



Australian Government
Refugee Review Tribunal

Country Advice

Zimbabwe

Zimbabwe – ZWE37451 – Movement for Democratic Change (MDC-T) – Political violence – Police – Armed forces – MDC Split – Mashonaland West – Jephata

Karemba

1 October 2010

1. Please provide the latest material update on the situation in Zimbabwe for members of the MDC and their treatment by ZANU PF and the police and military.

Active members and supporters of the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC), and their families, continue to endure threats, violence, kidnappings, torture and killings at the hands of Zimbabwe's African National Union – Patriotic Front (ZANU PF) activists and, occasionally, at the hands of soldiers. There has been a decline in the numbers of attacks on MDC members since the formation of a unity government in late 2008; nevertheless, the overall number of incidents remains high. Historically, the level of violence in Zimbabwe has been cyclical and therefore it is highly plausible that violence and intimidation will escalate as the 2011 parliamentary election draws nearer. Another critical factor in the near future is the inevitable post-Mugabe political landscape; the behaviour of his replacement and the top ranks of the military are subjects of much speculation and will have a dramatic bearing on the treatment of MDC members and supporters into the future.

Violent incidents perpetrated against opposition members and supporters have declined since the 2008 election campaign and the subsequent formation of the unity government. The US Department of State reports that in 2009 “at least 3,316 victims of torture and assault received medical treatment during the year, a reduction from the 6,300 victims recorded in 2008.”¹ Nevertheless, a July 2010 MDC-T report states that between March 2008 and May 2010 more than 500 of its members and supporters were murdered by ZANU-PF militants and Zimbabwean state security agents.² At the end of 2009 the MDC-T (the faction led by Morgan Tsvangirai) reported that approximately two hundred members and supporters remained missing since the election violence of 2008 and were presumed to be dead.³

¹ US Department of State 2010, *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 2009 – Zimbabwe*, 11 March, Section 1.b, 1.c – Attachment 1

² Zulu, B. 2010, ‘Zimbabwe’s MDC Releases Report Naming Perpetrators of Political Violence’, *VOA News.com*, 6 July <http://www.voanews.com/zimbabwe/news/politics/Zimbabwes-MDC-Releases-Report-Naming-Perpetrators-of-Violence-97876909.html> – Accessed 28 September 2010 – Attachment 2

³ US Department of State 2010, *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 2009 – Zimbabwe*, 11 March, Section 1.a – Attachment 1

In October 2009 the MDC-T suspended cooperation in the unity government. Immediately following the commencement of this boycott, a rise in violent attacks on MDC-T members was recorded by the party.⁴ In the same month, the UN special rapporteur on torture, Manfred Nowak, arrived in Zimbabwe to investigate the apparent escalation in violence, only to be denied entry. He was subsequently deported to South Africa, where he told *The Guardian* newspaper that he “believes that the president, Robert Mugabe, may have given the order to deny him entry.”⁵ The MDC-T resumed participation in the unity government in November 2009.

The decline in recorded incidents of politically motivated violence in 2009 does not represent empirical evidence of a longer-term downward trend. Political violence in Zimbabwe tends to be cyclically orchestrated; 2008 represented a low point precisely because it was an election year. New parliamentary elections are scheduled for May 2011 and Mugabe has told ZANU PF loyalists that the party “must not be defeated... We must win resoundingly and regain the constituents we lost.”⁶ However, a ZANU PF victory can only be guaranteed by an MDC-T boycott of the next election and in September 2010 Morgan Tsvangirai stated that the MDC-T might do exactly that if 2011 campaign violence reaches intolerable levels.⁷ The obvious danger of such a warning is that this will provide a tremendous incentive for ZANU PF militants to replicate the violence of 2008.

