But Saungweme reports that ‘Youth Officers’ employed by the Ministry of Youth Development, Indigenization and Empowerment are using ZANU PF trucks to go around picking up the reluctant youths. In all cases threats are being used to recruit.

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3. Is there information on whether ZANU-PF supporters are giving potential recruits green T-shirts and forcing the recipients to wear them?

No information was found specifically on potential ZANU-PF recruits being forced to wear green T-shirts; however, sources do indicate that the colour green is associated with allegiance to the ZANU-PF and that wearing a T-shirt that signifies one’s political affinities – by colour, image or wording – is not an inconsequential act in Zimbabwe.

Illustrative of this is an incident reported by SW Radio Africa in September 2009, in which a person wearing a Crisis Coalition t-shirt was assaulted by ZANU-PF supporters and forced to wear a green ZANU-PF t-shirt.10

In a 2007 BBC News report of an attack at Harare Airport upon an MDC MP by unidentified men, it was reportedly noted by the victim that, “One wore a green t-shirt. The other ones had suits.”11

In a 2008 report in the Los Angeles Times, it was observed that, amongst Zimbabwean youths wearing ZANU-PF t-shirts and bandannas, “some privately say in interviews that they show ZANU-PF colors as an insurance policy, to avoid attack or keep their businesses running”.12 Similarly, the Zimbabwe Standard has reported that commuter bus operators in Harare had to wear ZANU-PF t-shirts for their own safety, following a move into urban areas by ZANU-PF militias, youths and war veterans.13

Significantly, the ZANU-PF youth militia are known in Zimbabwe as the “Green Bombers” in reference to “the characteristic green uniforms that the youth militia wear”.14

4. Is there information regarding whether the ZANU-PF have trucks and how such trucks would be marked or identified as ZANU-PF trucks?

“ZANU-PF trucks” have been referred to in reporting and variously described as follows:

• In January 2004, a MDC parliamentary candidate was ambushed by a “group of ZANU PF supporters who were moving in three trucks... The three ZANU PF trucks [were] inscribed Matabeleland South Province and Bulilamamangwe and carrying about 30 people”.15

• In January 2004, a “group of ZANU PF supporters moving in a white truck [in] … Mashonaland East Province, in the Murehwa district, carried out a witch hunt on MDC supporters in the area.”16

• In September 2009, a Crisis Coalition supporter was assaulted “by thugs who dropped from a white nissan hardbody truck labelled ZANU PF Mash Central”.16

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12 The article also notes that Harare streets were “plastered with green posters of Mugabe and ZANU-PF slogans”: ‘Brother’s dying cries echo in a Zimbabwean’s mind’ 2008, Los Angeles Times, 22 June – Attachment 11.
• In April 2010, a ZANU-PF MP in Mashonaland Central province reportedly had given free rein to militias, including providing vehicular support. It was reported that the MDC “has the vehicle registration numbers of the various lorries, trucks and cars used to ferry the thugs”.17

Without specific reference to ZANU-PF involvement, two other reports of attacks upon high-profile MDC members mention the use of unmarked vehicles, with or without number plates:

• In March 2007, it was reported that an MDC MP had been attacked by unidentified men before seeing his attackers “running off towards two vehicles without registration plates”.18

• A May 2010 report of the abduction of the MDC’s chairperson from his home cited a statement that the abductors “were driving a Mitsubishi L200 truck with registration number AAG 7624”.19

5. Please provide information on whether the Green Bombers terrorise and brutalise people.

Credible reports provide information on the systematic use of violence by the youth militias known as the Green Bombers.

