

THE LANGUAGE OF THE POLICE BATONS

attacks on teachers and students in Zimbabwe





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«...they have been arrested and beaten.
They have reported the abuse, to no avail.
The police hold the batons.»



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Introduction

The language of the police batons is how the Norwegian journalist Tomm Kristiansen named a chapter in his book *Africa: One Day Soon*. In this chapter Kristiansen narrates his encounter with two organizations in Zimbabwe, the national students' union ZINASU and the teachers' union PTUZ. Both associations have experienced the language of the batons; violence from the state oppressor. Both organizations are keys to the future development of Zimbabwe. Keys that must not be lost, but protected! You can read the chapter from the book in this report.

In Zimbabwe, teachers and students are under attack in a very direct and dire way. Students and teachers are being beaten, they are arrested and tortured. This happens simply because they are students and teachers, simply because they are trying to make a better Zimbabwe for all. The victims are not only the persons directly affected, but also the people of Zimbabwe. Zimbabwe is losing student leaders who might one day have become leading politicians. They are losing the nurses that never finished school and the teachers that never came back to class in fear of their lives. Robert Mugabe and his political party, ZANU-PF, have ruled the country since 1980. They are responsible for the massive attacks on students and teachers. This report will present results of the monitoring of human rights abuses in the education sector done by PTUZ (The Progressive Teachers' Union of Zimbabwe) and SST (Student Solidarity Trust). Some of these findings are:

In the period 2006 – 2010, SST reports that there were

- 187 students expelled
- 1 021 students arrested
- 211 cases of torture/abduction of students

The PTUZ' 2011 survey among 1000 teachers report that:

- 51 % of teachers had experienced political violence
- 77 % had received threats
- 79 % were forced to attend political meetings
- 71 % of the attacks were carried out by War veterans, ZANU-PF supporters and youth militia

- The number of attacks peaked during elections, and especially in the 2008-election
- Rape and indecent assault towards women is becoming a political tool in Zimbabwe

The fact that education is being targeted is not a reality that is isolated to Zimbabwe; it is a problem of global character. Therefore this report will include a chapter on academic freedom, and the challenges of attacks on education.

One of the main motivations to shed light on these problems is that we need to prevent future attacks on students, lecturers and teachers. Although UNESCO has collected information and documented human rights violations in the education sector in over thirty countries, they have also found that to a large extent violations are underreported or reports are flawed. One important way to address the problem is to get an accurate and clear picture of what is happening so that politicians and the media are aware and may act to protect education. Just like the international media brought to our attention the destiny of the white farmers in Zimbabwe who were beaten and forced out of their homes and away from their land, so must the media bring us the stories of the students and teachers of Zimbabwe, who are risking their lives and future to develop their country and people. Already ZANU-PF with the help of the police, war veterans and youth militias are preparing their batons for the run up of the presidential elections in 2012 and 2013. Students and teachers will again be targeted and beaten for their fight for democracy and quality education.

Protecting academic freedom is not just important in times of conflict, but also in times of peace. If there is not a strong notion of the principles of independent, critical and non-violent educational spaces in peaceful times, these principles tend to collapse in times of crisis.

The very importance of education is proved by the number of attacks on it, and the ferocity of these attacks. In this report we put forward some recommendations on how to support the victims of attacks, and to prevent further attacks from happening so that academic freedom can be a reality everywhere. This is a shared responsibility.

Academic freedom and attacks on education

By Ragnhild Therese Nordvik, Director SAIH.

Academic freedom is a highly regarded, and often vaguely defined, core value of higher education and research. There are many definitions of academic freedom, but the notion of academic freedom should include the right to conduct research, teach, lecture, study, speak and publish subject to norms and standards of scholarly inquiry, without fear of interference or penalty.

Academic freedom is part of a set of complementary human rights, and freedom of speech is especially relevant. When freedom of speech is restricted in a society, this will also affect academic freedom, and vice versa. Academic freedom is therefore recognised by international bodies such as the UNESCO, as “a touchstone and guarantor of other fundamental human rights” (Karren 2009, 265). By protecting academic freedom one is also protecting other basic human rights.

Academic freedom and university autonomy

The concept of academic freedom is closely connected to the notion of university itself. The universities are special institutions in society, as their mission, in its ideal form, consists of an independent and systematic search for knowledge and truth. If universities are to take this mission seriously they have to go about it with a constant critical perspective on society, on already existing knowledge and on different kinds of authorities. Many of the politically and ideologically motivated attacks on scholars and students come from this very unique position of universities in society.

Academic freedom is therefore closely connected to the autonomy of universities. The European University Association (EUA)

published its second report on University autonomy in Europe in November 2011, where they look at four aspects of institutional autonomy: Organisational, financial, staffing and academic (Esterman 2011). Organizational autonomy refers to whether the university can decide independently on its executive head and how it structures its organization into individual departments and faculties. Factors affecting financial autonomy might be restrictions on how

«Academic freedom is a kind of cousin of freedom of speech»

Connolly, J.M. (2000, 71)

much academic institutions charge their students in tuition fees or how much money they can borrow to fund their operations. This might also involve rules that universities must earn a surplus. Staffing autonomy refers to degree of independence when it comes to staffing decisions such as recruitment and salaries, and academic autonomy is measured on the flexibility to make academic decisions regarding programs, students enrolled etc.

There has to be a balance between autonomy and accountability, and autonomy is not a goal in itself but has to be regarded in relation to the mission of universities and academic freedom.

Scale of academic freedom

Scholars, students and teachers are often attacked because they are questioning and being critical of society, politics, authorities and the presentation of history, and therefore perceived as threats to power. They are also pressured by various dominant or opposing groups to present and promote specific historical and political ways of seeing and explaining the world. An education setting out to enable and encourage free thought will therefore often be opposed by many.

The search for, development of, and dissemination of knowledge is a continuous

Scale of academic freedom



Illustration: Lars Brodersen and Scholars at risk

process that needs to be autonomous and independent of the state, religious authorities and commercial interests. However, we see that academic freedom is under threat worldwide.

Attacks on academic freedom come in many forms, and they are interrelated. Threats, intimidation, fear of reprisals, physical attacks and imprisonment are maybe the most obvious attacks, but there are also other threats to academic freedom that are more difficult to spot, but not less critical to address in the continuing struggle for academic freedom .

The matrix of Academic freedom (Cemmel, J. 2009) gives a good practical overview of issues concerning academic freedom, and examples of autonomy or freedom issues organized in five freedom categories: Political, Economic, Cultural, Social and Pedagogic.

Matrix of Academic Freedom Components

Examples of autonomy/freedom Issues by category

	HEIs/Teachers	Students
Political	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Statutory enabling provisions for the protection of academics Participation in governance and legislative structures Formal status of representative bodies Appointment / dismissal process Freedom to pursue research Restrictions or mandatory syllabus that must/forbade to be taught Protest/association rights 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Access to decisionmaking structures Position in decisionmaking structures (limitations on representation/grievances adhered to) Protest/association rights
Economic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Freedom of the institution to enter into contracts Freedom to fundraise / set fees Living wage Collective bargaining Properly resourced to do research Fixed/ permanent contracts Participation in budget process 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Access free of economic constraints (fees, books, accommodation, ICT) Resources provided (study space, facilities, journals) Advice/counselling available Scholarships available (for who) Parity with private sector
Cultural	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Teaching in native language Minorities included in the institution Local content (eg history, local text books) provided/required/restricted? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Access to instruction in local language Local language textbooks/content available Minorities treated fairly/encouraged Refugees catered for Religious restrictions/requirements eg Catholic HEI
Social	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Disabled staff enabled Gender balance Racial minorities protected/subject to specific programmes 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Age to attend Demographics Gender dimension addressed Disabled students enabled Minorities protected
Pedagogic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Access to ongoing training Access to pertinent academic networks Standards upheld by proportionate and effective means 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Exams conducted fair/transparent Burdensome/disproportionate assessment procedure Transparent assessment and completion process

This report will focus mostly on the political aspects of academic freedom. In the case of Zimbabwe, the political and economic aspects of academic freedom are interlinked. Students are denied their right to assemble and to protest (political category) against high tuition fees and the lack of scholarships available to the majority of students (economic category).

On the 13th of February 2007, more than 1000 students demonstrated at Harare Polytechnic, and were barred by police from marching in town to demand an explanation from the Minister over the payment of fees; 40 students were arrested and detained for a day at Harare Central Police Station. (From SST Student Solidarity Trust Pandora's Box 2007)

Teachers have been on strike over low wages (economic category) and are arrested and tortured (political category).

