



THE STATE OF ELECTORAL FRAUD AND CORRUPTION IN THE RUN-UP TO THE JULY 2018 GENERAL ELECTIONS IN ZIMBABWE

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Zimbabwe has experienced at least seven general elections since the end of colonial rule in 1980. Most of these elections, if not all of them, have gained notoriety for allegations of electoral fraud, corruption and other related irregularities. The pre-election run-up to the 30 July 2018 General Election is not unique and different from the previous elections in this regard. On 9 June 2018, for instance, President Emmerson Dambudzo Mnangagwa has urged his party's candidates, to offer trinkets to chiefs and traditional leaders to procure their support in the elections. His remarks illuminate how deep rooted electoral corruption is, in Zimbabwe.

This report casts a mirror on different electoral developments raising serious concerns on electoral fraud, corruption and other irregularities. To this end, the report focuses on the manipulation of electoral processes and outcomes for personal or partisan benefit (Landman and Robinson 2009). It examines how electoral corruption is a direct subversion of electoral processes by a few greedy individuals for their personal enrichment or gain (Olarinmoye, 2008:067). This report adopts a fairly more succinct description of electoral corruption which was made by Landman and Robinson (2009) who states that it includes the manipulation of rules, voters, votes and election outcomes for personal benefit.

The Anti-Corruption Trust of Southern Africa believes that the corruptly elected leaders tend to be corrupt including for instance engaging in embezzlement of public finances, demanding bribes from foreign investors, and engage in nepotism thus making corruption a vicious circle with no end in sight. The allegations of corruption that marred the presidency of Robert Mugabe is a poignant reminder. Moreover, electoral corruption is a threat to national security, leads to economic decay, terrorism, and political upheavals. It is important to note that anything that undermines the progress and stability of a nation socially, politically and economically is a threat. (Onwe, Nwogbaga, Ogbu 2015:13-14). To this end, this report gives evidence of electoral corruption witnessed in Zimbabwe.

It is therefore worrisome that the following incidents have been reported in the run-up to the 30 July 2018 elections:

- widespread cases of manipulation of voters in the form of media bias, and deceptive political communication as well as the provision of particularistic incentives or sanctions, such as vote-buying, intimidation, and other forms of undue influence;
- Manipulation of electoral policy and legal framework to favour certain political parties.
- Suspicious behavior of the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (ZEC) which despite demand, is stubbornly refusing to comply with the law and demands from the opposition.

- Widespread cases of vote buying throughout the country and the impunity thereof;
- Abuse of state resources, traditional leaders and state capture.

In Zimbabwe, the manipulation of votes, voters and electoral laws for personal or partisan benefit remains an issue of great concern. The outcome of the 30 July 2018 election would be illegitimate if no attention is paid to address the irregularities. The ACT of Southern Africa recommends as follows:

- a) President Emmerson Dambudzo Mnangagwa should retract *the statements that he made to the effect* that his party's candidates, to offer gifts to chiefs and traditional leaders to procure their support in the elections.
- b) The Electoral Code of Conduct for Political Parties and Candidates, especially Section 6 (f) (g) should be enforced to its fullest. For the avoidance of doubt, it reads:
 - i. "6. No political party or any of its members or supporters, and no candidate or any of his or her supporters, may
 - ii. (f) bribe a voter to exercise his or vote in a particular manner;
 - iii. (g) bribe or intimidate an election official to induce him or her to make a false entry in the voters roll or to alter or falsify election results".
- c) The following cases should be investigated and appropriate action taken;
 - i. The abuse of government ministries, departments, staff and resources for party business ahead of the 2018 harmonised elections. More to the point whether R. Shangwa, the District Administrator for Guruve in Mashonaland Central Province, in his capacity as a civil servant is allowed to engage in political activities in an official capacity. This stems from an understanding that on 4 September 2017, he wrote a letter, ordering all civil servants to fund the ruling party's youth interface rally that had been penciled for Saturday, 9 September 2017
 - ii. Cases of vote buying that are widespread throughout the country. The case of the invasion of Gaika mine in Kwekwe cries out for attention due to its other effects on human rights considering reported deaths, injuries and compromising of the property rights.
- d) ZANU PF as a political party continues to use State Owned Enterprises (SOEs) as their cash cows. In this report, Josh Chifamba, the Group's Chief Executive Officer, of ZESA Holdings, told the Public Accounts Committee that ZESA Holdings was forced to donate to ZANU PF as the ruling party. Furthermore, the Minerals Marketing Corporation of Zimbabwe (MMCZ) donated \$2,9 million to ZANU PF. This was unearthed on or about 12 March 2018, in Parliament. To this end, the Anti-Corruption Trust of Southern Africa recommends that all SOEs be banned from funding political parties and that action be taken against all those who made decisions to fund ZANU PF.
- e) In the run-up to the 2018 general elections, there were several reports of political party actors recording serial numbers of voter registration certificates under the pretext that they will be able to determine how a voter has cast his or her vote. Whilst the criminalization of this practice acts as a deterrent, there were no adequate efforts to dispel the myth which has engulfed the electorate. In some

areas, such as Kwekwe, these rogue politicians went to the extent of taking the voter registration slips. The electorate will go for elections still thinking these politicians will surely know who they would have voted for. ZEC should seriously consider publicity dispelling this misconception.

- f) To deter corruption fraud and corruption, the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (ZEC) and relevant authorities must not condone these acts. These culprits must be investigated, prosecuted, jailed and blacklisted;
- g) Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) should effectively play a watch-dog role by monitoring, reporting and taking action against acts of electoral corruption;
- h) The Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (ZEC) should take action against acts of electoral corruption instead of endorsing these acts through silence or inaction;
- i) Leaders implicated in electoral corruption and fraud should be blacklisted and banned from contesting in any election whatsoever;
- j) Zimbabwean courts of law should be empowered to preside over electoral corruption related cases in an environment that is free from victimization and interference;
- k) The parliament should play its oversight and legislative role to ensure that Zimbabwean elections are corruption and fraud free;
- l) The election outcome that is a product of electoral fraud and corruption should be illegitimate and not accepted at local, national, regional and international levels.
- m) The electorate must shun politician who buy votes.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Democratic elections have been assumed to play a crucial role in curbing corruption among public officials. Voters, due to their general distaste for corruption, are expected to sanction politicians who misuse public office for private gains. (De Vries and Solaz, 2017). This holds true especially in developing countries such as Zimbabwe with weak institutions, there is implicitly a large reliance on elections to instill norms of accountability and reduce corruption.

Ironically, in Zimbabwe elections are marred by corruption allegations, what is more, politicians who are well known to be corrupt still manage to find their way back into office where they will likely to continue with their corrupt activities making corruption a perennial challenge.

At the core of this challenge lies the lack of knowledge and understanding about electoral fraud, corruption and irregularities. For instance, others see vote buying as a form of corruption others view it as a way of encouraging people to participate in elections. This report is therefore, both timely and relevant as Zimbabwe is preparing for the seventh general elections scheduled for July 30th . The pre-election which started in earnest after the November 2017 military intervention, has already been associated with numerous documented cases of electoral fraud, corruption and irregularities.

This report is an overview of various reported incidences of electoral fraud, corruption and malpractices that have been recorded during the run-up to the 30th July general elections. We have also revisited acts of electoral corruption committed in the previous elections which we predict may once again be perpetrated in the forthcoming election.

Finally, it is important to note that this report will not give an empirical analysis of these cases or offer any nuanced explanation on how they came to be. It is only a *tour de horizon* of the typologies of electoral fraud, corruption and irregularities that have resurfaced in the run-up to the elections which if left unaddressed may significantly influence the outcome. This report is primarily intended for the relevant government watchdogs, electorate, candidates, political parties and coalitions, policy makers, civil society organisations, the international community and election observer missions.