The ZimHRForum website reports that, following the institution of the National Youth Service in 2000, the youth militia or Green Bombers “unleashed a reign of terror on the nation and it was evident that their actions were condoned by the State... Allegations of murder, torture, rape, arson, destruction of property and denial of food aid and health care by the militia have been documented by local and international rights groups”.20

By 2003, the youth militias were already “widely known as ‘green bombers’ for the colour of their military-style uniforms and for their reputation for violence” and were reported to be “increasingly well-trained in torture techniques which they use on civilians”.21

In January 2004, David Chimhini, a human rights proponent and chairman of the Zimbabwe Civic Education Trust (Zimcet), reportedly observed that the militias’ main purpose was “to terrorise perceived enemies and members of the political opposition”.22

In 2007, the youth militia was actively involved in the roll back of retail prices mandated by the government, news reports stating that “some shopkeepers who refused to lower prices were beaten by the youth militia, known as the ‘Green Bombers’”.23

A report published by Human Rights Watch in August 2008 observed that the youth militia were one of the “proxy forces” of the government of Zimbabwe and had committed serious

crimes in the context of the general elections in March 2008 and the presidential runoff in June 2008, and that “war veterans’ and youth militia continue to terrorize villagers in the rural areas”. 24 The report observed that, in the days leading up to the presidential runoff, “many MDC activists were abducted and brutally beaten and tortured by ZANU-PF supporters, youth militia and ‘war veterans’”. 25

A number of reports provide information of specific relevance to the period of June to December 2009.

In August 2009, Human Rights Watch reported that ZANU-PF and its allies, including the youth militia:

continue to commit acts of political violence against MDC activists in Zimbabwe. For instance, they continue to operate sites throughout Zimbabwe that are used for torture, beatings, and harassment of MDC supporters. Additionally, ZANU-PF youth militia have been using schools across the country as centers for abuse, under the guise of being local Ministry of Youth ‘ward coordinators’. 26

The US Department of State’s recently released report on human rights practices in Zimbabwe in 2009 noted that politically motivated, arbitrary and unlawful killings had been committed by the government or its agents, observing that the killings “were primarily committed by members of ZANU-PF, ZANU-PF youth militia, war veterans, and, to a lesser extent, members of the military and police”. 27 The report noted violent confrontations between various, politically aligned youth groups and that “Youth militia and ‘war veterans’ trained by ZANU-PF were also deployed to harass and intimidate members of the opposition, labor, student movement, civic groups, and journalists considered critical of the government, and white farmers and their employees”. 28

A Human Rights Watch report dated February 2010 indicated that political opponents have continued to be targeted by different factions of the ZANU-PF and that “[g]roups of war veterans and ZANU-PF youth, who have been deployed in the past to target the opposition, remain intact”. 29

Recent reporting indicates an increase in violence by “the infamous Green Bombers” in a bid to influence the electorate to accept the ZANU-PF favoured draft of the constitution:

In Chiweshe in Mashonaland East, villagers are being victimised for putting on red, which is the official colour of the main Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) faction led by Prime Minister Morgan Tsvangirai. The Zanu (PF) party is allegedly using the infamous Green Bombers in the name of youth officers to identify MDC supporters and new faces in the areas, interrogating them before torturing them at their bases. MDC supporters, who spoke to The Zimbabwean, said they were now living in fear as the 2008 replica of violence appeared to have resurfaced.

... The Chiweshe violence report comes amid widespread reports that the violent revolutionary party has re-engaged its violent tactics countrywide in a bid to force the electorate to forcibly accept the Zanu (PF) favoured Kariba Draft, as the constitution of Zimbabwe.

...

An MDC-T councilor David Sanhewe added: “We are aware that some youths are already being sponsored by Zanu (PF) to terrorise villagers. They are trying to manipulate the people not to freely contribute to this democratic process.”

6. Is there information about ZANU-PF supporters forcing people to buy ZANU-PF cards? If so, please provide details on how and why this occurs.

Coercion to buy ZANU-PF membership cards has been widely reported. Since 2002, it has been reported that people have been coerced into buying ZANU-PF membership cards to avoid intimidation, and to allow freedom of movement and access to employment, services and goods, including food aid.

In January 2002, The Independent reported that rural Zimbabweans without a ZANU-PF membership card were “finding it impossible not only to travel but to get medical treatment, seeds and other agricultural aid for peasants, or school places for their children”; ZANU-PF were unable to print enough cards to meet demand and cards were changing hands for up to nine times the official price.