Despite Mugabe’s desire to regain a monopoly control over government, in April 2010 *The Guardian* reported that he made “an unprecedented appeal for an end to politically motivated violence”. Mugabe told a 30,000 strong crowd at a ceremony celebrating the thirtieth anniversary of independence that “[y]our leadership in the inclusive government urges you to desist from any acts of violence that will cause harm to others and become a blight on our society... As Zimbabweans, we need to foster an environment of tolerance and treat each other with dignity and respect irrespective of age, gender, race, ethnicity, tribe, political or religious affiliation.” Such words may have been cynical fare, designed for international consumption; *The Guardian* suggests that Mugabe is attempting to resurrect his international reputation before retirement or death.⁸

Despite the scepticism surrounding Mugabe’s appeal to end political violence, Morgan Tsvangirai remarked in September 2010 that he believes that Mugabe is sincere, driven by a desire to rehabilitate his international reputation. Tsvangirai adds, however, that the danger of violence ahead will critically depend on the decisions and behaviour of the “senior lieutenants of Mr Mugabe”, once Mugabe dies or becomes too weak to govern. Tsvangirai states that there is a danger that these senior lieutenants may seek to “subvert the constitution by installing power brokers Emmerson Mnangagwa, the Defence

⁴ Smith, D. 2009, ‘Zimbabwe back from brink as Morgan Tsvangirai calls off boycott’, *Guardian Unlimited*, 6 November – Attachment 3

⁵ Smith, D. 2009, ‘UN torture investigator refused entry to Zimbabwe’, *The Guardian*, 29 October <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2009/oct/29/zimbabwe-blocks-un-torture-investigator> – Accessed 27 September 2010 – Attachment 4

⁶ ‘Robert Mugabe rallies Zanu-PF party in Zimbabwe’ 2009, *BBC News*, 13 December <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/8410357.stm> – Accessed 24 December 2009 – Attachment 30

⁷ ‘Zimbabwe PM Tsvangirai anger over violence’ 2010, *BBC News*, 21 September <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-11381711> – Accessed 27 September 2010 – Attachment 5

⁸ Smith, D. 2010, ‘Robert Mugabe rejects violence as Zimbabwe turns 30’, *The Guardian*, 18 April <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2010/apr/18/robert-mugabe-violence-zimbabwe-30> – Accessed 27 September 2010 – Attachment 6

Minister, or Solomon Mujuru, the husband of the Vice-President, Joyce Mujuru, as his successor.”⁹

Just as important to the political landscape is the behaviour of the high ranking officers in the armed forces, who have hitherto relied on Mugabe’s patronage. As noted in *The Guardian* on 1 September 2010, many generals “fear prosecution for their grave human rights violations since 1980 and have amassed breathtaking quantities of ill-gotten wealth they risk losing in a post-Mugabe era. They have a fervent interest in guaranteeing that the post-Mugabe political scene will be sympathetic to them.”¹⁰

Despite Mugabe’s recent speeches, violence perpetrated against MDC-T members has not abated. On 19 September 2010 four MDC-T activists were assaulted by members of ZANU PF in the Harare suburb of Mbare during a public hearing on proposals for a new constitution. According to news agency ZimOnline, when Godfrey Cotton, Edmore Manyofa, Shingi Gorekore and Paul Majarifa reported the assaults, they were reportedly arrested and detained by the police.¹¹ *The Zimbabwean* reports that at the same public hearing another MDC activist, Crispen Mandizvidza, was also bashed and subsequently died from his injuries. *The Zimbabwean* reports that the family of Mr Mandizvidza has “pointed out the suspected murderers to the police, who have...refused to take action.”¹² Such reports highlight the fact that ZANU PF militants are prepared to assault MDC activists in full public view, in the knowledge that they enjoy considerable immunity from arrest.

Human Rights Watch (HRW) reported in September 2010 that since the public meetings of the ‘Constitutional Outreach Program’ began in June they have been commonly marred by violence and intimidation, “mainly by supporters of Zimbabwe’s African National Union – Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) and war veterans allied to ZANU-PF, the former sole ruling party.” According to HRW, the violence worsened in September 2010 “as the outreach meetings have moved to the capital, Harare, and the city of Bulawayo. Because of the violence, 13 meetings in Harare were suspended.”¹³

Police inaction vis-à-vis violence perpetrated against MDC-T members is not necessarily indicative of a collective allegiance to ZANU PF. In July 2009 *The Zimbabwean* published a report arguing that police who do investigate ZANU PF violence are dismissed by the ZANU PF Police Commissioner, Augustine Chihuri. *The Zimbabwean* states that over one thousand policemen have been dismissed by Police Commissioner

⁹ “‘Split personality’ Mugabe doesn’t want to be remembered as a villain’ 2010, *The Sydney Morning Herald*, source: *The Daily Telegraph*, 21 September <http://www.smh.com.au/world/split-personality-mugabe-doesnt-want-to-be-remembered-as-a-villain-20100921-15kb9.html> – Accessed 27 September 2010 – Attachment 7