On September 18th 2008, police arrested the president of the Progressive Teachers' Union of Zimbabwe (PTUZ), Takavafira Zhou. He was held without charge in solitary confinement for four days without access to water, a toilet or blankets, before being released on the 22nd of September. The arrest was political persecution following PTUZ's call for a national teachers' strike to protest low salaries. (From SST Student Solidarity Trust Pandora's Box 2008)

While academic freedom is under threat and both scholars and students face brutal attacks and reprisals, we see that student and academic movements have formed the vanguard of resistance in countries such as Colombia, Zimbabwe, South Africa, Serbia, Burma and China (Cellel, J. 2009,4). There is a need for continued and increased international solidarity with democratic and peaceful student and academics movements. The Norwegian Act

relating to Universities and University colleges (2005) has a paragraph on Academic freedom and responsibility, stating that "Universities and university colleges shall promote and protect academic freedom." One can argue that this also implies an international responsibility to support colleagues, both scholars and students, worldwide when they face threats and attacks on their academic freedom and human rights. Knowledge is not confined within borders, and neither should academic freedom, responsibility and solidarity.

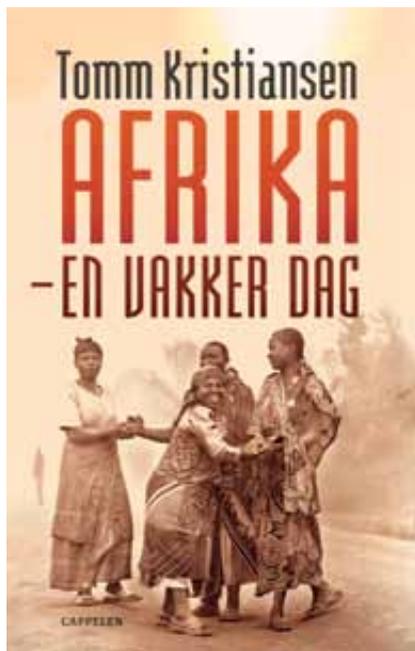
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The language of the police batons

Extract from Tomm Kristiansen's book «Africa: One Day Soon».



Harare, my old city. The airport is new, and full of corruption scandals involving the president's close family, but all the masts along the road are the same as they always have been: adorned with pictures of Mugabe whenever a head of state is visiting or with flags every time Mugabe is away on a trip, and he's away more often than most. One of the larger airplanes in the fleet of Air Zimbabwe is taken out of service. He fills it up with big delegations and travels around the world. But not as often now; there aren't as many countries that want to host him as there used to be. Journalists who have followed his travels tell tales of the baggage brought back home. From London and Paris televisions and refrigerators and electronic devices were wheeled on board the plane. He has a big family. At the airport at Kuala Lumpur, the other passengers stood in slack-jawed disbelief as the president's men checked in fourteen baggage carts after only one week's vacation with his wife and two children. The editor

and two journalists at the weekly newspaper Zimbabwe Independent were arrested for having written that the president had taken an airplane out of normal service for his vacation in the Far East.

Harare, my old city. Samora Machel Avenue is as broad as ever. I drive by two white colonial buildings, one on each side. The president's office on the right, the court of law on the left. They are architectural gems, perfect examples of the colonial style. The government buildings, two high-rises around the corner, stand there as stubbornly as before. And between them, in a brown brick building, is the macabre headquarters of the Central Intelligence Organisation, the CIO. The department of the big ears. The unit of the hard batons. Here they have sat in their offices and planned killings and torture, but have never shed blood in their own building. Not even one tooth has been knocked out here. That is done out in the field and in the police stations. The CIO has a lot to do. When the first demonstrations, organized by trade unions and the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC), spread throughout the town, they responded with teargas and soldiers. Soon enough the whole city was in an uproar, but the CIO put the fear in them with their resolute action. Don't try anything, you can't threaten state security without consequences. After that episode, many have learned that demonstrations in Harare are impossible. And the men sitting at their desks in this building know in their bones that supporting anything but the Zimbabwe African National Union-Popular Front (ZANU PF) goes against the very laws of nature and is incompatible with continued life as a Zimbabwean. For the state *is* the ZANU PF, and for Thine is the kingdom, Robert Gabriel Mugabe. The most recent law forbidding criticism of the president and the police has made the trials of the arrested much easier.

Hotel Brontë stands in the midst of a beautiful garden, with fountains and sculptures. It is built in the colonial style and has sitting rooms with English fireplaces. The various sitting areas are secluded by the rich foliage. This is a place for romance and whispers, for politics and public secrets.

Brontë is a rumor mill. Here people who want to be discreet come, not to one of the big five star hotels. Aid workers and diplomats, journalists and business people. One could fill a hammock in the grove with sensitive information. But watch out for the police. I have an appointment across the street, in the human rights house for volunteer organizations, among them students. But no one is there; the house is empty and the door has been left open. My cell phone rings; it is one of them.

“Where are you?”

“At your office, but no one is here.”

“Go away, the police are coming. We’ve gone in hiding.”

It didn’t take me many seconds to obey, and from the other side of the street, from the Hotel Brontë’s garden, I could follow the action. The police weren’t particularly discreet. Three cars and a dozen men, but they didn’t find anyone. The next day we meet in the garden, and quickly agree to talk somewhere out of the city. The students aren’t the same ones I had an appointment with; they never came, I don’t know why. We drive toward Domboshava, twenty minutes out of town. The asphalt road runs through fertile farmlands, huge fields that used to overflow with maize. Now there has been no planting. A cattle guard marks the transition to what used to be the blacks’ land. From there on there’s just a trail. Domboshava is known for its petroglyphs, a beautiful area with smooth granite surfaces like you find along the coast in Norway. There, in the shadows of big rocks, a long conversation ensues. They are all leaders in the Zimbabwe National Students Union, and therefore risk persecution. From their modest office they have organized demonstrations, and they have been arrested and beaten. They have reported the abuse, to no avail. The police hold the batons. The CIO has kept a close eye on them. Sometimes they come in the night and pick a few of them up for questioning. That’s why the students don’t always sleep at home; they move around. “We sleep around,” they say, to gales of laughter. Then they tell about growing up in today’s Zimbabwe.

“When you are finished with your schooling, you are brought in for brainwashing,” says Itai. “Yes, I call it brainwashing. For one year

the youth are ideologically schooled to obey the government’s notions of the socialistic society. They have to read Mugabe’s speeches, they are taught Marxism, warfare, political intelligence-gathering and how life should be lived in Zimbabwe. How it is to be an African. That’s not necessarily bad, but in the camps that notion is also used to support the idea that the African form of life is essentially different from the white man’s. Absurd!

“And then we have the military exercises. They are drilled and taught to fight. The ZANU PF organizes the camps. They make up a special paramilitary, call it Hitlerjungend if you like, but they call themselves Border Gezi, after the Minister of Youth who organized the militia, but died in 2001. Most people call them the Green Bombers. Because of their green shirts and the way they act.

“What do they do?”

”They fight the MDC supporters. They bring in people when the party has meetings, they monitor what the whites are doing. They bully and report, and several who have deserted and made it over to South Africa tell about incidences of rape. They talk about it in the camps; it was legal, just not officially so.

“What do they do, after their life as a Green Bomber?”

“They expect to get a job in the department or in a community. Or, if they’ve done their homework, a place in the university. Because if you haven’t served in the Border Gezi, you cannot matriculate.

Tapera takes off his shirt. He shows his scars.

“That’s what happens. I was taken down to the cellar at the Harare Central Police Station. There they got me. Luckily not with the electric shocks, but I was beaten and thrown against the wall.

“So why do you continue in student politics, when you know it can happen again?”

“Because I’m not afraid anymore. They have been so brutal and hit me so much that my heart doesn’t palpitate when they come around. I look them right in the eye; I’ve got the moral advantage.”

Steven, who is just visiting his home country, couldn’t take it anymore; he went to Durban to continue his studies there. When he told them he was from Zimbabwe, he was

shocked at their reaction.

“They said, ‘Wow, Zimbabwe! Long live Mugabe!’ I couldn’t believe it, so I said that Zimbabwe is a dictatorship and that Mugabe uses the methods of terror against those who think differently. But the only thing they cared about was the land reform. Mugabe had done something all African leaders should have done a long time ago – taken land from the whites. I tried to tell them that the land didn’t go to the poor people, but to the elites. But that didn’t register. It’s as if the question of land reform makes Africans lose their minds.”

It is not only students that react that way. When Robert Mugabe came to the UN’s conference on the environment in Johannesburg in 2002, he was greeted with loud and prolonged applause from the African delegates. The rest of the audience thought there must have been a misunderstanding. Everywhere Mugabe travels in Africa he is greeted with enthusiasm. He is the man who “did it.” Maybe a little rough around the edges, true enough; but then what hasn’t the white man done on the continent?