It was reported by the international Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre in 2008 that a number of Zimbabwean NGOs had reported that food controlled by Zimbabwe’s Grain Marketing Board and food aid supplied by international aid agencies “was politicised and often reserved exclusively for people with ZANU-PF membership cards”.

In June 2008, BBC News reported that ZANU-PF membership cards were selling on the black market for huge sums of money, buyers believing that a card will “offer some protection from attack by militias”.

In March 2010, The Zimbabwe Standard observed that coercion to buy membership is seen both as a recruitment project and as a way of raising funds, reporting that:

- ZANU PF is printing over 1.6 million party membership cards to sell to its supporters countrywide in a move widely seen as an ambitious recruiting and fund-raising project.
- …It is feared that Zanu PF would use its old tactics of mass intimidation, gross violence and coercion to force people, especially those in the rural areas, to buy party cards.
- …Analysts said it will be an uphill task for Zanu PF to sell all the cards without coercion and intimidation or the use of food as bait.

Most recently, The Zimbabwean reported on 2 June 2010 that residents in Epworth, on the outskirts of Harare, “have been given a month to acquire Zanu (PF) membership cards which, like Identity Documents, they have been ordered to carry at all times”.

7. Is there information available to suggest that young men between the ages of 17-25 are targeted as the prime age for recruitment to the ZANU-PF party? Is there a particular profile of person that is of interest to the ZANU-PF party insofar as potential recruitment is concerned?

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34 Chimhete, C. 2010, ‘1.6 Million Cards to Bolster Zanu PF Membership’, Zimbabwe Standard, 15 March – Attachment 27.
Available information on the prime age for targeted recruitment to the ZANU-PF is limited, but indicates that young men in the 17-25 age group fall within the age parameters for recruitment.

Zimbabwe’s The Herald reported in September 2009 that a recent policy change by ZANU-PF required that the leaders of its Youth League be aged between 15 and 30 years, seeking to correct the age structure of the leadership which was then reportedly “mostly above 30”.36 In October 2009, SW Radio Africa reported on ZANU-PF militants in the Mudzi district “forcibly recruiting innocent youths to join the notorious ‘green bomber’ militia”, during which operation “dozens of villagers below the age of 35 were rounded up”.37

8. Is there information that with the elections coming up in 2011 the ZANU-PF are looking to recruit more people?

Sources indicate that there are expectations, within Zimbabwe, that ZANU-PF youths would be deployed again in the run-up to another election, and that forcible recruiting to ZANU-PF meanwhile continues.

In July 2009, The Standard reported that a ZANU-PF deputy secretary had admitted that the party had deployed youth militias in its election campaign the previous year. The article referred to reports of more recent deployments in rural areas to campaign for ZANU-PF’s position on the new constitution, observing that these youths were “reportedly threatening to unleash another reign of terror if the country holds another election.”38

An article from England’s The Telegraph in November 2009 reported that Zimbabweans fear any further election contested by Robert Mugabe “will be preceded by another campaign of killing, kidnapping and torture at the hands of the Green Bombers”.39 Very recent reporting indicates that forcible recruiting to the ZANU-PF continues, including through the withholding of food aid from those who refuse to become party members.40

9. Please provide information regarding whether much has changed despite the power sharing government in Zimbabwe. Please provide information on what has changed.

Information from authoritative sources indicates that little has changed in Zimbabwe since the power-sharing government was formed in February 2009.

The introduction to the US Department of State’s most recent report on human rights practices in Zimbabwe succinctly observes:

Security forces, the police, and ZANU-PF-dominated elements of the government continued to engage in the pervasive and systematic abuse of human rights. ZANU-PF’s dominant control and manipulation of the political process through trumped-up charges and arbitrary arrest, intimidation, and corruption effectively negated the right of citizens to change their

government. Politically motivated, arbitrary, and unlawful killings by government agents continued. State-sanctioned use of excessive force continued, and security forces tortured members of the opposition, student leaders, and civil society activists with impunity. Security forces continued to refuse to document cases of political violence committed by ruling party loyalists against members of the opposition. Prison conditions improved but remained harsh and life threatening. Security forces, who regularly acted with impunity, arbitrarily arrested and detained the opposition, members of civil society, labor leaders, journalists, demonstrators, and religious leaders; lengthy pretrial detention was a problem. Executive influence and interference in the judiciary continued.41

