

CHAPTER 7: HOW LACK OF HUMAN SECURITY AFFECTED DEVELOPMENT

This chapter critically explores the intractable nexus between human security and development in Buhera South Constituency. It analyses the various aspects of human security. The chapter unpacks how lack of human security affected development through the exploration of its various facets. Non-violent resistance has been a popular political instrument among the weaker subjects of the colonized and subjugated world for quite a considerable period. There is, however, limited understanding of what the politics of non-violent resistance entails by the ordinary person and what it is capable to achieve in the development of conflict-ridden states, a research lacunae which this research seeks to fill.

Political violence in Zimbabwe in general, and in Buhera South Constituency in particular, has highlighted a critical component of human security. While the old conception of human security centred on the centrality of the state in preserving the territorial integrity and sovereignty, this research will, however, conceptualise human security to mean the security of the individual. The UNDP narrowed down human security to include freedom “from the threat of disease, hunger, unemployment, crime, social conflict, political repression and environmental hazards” (UNDP, 1994: 22). The individual becomes the centrality of the developmental discourse. Most African states have a narrow-minded conception of human security which has, somewhat, led to the discourse of nationalist dictatorship. “Rather than providing security for their citizens, states are frequently the instruments that destroy the security of their populations” (Wilkin, 1999: 28). This nationalist dictatorship is predominantly the monopoly of liberation movements which view opposition political parties as threats to national security. Mugabe utilised this approach since 1980 to maintain a carefully oiled dictatorship which used disguised Pan Africanism to

maintain power. The “exclusion and deprivation of whole communities of people from the benefits of development naturally contribute to the tensions, violence and conflict within countries” (Commission on Human Security, 2003: 5).

Using the UNDP yardstick, human security encompasses the following elements: economic security, food security, health security, environmental security, personal security community security and political security (UNDP, 1994: 23). The study shows that human security was critically missing in Buhera South. The political violence led to widespread displacement and wholesale deprivations to the community. For the purposes of this study, “human security recognizes the interlinkages between peace, development and human rights, and equally considers civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights” (UN General Assembly Resolution, 2012).

This study posits that the traditional concept of security has become an entrenched system of the Zimbabwe government. Mugabe had been a proponent of the traditional security discourse. The concept of human security has since evolved to encompass more than the liberation war meaning. While other states moved to post-Cold War security meaning, Mugabe held on to this definition and accused whoever challenged his authority with treason. Buhera became engulfed in this traditionalist sense of security. The violence in Buhera affected the development of the area. The International Peace Security Report (2004: 2) defined development as “... the processes and strategies through which societies and states seek to achieve more prosperous and equitable standards of living”. Traditional proponents of development skirted around the link between Human Security and development. However, this research argues that there is increasing convergence between human insecurity and development. The IPA Report (2004: 3) asserted that “there has been an increasing convergence in the strategies and activities of security and

development actors working in conflict-ridden countries, on the assumption that the challenges facing an unstable country need to be addressed in a holistic and integrated manner to achieve sustainable peace and long-term prosperity.”

Political violence in Buhera critically affected the livelihoods of the district, especially the material aspect of human security owing to deprivation, destruction and displacement of people. Since 2000, the Zimbabwean government ran different economic support initiatives throughout the country. The land reform programme, various farmer support schemes in the country such as farm implements scheme through the Farm Mechanisation scheme were some of the government initiatives. These government aided schemes were often hijacked for political ends. While these were government funded schemes, the new unwritten policy was that the implementation of government initiatives was to be done through the traditional chiefs, supervised by councillors who were ZANU-PF members and the local MP. From 2000- 2008 Buhera District had two constituencies whose MPs were ZANU-PF members, notably Kumbirai Kangai in Buhera South and Kenneth Manyonda in Buhera North. In 2008 the constituency was further divided into 4 constituencies. The MDC won two of the constituencies in 2008 and a few council seats. Thus, the majority of decision makers have largely been ZANU-PF.