South Africa’s president, Thabo Mbeki, has carried out a quiet diplomacy, but hasn’t made any progress with the defiant man in State House. Not with a single word has he criticized the human rights violations. He is content with merely mentioning the country’s “problems.” When representatives for the South African labor union Cosatu, prior to the election in 2005, traveled to Harare to meet their colleagues, they were turned away and sent straight home. The Foreign Office in Pretoria said that Zimbabwe was in its full rights to decide who will be allowed into the country. The Minister of Agriculture in South Africa said that there was much to be learned from Zimbabwe’s land reform. The countries in the Southern African Development Community, SADC, failed to criticize Mugabe, but were content with formulating some rules for running fair elections. Within the African Union, AU, Mugabe can run free without losing face. Two years in a row the Union has declined to accept a damning report on human rights that the Union itself had written. Criticism of Mugabe comes from the western countries, and therefore it carries little weight. There must be something behind

the criticism; they just want to run Africa. They are colonial powers and the G8, they’re not looking out for what is best for Africa. The continent’s leaders stand shoulder to shoulder and protect each other from outside criticism. Therefore it just doesn’t happen that they publicly denounce each other. And Mugabe can, without fear of spoiling Zimbabwe’s relations with other countries in Africa, openly threaten his opponents with grave violence. He can behave like a “black Hitler”:

“If Hitler is like this, then I’ll be ten times Hitler. This is our program!”

Rabia’s cell phone rings. He says “Hi,” and then is silent for a long time. Rabia is serious. He answers only yes and hm and where and when. Then he pockets his phone again and turns toward us. His voice shakes. The student I talked with yesterday, the one who didn’t show up, has been taken.

“They have taken him out of the city, him and one more. Some say they are at a farm. There’s nothing we can do.”

A few days later he turns up again, and gets sent directly to the hospital. They had driven him to an abandoned farm. There he was pushed down the stairs to a cellar with dung water covering the floor. He didn’t dare lie down in case he fell asleep and drowned. He spent the whole night there, while they tortured his friend in the room next door. In the morning it was his turn. When the door opened he couldn’t see because of the sharp light, it stung his eyes. They began to hit him with canes, poke and hammer on his back. He screamed. They wanted to know the names of the others, and he told them all. The whole list of the board of directors, which incidentally was posted on the bulletin board at the office they frequently raided. The interrogation and torture were meant as a deterrent. You must tell the others about what we’ve done here, tell as many as possible. The MDC will never win an election in this country. He said he wasn’t a member of the MDC, but the student union. Well, that’s the same thing. Then they came with the car battery and two electrodes that they clamped on his genitals. It was like being hit by a soccer ball in the crotch. Again and again. Finally, he lost consciousness.

Somewhere between ZANU PF’s office

and Heroe's Acre lies Milton Park, a middle-class area with small bungalows and modest gardens. Situated in one of the more unkempt ones is the Progressive Teachers Union of Zimbabwe. They have more important things to do than pruning rosebushes. The Secretary General's office is sparsely furnished; here there is nothing the CIO could take if they raided the place. On the wall are posters of Che Guevara and Karl Marx, two men the headquarters down the street speak favorably of. But they don't speak favorably of the man in the chair wearing a beret, Raymond Majongwe, the Secretary General. His life is so much in danger that he asks if we can go someplace else. We get in the car and drive. He looks over his shoulder and before long he recognizes a car. We are being followed by the CIO; he even recognizes the man behind the wheel and the man in the passenger's seat as well. Raymond, what should we do? He takes charge: Turn right up ahead, but don't put your blinker on or slow down. Then straight ahead and turn left, through all the narrow streets where it will be impossible to follow us at this speed, then through the red light up in Borrowdale, then we'll have lost our pursuers. My heart is beating wildly, but Raymond leans his heavy body back against the seatback. He's done this before.

Again it turns into a conversation about violence and torture. He has been through it all. And the electric shocks to his private parts and the rest of the abuse have made him an invalid. Why has Mugabe, who himself is a teacher, singled out teachers as his special enemy?

"Because teachers are dangerous; the teacher is a person with power in the village. He or she is charismatic, well-educated and is forming the next generation. They are the ones who are imparting ideals to children and young people. And which ideals should they have? As a former teacher, Mugabe knows all about this. He feels he doesn't have control."

"But hasn't he invested in the teachers? The country was supposed to be built by people with knowledge. Illiteracy was low in Zimbabwe."

"At first, yes. After a while the teaching profession has been downgraded. Look at the pay... No, you can't live on a teacher's salary

anymore. We have demonstrated, protested."

"And how did that turn out?"

"Teachers were tortured, female teachers were raped."

In the township of Mabvuku, few people vote for ZANU PF; here everyone is MDC. The suburb is small and nicely kept; people have small gardens with flowers and vegetables. Here a white man can safely take a stroll; people smile and nod and feel honored by your visit. But watch out for the military vehicles. They appear regularly, causing many people run into the nearest house. I am taken by the hand and led under a roof. Everyone takes care of a visitor. The young people, every one of them, have seen brutal violence from the police and soldiers. They have all been fired at with teargas canisters. In a worn-down beer hall, the soccer matches run on television all day. In the middle of the circle is Kosmos Ndira. He is leader of the MDC's youth group. He is standing there in colorful clothes and long rasta braids. Kosmos is soft-spoken, but has the aura of a leader. It is the others who encourage Kosmos to tell about the time he was tortured.

"It was at the police station down in the city. They had taken me from up here, and I hadn't done anything. But they asked me question after question. Aren't you MDC? Of course, I am the youth leader of the MDC. But that is a crime! My God, the MDC filled half of the seats in the parliament. Then they started hitting and beating."

"How many of them were there?"

"Two at a time, they tortured in shifts. And they asked questions all the time. They shouted. They weren't regular policemen who did this, my God it was the bosses."

"Did you recognize them?"

"One of them was Chief Inspector Henry Dowa; everybody knows him. He is investigative leader of the police department's law and order section at Harare Central. He screamed at me while the others beat me with boards and canes. And he became wild. He grabbed me by my braids and swung me around the room."

"Have you gotten over it?"

"I'm not myself anymore. Sleep poorly, have a lot of anxiety. Can't concentrate. I was going to go to Bulawayo, but I couldn't

manage to get on the bus. Everything just shut down.”

Chief Inspector Henry Dowa has several others on his conscience. He has been present during gruesome sessions of torture, including the use of electric shocks, lasting from ten seconds to a minute. This has gone on for several hours. He himself has beaten people with a baton on their bare foot soles. Dowa led a group of police that attacked a funeral procession. They were going to bury a person who had been killed while in lockup.

In March, 2003, Chief Inspector Henry Dowa vanished from Harare Central Police Station. No one saw him at the enhanced interrogations, not in the torture cellar or in the offices. He was no longer seen in the streets when the MDC people held meetings or rallies. Where was he? Two months later he reappeared in Prizren, in Kosovo. The torturer Henry Dowa had gone into service for the UN, as leader of UNMIK's police force. It was his job to secure civil order in the Balkans. Human rights organizations tried to get the UN to arrest Dowa, but ran into legalistic issues concerning the protection of UN officers; moreover, the crime wasn't committed in Kosovo. The story ends with the UN asking Zimbabwe to recall Henry Dowa, which they did a half year later. Since then Dowa has been in renewed service in Zimbabwe, where the MDC supporters are.

The great black townships are a nightmare for Henry Dowa and his huge staff. When the farms were taken over, the farm workers were forced out of their houses. The new owners had other plans than agriculture. The beaten up and now jobless farm workers made their way to the city with their families. A half million jobless people sought a new life there because they believed that was where a new life could be found. The frustrated farm workers had been Mugabe's voters, but no longer. They went over the MDC, and followed the signals given by the new party leader Morgan Tsvangirai. The farm workers settled on the fields, they built shacks on the outskirts of the existing shanty towns and slums. They filled up every unoccupied square meter of Hatcliffe Extension. They came to the well-kept Mabvuku. I find them in a wooden shack. The shack is but a single room in which mother, father and six

children live. A wife with a worn face comes to the door. The young people, led by Kosmos, greet the old woman politely, although she is perhaps not all that old. Then she starts to tell us her story. She comes from Marondera, where the occupation started.

“We had a good life on the farm. The house was big enough, we had our own little patch, it was nice in the evenings, after the work was done. The children went to school, and when one of them was taken ill, we just called for the farmer. He drove the children to the hospital.”

“And then...?”