Similarly, Human Rights Watch reported in January 2010 that the Global Political Agreement signed in September 2009 had “left ZANU-PF with most of its power intact, effectively maintaining the status quo ante”: A power-sharing government formed in February 2009, with Robert Mugabe continuing as president and opposition leader Morgan Tsvangirai installed as prime minister, has failed to end rights abuses or to institute fundamental reforms. It has also made no attempt to repeal or substantially amend repressive legislation such as the Public Order and Security Act (POSA) and the Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act (AIPPA), which continue to be used by Mugabe’s Zimbabwe African National Union – Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) to harass political opponents and rights activists.42

Slight positive changes during 2009 were, however, observed: Human Rights Watch reported “a slight improvement in the economy”43, and Amnesty International reported that the “human rights situation improved slightly with the setting up of a unity government... However, harassment and intimidation persisted of human rights defenders, political activists and supporters of the Movement for Democratic Change”.44

In February 2010, Human Rights Watch reported that their recent research “suggests that there has been no meaningful political transition, and that ZANU-PF continues to engage in political violence against perceived opponents. Groups of war veterans and ZANU-PF youth, who have been deployed in the past to target the opposition, remain intact. ZANU-PF still uses elements in the security forces as instruments of repression.”45

A media article from The Zimbabwean dated 4 March 2010 reported that “despite what was thought to be the dawn of a new era for human rights defenders with the formation of a Government of National Unity, the last three months have seen an escalation in the number of threats, intimidation and harassment levelled against members of civil society.”46

10. Is there information on whether the police are connected to the ZANU-PF party?

It has been widely reported that members of the Zimbabwe Republic Police act with a high level of impunity in support of the ZANU-PF, and in countering the MDC, its supporters and non-government organisations that have been supportive of human rights.

The US Department of State’s report on human rights practices in Zimbabwe in 2009 noted that army and police units “organized, participated in or provided logistical support to perpetrators of political violence and generally permitted their activities”47. The report noted

that “[p]olice routinely and violently disrupted public gatherings and demonstrations, and they tortured opposition and civil society activists in their custody”, and that continued politicalisation of the force’s upper echelons made it difficult for rank-and-file police to act impartially. Further to this, it was reported:

Security forces were rarely held accountable for abuses. Frequent allegations of excessive force and torture were often dismissed by senior government officials who claimed that the actions were necessary to maintain public order.

... Police continued to refuse to investigate cases of political violence...
Police seldom responded during incidents of vigilante violence.

... There were numerous reports of security forces arbitrarily arresting opposition and civil society activists, interrogating and beating them for information about their organizations’ activities, and then releasing them the next day without charge. 48

Numerous arrests of MDC parliamentarians throughout 2009 were considered by civil society to have been politically motivated and intended to erode the MDC’s power in parliament. 49 Human Rights Watch reported that police intimidation and harassment of MDC and human rights activists continued unabated in 2009, and that the “[p]olice, prosecuting authorities, and court officials aligned with ZANU-PF have persecuted MDC legislators and activists through politically motivated prosecutions”. 50

Similarly, Amnesty International’s report for 2009 included information that the suppression of perceived political opponents of ZANU-PF persisted, and that:

No meaningful measures were taken to bring to justice perpetrators of serious human rights violations during the state-sponsored violence and torture of political opponents of ZANU-PF in the run-up to the second round of the presidential elections in June 2008... Throughout 2009, elements within the army, police and intelligence services felt able to continue targeting human rights activists and members of the MDC-T for human rights violations. 51

11. Deleted.

12. What information is there on “coloured” persons in Zimbabwe? In particular, what does the reference to “coloured” suggest in this context?