¹⁰ Tendi, B.M. 2010, ‘After Robert Mugabe’, *The Guardian*, 1 September <http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2010/sep/01/robert-mugabe-zimbabwe> – Accessed 27 September 2010 – Attachment 8

¹¹ Sebatha, L. & Manyuchi, T. 2010, ‘Victims of violence arrested: MDC’, ZimOnline, 22 September <http://www.zimonline.co.za/Article.aspx?ArticleId=6355> – Accessed 27 September 2010 – Attachment 9

¹² Kwaramba, F. 2010, ‘Family says police won’t arrest murder suspects’, *The Zimbabwean*, 25 September http://www.thezimbabwean.co.uk/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=34452:family-says-police-wont-arrest-murder-suspects&catid=69:sunday-top-stories&Itemid=30 – Accessed 27 September 2010 – Attachment 10

¹³ ‘Zimbabwe: Violence, Intimidation Mar Constitutional Outreach’, *Reuters AlertNet*, source: Human Rights Watch, 28 September <http://www.alertnet.org/thenews/newsdesk/HRW/266c96d7fe14a532f9ba7a733dafa21b.htm> – Accessed 28 September 2010 – Attachment 11

“for investigating perpetrators of Zanu (PF)’s terror campaign.” One constable, Admire Takawira, was reportedly detained for thirty one days and then dismissed from the police “after he had attempted to investigate Zanu (PF) youths who burnt down suspected MDC supporters’ houses.”¹⁴ The MDC-T Home Affairs Minister Theresa Makone has also defended police, arguing that ZANU PF are “virtually holding the Zimbabwe Republic Police captive....If anyone of them (police) dares do what they’re supposed to do, they are the ones who will end up in worse trouble.”¹⁵ Commissioner Chihuri’s contract expired at the end of August 2010; however, it is likely that he will be reappointed by Robert Mugabe, according to Harare’s *Financial Gazette*.¹⁶

There is evidence that it is not just MDC-T activists who are at risk of harm. Threats and actual acts of violence have been perpetrated against family members. 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.’” *SW Radio Africa* adds that “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.”¹⁷

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 ZANU-PF thugs. Matonhodze told *IRIN* sources that when he later returned to his property, his house and his livestock had been destroyed.¹⁸ In August 2009 Human Rights Watch reported the July bashing of 73 year old Athanacia Mlilo, the mother of the MDC’s international relations coordinator, Nqobizitha 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.”¹⁹

Other sources have also documented violent attacks on MDC-T members and supporters by soldiers. The US Department of State reported that on 30 August 2009, “MDC-T activist Godknows Dzoro Mtshakazi was beaten to death by four soldiers in Shurugwi, Midlands Province, after being accused along with several other MDC-T members of

¹⁴ ‘Chihuri sacks cops for probing Zanu (PF) atrocities’ 2009, Zimbabwe Situation, source: *The Zimbabwean*, 22 July http://www.zimbabwesituation.com/jul23a_2009.html – Accessed 14 July 2010 – Attachment 12

¹⁵ Malaba, S. 2010, ‘ZANU PF holding the Police captives...says Theresa Makone’, *Metro Zimbabwe*, 21 September <http://www.zimbabwemetro.com/news/zanu-pf-holding-the-police-captive-says-theresa-makone/> – Accessed 27 September 2010 – Attachment 13

¹⁶ Mukarati, L. 2010, ‘Zimbabwe: Chihuri to Go?’ *All Africa Global Media*, source: *Financial Gazette*, 20 August <http://allafrica.com/stories/201008220078.html> – Accessed 27 September 2010 – Attachment 14

¹⁷ 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 15

¹⁸ ‘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 – Attachment 16

¹⁹ Human Rights Watch 2009, *False Dawn: The Zimbabwe Power-Sharing Government’s Failure to Deliver Human Rights Improvements*, 31 August pp.5-6 – Attachment 17

organizing an MDC-T rally and playing a pro-MDC-T song in a bar. The four soldiers assaulted the group before taking Mtshakazi to a nearby army base, where he was beaten further and killed, according to witnesses.”²⁰