2. FORMS OF ELECTORAL CORRUPTION

It should be highlighted from the outset that manipulation by its nature aids political parties to secure illegitimate power (Birch 2007:1534-1535). The prevalence of electoral corruption and fraud in Zimbabwe is well known and has been confirmed by international anti-graft bodies such as the local chapter of Transparency International (2017). There are many documented instances of alleged manipulation of the electoral rules, which include efforts to alter electoral laws and other administrative regulations on partisan basis, cases of media bias, and deceptive political communication during election campaigns as well as the provision of particularistic incentives or sanctions, such as vote-buying, intimidation, and other forms of undue influence and the manipulation of votes. All these alleged acts of mal-administration and fraud which are purposively carried out to alter the implementation of the procedures governing the proper conduct of elections have negatively influenced the outcome. Below is a narration of the reported incidences.

2.1 Manipulation of electoral legal and policy framework

The whole purpose of an electoral legal and policy framework is to level the playing field for competing political parties and to facilitate free and fair elections. The Zimbabwean Electoral Act is one such legislation that is expected to fulfill the overall expected purpose and mitigate chances of manipulation by political parties. (Tsverere 2015:26). This is complemented by several other enabling legislations such as the Zimbabwe Electoral Commissions Act, the Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act, the Public Order and Security Act among others. This report thus zeroes on a few areas that are often abused for partisan interest

2.1.1 Electoral law reforms

Ironically, corruption is the secret of the law, (Nuijten and Anders, 2007), because all law requires interpretation and it is in this process of interpretation that favoritism can be shown. Moreover, law is the secret of corruption because it can be used to protect certain unacceptable practices that benefit a few powerful individuals or a certain section of the society. Consequently, there is no motivation to outlaw such laws. In that sense, electoral fraud and corruption ahead of the 2018 harmonised elections would have been prevented through several reforms which are not welcomed by all those who benefit from the status quo. These reforms remain a pipedream since some of them mostly have to do with ensuring that electoral fraud and corruption are nipped in the bud failed to sail through parliament with ZANU PF parliamentarians not keen on them. These proposed amendments to the Electoral Amendment Bill did not see light of the day for personal interests. On 10 May 2018, there was hardly any consensus in Parliament. The following are the areas mostly capitalized on to perpetrate acts of electoral fraud and corruption:

- Transparency on the printing of the ballot papers and the acquisition of indelible ink is another area that has previously raised serious concerns. On 10 May 2018, the opposition suggested that the printing company should be recruited through public tender. The opposition legislators felt that if printing of ballot papers was transparent, then this would ensure that elections are adjudged free and fair, but

Zanu PF legislators believed that the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (ZEC) must have the monopoly to choose where they are printed. In 2013, the printing of the ballot papers was highly controversial, with allegations of more ballot papers having been printed as compared to the registered voters. All these concerns stem from the fact that ZEC is not trusted over allegations of state capture and that the printing was given to a company linked or associated with the ruling Zanu PF.

- Another area is the issue of assisted voters where in previous elections people with disabilities and even teachers, were forced to claim illiteracy so that they could be assisted to vote. Suggestions were that assisted voting should only be applied to persons whose entries in the voters roll state that they need the assistance.
- On voter education, ZEC and political parties have outright monopoly which has been heavily condemned over the provision of voter education by all. ZANU PF parliamentarians felt that if they allowed other organisations or groups to do so, then there would be a possibility that voter education will end up being done by non-governmental organisations with a regime change agenda.
- The proposal that the Zimbabwe Human Rights Commission assumes a monitoring role instead of an observation role during elections was turned down

2.1.2 Lack of transparency in making the Voters' Roll Public

Delays in making the roll publicly available and tampering with the Voters' Roll have over the years been used to meddle with the electoral outcome. In the run-up to the July 30 elections, ZEC did not easily make the roll accessible.¹ It was given after a struggle and even when it was given it was not the type of the voters' roll that met expectations. For instance, ZEC Chairperson Justice Priscilla Chigumba claimed that ZEC had deliberately withdrew voters' photographs on the roll under the guise of protecting them, yet this was perceived as part of the wider plot to rig the July 30 elections.² Furthermore, several names of some registered voters were missing for various reasons that ZEC tried to justify.³

ZEC stands accused for lacking transparency in the execution of its mandate. Zimeye (2018) quoted Jameson Timba (the Chief Election Agent for the MDC Alliance Presidential Candidate) saying that ZEC continues to manipulate the election in clear violation of the law and with complete disregard for transparency and fair play.⁴ Table 1, below gives the full statement given by Mr. Timba. This way, and in the absence of proper justification from ZEC, its behavior raises eyebrows.

1 ZESN (2018) DELAYS OVER RELEASE OF VOTERS' ROLL IN TIME FOR NOMINATION COURT WORRYING [online] available AT <http://kubatana.net/2018/06/14/delays-release-voters-roll-time-nomination-court-worrying/> [Accessed on 26 June 2018]

2 Newsday (2018) Zec boss sees red over voters' roll. [online] Available at <https://www.newsday.co.zw/2018/06/zec-boss-sees-red-over-voters-roll/> [Accessible on 26 June 2018]

3 Ibid

⁴ Zimeye (2018) "ZEC continues to manipulate the 2018 election," MDC Alliance [online] Available at <https://www.zimeye.net/2018/07/03/zec-continues-to-manipulate-the-2018-election-mdc-alliance/> [Accessed on 3 July 2018]

Table 1: MDC Alliance Concerns on the suspicious conduct of ZEC

“ZEC continues to manipulate the 2018 election,” MDC Alliance

July 3, 2018

Statement by Jameson Timba MDC Alliance Presidential candidate Chief Election Agent:

We are disgusted and utterly dismayed by the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission’s continued manipulation of the election in clear violation of the law, the constitution and complete disregard for transparency and fair play.

This morning, I met with the ZEC chairperson to raise import issues pertaining to the management of the election. She has failed to provide answers on the critical issues.

ZEC has in a space of a few days committed or omitted the following acts that go to the heart of transparency and ultimately the credibility of the election.

1. Despite assurances and announcing that ZEC was going to provide the true and accurate BVR Voters’ Roll as a pdf file, no such Roll is being provided. The real question is why is ZEC deliberately lying to the world or is ZEC actually lying or perhaps just handicapped to implement its own decision?

- a. ZEC has refused to avail the Voter’s Roll as required by Law
- b. ZEC has refused an independent audit of the Voter’s Roll because they know it is illegitimate
- c. Our own random audit has unearthed scandalous and embarrassing details on the Voter’s Roll.
- d. We have discovered some of the oldest people on our Voters’ Roll aged around 150 years old who don’t exist
- e. We have discovered many houses that have tens of people registered but the houses do not exist
- f. We have discovered many people with the same IDs
- g. We have discovered many people with same IDs for different faces of people

2. Despite assurances that political parties were going to be allowed to observe the printing of ballot papers; ZEC invited parties to the printers three days after the printing had already commenced. Further no observation was allowed but instead parties were just pointed, at a distance, through glasses of the purported printing process i.e.

- a. no printed ballot paper was inspected
- b. the actual quality and features of the ballot paper are not known other than a blank sample.

Source: (Zimeye 2018: “ZEC continues to manipulate the 2018 election,” MDC Alliance[online] Available at

<https://www.zimeye.net/2018/07/03/zec-continues-to-manipulate-the-2018-election-mdc-alliance/> [Accessed on 3 July 2018])

2.1.3 Accreditation of electoral observers

Part 1XB of the Electoral Act regulates the accreditation, role and the limitation of the number of election observers. This provides space for monitors and observers who have a duty to conduct the observation process as well as alerting Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (ZEC) of any irregularities noted during elections.