In Zimbabwe, the term “coloured” is used to denote persons of mixed racial descent. According to the 2003 Baseline Study on the Situation of Coloured People in Zimbabwe, funded by the Canadian International Development Agency, “not all persons of mixed race are necessarily ‘Coloured’ because besides the genetic sense of the term, there is also the social sense. In the social sense of the term, some Coloureds may refuse to be seen as such as they may regard themselves as black/African, while others may have succeeded in passing for white”. The study found, however, that notwithstanding such imprecision the term “coloured” was considered “an acceptable description of all persons of mixed descent”. 52

The Encyclopedia of the Nations website advises that people of mixed ancestry make up less than one percent of the population of Zimbabwe.  

The US Department of State’s report on human rights practices in Zimbabwe for 2009 makes no specific reference to coloured or mixed race persons, but notes government statistics indicating that “the Shona ethnic group makes up 82 percent of the population, Ndebele 14 percent, whites less than 1 percent, and other ethnic groups 3 percent”.  

Zimbabwe’s Prevention of Discrimination Act states that the purpose of the Act is, in part, to “prohibit discrimination on the ground of race, tribe, place of origin, national or ethnic origin, political opinions, colour, creed or gender and to provide a remedy for persons injured by such discrimination”. The Act does not, however, define the term “colour”, nor could a definition be found elsewhere amongst Zimbabwe government sources.  

Constitutional Amendment Bill 9, currently under consideration, makes no reference to colour but does refer to both race and ethnicity on a number of occasions, as for example in Article VII – Promotion of Equality, National Healing, Cohesion and Unity, which states in part that:

7.1 The Parties hereby agree that the new Government:
(a) will ensure equal treatment of all regardless of gender, race, ethnicity, place of origin and will work towards equal access to development for all

In 2006, the IRBC provided information that the executive director of Zimbabwe’s National Association for the Advancement of Mixed-Race Coloureds (NAAC) had stated that mixed race persons had had limited access to employment, education, and health services and been ignored during the land reform process.

13. What information is there on whether coloured people are being targeted for ill-treatment or for recruitment to the ZANU-PF for reason of their ethnicity?

No information was found on whether coloured people are being targeted for ill-treatment or for recruitment to the ZANU-PF.

The only information found to be pertinent to the attitude of ZANU-PF to coloured Zimbabweans in these contexts is with reference to Zimbabwe in the 1980s. The Baseline Study on the Situation of Coloured People in Zimbabwe observed that, in the post-colonial state, “the lived reality of Coloured identity remained the dominant modality through which they were perceived, and in which they related to the new state. For even those Coloureds who had a background in the liberation movement, or sought to enter the structures of ZANU-PF were confronted with blockages attendant to their Coloured identity”.

14. Would it be expected that a coloured Zimbabwean in their twenties would have experienced difficulty obtaining a passport in Zimbabwe in 2002?

Limited information was found on the level of difficulty a coloured Zimbabwean in their twenties may have experienced in obtaining a passport in 2002.

In its report on human rights practices in Zimbabwe in 2002, the US Department of State reported that the Zimbabwe government had, in 2001, threatened to revoke the passports of those it viewed as travelling abroad “to promote sanctions or other interests allegedly harmful to the country” and in 2002 had seized the passports of four of the MDC’s top leaders. There was, however, no information in the report to indicate that a coloured Zimbabwean in their twenties would have experienced difficulty obtaining a passport at that time.  

Similarly, the US Department of State report on human rights practices in Zimbabwe for 2003 indicated that during that year only “several” individuals perceived to be opposition supporters had difficulty obtaining passports.

In a report released to the RRT in December 2005, the Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade responded to the question of whether a known or reputed MDC supporter would have difficulty obtaining a Zimbabwean passport lawfully by stating, “Yes, such a person might have some difficulty, but not necessarily.”

15. Deleted.

Attachments


11. ‘Brother’s dying cries echo in a Zimbabwean’s mind’ 2008, Los Angeles Times, 22 June. (FACTIVA)
25. ‘The Many Faces of Displacement: IDPs in Zimbabwe’ 2008, Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC), 21 August, p.34. (CISLIB16375)


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