“Then the crazy young men came. They set the thatched roof on fire, and I just barely managed to get the little one out in time. Everything we owned burned up, but that wasn't so very much. Here in the city we have squeezed in among other people. They've got their own problems. I don't think my life is going very well, here. I'm just in the way; I guess I can't be of any use.”

“But the fields out there – they're going to be turned over to blacks.”

“Yes, but what about the little patch I had before? I wonder what they're thinking, the people occupying the farms now.”

On the way back I drive through high-class Borrowdale. I want to see the White House. Mugabe's cousin Phillip Chiyangwa, who occupies a central position in the party, has built a palace that is the talk of the city. The house is surrounded by high, white walls, but I can see the heliport, and through the bars in the gate, the marble columns. Chiyangwa has excused his economic extravagance by saying: “If you want to be rich, you have to join the ZANU PF”

A little white lie and a smile got the photographer in, just to “have a look.” It became a tour of eleven bedrooms, each with its own bathroom, fourteen flat screens, and seven garages for the family's luxury cars. There were wet bars, a gym and tasteless sculptures in all the rooms. Where did he get the money from? The answer came in 2005, when they handcuffed him. For ten thousand dollars a month he had been telling the South African authorities everything they needed to know about the inner workings of the ZANU PF.

Translated by Michael Evans

Background to the educational crisis in Zimbabwe

by Kari Lindemann, Program advisor, SAIH

During the liberation struggle students were an important ally of the freedom fighters. The mismanagement in the education sector during the 1990ties made students become critics of their former allies. Students and workers arranged protests, strikes and class boycotts at schools and universities. The ZANU-PF regime felt, and continues to feel, threatened by these protests. Therefore teachers and students have been objects of systematic surveillance and violence from different state-linked groups (Sachikonye 2011: 23-24). These groups consist of individuals associated with or part of the different categories of ZANU-PF party members, such as youth militia, war veterans, Central Intelligence Office, Zimbabwe Republic Police, Zimbabwe National Army and officials from the Ministry of Education and university authorities. Students and teachers have been targeted and repressed through being detained, beaten, tortured and killed (2011:23). Between 2000 and 2005 twenty teachers were brutally murdered (GCEPEA 2011).

Studies show that during election periods political attacks increase in Zimbabwe (Sachikonye 2011:21). In the election year 2008, eight teachers were murdered by youth militia and war veterans. Schools were open for 23 days during the same year. 5000 out of 7289 schools in the country were affected during the election periods in 2000, 2002 and 2005 (GCEPEA 2011). Teachers were tortured, had their homes burnt or were dismissed or had to flee in an attempt to escape the atrocities.

Although attacks are particularly high during election periods there is a constant pressure against teachers and students. Teachers are being repressed by violations of their labour rights such as salaries being withheld, denial of annual leave, unlawful transfers to other schools and trumped-

up criminal charges leading to arrests. Students are suspended or expelled from their institutions of higher learning due to involvement in students' social issues such as protesting against high tuition fees, lack of scholarships or denial of examinations.

Decrease in salaries and attacks on teachers have resulted in an estimate of 65 000 teachers leaving the teaching profession in the period 2000-2008 (GCPEA 2011). The University of Zimbabwe reported the loss of 50 % of the 1100 lectures, and countrywide 50 college lecturers have been suspended (GCPEA 2011).

After the violent elections in 2008 the three major political parties formed a unity government in 2009. The agreement regulating the collaboration in the unity government obligates the parties to put an end to all human right violations, however reports from civil society and media speaks to the contrary. This gives reasons for concern, particularly because elections will have to take place to have a transfer of power sometime in the next two years.

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Students – enemies of the state

Summary of SST (Student Solidarity Trust) Pandora's Box 2006-2010: State of the Education Sector in Zimbabwe 2010. Student stories from the soon to be published book "SST Impact Stories".

By Kari Lindemann, Program advisor, SAIH.

Student Solidarity Trust (SST)

SST was formed as an initiative from the Zimbabwe National Student Union, ZINASU, due to an increase in politically motivated attacks on students in Zimbabwe in the late 1990ties. SST assists students and student activists that are expelled, prosecuted or jailed due to their engagement in student politics. SST documents and verifies violations of students' rights in an annual report called the Pandora Box. Further SST assists expelled students in finding alternative university placements, either at other institutions in Zimbabwe or in South Africa, and provides scholarships for these students. SST is a vocal and visible organization involved in advocacy work towards the Zimbabwean government.

Summary

In the period 2006 – 2010, SST reports:

- 187 students expelled
- 1021 students arrested
- 211 cases of students tortured/abducted
- In 2007: 55 court appearances, no convictions
- In 2010: 82 court appearances, 2 convictions

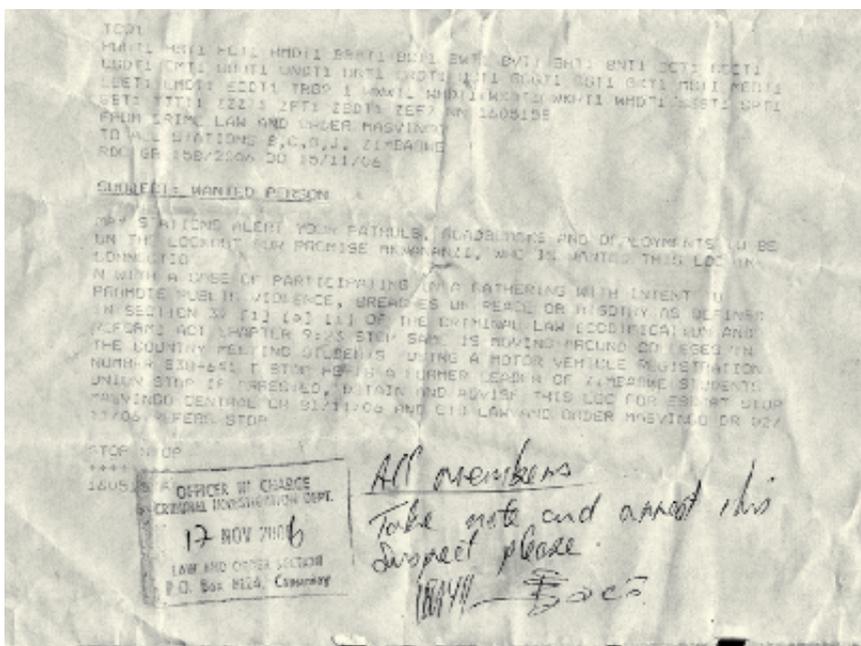
Methodology

SST Pandora's Box: State of the Education Sector in Zimbabwe has been published annually since 2006. The reports are based on monitoring of students' court cases, outreach when students have been detained or hospitalized, and interviews with students and other relevant actors.

The laws of repression

In 2002 the Zimbabwean government introduced the Public Order and Security Act (POSA). The act demands that the police must be notified of all public meetings at least seven days prior to the event. The way the police interprets the law is that they must authorize any public meetings. This legal framework is also reflected in the University of Zimbabwe Act. Although this act only governs the University of Zimbabwe (UZ) the act models legislation for six

Arrest order for Promise Mkwanzwi, former leader of ZINASU. The order issued to police states: "...participation in a gathering with intent to promote public violence...." The police has noted in handwriting: "All members. Take note and arrest this suspect please..."



Reported Cases of violations to students by category.

Internally generated from the SST.

	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	Total
Unlawful arrests	337	343	97	124	120	1021
Unlawful detention	337	338	91	128	96	990
Torture/Abductions	35	152	20	0	4	211
Expulsion/Suspension	19	94	17	43	14	187
Assault	77	68	27	10	7	189
Political discrimination/Victimization	337	157	69	1	2	566
Restrictions on freedom of expression/association/movement	337	358	58	7	0	760
Death threats	4	44	3	0	0	51
Total	1483	1554	382	313	243	3975

other state universities. Any students' gathering, a political meeting or a demonstration must be approved by the university authority. The Chancellor of the UZ is President Robert Mugabe, and the Vice Chancellors of the universities are directly appointed by him. There are no apparent checks and balances that seek to ensure that the president does not abuse these powers; this enables the appointment to be on a purely partisan basis. SST argues that this allows the government to control the higher learning institutions and that the Vice-Chancellors become political appointees. According to The University Act the Vice Chancellor has the power to suspend, deregister or expel students. Although all students must appear before the disciplinary committee before being suspended or expelled, SST has documented many cases where the Vice Chancellors simply suspend the students indefinitely pending the hearing. The University Act is also supplemented with University Ordinances (regulations). All state universities (except Great University of Zimbabwe) are operating with an ordinance, which makes it possible to seek the assistance of the police at campus.