The Law provides that an Observers’ Accreditation Commission (OAC) be set up to vet, approve or disapprove observers’ applications. The OAC comprises the Chairperson and the Vice Chairperson of ZEC, a third appointee from ZEC, appointees from the Office of the President and Cabinet (OPC), Ministry of Justice, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Ministry of Home Affairs. Even though the aim of OAC is to ensure that there is no political interference on the electoral observation process, the membership is obviously skewed in favour of ZANU PF considering that all cabinet ministers are members of the ruling ZANU PF party. Opposition political parties and Civic Society groups are not part of the OAC (ZESN 2011).

The presence of International Observers who criticize the electoral process have been denied entry into the country. During the 2002, 2005, 2008 and 2013 elections many observers were denied access to observe the elections. (Zimbabwe Institute 2007).

- In 2005 the former Minister of Justice, Legal and Parliamentary Affairs, Patrick Chinamasa pointed out that the government does not invite people who criticize it to observe Zimbabwe's elections. For instance, the EU, US, Commonwealth and Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) were not accredited to observe elections in Zimbabwe because they were consistently criticising the government for its flagrant violation of the rule of law and democratic principles (Cheeseman 2008).
- In 2005 the SADC Parliamentary Forum did not get the invitation since in 2002, they had published a critical report on the electoral conduct in Zimbabwe.

The composition of the OAC thus allows ZANU PF to manipulate the OAC itself and the electoral system. What is crystal clear is that ZANU PF gets away with manipulation because of its relationship with OAC which is tantamount to that of a patron and client (Zimbabwe Institute 2007). If elections are conducted without observation, there are greater chances that the government will get away with electoral irregularities.

It is consoling that the new political administration has relaxed a little bit but it still remains that the Observers' Accreditation Commission (OAC) should be depoliticized and membership widened to include civil society organisations.

2.1.4 The delimitation of electoral boundaries

Delimiting and changing boundaries have always been used to benefit the ruling ZANU PF party. By its nature boundary delimitation offers the advantages which include, fair representation, equality of districts, independence of authorities, transparency and non-discrimination (Human Rights Bulletin 2011). Instead, gerrymandering has always been the norm regardless of having been outlawed.

- In 2005 constituencies were suspiciously redrawn to increase Parliamentary seats from 150 to 210 (Zimbabwe Institute 2007). The exercise was manipulated to give ZANU PF a distinctive advantage over opposition political parties. Some constituencies were removed from the opposition strongholds and some added to the ruling party strongholds. This chicanery was meant to dilute the final vote and give ZANU PF an unfair competitive advantage to get majority parliamentary seats. For example, the Constituency Boundary report presented to Parliament by ZEC in 2008 shows that Lower House of Assembly constituencies were increased from 120 to 210. Of the newly established Constituencies, 62 were drawn in ZANU PF stronghold areas and 28 were drawn in urban and peri-urban areas where MDC had support. This means that out of 210 constituencies in Zimbabwe, 143 were allocated in rural areas and 67 were allocated in urban areas where ZANU PF and MDC drew support respectively.
- In Manicaland in 1995 the exercise was used to remove some constituencies in Morgan Tsvangirai's home province. The removal was meant to dilute the opposition's votes as well as to ensure that there are few constituencies in areas where the opposition was likely to win (Rotberg 2002). Some of the affected Provinces include Midlands, Masvingo and Matabeleland which strongly support the opposition parties. In Mashonaland Provinces where ZANU PF enjoys majority support, constituencies were added without a clear justification.
- In the Midlands Province, the exercise was used to fight Patrick Kombayi who was heading for a victory in 1996 elections. During that time Patrick Kombayi was

contesting against the late Simon Muzenda, who belonged to ZANU PF. After realising that, Patrick Kombayi had overwhelming support from Mkoba, the ZANU PF captured ZEC called for an extraordinary constituency delimitation correction exercise and then removed Mkoba high density suburb from urban to the rural constituency. This gave the late Simon Muzenda an unfair advantage over Patrick Kombayi and eventually Simon Muzenda won the elections (Dorman 2005:161).

The 30 July 2018 election comes when there are no major changes to previous election delimitation of boundaries that were done to give unfair advantage to the ruling ZANU PF party.

2.2 Manipulation of voters

In Zimbabwe voters have consistently been manipulated and deceived. Numerous strategies have been used to achieve this end, which includes but are not limited to media bias, and deceptive political communication during election campaigns as well as the provision of particularistic incentives mainly vote buying or sanctions, such as intimidation, coercion and various forms of undue influence.

2.2.1 Recording Serial Numbers of voter registration Certificates

In the run-up to the 2018 general elections, there were several reports of political party actors recording serial numbers of voter registration certificates under the pretext that they will be able to determine how a voter has cast his or her vote. Whilst the criminalization of this practice acts as a deterrent, there were no adequate efforts to dispel the myth which has engulfed the electorate. In some areas, such as Kwekwe, these rogue politicians went to the extent of taking voter registration slips. The electorate will go for elections still thinking these politicians will surely know who they would have voted for.

2.2.2 Politicization of the Media.

Chiweshe (2012) decried increasing abuse of the state media in Zimbabwe. Chief among the abusers of the state media is the ZANU PF political party,

- The Media Monitoring Project of Zimbabwe (2013) stated that from the 1st to the 31st of July 2013, the government-controlled state media exposed its captured role as the propaganda arm of ZANU PF by giving widespread and favourable publicity to ZANU PF's campaign activities at the expense of other parties. During that month there were 436 stories on political campaigns. However, 278 (64%) of these stories profiled President Mugabe and his ZANU PF party. One hundred and twenty-six (29%) stories were on the MDC-T and its leader, Morgan Tsvangirai. Fifteen (3%) were on the other MDC formation led by Welshman Ncube. The remaining 17 (4%) were on small parties. These included Dumiso Dabengwa's ZAPU; the Zimbabwe Development Party, led by Kisinoti Mukwazhe; Simba Makoni's Mavambo/Kusile; Ndonga; and the newly formed United Movement for Democracy;
- The ZBC election coverage for the period 8 to 28 March 2008, shows that out of the 153 stories it devoted to the parties' campaigns in the three weeks before the poll, 122 (80%) were allocated ZANU (PF) and nineteen (12%) to the two MDC factions. Simba Makoni's Mavambo project was given ten stories or (7%) and the small parties were covered in two reports (1%). ZTV's sourcing pattern also reflected

its support for ZANU (PF) slant. Of the 148 voices from political parties, 127 (86%) were ZANU (PF) and only eight (5%) were MDC. This is despite the fact that the party was contesting almost all the constituencies that ZANU (PF) was. Mavambo was quoted nine times (6%), while small parties were profiled four times (3%). (Moyses, 2010:45).

- During the same month, ZTV's coverage of the presidential candidates' voices was biased in favour of President Robert Mugabe. Robert Mugabe was cited 47 times (69%) out of the 68 presidential voices the station quoted, while his two rivals shared the remaining 31% between them: Morgan Tsvangirai twelve voices (18%) and Makoni nine (13%). The other presidential candidate, Langton Towungana, was not quoted at all). (Moyses, 2010:47)
- Radio Zimbabwe was also biased. Mugabe's voice constituted 80% of the 62 presidential voices cited against six (10%) each for his rivals Tsvangirai and Makoni. Towungana was totally ignored. (Moyses, 2010:49)
- On Spot FM, Mugabe was cited 44 times (83%) out of the 53 presidential voices the station carried, while Tsvangirai was cited four times (8%) and Makoni six times (9%). To make matters worse, Mugabe's opponents were hardly given sound bites. (Moyses, 2010:49)

2.2.3 Vote buying

Although offering gifts may reduce the willingness to participate in national elections and encourages citizens to participate, voters who are offered money or material goods in exchange for their votes reciprocate because they experience pleasure in increasing the material payoffs of the politician who has helped them (Finan and Schechter, 2011:862). This is often the case in Zimbabwe and in this forthcoming election so far numerous cases of vote buying have been documented including some discussed below.