Considering the above, there has been serious deprivations on sources of livelihood for most MDC members. The majority were denied access to farm inputs provided by the government because the traditional leaders were given strict instructions to ‘screen’ members of the opposition. In Ward 27, Buhera South, MDC members reported that the local leaders such as Mukanwa, Madziturira (late) and Silas Andudzai systematically deleted names of opposition members from the list of beneficiaries because of their links to the MDC. One respondent stated that “tainyimwa mbeu nekuti tiri veopposition

inopikisa hurumende yeZanu iri kutonga, chikafu ndeche ZANU-PF” (We were denied farming inputs because we are members of the opposition which opposes the ZANU-PF government. These inputs are for ZANU-PF members) (interview with a Participant 1 10/02/22). The conflation of the party and the state compromised the security and development of the people in Buhera. Buhera is one of the poorest districts in the country without resources. Farming is the only source of income for most. Income from farming helps in buying grain, paying school fees for kids and general upkeep of families.

During the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe Farm mechanisation Scheme in 2008, implements such as ploughs, generators, planters and scotch carts, were given to the people. However, the distribution followed a familiar script. This time it was worsened by the fact that Chinotimba and Manyonda lost in Buhera South and North respectively. Despite their losses, they continued acting in their capacity as losing candidates to undermine elected MP’s. Naison Nemadziya the MP for Buhera South claimed that he was an MP in name and not in deed. The ZANU-PF structures in collusion with government workers undermined the MP. In an interview with a government employed Youth Officer, he claimed that “the country is governed by ZANU-PF, we will work through ZANU-PF system” (Interview with a Participant 2 22/02/22). The pronouncements from civil servants was expected considering that ZANU-PF, through the Ministry of Youth, clandestinely employed ZANU-PF youth members into the civil service after its electoral defeat in the 2008 elections.

Suspected MDC sympathisers in the Civil Service were often haunted out of office. Chokuda, the Headmaster of Murove Primary in Buhera South was killed during the 2002 elections. At the height of economic decline most teachers left their jobs for Chiadzwa diamond fields. The MDC youth who went to Chiadzwa set their bases there and hounded the ZANU-PF youths out of the fields. Where NGOs wanted to give

farming aid, ZANU-PF attempted to use its structures to deny members of the opposition. Georgina Godwin of SW Radio Africa commented that:

It is an open secret in Harare that on the Save the Children trucks you see people in ZANU-PF youth militia uniform. That goes on every day. Who is talking about it? You ring up all these aid agencies; they do not want to speak about it. It is a terrible thing and I believe they must surely take on board this responsibility. They are watching people starve whilst feeding other people. They need to do something about the people they cannot feed (House of Commons Foreign Affairs Committee, 20 May 2003: 8).

This seemed to be a common trend in Buhera South Constituency as the ruling party wanted to get political mileage from donated food stuffs. The major donor agencies in Buhera South were Christian Care, World Vision, and Catholic Relief Services (CRS). The ZANU leadership made sure that they were involved in at least one of the stages of either offloading or compiling names or maintaining order. There were reports of the leadership demanding kickbacks from beneficiaries and forwarding non-existent names and issuing out threats to aid workers (Interview with Participant 5 13/02/22). In Wards 27, 28 and 29 World Vision withdrew after realising the unfair practices mentioned above. The unwritten rule was that those who benefit from donors could also not benefit from the Ministry of Social Welfare, however, due to their proximity to power this provision was violated in some cases.

Health centres in Buhera became hotbeds of political activity. There was systematic concealment of victims through an attempt to abduct those who would have sought medical help in local health centres. At Muchuwa, Chapanduka, Muzokomba, and Mutusinzazita clinics many were denied access to health care due to their political connections. Health workers who attended to MDC violence victims were also at risk of victimisation. The family of Nyoka Mupango a veteran of the

MDC democratisation struggle alleges that upon his harassment and violent beatings during the 2008 run-off, the losing legislator Joseph Chinotimba whisked their badly injured father to Rusape without their knowledge where he eventually died. After the death of Mupango's father, Joseph Chinotimba forced ZANU-PF youth to bury the deceased without a post-mortem report (interview with Participant 5 13/02/22). In 2000 four teachers namely Mataruse, Muchena, Musoni and Chitura from different schools in Buhera South were beaten up and followed to host clinics where they were abducted for fear that they might get a police report which they could use to sue the culprits. After such an ordeal they were whisked away by their relatives to urban areas for treatment (interview with a Participant 7 /12/21).