The US Department of State also reported that in 2009, politically motivated abductions and attempted abductions of MDC members were carried out by state security agents. On 18 May 2009 13 MDC-T supporters were abducted in Mashiri, Mashonaland Central by four ZANU-PF youths, allegedly on the orders of the “suspected” local Central Intelligence Organization (CIO) agent Chamunorwa Shutu. The 13 were severely beaten during their ordeal and 11 were later arrested and charged with assault. The US Department of State reports that Magistrate Feresi Chakanyuka found the 11 guilty and fined them.²¹

According to a 2010 MDC report, the largest number of alleged perpetrators of political violence against its members is in Mashonaland East with 3,689, followed by Manicaland, Mashonaland Central, Mashonaland West and the Midlands, traditional strongholds of ZANU PF. According to *VOA News.com*, the report lists perpetrators of such violence in the military. The report names Army Col. Morgan Mzilakazi of “leading ZANU-PF youth militia in the murder and rape of MDC activists in Buhera district, Manicaland.”²²

The International Crisis Group (ICG) suggests that many of the ZANU PF militants who perpetrate political violence are on the payroll of the Zimbabwe Public Service. During negotiations for a unity government in 2008 the MDC demanded an audit of the public service. However, the ICG reported in March 2010 that ZANU PF-appointed ‘permanent secretaries’ in the public service ministries repeatedly overturn decisions by their ministers, including “a manpower audit of the civil service, on whose payrolls ZANU-PF has placed more than 20,000 youth militia members.”²³ It is therefore in the interests of these militia members to ensure that the MDC does not take full control of the government and the presidency. Violence and intimidation therefore appears inevitable between now and the next parliamentary and presidential elections.

2. Is there information on any relevant activities of the MDC in Mashonaland West and in particular the district of Chinhoyi? Are you able to confirm what position J. Karemba holds with the MDC in that office?

Mashonaland West has traditionally been a stronghold of ZANU PF. However, in recent years this support has waned to some extent and now varies significantly between districts, as well as between rural and urban areas. In the controversial first round of the 2008 presidential election, Robert Mugabe won 52.8 percent of the 255,161 votes cast in the province, while Morgan Tsvangirai received 42.1 percent. However, the MDC-T actually won a majority in nine of the twenty two constituencies in the province, including

²⁰ US Department of State 2010, *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 2009 – Zimbabwe*, 11 March, Section 1.a – Attachment 1

²¹ US Department of State 2010, *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 2009 – Zimbabwe*, 11 March, Section 1.b, 1.c – Attachment 1

²² Zulu, B. 2010, ‘Zimbabwe’s MDC Releases Report Naming Perpetrators of Political Violence’, *VOA News.com*, 6 July <http://www.voanews.com/zimbabwe/news/politics/Zimbabwes-MDC-Releases-Report-Naming-Perpetrators-of-Violence-97876909.html> – Accessed 28 September 2010 – Attachment 2

²³ International Crisis Group 2010, *Zimbabwe: Political and Security Challenges to the Transition*, Africa Briefing N°70, 3 March, p.6 – Attachment 18

Chinhoyi.²⁴ Indeed, the MDC-T candidate in Chinhoyi, Stewart Garadhi, received 6995 votes in the parliamentary elections, compared to 3512 votes for the ZANU PF candidate, Robert Sikanyika.²⁵

A September 2010 survey of voting intentions in Zimbabwe reports that only 18 percent of those surveyed in Mashonaland West said they would vote for the MDC-T at the next election, scheduled for 2011, while 27 percent of respondents in Mashonaland West said they would vote for ZANU PF. However, 50 percent of those surveyed in Mashonaland West refused to respond.²⁶ A recent survey of perpetrators of political violence in the various provinces of Zimbabwe conducted by the MDC-T found that there are between “1,000 and 2,000 alleged perpetrators of political violence” in Mashonaland West.²⁷