2.2.3.1 Property Invasions

Early March 2018, the Zimbabwe African National Union- Patriotic Front (ZANU PF) grabbed the Gaika Mine situated in Kwekwe and handed it over to its youth wing, under the guise of its youth empowerment programme.⁵ It has been reported that at least 2000 youths benefitted from the programme.⁶ Before the forceful and illegal take-over, ZANU PF led more than 500 artisanal miners to Gaika Mine, they first gathered at the ZANU PF Kwekwe District Offices where they were addressed by senior ZANU PF officials. More to the point, these artisanal miners were addressed by the Mbizo Constituency Member of Parliament, Vongaishe Mupereri. After being addressed, the invaders marched from ZANU-PF offices, along Robert Mugabe way to Gaika Mine singing political songs under the leadership of Vongaishe Mupereri who was driving his Ford Ranger vehicle.

Against this background, Carel Hendrick Meyer, the Manager at Gaika Mine approached the High Court to stop, the ZANU PF legislator for Mbizo Vongaishe Mupereri from illegally taking over the mine⁷. Regardless of the High Court order, Mupereri and his illegal miners continued mining until the intervention of the army in June 2018.

5 Magoronga, M (2018). VIDEO. Machete war at gold mine. .. Two dead, community project shut down. [online] Available at <http://www.chronicle.co.zw/video-machete-war-at-gold-mine-two-dead-community-project-shut-down/> [Accessed on 30 April 2018]

6 ibid

7 The Standard (2018). High Court blocks gold mine grab

Further to an order blocking the mine grab, it was reported that Justice Nicholas Mathonsi ordered the police to conduct investigations at Gaika Mine,⁸ The Gaika Case Study has exposed ZANU PF vote buying ahead of the 2018 General Elections. Furthermore, it compromised the attractiveness of Zimbabwe to foreign investors.

2.2.3.1. Giving Plots of land to the Youth

The youths constitute more than 60% of the voting population, and as such politicians have always tried to make sure that the youth vote for them through giving them plots of land.⁹ Below are some of the reported cases.

- In Manicaland and in 2017, the ZANU PF Provincial Youth Chairperson, Mubuso Chinguno said they had already allocated stand numbers to about 4 000 youth in some parts of the province.¹⁰
- In 2017, the former ZANU PF National Commissar and Local Government minister Saviour Kasukuwere pledged to dole out 1,500 hectares of land for various youth programmes throughout the country, in a move perceived as a vote-buying gimmick ahead of the 2018 elections.¹¹ Kasukuwere made the pledge at a ZANU PF youth rally in Mbare.

2.2.3.2. Distribution of Free Food and Other Commodities

Politicians have the habit of dishing out free food and other goodies ahead of elections. The motive behind the donations was revealed by a tussle between two Kwekwe-based politicians vying for the 2018 parliamentary seat. The former parliamentarian Masango Matambanadzo (also known as Blackman) who was expelled from ZANU PF complained to the Kwekwe police to bar his opponent Kandros Mugabe who was campaigning for the same seat through dishing out food to the electorate as part of vote-buying efforts.¹² The following are the reported incidents:

- On the 1st of July 2017, residents of Globe & Phoenix in Kwekwe were given food hand-outs by Kandros Mugabe and his campaign team;
- On the 3rd of July 2017, Mbizo Township residents were given food hand-outs by Kandros Mugabe,
- On the 4th of July 2017, an aspiring candidate (Kandros Mugabe) for the Kwekwe Central Seat was seen dishing out food to residents of Amaveni Township in Kwekwe
- An MDC-T member Jason Matewu allegedly bought designer suits for elected councillors at the local authority, donated a T-35 truck to Denga, dished out cash

[online] Available at <https://www.theindependent.co.zw/2018/03/09/high-court-blocks-gold-mine-grab/>. [Accessed on 11 April 2018]

8 Ibid

9 Chadenga, S (2017) Tsvangirai guns for youth vote. [online]. Available at <https://www.newsday.co.zw/2017/06/12/tsvangirai-guns-youth-vote/> [Accessed on 15 June 2017]

10 Manayiti, O (2017) Zanu PF defies Mugabe over stands. [online]. Available at <https://www.newsday.co.zw/2017/06/08/zanu-pf-defies-mugabe-stands/>. [Accessed on 15 June 2017]

11 Manayiti, O (2016) Kasukuwere pledges 1 500ha to youths. [online] Available at <https://www.newsday.co.zw/2016/04/25/kasukuwere-pledges-1-500ha-youths/>. [Accessed on 15 June 2017]

12 Mhlanga, B (2017). MP ropes in police to thwart competition. [online] Available at <https://www.newsday.co.zw/2017/06/14/mp-ropes-police-thwart-competition/>. [Accessed on 15 June 2017]

and furniture to leaders and purchased a residential stand in Marondera for a former top official - among other allegations.¹³

- Zanu PF was accused on vote buying in the Bikita by-election. ZANU PF doled out 300 metric tonnes of seed maize and other agricultural inputs to Bikita West villagers in a move believed to be a vote-buying gimmick ahead of a by-election held on the 21st of January 2017. ¹⁴
- On the 1st of July 2017, the former MDC-T Vice President Thokozani Khupe dished out various goods to victims of political violence in Bulawayo. Nkala (2017) reported that the goods were donated by the MDC Veterans Activists' Association. It would be interesting to find out the last time that the victims had received donation.¹⁵

Figure 1, below shows the aspiring Member of Parliament for the Kwekwe Central Seat on the 21st of June 2018. On the day in question, the candidate dressed in ZANU PF regalia give US\$1000 in hard United States Dollars to groups. Furthermore, around 200 residents of Globe & Phoenix who attended the meeting received 5 kilograms of mealie-meal per person.

The aspiring candidate asked for votes from all those who attended. Furthermore, the candidate asked one Chisare who is in charge of security at Globe & Phoenix to ensure that a certain member of the opposition MDC be expelled from the house which he is renting from Globe & Phoenix. What was also confirmed at the meeting is that the aspiring candidate who is also a gold miner is paying at least US\$8,000 per month to the Globe & Phoenix Administrator introduced as Mr. Zulu.

13 Nottinghamian Zimbabwean Community Network (2017) Matweu accused of buying votes with cell phones, suits. [online] Available at <https://nzcw.wordpress.com/2012/05/18/matweu-accused-of-buying-votes-with-cell-phones-suits/> [Accessed on 16 June 2017]

14 Ncube, X (2017) Zanu PF in Bikita vote-buying spree. [online] Available at <https://www.newsday.co.zw/2016/12/13/zanu-pf-bikita-vote-buying-sprees/> [Accessed on 16 June 2017]

15 Nkala, S (2017). Khupe pays homage to slaim MDC-T activists.- The Southern Eye of July 3, 2017.

Figure 1: Distribution of money and mealie-meal by Kwekwe Central Parliamentary aspiring candidate on 21 June 2018



(Taken by Electoral Corruption and Fraud Monitors, work for Anti-Corruption Trust of Southern Africa)

The Table copies verbatim an article by Magoronga (2018) showing how political candidates are trying to manipulate voters in the run-up to the July 30, 2018 elections. As reflected in Table 2 below, the Redcliff candidate has mobilized doctors to give free medical treatment to the electorate. This has largely been viewed as vote buying.