In 2006, Mfundo Milio and two other student leaders filed a case with the Supreme Court challenging the constitutionality of Ordinance 30 under The University Act. They submitted that the ordinance infringed on their right to freedom of assembly. Up to this date there has been no been progress in

their case from the Supreme Court.

In 2007, 4000 students were evicted from campus at University of Zimbabwe. Students had protested for three days over the introduction of the high fees that had been imposed by the administrative authorities. Students were given 30 minutes' notice to move their belongings from the dormitory where they were staying. 18 trucks with riot police and dogs were summoned to the university to chase the students off campus.

Two students took the University authority at UZ to court on this matter. The authorities lost the case, but ignored the verdict from the court to reopen the dormitories to students. Only in 2009 were the dormitories reopened, but only female students were allowed to move back to campus. In 2011 the dormitories were finally open to all students, however, due to the increased cost; students cannot afford to move in. SST believes this to be a deliberate move by the authorities to keep students from gathering and mobilizing at campus. Only a few female students engage in student politics therefore they are not perceived as a threat to the university authorities, which could explain why they were allowed to move back to campus.



Students being targets of political oppression

In 2006, 19 students were expelled from the university, compared to 94 in 2007, 17 in 2008, 46 in 2009 and 19 in 2010.

Student Solidarity Trust records these cases on a monthly base, which has been added up in a yearly table as shown opposite.

The total number of cases was high in 2006 and 2007, then sharply declining in 2008. In Zimbabwe we see an increase of victimizations during national elections. This is also true for violations against students. The number of students who were politically discriminated or victimized 2007 was high, when the country was preparing for national elections. The first round of elections took place in March 2008 and the cases of political discrimination were still high at the beginning of the year. However, the University of Zimbabwe was closed for the whole of 2008 so there were no students at campus. According to the Progressive Teachers' Union of Zimbabwe (PTUZ), schools and universities in the country were only open for 23 uninterrupted days in 2008 (thetimes.co.uk 2008). Therefore fewer demonstrations, meetings and protests took place this year and few cases of discrimination were recorded.

In 2009 and 2010 the number of unlawful arrests and detentions were still high. Although a coalition government of the political rivals ZANU-PF and MDC shared the power, cases of violations against students were still rampant. This indicates that the regulations and governing system of the higher learning institutions are an institutionalization of discrimination and violation of students' right to assemble, organize and protest.



Kurayi Hoyi

In 2005 I enrolled at the National University of Science and Technology (NUST) to do an honors degree in Industrial and Manufacturing Engineering. I got involved in student activism in my second semester at university when the Government of Zimbabwe decided to withdraw funding for students in state tertiary institutions, and was actively involved in mobilizing students against the privatization of education that was ensuing. I led a couple of demonstrations as a faculty representative. That got me arrested and later on led to my first suspension for an academic year from NUST in 2007. I was involved in organizing and participating in various protest and campaigns led by the National Constitutional Assembly (NCA), Save Zimbabwe Campaign, Crisis Coalition and other pro-democratic forces. In 2008 during the run up to harmonized elections, I was involved in voter education and subsequently began an election agent for the Movement for Democratic Change. When I was reinstated at NUST in 2009 I campaigned for the Student Representative Council (SRC) Presidency and won. During this period there was the dollarization of the economy and tuition fees were pegged at astronomical levels which were beyond the reach of many. The National Campaign Against the Privatization of Education in Zimbabwe was launched by Zimbabwe National Student Union (ZINASU). I organized and led a series of campus demonstrations around the country. I was arrested a number of times and later on expelled from NUST for my activism which automatically gave me a life ban from all state tertiary institutions.

From SST Unpublished Impact Stories





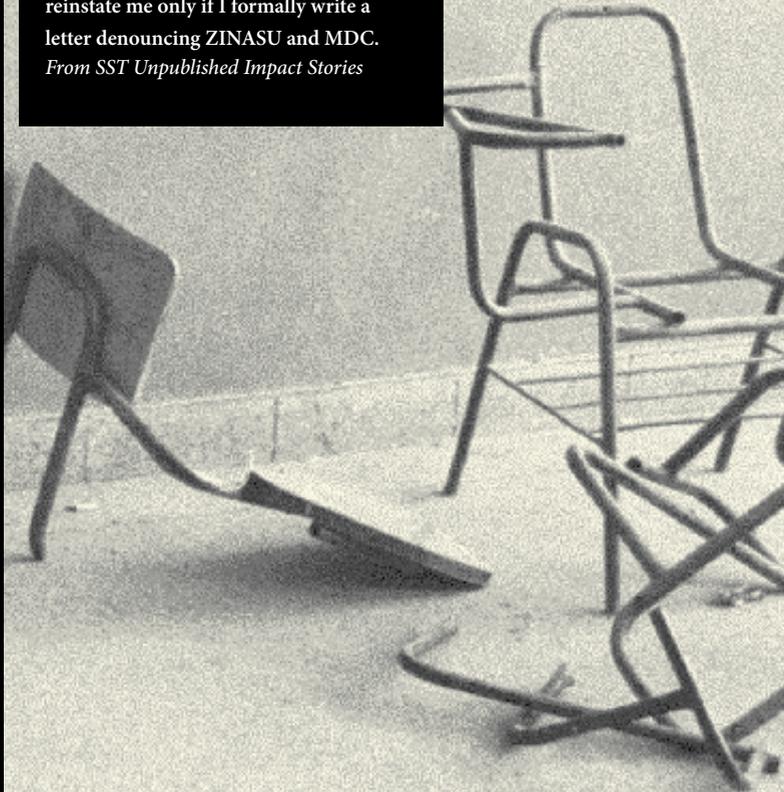
Joshua Chinyere

I did my primary education in Gweru at Takunda Primary school, and then proceeded with my secondary education in the same city at Mkoba secondary. After my father had retired I was transferred to a mission school that my parents could afford. He could see the potential that was in me of excelling in my studies. After high school I enrolled at the University of Zimbabwe as a Law student. I am son of a peasant farmer and my parents could not afford to foot the exorbitant university fees which were being charged by the institution, so I joined other students in fighting for our academic freedoms. In addition to this I joined the struggle to emancipate students because I had seen the injustice that the college authorities have towards students. I had different roles in the student movement: I was elected President of Zimbabwe Law Students Association {ZILSA} in 2007 and in 2009, I was Acting President of University of Zimbabwe Student Executive Council (SEC, faction president of ZINASU {Zimbabwe National Students Union} and Secretary General after the unification of the two ZINASUs up to date.

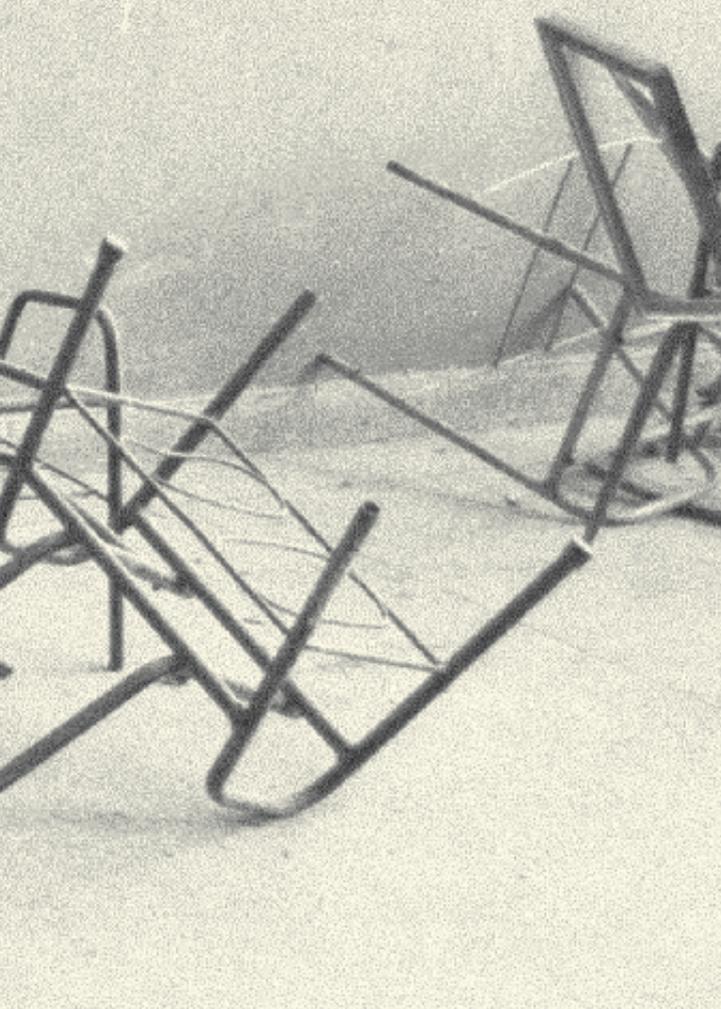
I later on enrolled at the University of Zimbabwe in 2005 as a law student. However, due to economic hardships I dropped out of school from August 2006-September 2007 while I was working to supplement for our family. In September 2007 I enrolled back at the college with the hopes of finishing up my studies. This is the time that I partici-