Reports indicate that MDC officials in Mashonaland West, as is the case elsewhere, are intimidated and harassed by ZANU PF militants and, in some cases, by members of the armed forces. *SW Radio Africa* reports that in August 2010 “armed soldiers, led by Major Muti Musakwa, forcibly removed property and goods belonging to the MDC district treasurer for Zvimba West, James Jonga. The soldiers looted his supermarket at Murombedzi growth point in Zvimba, Mashonaland West province, demanding that he vacate the premises.”²⁸ In August 2010 the MDC Information & Publicity Department reported that its Mashonaland West provincial driver, Stanley Pindiriri was “abducted by Zanu PF supporters at Imongeni Farm in Chegutu West. Pindiriri, who managed to escape from his abductors, was mobilizing MDC supporters to attend Copac meetings in the district.” The press release also states that “[t]he thugs also deflated the tyres of the MDC provincial vehicle and broke its windscreen and windows. A police report was made but no one has been arrested.”²⁹

SW Radio Africa reported in August 2010 that ZANU PF militants continue to force locals in Mashonaland West to attend ZANU PF meetings. The report also states that these militants have been attending meetings of the Constitutional Outreach Program in Mashonaland West and preventing people from voicing their opposition to the ZANU PF preferred ‘Kariba’ draft for a new constitution; “[r]eports from Hurungwe in Mashonaland West province, allege that Chief Chundu is travelling around the district with ZANU PF activists Peter Madamombe and Bilo Kaunde. They are said to be threatening to beat up anyone planning to oppose the discredited Kariba draft during the outreach meetings.

²⁴ Zimbabwe Election Support Network 2008, *Report On The Zimbabwe 29 March Harmonised Election and 27 June 2008 Presidential Run-Off*, August, p.46 – Attachment 19

²⁵ Zimbabwe Election Support Network 2008, *Report On The Zimbabwe 29 March Harmonised Election and 27 June 2008 Presidential Run-Off*, August, p.84 – Attachment 19

²⁶ Malaba, S. 2010 ‘survey reveals that MDC-T will win the next general elections...’, *Metro Zimbabwe*, 14 September <http://www.zimbabwemetro.com/news/survey-reveals-that-mdc-t-will-win-the-next-general-elections/> – Accessed 28 September 2010 – Attachment 20

²⁷ Zulu, B. 2010, ‘Zimbabwe’s MDC Releases Report Naming Perpetrators of Political Violence’, *VOA News.com*, 6 July <http://www.voanews.com/zimbabwe/news/politics/Zimbabwes-MDC-Releases-Report-Naming-Perpetrators-of-Violence-97876909.html> – Accessed 28 September 2010 – Attachment 2

²⁸ Karimkwenda, T. 2010, ‘Zimbabwe: Zanu PF Using Soldiers, Chiefs and Militia to Attack MDC’, *All Africa Global Media*, source: *SW Radio Africa*, 4 August <http://allafrica.com/stories/201008040999.html> – Accessed 28 September 2010 – Attachment 21

²⁹ ‘The MDC Today Aug 23’ 2010, *ZimEye.org*, source: MDC Information & Publicity Department, 23 August <http://www.zimeye.org/?p=21199> – Accessed 28 September 2010 – Attachment 22

Chief Chundu also repeated the threats while addressing villagers at Kapiri business centre on Monday and at Kachiva centre on Tuesday.”³⁰

The town of Chinhoyi witnessed attacks on MDC activists by ZANU PF militants and so-called ‘war veterans’ during the 2008 election campaign. Human Rights Watch reported in 2008 that witnesses believe that the violence was coordinated and directed by Air Marshall Perence Shiri and “several senior military officers operating under Perence Shiri in these areas...[including] a brigadier general and two lieutenant colonels.”³¹

The Movement for Democratic Change website confirms that Jephath Karemba is the MDC-T Chairperson of Mashonaland West Province.³² During the 2008 parliamentary elections, Jephath Karemba was also the MDC-T candidate for the seat of Makonde. Karemba was not successful.³³

3. Please provide some background information on the split that occurred in the MDC in 2005 resulting in the MDC-T and the MDC-M? Please provide information on any significant evolution and the present status of the split.

In late 2004, senior figures within the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) were divided over whether to participate in the 2005 elections for both the lower house and the newly constituted Senate. A majority in the party reportedly took the view that the MDC should boycott the elections until serious electoral reform had taken place. A minority believed that non-participation in the elections would deprive the MDC of any influence in the next parliament and simply hand the parliament to Mugabe. In October 2005, the party’s national council voted 33-31 to participate in the Senate election; however, Tsvangirai overruled the vote and expelled 26 senior officials from the party. Party Secretary, Welshman Ncube refused to accept their expulsion and together they formed a new faction.³⁴

Both factions held party conferences in early 2006; Tsvangirai was confirmed as the leader of one faction, while Ncube ceded control to Arthur Mutambara, ironically, one of the MDC members who initially opposed participation in the Senate elections.³⁵ Consequently, the faction led by Tsvangirai became known as the MDC-T and the faction led by Mutambara became known as the MDC-M.