Table 2: Vote Buying in Redcliff

5 000 receive free treatment in Redcliff
03 JUL, 2018 - 00:07
Michael Magoronga Midlands Correspondent
About 5 000 people in Redcliff Constituency suffering from various ailments received free treatment and drugs during a free medical outreach programme in the area. The programme, mobilised by ZANU-PF's candidate for the constituency Cde July Moyo, saw 27 doctors from across the country and some from beyond the border coming together to offer free treatment to the people.
Cde Moyo's campaign manager Cde Moses Murada said the idea was mooted after investigations revealed that there was no medical doctor in the area, yet there were many cases of people suffering from various ailments.
"During our campaigns, we discovered that people were suffering from different ailments, but there is no doctor in the area to attend to them.
"We then informed Cde Moyo, who mobilised the team of doctors to come to attend to the people for free," explained Cde Murada.
He said Redcliff Constituency covers urban, peri-urban and resettlement areas, which were all attended to by the medical team.
"We had 12 centres across the constituency and we had a team of about 27 doctors who volunteered to come and assist. We also mobilised a number of local nurses who joined the team of doctors," said Cde Murada.
He said proper health care and education were at the top of Cde Moyo's priority list.
"This is part of his promise to ensure that everyone has access to health care and education. He promised to build more clinics and schools if we win the election," he said.
Cde Murada said there were severe cases that need urgent attention that Cde Moyo has volunteered to bankroll.
"We have severe cases, two of cancer, one of Human papillomavirus and another of a rape victim who is a minor that Cde Moyo will fund. They have been referred to Parirenyatwa (Group of Hospitals) where they will be treated courtesy of Cde Moyo," he said.
Leader of the medical team Dr Gibson Mapedziswa said the outreach was very beneficial as it unearthed some cases which might have resulted in death had they not been discovered.
"We discovered some severe cases that need urgent attention. We discovered a 20-year-old girl who has breast cancer which is already at an advanced stage and needed urgent attention.
"We are happy that Cde Moyo has volunteered to foot her medical bill, which amounts to \$3 000 for the operation and constant check-ups," said Dr Mapedziswa.

Source: (Magoronga, M (2018) **5 000 receive free treatment in Redcliff**. Available at <https://www.herald.co.zw/5-000-receive-free-treatment-in-redcliff/> [Accessed on 5 July 2018]

2.2 Manipulation of votes

In Zimbabwe vote manipulation has previously been witnessed through altering the implementation of the procedures governing elections so as to influence the outcome. For instance, through "ballot-box stuffing" and the miscounting of the casted ballots. This type of manipulation of votes is still a major challenge for the country. We contemplate some of the fraud practices that might happen below.

2.2.3 Possibilities of Ballot Box Stuffing

Millions of extra ballots were discovered in the run-up to the 2008 general elections which proved that the elections were rigged and the rigging was allegedly facilitated by

ZEC. Mananavire (2013) cites Tendai Biti, the former Secretary General of the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC), saying that the Zimbabwe Election Commission (ZEC) showed that ZEC printed 8,328,100 ballot papers against about 6,000,000 registered voters.¹⁶ Also, 600,000 postal paper ballots were requested for soldiers and police officers against a total number of 50,000 soldiers and police officers who needed postal votes (CNN 2008)

2.2.4 Delays in announcing the election results

Again, as in 2008, the forthcoming elections may be compromised if there is a delay in the announcement of election results. The delay in itself is not a malpractice however, if there are allegations of ballot counting fraud as recorded by the (Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum 2008) the will of the people will have been subverted. In the **general elections** that were held in 2008 official results were not announced for more than a month after the casting of votes. The failure to release results was strongly criticised by the opposition Movement for Democratic Change, which unsuccessfully sought an order from the High Court to force their release. After mounting pressure from the opposition political parties and almost all Zimbabweans, the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (ZEC) finally announced on 2 May 2008, which results showed that Tsvangirai won 47.9% of the vote and Mugabe had scored 43.2%, necessitating a run-off, (ZEC 2008)

There were many reactions on the results:

- Zambian President Levy Mwanawasa called an emergency meeting of SADC leaders for 12 April to discuss the post-election impasse. According to Mwanawasa, Zimbabwe's "deepening problems" meant that the issue needed to be "dealt with at presidential level" (Wikipedia Foundation 2017)
- Jacob Zuma said that he thought results should have already been announced, and he described the failure to release them as "unprecedented". (Wikipedia Foundation 2017)
- The South African Development Community (SADC) criticised the election in a statement on 29 June 2008, saying that it "did not represent the will of the people of Zimbabwe" and that "the prevailing environment impinged on the credibility of the electoral process" (Al Jazeera 2008a)
- On 29 June 2008, Desmond Tutu said that there was "a very good argument" for sending "an international force to restore peace" to Zimbabwe (Al Jazeera 2008b)
- On 30 June 2008, the then Kenyan Prime Minister Raila Odinga called for the suspension of Zimbabwe from the African Union (AU) until Zimbabwe holds free and fair elections. Odinga also called for a new election in the presence of peacekeepers. (Al Jazeera 2008b)
- On 1 July 2008, the AU summit passed a resolution calling for a "government of national unity". The debate over the resolution saw the Vice-President of Botswana, Mompoti Merafhe, criticise Mugabe and the election saying that Zimbabwe should be suspended from AU and SADC meetings. Meanwhile, the then UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon said on 1 July 2008 that he would "spare no effort to work out a solution" and stressed that Zimbabweans needed to be able to vote without intimidation. . (Al Jazeera 2008c)

¹⁶ Mananavire, B (2013). ZEC printing duplicate ballot papers-Biti [online] Available at <https://www.dailynews.co.zw/articles/2013/07/28/zec-printing-duplicate-ballot-papers-biti> [Accessed on 3 July 2018]

- At a G8 summit in Hokkaidō, the G8 leaders declared in a statement on 8 July 2008 that they considered Mugabe's leadership to be illegitimate and announced that they planned to "take further steps ... against those individuals responsible for the violence". (Al Jazeera 2008d)
- Immediately after the election, former US President George W. Bush said on 28 June 2008 that the US would be imposing new sanctions on "this illegitimate government of Zimbabwe and those who support it", and he called for an international arms embargo on Zimbabwe and the barring of travel by members of its government. (Stolberg and Dugger 2008)

2.3 State Capture

State capture is the worst form of political corruption and there is suspicion that some state institutions have been captured to advance interests of certain politicians in Zimbabwe. A lot has been said about the capture of some institutions in Zimbabwe such as the Zimbabwe Republic Police (ZRP), Zimbabwe National Army (ZNA), the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (ZEC) and the Registrar General. Many of the state institutions which have a direct bearing on elections announced that they shall never salute any other President who does not have colonial war credentials, a tacit reference to the main opposition leader, the late Morgan Tsvangirai. Despite the positive role of these institutions in protecting the state from any possible military rule, they also have dark implications to hinder smooth democratic transition especially where power transfer is not smooth. What this report encapsulates is the evidence of the capture as well as perceptions from different stakeholders who hold the opinion that these institutions are serving the interests of some political parties.

To demonstrate how, the Zimbabwe National Army (ZNA) has been 'pocketed' by the ruling ZANU PF party the Deputy Minister of Finance and Economic Development, Terence Mukupe was quoted by Mhlanga (2018) saying that the army was not going to allow the MDC-T leader, Nelson Chamisa to lead Zimbabwe¹⁷. The video is available through this link: <https://www.newsday.co.zw/2018/05/army-wont-let-chamisa-rule-minister/>

2.4.1. Zimbabwe Republic Police (ZRP)

Contrary to the Code of Conduct of civil servants, the former police boss made it crystal clear that he is a member of ZANU PF and it does not come as a surprise when members of ZANU PF committing criminal activities are treated favourably as compared to other political parties. Furthermore, police officers have on several occasions been urged to join ZANU PF and buy ZANU PF membership cards. For instance, on or about September 2014, police officers were ordered to buy ZANU PF electronic cards at a cost of US\$2 per card. (Mlambo 2014)¹⁸ Madava (2012) reported that the ZRP has consistently been hesitant and unwilling to arrest ZANU PF supporters involved in political violence which gives credence to assertions by critics that the ZRP had long since been

¹⁷ Mhlanga, B (2018) Video: Army won't let Chamisa rule: Minister. [online] Available at <https://www.newsday.co.zw/2018/05/army-wont-let-chamisa-rule-minister/> [Accessed on 3 July 2018]

¹⁸ Mlambo, E (2014) ZRP officers ordered to buy Zanu PF cards. [online] Available at <https://www.theindependent.co.zw/2014/09/26/zrp-officers-ordered-buy-zanu-pf-cards/> [Accessed on 14 August 2017]

captured.¹⁹ To this end, the ZRP has been accused of being used by ZANU PF to fight its political opponents.