pated fully in student activism and also politics at national level. Due to the fact that I was very active at college when it comes to addressing students' grievances I was suspended in April 2010 while I was in my final year of completion. I was suspended for fighting for students' rights and for sympathising with the opposition political party, Movement for Democratic Change (MDC). The actual alleged offense that resulted in my suspension was that I led a peaceful student's demonstration at Bindura University of Science and Technology (BUSE) in January 2010. The demo led to the arrest of more than 25 students. Students were being barred from writing exams if they had not paid tuition fees in full. However we had engaged the Minister of Higher and Tertiary education and he agreed to our demands that students should write and pay later, but the college where refusing the order from the Ministry. This then led to my suspension with one student from UZ and four other students from BUSE University. The authorities now want to reinstate me only if I formally write a letter denouncing ZINASU and MDC.

From SST Unpublished Impact Stories



In the election year 2008, eight teachers were murdered by youth militia and war veterans. Schools were open for 23 days during the same year. Photo: Scholars at Risk



In total, 126 students were arrested in 2010 under the Criminal Code Act. The causes of arrest were: demonstration, contempt of court, public violence, forgery of receipts of tuitions fees, petty disruptions, assaults, defeating the course of justice, class boycott, illegal gatherings, calling for Student Representative Councils (SRC) elections.

For the year 2010 SST analyzed all cases and found that the most common cause for arrests was participating in a demonstration.

On the 14th of January 2010 Joshua Chinyere and other students at Bindura University peacefully demonstrated against exorbitant tuitions fees and the authorities' attempt to bar those who had not paid fees from writing examinations. Riot police brutally stopped the demonstration, firing teargas and beating students with baton sticks. Many students were injured and hospitalized as a result of the excessive force used by the police. A total of twenty five activists were arrested at the University.

In addition to the documentation of violations of students' rights in SST reports, various media reports have captured heavy police and Central Intelligence Organization presences in higher learning institutions. It is not only the police who are summoned to assist the university authorities. Security guards at the university also play a vital role in the violence.

On 18 of June 2007 two student leaders from Great University of Zimbabwe (Masvingo) were dragged from the examination room by college security. The college sought to stop them from sitting for the examination on the grounds that they had a case pending in courts. They were beaten up and one of them sustained a broken neck.,

In 2010, two student leaders were arrested for just entering the gates of Harare Polytechnical College. According to SST, the

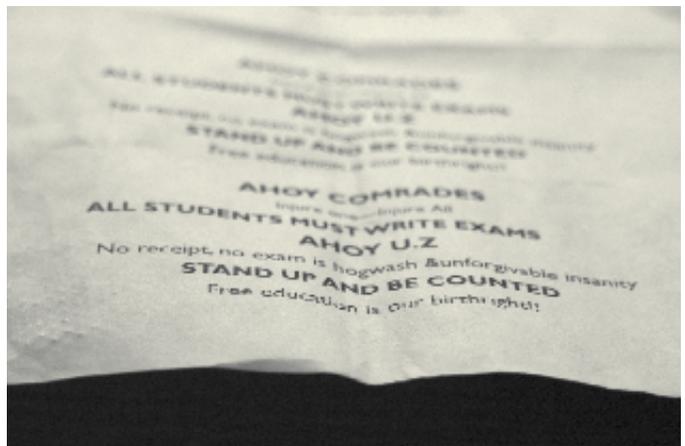
range of oppressive methods used and the number of students targeted is an attempt by the university authorities to take control of the lives of students. SST argues that in the light of Michel Foucault's concept *total institution*, the lives of the students are subjected to institutional surveillance. The concept of total institutions was first used by Erving Goffman in 1961, but was further developed by Foucault to show the ways in which institutions such as prisons and hospitals ensure total control over the inmates or patients.

SST monitored 82 appearances in the court system in 2010. SST believes the arrests of students is a calculated move to harass students because in 84 % of the cases the courts ruled for "further remand" meaning that more time and evidence is requested while 13% of the cases were discharged ergo dismissed. There were only two convictions:

On the 13th of December, two students, Brian Mtisis and Bernard Ngara, were found guilty of contravening ordinance 30 at the National University of Science and Technology by a Bulawayo Magistrate. The two were ordered to pay 540 USD each as a fine. Twelve students from the University of Zimbabwe were convicted of forgery. The sentence was wholly suspended on conditions that they would not commit a similar offence in the next five years.

Concluding remarks

Three out of four Zimbabweans have left the country since the beginning of 2000. 90 % of these are Zimbabweans with higher education (Hill 2005). Brain drain and the economic downturn should have made the government invest in human capital through higher education. Instead the government has increased the school fees and jailed or tried to silence those who oppose this development. Young talented and critical thinkers are prevented from completing their University degree and pursuing their potential and career. The students who have



On the 9th of March 2007 two ZINASU executive members were arrested in Gweru by plainclothes police officers whilst distributing flyers. The two were bundled up, then taken into a police vehicle where they were later dumped about 10 km after Chachacha, which is about 50 km from Gweru.

protested against the autocratic rule of the country or against the mismanagement of the education sector are silenced and expelled from the University. Student leaders are often victims due to their ability to mobilize and engage the student masses. When the student leaders are targeted this plants fear in other students. The message is: If you get engaged in the democratic development of the country you are prone to be expelled, arrested, detained and tortured.

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«Teachers are an endangered species»

Summary by Sindre Olav Edland-Gryt, Information advisor, SAIH, of the Preliminary Report of a Study on Teachers' Experiences with Elections in Zimbabwe "Every School has a story to tell" by Progressive Teachers' Union of Zimbabwe (PTUZ) 2011.

About PTUZ

The Progressive Teachers' Union of Zimbabwe has a member base of about 13 000 teachers. PTUZ is a rights-based teachers' union with a long history of fighting for teachers' political, civic, social and economic rights.

The report is based on findings from a national survey conducted in all provinces in Zimbabwe between April-June 2011 in which 1086 Teachers participated. Some main findings are:

- 51 % of the teachers in the survey say they have experienced political violence
- 77 % say they have received threats
- 79 % reported having been forced to attend political meetings
- The political violence against teachers is largely state-sponsored; War veterans, ZANU-PF supporters and youth militia are responsible for 71 % of the attacks
- The number attacks peaked during elections, and especially in the 2008-election
- Rape and indecent assault towards women is becoming a political tool in Zimbabwe
- 47 % of witnessed attacks took place at schools and during working hours and 15 % in private homes. It is therefore a possibility that up to 62 % of the violations were witnessed by children.
- The findings show that teachers that experienced violence was also forced to vote for a specific party.

Controlling the schools with fear

The human rights situation in Zimbabwe has been a dark chapter during the last years. It has affected the majority of the population. There are certain key groups in the Zimbabwean society that are systematically targeted and affected in a very serious

and dramatic manner. Teachers are such a group. Teachers are victims of systematic use of violence and intimidation to try to limit and control their potential influence.