³⁰ Karimakwenda, T. 2010, ‘Zimbabwe: Zanu PF Using Soldiers, Chiefs and Militia to Attack MDC’, *All Africa Global Media*, source: *SW Radio Africa*, 4 August <http://allafrica.com/stories/201008040999.html> – Accessed 28 September 2010 – Attachment 21

³¹ Human Rights Watch 2008, “*Bullets for Each of You*” – *State-Sponsored Violence since Zimbabwe’s March 29 Elections*, June, pp.23-24 – Attachment 23

³² National Executive and Portfolio Secretaries’ (undated), Movement for Democratic Change website <http://www.mdczimbabwe.org/Profiles/NewNationalExecutive.htm> – Accessed 23 March 2007 – Attachment 24

³³ ‘Winning candidates – ‘Harmonised’ elections 29 March 2008: House of Assembly & Senate – Mashonaland West’ 2008, Kubatana website, 5 April http://www.kubatana.net/html/archive/elec/080329kubmshw.asp?sector=&year=0&range_start=1 – Accessed 27 September 2010 – Attachment 25

³⁴ Ploch, L. 2010, *Zimbabwe: Background*, Congressional Research Service, Federation of American Scientists website, 8 July, pp.9-10 <http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/RL32723.pdf> – Accessed 24 September 2010 – Attachment 26

³⁵ ‘Zimbabwe’s ‘outsider’ faction leader’ 2006, *BBC News*, 27 February <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/4756424.stm> – Accessed 24 September 2010 – Attachment 27

In 2010 (now Prime Minister) Morgan Tsvangirai has hinted that attempts are underway to re-unite the two MDC factions.³⁶ There have also been a number of apparent defections from the MDC-M to the MDC-T in 2010, with some opinions suggesting that reunification is likely to occur due to the MDC-M members desire to remain relevant ahead of scheduled elections in 2011.³⁷ The International Crisis Group reported in March 2010 that with its current level of support the MDC-M “will eventually collapse, with some leaders rejoining the larger MDC-T, a revived ZAPU78 or ZANU-PF, depending on which faction gains control of the old ruling party.”³⁸

Attachments

1. US Department of State 2010, *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 2009 – Zimbabwe*, 11 March.
2. Zulu, B. 2010, ‘Zimbabwe’s MDC Releases Report Naming Perpetrators of Political Violence’, *VOA News.com*, 6 July <http://www.voanews.com/zimbabwe/news/politics/Zimbabwes-MDC-Releases-Report-Naming-Perpetrators-of-Violence-97876909.html> – Accessed 28 September 2010.
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³⁶ Guma, L. 2010, ‘Zimbabwe: Tsvangirai Hints at Re-Unification of MDC Factions’, *All Africa Global Media*, source: *SW Radio Africa*, 10 September <http://allafrica.com/stories/201009130106.html> – Accessed 23 September 2010 – Attachment 28

³⁷ Makumbe, J. 2010, ‘MDC-M chickens come home to roost’, *The Zimbabwean*, 17 August http://www.thezimbabwean.co.uk/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=33490:mdc-m-chickens-come-home-to-roost&catid=35:opinion-a-analysis&Itemid=31 – Accessed 24 September 2010 – Attachment 29

³⁸ International Crisis Group 2010, *Zimbabwe: Political and Security Challenges to the Transition*, Africa Briefing N°70, 3 March, pp.10-11 – Attachment 18

9. Sebatha, L. & Manyuchi, T. 2010, 'Victims of violence arrested: MDC', ZimOnline, 22 September <http://www.zimonline.co.za/Article.aspx?ArticleId=6355> – Accessed 27 September 2010.
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13. Malaba, S. 2010, 'ZANU PF holding the Police captives...says Theresa Makone', *Metro Zimbabwe*, 21 September <http://www.zimbabwemetro.com/news/zanu-pf-holding-the-police-captive-says-theresa-makone/> – Accessed 27 September 2010.
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16. '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.
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