

# MAKONI SOUTH

## 1. OVERVIEW

### 1.1 Study area

Makoni South constituency lies in Makoni district which is in Manicaland Province. The area investigated is in the communal areas, except Ward 31 which is a resettlement area (Mutanda Resettlement). Politically, the constituency is MDC dominated with the exception of resettlement areas. There are ten wards in the constituency, including Wards 23, 28, 29, 30, 31 and 33.

Generally people in the area survive on communal farming, which includes gardening and horticulture. The area receives average and sometimes low rainfall. Some people supplement their incomes by crossing to South Africa to buy goods and reselling in Rusape and Mutare. Their main sources of water is from boreholes. Most communities in the constituency have transport problems. The communal people receive food aid from some donor agencies, which also provide health assistance.

### 1.2 Summary

- **Organisation of violence**

Violence was organised from the 3.2 Infantry battalion, which was at the helm of the structure of violence. The 3.2 battalion financed the programmes through Major General George Kafesu (ZNA). Kafesu instructs the ZANU-PF coordinator Nathaniel Mhiripiri (war veteran) to form militia bases. The coordinator then liaised with the traditional leader Chief Broadwork Gandanzara to drum up support for ZANU-PF. The chief used his influence and threats of violence to mobilise communities under his chieftainship to attend ZANU-PF meetings (Gwidza and Jakata bases). The coordinator also liaised with Zimbabwe Republic Police to block possible arrests of perpetrators of violence.

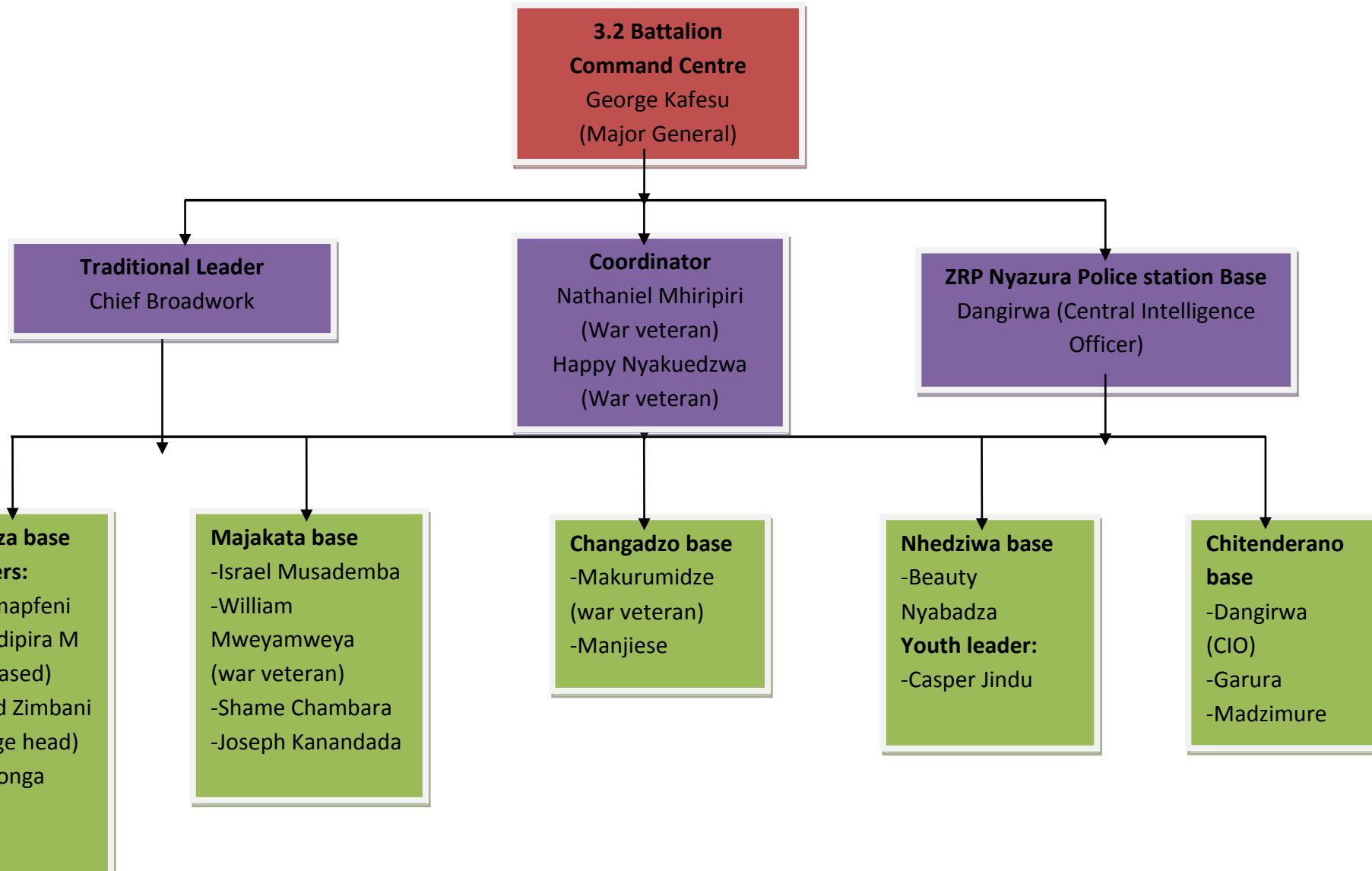
The coordinator organized bases and selected base commanders. The bases were comprised of war veterans, youth officers, green bombers and ZANU-PF youth militia. Base activities like pungwes, toy-toying and torturing were organised by base commanders. It is at this level that victims were identified and subjected to terror. Some of the top leaders have grabbed farms (Mhiripiri) within the constituency. By so doing they are tied to ZANU-PF and are trying as much as is possible to prevent ZANU-PF from losing power.