Methodology

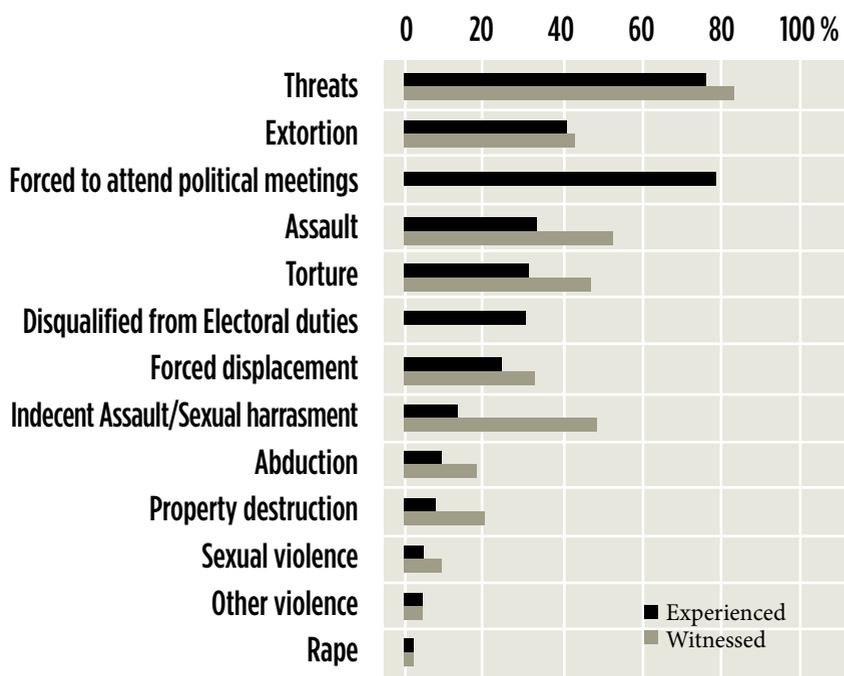
The report is based on findings from a national survey conducted in all provinces in Zimbabwe between April-June 2011. 1086 teachers participated in the survey. The survey was meant to reflect the demography of Zimbabwe, with 51 % female and 49 % male respondents. This goal was reached. However, many women refused to answer the survey, especially in rural areas, due to fear of reprisals. The survey was slightly biased towards rural areas because the majority of the schools in Zimbabwe are located here. In addition to the survey, focus group discussions were held with participants from two provinces.

The survey collected data particularly focusing on teachers who had witnessed and experienced violence and the classification of the perpetrators that carried out the violations.

Why are teachers targeted

The motive for attacking teachers are threefold; (1) suspicion of representing political opposition; (2) fear that teachers may enable pupils to make free and informed choices and (3) getting teachers to vote and promote a specific party.

Teachers are important actors in the development of the minds of the future Zimbabwe. Their potential influence on the children and youth make them both enemies and potential instruments of the state. When teachers are suspected of being supporters of the opposition, they are victims of threats and violence. 56 % stated that the attacks they witnessed were caused by suspicion of membership or sympathy with opposition parties. Being member of a teachers' union is also a reason for being targeted. The majority of teachers are, however, attacked simply because they are teachers. So the reason why teachers are feared is not solely because of their political affiliation, but also the fact that



teachers can enable young people to make free and informed choices. On the other hand ZANU-PF is putting pressure on the teachers to loyally support and promote their party politics. 79 % reported having been forced to attend political meetings. 55 % of teachers were forced through violence or threats to vote for a particular political party. When looking at who the perpetrators are later in the text, there is no doubt that the teachers were forced to vote and promote mainly ZANU-PF. At the same time there is no information in this report on the number of people forced to attend MDC's or other meetings. The Zimbabwe Peace Project suggests that as much as 10% of the recorded human rights violations in 2008 where committed by MDC members (2008: Zimbabwe Peace Project).

Attacks against teachers

The report collected data on eleven different types of violence towards teachers. A greater part of the teachers report having experienced threats (77 %) while fewer reports of violations such as rape (1 %). 31 % say that they have experienced torture, which is a very high number for such a grave violation. PTUZ has used a wide definition of torture which includes

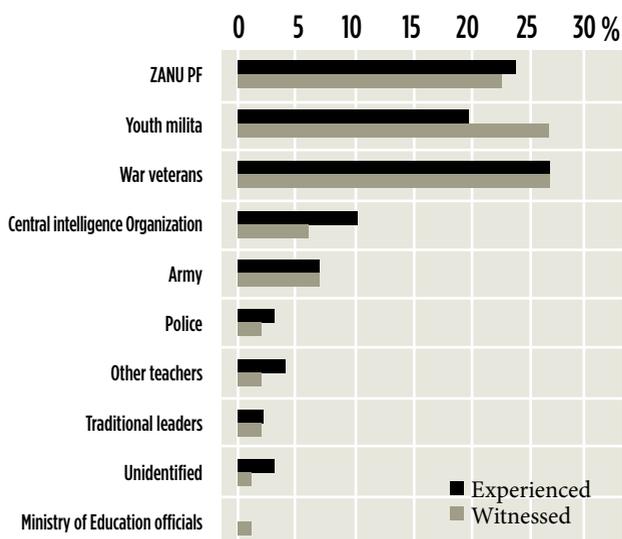
psychological torture, and to some extent lets the teacher decide what is perceived as torture.

Many teachers have experienced being victimized several times and with different methods. 51 % of the teachers in the survey say they experienced political violence. As we can see on the chart above there is a gap between what is witnessed and what is experienced. Significantly more violence is witnessed than experienced. An analysis of the aspect of sexualised violence is elaborated upon in the paragraph below.

Perpetrators

The findings in the report confirm the assumption that political violence against teachers is largely state-sponsored. The three largest reported groups of perpetrators are war veterans, ZANU-PF supporters and youth militia. 71 % of the attacks are carried out by these groups. PTUZ states that it is often difficult to distinguish these perpetrators from each other. The CIO, The Central Intelligence Organisation, is reported to be behind 10 % of the violations, which is higher than numbers in other reports concerning human rights abuses. In their reports on the 2008 elections, Human Rights Forum and Solidarity





Peace Trust indicated involvement by the CIO in 2-3 % of incidents. PTUZ believes that the high number of CIO involvement indicates that teachers are being singled out for special scrutiny.

Discrediting teachers and fostering children on fear

One of the disturbing findings is that 47 % of witnessed attacks happened at school during working hours and 15 % in private homes. This indicates that 62 % of the violations could have been witnessed by children. The psychological implication on children cannot be overseen. A teacher can be discredited in the mind of the child, and the child learns what happens if you're not loyal to ZANU-PF. The fear can enable children to normalize their relation to violence, and disrespect for teachers and others. This again is a key factor in the use of youth camps and youth militia as actors of political violence in Zimbabwe. PTUZ is calling for the need for schools to be politically neutral zones. Teachers and pupils must be protected from political violence. PTUZ also suggests that the effect of the violence of the past decade on children must be further researched.

Gender and sexualized violence

The findings on sexualized violence in the report show a significant gap between what is experienced and what is wit-

nessed. PTUZ is concerned with the high percentage of witnessed indecent assault. This type of assault can be verbal sexual harassment or violence of light degree with sexual character. 13 % of the teachers had experienced indecent assaults, and 49 % had witnessed it. This gap indicates that the victims who are affected do not necessarily report the violation. The rape and sexual violence rate witnessed is also higher than what is reported as experienced, although less significant. These findings together with other published reports suggest that sexualized violence and rape are becoming a political tool in Zimbabwe (2010: RAU, ZADHR). Focus groups also highlighted how women were forced to report political activities of others, and that the wives of teacher husbands, who had fled the area, were not spared from attacks. PTUZ is concerned with the singling out of female teachers and the wives of teachers. Sexual violence remains connected with taboos in society, which may suggest why it is largely underreported.

“Elections are very dangerous times for teachers.”

The findings in this report confirm that teachers are especially targeted in election times. 68 % of the teachers that have experienced violence were victimized during the second round of the 2008-election. PTUZ says in the report that teachers that experienced violence also was forced to vote for a specific party. This clearly shows us how “effective” the build-up of violence towards teachers have been on their votes, seen from the ZANU-PF perspective. PTUZ suggests that one of the reasons that the second round of presidential elections had an explosive growth of violence compared to round one, is that the teachers were blamed for the poor ZANU-PF result in round one (see example under). Therefore the teachers were especially targeted in round two. One of the tactics used to ensure that people vote for ZANU-PF is that they are forced to declare themselves as illiterate, thus qualifying to be an assisted voter, so that a state official



can observe the whole voting process. In practice this means that teachers are forced to vote for ZANU-PF. This serves as an absurd example of how the election system is being politically manipulated. There is a great irony in the act that the teachers, the educational leaders and most literate in their community, have to report themselves as illiterate.

92 % of the teachers confirm the assumption that there has been an increase in security personnel at schools after the announcement of a possible election in 2011. PTUZ says that it is crucial to understand the fear that the presence of military and police creates for teachers when having the 2008-violence in mind. All this pressure on teachers also has an effect on the teachers' openness when it comes to politics. 73 % of the participants of the survey did not indicate their political party preference.

Concluding remark

This report is an important contribution to shed light on a field which lacks documentation. There is a need to document human rights abuses and to dismantle the

information to increase the understanding and thereby also increase the possibility of solving the problem. Information is a tool of the oppressed, and it is feared by the oppressor. Schools are battlegrounds in Zimbabwe. PTUZ is calling for them to be politically neutral zones.