More shocking are the following remarks which shows that the former police boss was not only partisan, but discriminatory and biased²⁰

- “Hamutongenyika nezvimbwasungata, kana kuti puppets, kana kuti running dogs (You don’t allow puppets to run the country),”²¹;
- “Vanhuwo, but ndomazita avo pakuona wasangana naye so, but mentality yacho, thinking yacho iri inside out kunge pocket rabudiswa riri empty harina chinhu. Hakuna nyika inotongwa nerombe rakadaro. (Yes they are also people, but those are their names. If you meet them and assess them, their mentality, their thinking is inside out like an empty pocket. No country is run by such irresponsible ignoramus like that.)”²²
- “Muchazosara motongwa isu taenda. (They can only rule Zimbabwe after we are gone),”²³
- “Ende hatitomboita zvinhu zvekutamba tichitarisa ku side. Tisaisa X pasiripo. Handisi kukuvhundusirai. But tambai muchidaro; kwakafiwa makazvionera handiti? (We will not blink. Don’t put your X on the wrong box. We are not intimidating you. If you don’t vote wisely you betray the fallen heroes whose graves you toured).”²⁴

It is also alleged that on the 30th of June 2018 at Kwekwe Main Camp, a senior police officer addressed spouses of police officers in the B Canteen Hall telling them to vote for ZANU PF. The police boss promised that he was going to reward them ahead of the elections through enrolling them as special constabularies for deployment to provide security assistance during the 30 July 2018 elections. This shows clearly that ZRP is partisan.

2.4.2. Office of the Attorney General

Johannes Tomana, the former Attorney General is one of the shining examples to explain the capture of the Attorney General’s Office. Johannes Tomana was quoted declaring that “I am Zanu-PF and I am proud to be of that party. Nothing bars me from being a Zanu-PF supporter. Our law protects that right and that is why in society, public offices are occupied by people who are free to belong to their political parties”.²⁵ Similar to the capture of the ZRP, there is clear risks that the Attorney General’s office could have been used by ZANU PF to fight its political opponents.

19 Madava, T (2012) Police exposed. [online] Available at <http://www.financialgazette.co.zw/police-exposed/> [Accessed on 14 August 2017]

20 Anti-Corruption Trust of Southern Africa (2013) ZIMBABWE: When Security Agents are Abused by Politicians for Personal Benefit: Perceptions on the Conduct of the Zimbabwe Republic Police (ZRP) against Zimbabwean Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) and Human Rights Defenders (HRDs). [online] Available at <https://actsouthernafrica.wordpress.com/2013/03/14/zimbabwe-when-security-agents-are-abused-by-politicians-for-personal-benefit-perceptions-on-the-conduct-of-the-zimbabwe-republic-police-zrp-against-zimbabwean-civil-society-organisations-csos-an/> [Accessed on 14 August 2017]

21 MISA (2010), MDC calls for Chihuris removal after puppets and dogs speech. [online]. <http://www.thezimbabwean.co.uk/news/35981/mdc-calls-for-chihuris-removal-after-puppets-and-dogs-speech.html>. [Accessed on 26 February 2013].

22 ibid

23 ibid

24 ibid

25 Mawire I, (2009). Zimbabwe Justice System Suspect as AG Johannes Tomana Declares Allegiance to ZANU PF!. [online]. Available at http://zimpolitical.blogspot.com/2009/01/zimbabwe-justice-system-suspect-as-ag_14.html. [Accessed on 26 February 2013].

2.4.3. State Media

The coverage of the electoral campaign period from 31 May to 9 June 2018 shows clearly the state media was lopsided in favour of candidates linked to the ruling ZANU PF. International Media Support (2018) attested to the fact that the media's performance in the first 10 days of the election period remained unbalanced in the coverage of political parties and actors.²⁶

During the monitored period, reporting trends showed that the monitored media had fallen short of the requirements of the Electoral Act that coverage of political parties should be diverse and equitable. While ZEC had reported that more than 130 political parties registered interest in taking part in the elections, only 31 of these had received some coverage.

Allocation of space and time to political parties had neither been fair nor equitable. Three parties dominated media coverage. ZANU PF (64%), MDC Alliance (15%) and the MDC-T formation led by Nelson Chamisa (10 %) combined for 91% of the space and time allocated to political parties during the monitored period. These political parties were consistently covered in both the print and electronic media. The other 28 parties that were featured in the media shared the remaining 9% of coverage.²⁷

In the state-controlled media, ZANU PF received most of the coverage with 71% dedicated to members of the party. Party members were covered in their different capacities in the national government, local government, as Members of Parliament and as party members. Reporting on members of the national government (Presidium and Cabinet) took up the majority of coverage.

Overall the President, Vice President and Cabinet members were covered in these roles in 70% of all reports on the party. In their capacities as members of the party, ZANU PF members still received most of the coverage, followed by the Nelson Chamisa led MDC T and then members of the MDC Alliance.²⁸

2.4 Abuse of Traditional Leaders

In several Zimbabwean elections traditional leaders have been consistently abused by ZANU PF for political gain.

- On 28 October 2017 at the official opening of the 2017 National Conference of Chiefs in Bulawayo, Chief Fortune Charumbira, who is the President of the Chief's Council, called upon chiefs to campaign for President Robert Mugabe in the 2018 national elections. Chief Charumbira also said that the chiefs must support President Mugabe as the ZANU PF 2018.²⁹ The utterances besides being

²⁶ International Media Support (2018) MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE FIRST TEN DAYS OF THE ELECTORAL PERIOD May 31- June 9 2018 [online] Available at <http://kubatana.net/wp-content/uploads/2018/06/THE-FIRST-10-DAYS-Media-Coverage-of-the-election-period.pdf> [Accessible on 22 June 2018]

²⁷ Ibid

²⁸ Ibid

²⁹ Martin (2017) **Charumbira's call for chiefs to back Mugabe in 2018 elections** [online] Available at <http://www.thezimbabwean.co/2017/11/charumbiras-call-chiefs-back-mugabe-2018-elections/> [Accessed on 2 July 2018]

unconstitutional, demonstrates the fact that traditional leaders have been captured for political gain;

The remarks by Chief Charumbira have received condemnation and litigation in a case filed by the Election Resource Centre -Vs- Chief Fortune Charumbira and National Council of Chiefs and Minister of Local Government, Public Works and National Housing Case HH 270-18 / HC 1718/18 which was not opposed. The order which was granted unopposed is as follows:

“1. The remarks made by the first respondent on 28 October 2017 on the occasion of the Annual Conference of the Council of Chiefs and on 13 January 2018, to the effect that traditional leaders have been supporting and must continue to support ZANU (PF) and its presidential candidate at the forthcoming 2018 elections be and is hereby declared to be in contravention of the Constitution of Zimbabwe.

2. The first respondent be and is hereby ordered to retract in writing the statements that he made to the effect that traditional leaders should support and vote ZANU (PF) by issuing a countermanding statement in newspaper with national circulation and endeavour to make the statement available to private and public media houses and the national broadcaster within 7 days of being served with this order.

3. Third respondent be and hereby directed to commence disciplinary proceedings for misconduct against the first respondent.

4. Second and third respondents be and are hereby directed to take steps with a view to putting in place mechanisms, as contemplated under section 287 of the Constitution of Zimbabwe. 5. The first respondent shall pay the costs of suit.”³⁰

Regardless of the condemnation of the utterance, in January 2018, President Emmerson Mnangagwa’s government dished out vehicles to traditional leaders, despite other pressing national priorities, in the health and education sector to name but a few. This was perceived as a vote buying gimmick.