The perpetrators get paid through food supplies as a form of motivation to perpetrate violence. Village heads also participated because they were and are still getting payment in form of cash (\$20) brought by Madzimure from the DA's office.

There are 5 dormant bases and 2 active bases in Makoni South constituency.



• **Organisational structure**



**2. DATA ON BASES**

## 2.1 Table of bases

Name of base	Place (Building?)	Grid reference	Status	Used			
				02	05	08	10
Majakata	Majakata Primary School building		Dormant	√	√	√	
Gwidza	Gandanzara Secondary School		Active	√	√	√	√
Changadzo	Business building		Dormant	√	√	√	
Nhedziwa	Nhedziwa Business centre		Dormant	√	√	√	
Chitenderano	Chitenderano old unused shop		Dormant	√	√	√	
Nyazura Pol.station	Police station buildings		Dormant	√	√	√	
Chingono Churh	Chingono School		Active				√

**Notes:** Most of the bases used in 2008 are dormant except Gandanzara and a newly established base disguised as a church of the Johane WeChishanu sect in Chingono village.

## 2.2 2008 Violence

- 2008 incidents of serious violence (for each base/place)

MAJAKATA BASE					
Incident	Description of Incident	Source of info	Verification	Names/IDs of alleged perpetrators	Names/IDs of victims
1	<b>GBH (18/06/08, 1400hrs)</b> Violence was ordered by Israel Musademba. David Kawadza (40) was abducted by 2 pm and beaten at the base and lost 3 teeth in the process. He reported the case the following day to Officer Dirwai at Chimbike camp, but got no help from the ZRP. The perpetrators are still in the area.	DK	The researchers met the victim, David Kawadza and saw his missing teeth.	-William Mweyamweya - Shame Chambara -Joseph Kanandada	DK

### GWIDZA BASE

Incident	Description of Incident	Source of info	Verification	Names/IDs of alleged perpetrators	Names/IDs of victims
1	<p><b>GBH (20/06/08, 0000hrs)</b>  Violence was ordered by Nyamapfeni. Norbert Mugomba was forced to go to the base by unknown ZANU-PF youths. He was assaulted using sticks and fists and was forced to sing anti-MDC songs by base leaders Mathew Mandipira {now deceased } and Maponga (an ex-refugee). He sustained serious wounds on his whole body. Perpetrators are still in the area except Mandipira who is now deceased.</p>	CK	The researchers met the victim and saw some of the scars on his body.	-Matthew Mandipira	NM
<p><b>Notes:</b> Leaders at the bases were ZANU-PF top leadership, war veterans, ZANU-PF youths and ZRP officers. No arrests were made on reported incidents.</p>					