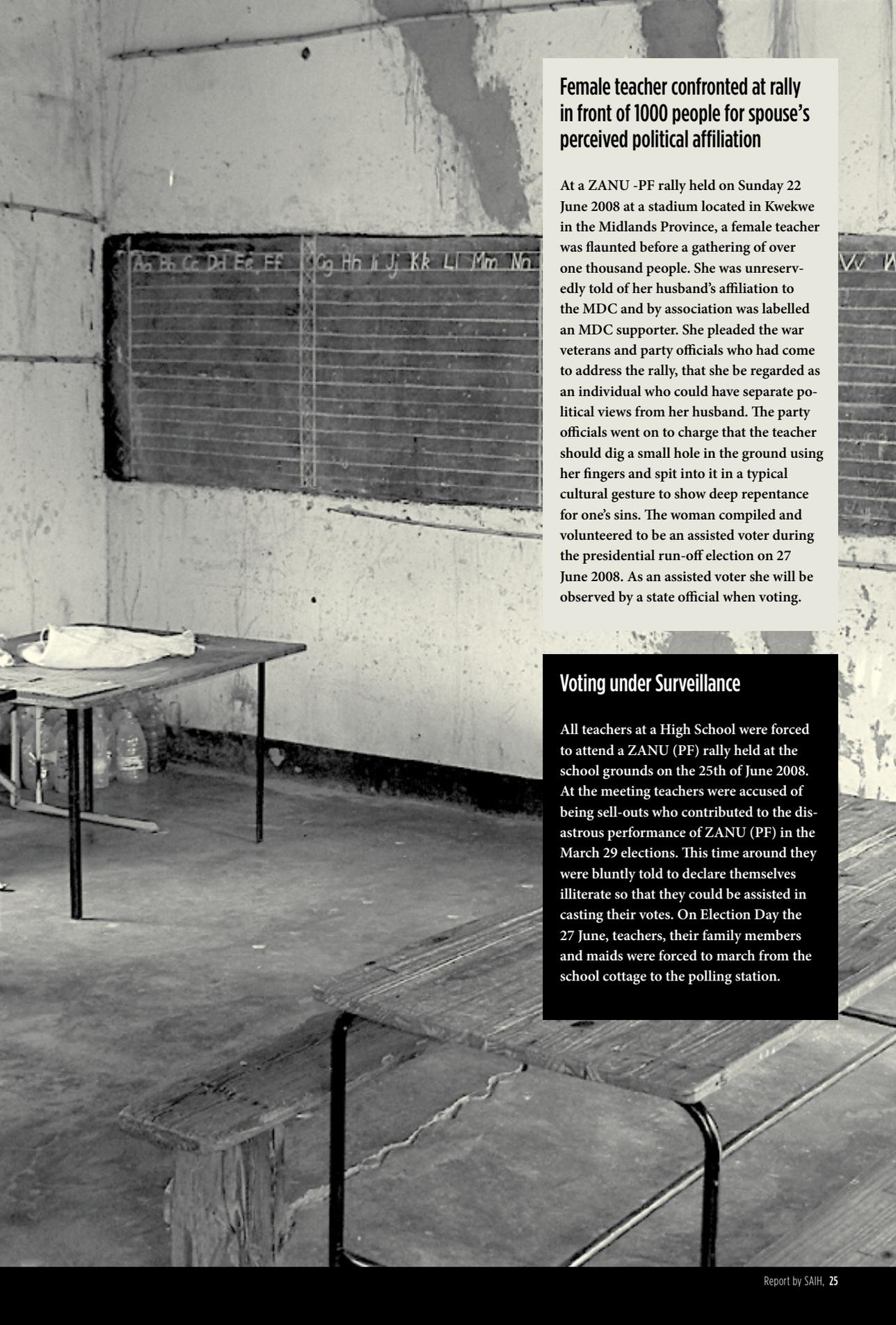
SAIH has financially supported PTUZ in the making of this report.

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2008: NY-times: Men with sticks and iron bars beating unidentified victims at the site of a rally that had been planned by the main opposition party in Harare, Zimbabwe.





Female teacher confronted at rally in front of 1000 people for spouse's perceived political affiliation

At a ZANU -PF rally held on Sunday 22 June 2008 at a stadium located in Kwekwe in the Midlands Province, a female teacher was flaunted before a gathering of over one thousand people. She was unreservedly told of her husband's affiliation to the MDC and by association was labelled an MDC supporter. She pleaded the war veterans and party officials who had come to address the rally, that she be regarded as an individual who could have separate political views from her husband. The party officials went on to charge that the teacher should dig a small hole in the ground using her fingers and spit into it in a typical cultural gesture to show deep repentance for one's sins. The woman complied and volunteered to be an assisted voter during the presidential run-off election on 27 June 2008. As an assisted voter she will be observed by a state official when voting.

Voting under Surveillance

All teachers at a High School were forced to attend a ZANU (PF) rally held at the school grounds on the 25th of June 2008. At the meeting teachers were accused of being sell-outs who contributed to the disastrous performance of ZANU (PF) in the March 29 elections. This time around they were bluntly told to declare themselves illiterate so that they could be assisted in casting their votes. On Election Day the 27 June, teachers, their family members and maids were forced to march from the school cottage to the polling station.

Appendix:

Tables from the report:

Violation type. %	Experienced	Witnessed
Threats	77	84
Extortion	41	43
Forced to attend political meetings	79	
Assault	33	53
Torture	31	47
Disqualified from Electoral duties	30	
Forced displacement	24	33
Indecent assault / sexual harrasment	13	49
Abduction	9	18
Property destruction	7	20
Sexual violence	4	9
Other violence	4	4
Rape	1	2

Table 5: Frequency of alleged perpetrators of personal violence. %

	Experienced	Witnessed
ZANU PF	24	23
Youth militia	20	27
War veterans	27	27
Central Intelligence Organization	10	6
Army	7	7
Police	3	2
Other teachers	4	2
Traditional leaders	2	2
Unidentified	3	1
Ministry of Education officials		1

Table 8: Place where violence witnessed. %

Place of violence	
At school during working hours	47
At community meeting	28
At home after working hours	15
At militia base	9
Other	1



Recommendations

These recommendations are largely based on the outcomes of the UNESCO seminar 'Protecting Education from Attack' in Paris 2009. We have amended, updated and systematized the recommendations to better reflect specific measures that can be taken at the global, state and activist levels. While the global level refers to supranational organizations and structures, the state level refers to policymakers and the executive branches of government especially. The activist level refers to local, national and international NGOs and other non-state stakeholders. While pointing out the measures we deem most important and effective, the list is not meant to be exhaustive.

Global level

- Establish a system of global surveillance of the full range of attacks on education, which would comprise several key information including incidence, prevalence and trends in attacks. Such a system should utilize previous efforts made in the establishment of global indicators in capturing and analyzing data.
- Strengthen the protection of higher education in international humanitarian and human rights law, persecuting not only those responsible for attacks, but also those failing their obligation to prevent attacks from happening.
- Develop guidelines on the use of human rights law and international humanitarian law to protect education in situations of conflict and insecurity.
- Strengthen the collection and use of data on attacks on education via the Monitoring and Reporting Mechanism in Children and Armed Conflict and other relevant monitoring and reporting mechanisms.

State level

- Fund research into the nature, scope and motives of attacks; the long term impact of such attacks on individuals, communities, education systems, and the right to good quality education for all; and the

relationship between attacks on education and development, conflict and fragility.

- Assisting other states and actors to provide credible protection for learners, educators, academics, students, education trade unionists and education aid workers.
- Ensure a physical diplomatic presence at relevant hearings, court cases and other relevant arenas.
- Promoting and financing Higher Education Institutions' participation in schemes like Scholars At Risk; establishing unilateral and multilateral alternative schemes for students kept from continuing their education in violation of their human rights or as result of political oppression.
- Continuously evaluating interventions aimed at preventing and responding to attacks on education.
- Ensure a legal framework and judicial system up to par with human rights and other international conventions.

Activist level

- Identify and partner with relevant NGOs and other bodies locally to monitor and document attacks on education.
- Exploring the relationship between ideals of academic freedom and the freedom from attacks on education.
- Engaging with the media to raise public awareness of the nature, scope, motives and impact of attacks.
- Engaging with the media to influence political will at local, national and international levels to increase accountability, both for attacking education and failing to protect it.
- Advocating for states to ensure legal, law enforcement, and judicial frameworks, resources and capacity as well as the political will to investigate attacks on education, identifying and prosecuting the perpetrators.
- Exploring avenues for increasing the protection of education facilities in human rights and international humanitarian law.
- Collect, systematize and analyze best practices, effectiveness and risks of increasing community involvement in the provision of education as a protective measure during conflict and insecurity.





**Mugabe
must go!**

Photo: The Danish Operation Dagsværk