Again, on the 9th of June 2018, President Mnangagwa urged his party’s candidates in the harmonised elections scheduled for July 30, to offer trinkets to chiefs and traditional leaders to procure their support in the elections. These utterances by the President whilst in Mutoko in Mashonaland East Province, motivated some ruling party members to engage in corrupt practices for the purposes of vote buying ahead of the elections.

2.5 Abuse of state resources

There are increasing cases of the abuse of state resources, including human resources, for ZANU PF campaign activities. ZANU PF activities are sometimes allegedly funded through tax payers’.³¹ Civil servants organise party campaigns at their official working hours and using government resources such as vehicles, and stationery among others. At almost all rallies government vehicles and civil servants are spotted.

³⁰ <https://zimlil.org/zw/judgment/harare-high-court/2018/270/2018-zwhhc-270.pdf>

³¹ Kaitano, K (2017) Abuse of state resources, including human resources, for Zanu PF chores must stop. [online] Available at <http://www.thezimbabwean.co/2017/07/abuse-state-resources-including-human-resources-zanu-pf-chores-must-stop/> [Accessed on 14 August 2017]

Some of the key resources that featured during election campaigns included access to land as witnessed in the 2000, 2002, 2005 and 2018 elections. Other shining examples include access to food in 2002 and 2018 elections, to jobs and livelihood opportunities in the 2008 election, to business opportunities and informal economy as well as credit lines and housing stands in the 2013 election. During the 2008 election campaign, the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe (RBZ) distributed farm implements prompting a complaint from opposition parties, that: ‘two weeks before the election, the RBZ is aiding ruling party to buy votes through the distribution of tractors and farm implements’. It is important to note that the distribution was against the Electoral Act that prohibits such partisan exploitation of public resources during an election campaign.³² The following are some of the more specific ones;

- a) The Sunday News of 9 July 2017 quoted the ZANU-PF Deputy Secretary for Youth Affairs, Cde Mpehlabayo Malinga confirming and appreciating civil servants in the Province, whom he said had supported the successful hosting of the ZANU PF interface.³³ There is no doubt that civil servants were abused to organize the ZANU PF conference;
- b) The former First Lady Grace Mugabe, allegedly abused for political gain a US\$98 million agricultural equipment loan facility, extended to Zimbabwe by Brazil under the Zimbabwe-Brazil More Food for Africa Programme. The former First Lady is accused of making partisan donations at ZANU PF rallies organised using state resources.³⁴ Brazil supplied Zimbabwe with 320 tractors, 450-disc harrows, 310 planters, 100 fertilizer spreaders and 6 650 knapsack sprayers valued at US\$38,6 million under the first phase of the US\$98 million facility. The former First Lady allegedly donated tonnes of maize, foodstuffs and clothes belonging to the state as if they came from her pocket.
- c) In June 2017, ZANU PF squandered millions worth of state resources which gave it unfair advantage as compared to other political parties. ZANU PF allegedly ordered all civil servants in Masvingo province to contribute at least \$1 each, while government institutions, including schools, were ordered to make cash and kind donations towards the former President Robert Mugabe’s campaign rally. This was disclosed and exposed during a preparatory meeting held at the Civic Centre Hall³⁵. Other District Administrators from the Province ordered boarding schools to donate their buses to ferry ruling party youths to the rally. The late Masvingo Provincial Affairs Minister Shuvai Mahofa said it was compulsory for schools to release their buses for the event. “Every school with a bus should give us. It is mandatory. This is a function for the youths, and at schools there are youths in ‘A’ Level,” she said “If we make this voluntary, we will end up with one big district with many schools giving us a few buses, yet they will be there. I think the provincial education director will help us.” In Mwenezi District, the local authority turned into a poacher by donating 1000 kgs of game meat, which the law enforcement gave a blind eye simply because of the fact that the beneficiary of the ill-gotten meat was ZANU PF. Three buses were released by Lundi, Mwenezi and Hebron high schools. Great

32 <http://tizim.org/?p=533>

33 *ibid*

34 Gagare, O (2015). Grace Mugabe abuses \$98m facility. [online] Available at <https://www.theindependent.co.zw/2015/10/17/grace-mugabe-abuses-98m-facility/> [Accessed on 15 August 2017]

35 The Zaka District Administrator Victor Zinanga was quoted saying. “We are running around to raise resources and we have asked civil servants to contribute \$1 each. The council also pledged \$300,”

Zimbabwe University recalled students on vacation for the rally to beef up the numbers. Furthermore, the university gave three buses and to publicise the event in the media. Morgenster Teachers' College gave a bus and a kombi as well as US\$1000 cash. The Masvingo City Council allowed free use of the hall for the meeting in addition to free use of Mucheke Stadium, ambulances and cleaning services.³⁶

Zimbabwean parastatals or state-owned enterprises gained infamy for donating to ZANU PF at the expense of the people whom are they founded to serve and their survival.

- Josh Chifamba, the group's Chief Executive Officer, of ZESA Holdings, told the Public Accounts Committee that ZESA holdings was forced to donate to ZANU PF as the ruling party.³⁷ The Auditor-General Mildred Chiri's 2016 Audit Report, has confirmed that ZESA had budgeted to use \$300,000 for donations, but ended up spending \$1,1 million, mostly in unauthorized donations. ZESA could afford to fund Zanu PF, and pay for loads of congratulatory advertisements to politicians when its employees were demonstrating for better pay. In 2016, Zesa registered a loss position of \$48,1 million.³⁸
- The Minerals Marketing Corporation of Zimbabwe (MMCZ) donated \$2,9 million to Zanu PF. This was unearthed on or about 12 March 2018, in Parliament. This shows clearly that ZANU PF's appetite to abuse State-owned entities should be challenged.³⁹ MMCZ acting general manager, It is alleged that Mr. Masimba Chandavengerwa, the Acting General Manager confirmed the donation to the Parliamentary Public Accounts portfolio committee. This had initially been exposed in the 2016 audit findings by the Auditor General on the company's accounts.⁴⁰

Also shocking is the state of abuse of the election campaign, abusing government ministries, departments, staff and resources for party business ahead of the 2018 harmonised elections. Figure 2 below is a letter stamped on September 4, 2017, by R. Shangwa, the District Administrator for Guruve in Mashonaland Central Province, ordering all civil servants to fund the ruling party's youth interface rally that had been penciled for Saturday, September 9, 2017. ⁴¹

The letter has the letterhead of the Ministry of Rural Development, Promotion and Preservation of National Culture and Heritage. Furthermore, it was received and stamped by the Education Inspector in the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education on September 5, 2017. Also shocking is the quote below, which reads, "The office of the District Administrator together with Zanu-PF Youth League is appealing for your contributions towards the Presidential Youth Interface rally on a date to be announced soon," said the District Administrator.