Health became a security and development issue. The constituency was deprived of health security and other essential health-related amenities. Health is a critical component in the development discourse which enhances the security of citizen. This critique goes hand in glove with the UNDP (1994) and UN General Assembly (2012) which all but confirms that central to human security is treatment of citizens with dignity free from existential threats. Their right to dignity and freedom from violation has been systematically violated by the powers that be. In 2000, 2002 and 2008 Chapanduka clinic had a ZANU-PF base stationed right in its premises. One official said that "*mukuru we base Cde Wevhu akatitaurira kuti nyika ino inoti ZANU, tinoita musangano patinodira veMDC vakaita nharo tinoenda kuhondo kana kuuraya chaiko*", which is loosely translated into English as, "the ZANU-PF leader Comrade Wevhu told us that this country belongs to ZANU-PF and we do as we please, we are prepared to go to war against MDC and its supporters" (interview with Participant 12 10/11/21). In short, the health of those affected was not important but what mattered most was the political objective of attaining victory.

One critical aspect of the period under review was the lack of personal and community security. Many people in Buhera South were not secure as they were subjected to constant threats. The worst aspect was that all avenues for recourse were closed to the public. The judiciary and police became appendages of ZANU-PF. The MDC suffered the fate a pattern that once they got arrested for flimsy reasons then get denied bail at the courts. Instead of providing personal and community security, the police brutalised people for attending MDC rallies while the magistrate courts denied anyone accused of being MDC bail. In one instance the Human Rights NGO Forum reported that:

Buhera South 20 March 2008 Anti-riot Police reportedly assaulted MDC supporters who were attending a rally in Birchenough Bridge. The rally was being held close to where a ZANU (PF) rally was also being held. The police were apparently called in by the ZANU (PF) supporters on allegations that they were being provoked by the MDC supporters. There was a stampede of MDC supporters fleeing from the police, resulting in injuries. A male victim reports that he was beaten three times on the right hand and also lost his glasses during the chaos (Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO, March 2008: 12).

This report is one of the many cases of personal and community insecurity in Buhera South. There was a systematic profiling of citizens and communities in political terms. Those classified as MDC bore the brunt of violence and deprivation. The communities were often deprived of government handouts such as farming inputs and food aid. Notable areas to be red-zoned as MDC strongholds such as Nyadi, Chapanduka, Kufakwatenzi, and Birchenough Bridge became hotbeds of violence (interview with Participant 15 10/12/21). In 2008, Sibamba was murdered in broad daylight to serve as a lesson for others not to be MDC members. Individuals who were seen as strong MDC supporters were forced to confess and repent at every rally held in the constituency. They would travel wherever ZANU-PF rallies were held. One of the victims who chose anonymity stated that “taidiwa kwese

kwaitwa rally to reurura pamberi pevanhu kuti ini ... ndakanga ndakarasika nekusapota MDC asi ikozvino ndadzoka kumusha kuZANU vehukama ndiregerereiwo” (I would go to each and every rally to confess that I was lost by supporting MDC but now I am back home in ZANU-PF, please forgive me for my sins). Usually this was followed by the burning of MDC regalia in front of the people (Interview with Participant 17 29/01/22).

In some instances, those who lived and worked in urban areas were also profiled as MDC supporters who were a bad influence to the villagers. Because of their perceived bad influence, they were not welcome in the villages. Communities with large numbers of MDC supporters were forced through their village heads to confess to their ‘sins.’ In most cases, village leaders were assigned powers to surrender their subjects who supported the MDC. In some instances, village political commissars were given powers to fire and expel teachers from their stations for being a bad influence to children and communities. Teachers were fired even during examination times. Most children went for long periods without teachers in some subject areas as the teachers were not easily replaced. In some instance, Ministry of Education officials prioritised the safety of their teachers more than the learners. The ZESN in its 2000 parliamentary report claimed that “it is reported that about 250 schools were closed and more than 6 000 teachers displaced by alleged war veterans on the grounds that some teachers supported opposition political parties” (ZESN, 2000: 28). While this report gives a countrywide view, the MDC estimates that at least 200 teachers were displaced in Buhera South constituency in between 2000 and 2008 as it was a hotbed of political violence (Interview with Participant 18 12/02/22).