Incident	Description of Incident	Source of info	Verification	Names/IDs of alleged perpetrators	Names/IDs of victims
1	<b>GBH (06/06/08, 1300hrs)</b> Violence was ordered by Nathaniel Mhiripiri. Jorum Bakare was captured and severely assaulted by armed soldiers. He was forced to roll on the ground for almost 100 metres. He was kicked at the back of his head. It is not really known whether perpetrators are still at 3.2 Infantry battalion because researchers were denied access to the barracks.	JB	Researchers met and interviewed Jorum and saw the scars on his body.	Unknown armed soldiers from 3.2 Brigade	JB

**CHITENDERANO BASE (WARD 30)**

Incident	Description of Incident	Source of info	Verification	Names/IDs of alleged perpetrators	Names/IDs of victims
1	<b>GBH (10/06/08, 1600hrs)</b> Violence was ordered by Nathaniel Mhiripiri. Petros Muchekechi was captured and severely assaulted using fists and heavy sticks. His backbone was broken. The case was not reported to any police station. Perpetrators are still in the area.	MB		-Dangirwa (CIO) -Garura (war veteran)	PM

**Notes:** In Wards 29, 30 and 31, following tip-offs from local ZANU-PF cadres, some members of the opposition MDC were abducted by armed soldiers and forced to go to bases to be tortured. Soldiers were operating in collaboration with the police, war veterans and ZANU-PF youths to terrorise MDC activists. Mitsubishi pick-ups were used to transport alleged perpetrators of violence to and from bases and also to transport the abducted victims to the police station (Nyazura).

**NYAZURA BASE**

<b>Incident</b>	<b>Description of Incident</b>	<b>Source of info</b>	<b>Verification</b>	<b>Names/IDs of alleged perpetrators</b>	<b>Names/IDs of victims</b>
<b>1</b>	<p><b>GBH (06/06/08, 1900hrs)</b>                      Violence was ordered by Dangirwa (CIO and Base commander) and Garura (war veteran). Jorum Bakare was transferred from Nhedziwa base to Nyazura Police camp by unidentified soldiers, who assaulted him at the camp. He sustained serious body injuries. A docket was opened accusing him (the victim) of public violence including training MDC activists on how to use petrol bombs.</p>	JB (victim)	The researchers met the victim and observed the scars which he sustained during the torture	Unidentified Soldiers	JB

**CHANGADZO BASE**

<b>Incident</b>	<b>Description of Incident</b>	<b>Source of info</b>	<b>Verification</b>	<b>Names/IDs of alleged perpetrators</b>	<b>Names/IDs of victims</b>
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1	<b>GBH (17/06/08, 2000hrs)</b> Violence was ordered by Makurumidze (war veteran and base commander). John Njanike was abducted from his home and taken to the base where he was physically assaulted using fists, kicks and sticks. His ribs and leg were broken. The incident was reported at Chimbike Police came but no arrests were made. Perpetrators are still roaming freely in the area	BK		-Chihwa and other ZANU-PF youths	JN
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### 2.3 Current intimidation and violence

- Incidents of current violence and intimidation (for each base/place)

CHINGONO PRIMARY (BUSH VENUE)					
Incident	Description of Incident	Source of info	Verification	Names/IDs of alleged perpetrators	Names/IDs of victims

1	<p><b>Forced Participation and Intimidation (06/08/10, 1000hrs)</b></p> <p>The ZANU-PF militia is forcing people to support the ZAN-PF position in the new craft of the new constitution. ZANU-PF sympathizers have infiltrated the Johanne Masowe church and have used the church as a platform for violence and propaganda. For example, Zimbabwe National Army (ZNA) member: Brigadier Douglas Nyikayaramba is the leader of the church base. He openly praises Robert Mugabe and his ZANU-PF party castigating whites as demonic. During church proceedings the leader wears ZANU-PF regalia and chants party slogans .They are intimidating people that whoever opposes the ZANU-PF position in the new constitution will face harsh consequences, namely torture.</p>	-Mandiwangira (an MDC activist in Chingono)		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Brigadier Douglas Nyikayaramba</li> <li>-Cephas Makurumidze (war veteran)</li> <li>-Shephard Nyamubarwa (ZANU-PF District Political Commissar)</li> <li>-Kimpton Musvosvi (ZANU-PF District Chairman)</li> <li>-David Nenge (war vet)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Nobert Mugomba</li> <li>-The community of Gandanzara area</li> </ul>
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**GANDANZARA MOBILE BASE**