36 Chidza, R and Chitagu, T (2017) Civil servants forced to fund Mugabe rally. [online] Available at <https://www.newsday.co.zw/2017/06/27/civil-servants-forced-fund-mugabe-rally/> [Accessed on 15 August 2017]

37 Langa, V (2018) Zesa execs in soup over Zanu PF donations. [online] Available at <https://www.newsday.co.zw/2018/03/zesa-execs-soup-zanu-pf-donations/> [Accessed on 26 June 2018]

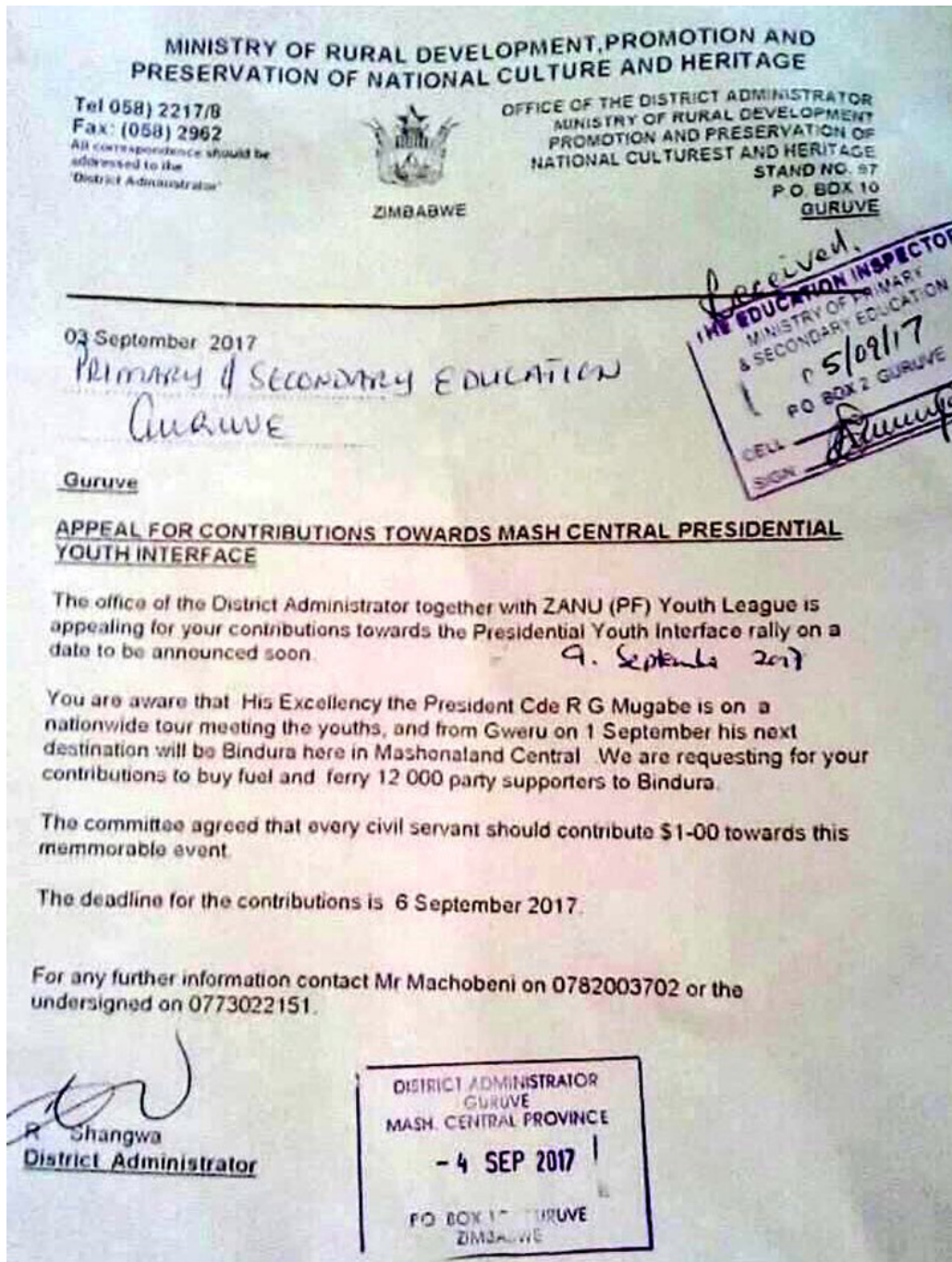
38 Ibid

39 Mhlanga, F (2018) MMCZ 'donates' \$2,9m to Zanu PF. [online] Available at <https://www.newsday.co.zw/2018/03/mmcz-donates-29m-to-zanu-pf/> [Accessed on 26 June 2018]

40 Ibid

41 ZimRights (2017) ZANU-PF ORDERS CIVIL SERVANTS TO FUND MASH CENTRAL RALLY. [online] Available at <http://kubatana.net/2017/09/08/zanu-pf-orders-civil-servants-fund-mash-central-rally/> [Accessed on 26 June 2018]

Figure 2: Evidence of the Ministry of Education getting involved in political issues



Source (<http://kubatana.net/2017/09/08/zanu-pf-orders-civil-servants-fund-mash-central-rally/>)

3 CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Electoral fraud and corruption is no doubt a threat to national security, leads to economic decay, terrorism, and political upheavals. In Zimbabwe, the manipulation of votes, voters and electoral laws for personal or partisan benefit remains an issue of great concern. The Anti-Corruption Trust of Southern Africa recommends as follows:

- a) President Emmerson Dambudzo Mnangagwa should retract *the statements that he made to the effect* that his party's candidates, to offer gifts to chiefs and traditional leaders to procure their support in the elections.
- a) The Electoral Code of Conduct for Political Parties and Candidates, especially Section 6 (f) (g) should be enforced to its fullest. For the avoidance of doubt, it reads:
- i. "6. No political party or any of its members or supporters, and no candidate or any of his or her supporters, may
 - ii. (f) bribe a voter to exercise his or vote in a particular manner;
 - iii. (g) bribe or intimidate an election official to induce him or her to make a false entry in the voters roll or to alter or falsify election results".
- b) The following cases should be investigated and appropriate action taken;
- i. The abuse of government ministries, departments, staff and resources for party business ahead of the 2018 harmonised elections. More to the point whether R. Shangwa, the District Administrator for Guruve in Mashonaland Central Province, in his capacity as a civil servant is allowed to engage in political activities in an official capacity. This stems from an understanding that on 4 September 2017, he wrote a letter, ordering all civil servants to fund the ruling party's youth interface rally that had been penciled for Saturday, 9 September 2017
 - ii. Cases of vote buying that are widespread throughout the country. The case of the invasion of Gaika mine in Kwekwe cries out for attention due to its other effects on human rights considering reported deaths, injuries and compromising of the property rights.
- c) Political parties continue to use State Owned Enterprises (SOEs) as their cash cows. In this report, Josh Chifamba, the group's Chief Executive Officer, of ZESA Holdings, told the Public Accounts Committee that ZESA Holdings was forced to donate to ZANU PF as the ruling party. Furthermore, the Minerals Marketing Corporation of Zimbabwe (MMCZ) donated \$2,9 million to ZANU PF. This was unearthed on or about 12 March 2018, in Parliament. To this end, the Anti-Corruption Trust of Southern Africa recommends that all SOEs be banned from funding political parties and that action be taken against all those who made decisions to fund ZANU PF.
- d) In the run-up to the 2018 general elections, there were several reports of political party actors recording serial numbers of voter registration certificates under the pretext that they will be able to determine how a voter has cast his or her vote. Whilst the criminalization of this practice acts as a deterrent, there were no adequate efforts to dispel the myth which has engulfed the electorate. In some areas, such as Kwekwe, these rogue politicians went to the extent of taking the voter registration slips. The electorate will go for elections still thinking these politicians will surely know who they would have voted for. ZEC should seriously consider publicity dispelling this misconception.

- e) To deter corruption fraud and corruption, the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (ZEC) and relevant authorities must not condone these acts. These culprits must be investigated, prosecuted, jailed and blacklisted;
- f) Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) should effectively play a watch-dog role by monitoring, reporting and taking action against acts of electoral corruption;
- g) The Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (ZEC) should take action against acts of electoral corruption instead of endorsing these acts through silence or inaction;
- h) Leaders implicated in electoral corruption and fraud should be blacklisted and banned from contesting in any election whatsoever;
- i) Zimbabwean courts of law should be empowered to preside over electoral corruption related cases in an environment that is free from victimization and interference;
- j) The parliament should play its oversight and legislative role to ensure that Zimbabwean elections are corruption and fraud free;
- k) The election outcome that is a product of electoral fraud and corruption should be illegitimate and not accepted at local, national, regional and international levels.
- l) The electorate must shun politician who buy votes;

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