Since the formation of the MDC various legal instruments came into place to forestall democratic participation. Legislation became a means

to stop and subvert democratic participation. Klingibel (2006: 1) avers that:

Security has fundamentally evolved in the international debate from a concept which focused on the stability of the state to a protective approach related to the individual... For the conceptual debates "human security" has become a key term. A constituent element of the concept of human security is the protection of people or individuals.

ZANU-PF, through the control of the legislature, hid behind the need to protect human security to enact such laws. Chief laws used post-2000, were the Public Order and Security Act and Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act (2002) (AIPPA), respectively. Through AIPPA, newspapers and pirate radio stations were shut. It became a criminal offence in Buhera South to be seen moving around with independent newspapers or listening to the Voice of America's Studio 7 radio station. One notable feature of the Public Order and Security Act (POSA) passed in 2002 was that it authorised police brutality. Section 29, subsection 2 of POSA gave the police or those assisting them the right to kill. It stated that "the police may use all necessary force to disperse an unlawful meeting in terms of other sections, and if a person is killed by the police - or any other person assisting them during dispersal - this killing shall be considered lawful" (The Solidarity Peace Trust, 2004: 11).

MDC members and supporters were victims of this legislation which subtly outlawed political activities. The then MP for Buhera South Constituency, Naison Nemadziya, claimed that in the run up to the 2008 runoff all MDC meetings were unofficially banned while activists went into hiding. His rallies at Nemadziya, Zangama, Mabhoko were called off due to non-clearance by the police. In some cases, MDC supporters arrived at rally venues only to see ZANU-PF youths and war veterans waiting for them and spoiling for a fight. This pattern degenerated to levels where MDC victims of violence would be arrested for allegedly attacking ZANU-PF members. Normally such

arrests would be executed after ZANU-PF officials rush report to file pre-emptive reports to the police against MDC members (interview with Participant 18 13/02/22). POSA required that meetings be booked four days in advance. This was a political ruse as it allowed enough time for the state repressive apparatus and ZANU-PF members to adequately to prepare counter measures against MDC planned rallies. The post 2000 period in Buhera South reinforced the argument by Brian Raftopoulos that "...it is quite clear that President Robert Mugabe's real strength is the coercion which comes out of the army and the liberation war veterans. He is using it to the full and the militarisation will be to his benefit even if the opposition does well in any election which might take place" (quoted in *The Independent* (UK), 12 April 2008).

In Buhera South Constituency, the military was a dominant factor in denying the people political security. The government led initiatives such as Operation Maguta and the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe sponsored food schemes were all led by serving soldiers. These soldiers were permanently stationed in the rural areas with unspecified duties. The 8 wards in Buhera South had two serving soldiers each. The main aim was the intimidation of MDC supporters. After the 2008 harmonised elections which ZANU dismally lost, Colonel Mzilikazi and Major D Muchena, serving army officers, commanded the operation in Buhera South. The MDC Buhera South official claimed in 2008 at least 6 people were directly killed by the military during the 27 June 2008 run off period (interview with Participant 22 13/02/22).

Political security, an essential element of human security, was compromised during the period. The use of the army to subvert the people's rights was a re-enactment of the war time philosophy of the gun guaranteeing the vote. In 1976, it was declared that "...our votes must go together with our guns; after all any vote ... shall have been

the product of the gun. The gun that provides the votes, should remain its security officer, its guarantor” (Mugabe, 1981: 100). The military generals specifically gave directives to the soldiers. Addressing soldiers Martin Chedondo said:

The Constitution says the country should be protected by voting and in the 27 June presidential election run-off pitting our defence chief, Cde Robert Mugabe, and Morgan Tsvangirai of the MDC-T, we should, therefore, stand behind our Commander-in-Chief. Soldiers are not apolitical. Only mercenaries are apolitical. We have signed and agreed to fight and protect the ruling party’s principles of defending the revolution. If you have other thoughts, then you should remove that uniform (The Herald, 31 May 2008).

In 2002 General Vitalis Zvinavashe issued the following statement which in earnest subverted the right to political security. He urged that:

Pursue Zimbabwean values, traditions and beliefs for which thousands of lives were lost in pursuit of Zimbabwe’s hard-won independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and national interest. To this end, let it be known that the highest office on the land is a ‘straightjacket’ whose occupant is expected to observe the objectives of the liberation struggle. We will, therefore, not accept, let alone support or salute anyone with a different agenda that threatens the very existence of our sovereignty, our country and our people (SW Radio Africa Zimbabwe news, 2007).

In successive elections since 2000, ZANU-PF revived its war time ideology of night vigil as instruments of coercion. One respondent claimed that they had no choice but to go to the rallies or face public lashing. Most MDC supporters relied on the age old wisdom “chinonzi siya ndechiri mumaoko chiri mumoyo ndechekufa nacho” (innate characters can never be wished off). To make sure that die hard supporters voted for ZANU-PF it assisted suspected MDC supporters to vote (interview with Participant 32 16/02/22). Since 2000 the number of assisted voters increased. These were literate people who out of fear for their safety were assisted to vote by ZANU-PF officials

to ensure that ZANU-PF retained the vote. Intimidation, coercion, violence spiced up with nationalist rhetoric were the chief means used at election time to subvert the political will of the people.

As articulated by Mhanda (2005), “political power became the dominant social good, and those in control of it have a control of a whole range of other goods in society”. At local level the District, Ward and cell leadership clearly understood this philosophy. The benefits to them ranged to corrupt allocation of stands at Murambinda growth point, Mutiusinazita shopping centre and Muzokomba shopping centre. They also shared government provided aid such as maize and maize seeds. During the Farm mechanisation programme, they took farming implements such as ploughs, scotch carts, hoes and even generators. Political power became a tool for corruption that ZANU-PF and its supporters did with impunity. They felt any loss of power would result in loss of privileges to them. They worked hand in glove to suppress political rights with the national and provincial leadership.

The executive arm of government curtailed the political security of Zimbabwe. This cascaded down to the constituencies as the warship of leaders became an albatross on the country’s march towards democracy. The primary objective of the state created by Mugabe was a complex web of independent institutions serving and advancing the interests of ZANU-PF. Thus the government became a de facto one-party state. The judiciary, executive, legislature, electoral commission, security services, media and other independent commissions were under the armpit of Mugabe for the sole purpose of advancing his political interests. Sachikonye, (2003: 99) observed that “ZANU-PF...uses coercive instruments of the state to expedite its own purposes of monopolising power while denying political rights and opportunities to other groups to compete for that power”.

One notable feature of the period under study is that Buhera South's MDC members became victims of coordinated extortion orchestrated by members of the ZANU-PF youth league and war veterans. Often times MDC supporters were forced to pay 'fines' at rallies in form of livestock to the base commanders. Many have claimed that they lost goats, sheep and to some extent cattle as payment to the leaders for their alleged support of the MDC. Some of the livestock taken were slaughtered at rallies or bases to feed the leadership. One elderly MDC supporter claimed that he lost 4 goats as punishment for his sons' support for the MDC. He claimed that he paid out of fear of further harm from the 'commanders' (Interview with Participant 23 13/02/22). This was not an isolated case but rather one of the many cases which went unreported to the police. In fact, most claim that it was of no use to report matters to the police as the police were fearful of retribution from political leaders. Most youth were promised land in return for supporting ZANU-PF. In ward 28 and 26 many reported that the youth members invaded their lands with the help of ZANU-PF cell leaders. However, this did not fully materialise as the village heads resisted these moves since communal lands were under their jurisdiction.

A key feature of violence and human security during the period under study is the violation of fundamental human rights. Women and girls were victims of sexual violation at the pungwes (night vigils). Rape was used as an instrument of exerting authority on women. Some reported that they were sexually abused during night vigils led by ZANU-PF youths and were often vulnerable because there was no recourse to justice (Interview with Participant 22 15/02/22). The normalisation of such cases of sexual abuse is reminiscent of the struggle years where women were referred to as "warm blankets" by commanders as reported by Fay Chung (Chung, 2006: 126).

This chapter has comprehensively canvassed the concept of human security and development. This concept is the central aspect of development. It critically exposes how peace is a prerequisite to development. In the case of Buhera South Constituency, the failure to develop in the period under review can be attributed to the prevalence of violence during the period under review. Violence led to displacements, death, forced migrations and the general decline in economic output. Violence disrupted livelihood activities thereby affecting development. In areas such as Buhera with less economic resources, the disruption of the agriculture which is the backbone of their economy also affected income levels and food security. The next chapter will focus on the impact of nonviolent resistance on human security and development.