Incident	Description of Incident	Source of info	Verification	Names/IDs of alleged perpetrators	Names/IDs of victims
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1	<p><b>Intimidation and threats (05/08/10, 1000hrs)</b>          Traditional leader Chief Broadwork Gandanzara called for traditional gathering at Gandanzara School that was really a ZANU-PF meeting. Nyakuedzwa, a war veteran, addressed the gathering himself. He issued death threats against those who opposed ZANU-PF's position on the constitution. He emphasised the support of the Kariba Draft and presidential executive powers. He ordered the village heads to advise people that they risk losing their land if they participated against ZANU-PF during the constitutional outreach. No report was made to the police and perpetrators are free in the area.</p>	CK	The researchers attended the meeting	-Chief Broadwork Gandanzara - Nyakuedzwa(war veteran) -David Zimbani (Village head) -Super Zengwa ( best known as Nhamo)	Communities under the Chieftainship of Gandanzara
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## 2.4 Description of bases

<b>GANDANZARA BASE</b>						
<b>PERSONNEL</b>						
<i>Name</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Sex</i>	<i>Organisation</i>	<i>Rank/ID</i>	<i>Role</i>	<i>Source of information</i>
-Happy Nyakuedzwa	50s	M	War veteran	Commander	Directing	CK
-Chief Broadwork Gandanzara	50s	M	-Traditional Leader	Coordinator	Coordination	
-David Nenge		M	-War Veteran		Mobilization	
-David Zimbane	50s	M	-Traditional Leader	-Kraal Head	Mobilisation	
<b>FINANCE AND SUPPORT</b>						
It is believed that the traditional leaders are paid for their role that they are playing to enforce ZANU-PF strategies in the communities (twenty dollars per month). The money is paid in cash and the secretary in the office of the District Administrator, identified as Nhiwatiwa, is responsible for the payroll.						

<b>VEHICLES</b>						
<i>Name of owner/ driver</i>	<i>Make/model</i>	<i>Reg.No</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Colour</i>	<i>Marking</i>	<i>Use</i>
Happy Nyakuedzwa	Mazda B1800		Early 90s	White	GMB	Ferrying youths to targeted destinations
<b>WEAPONS</b>						
<i>Name of owners/users</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Display(Yes/No)</i>	<i>Notes and comments</i>		
				The type of violence is mostly committed verbally - issuing threats and intimidation.		
<b>ACCOMODATION AND EQUIPMENT</b>						
<i>Description</i>	<i>Use</i>	<i>Notes and comments</i>				
		The base has no permanent building and it is disguised as traditional gatherings.				

**Notes:** Although the base is mobile, it uses Gandanzara School which is about hundred metres away from people's homes. The base's foot print influences all the communities under Gandanzara's Chieftaincy. About 400 people are usually at the gatherings. The perpetrators are the ones responsible for the political violence of June 2008. They have been involved in cases of assaults.

### CHINGONO CHURCH

<b>PERSONNEL</b>						
<i>Name</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Sex</i>	<i>Organisation</i>	<i>Rank/ID</i>	<i>Role</i>	<i>Source of information</i>
-Brigadier Douglas Nyikayaramba	55	M	War Veteran's Association	Commander	Directing	MM)
-Sheperd Nyamubarwa	51	M	ZANU-PF	Political Commissar	Coordinator	
-Kempton Musvosvi	53	M	ZANU-PF	Youth chairman	Coordinator	
<b>FINANCE AND SUPPORT</b>						
The leaders at the church are believed to be paid in cash by ZANU-PF for influencing people to support ZANU-PF and its programmes. They are also paid in the form of agricultural inputs such as fertilisers and seeds.						
<b>VEHICLES</b>						
<i>Name of owner/ driver</i>	<i>Make/model</i>	<i>Reg.No</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Colour</i>	<i>Marking</i>	<i>Use</i>

<b>WEAPONS</b>				
<i>Name of owners/users</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Display(Yes/No)</i>	<i>Notes and comments</i>
				The violence is in the form of verbal intimidation, threats and enforced participation.
<b>ACCOMODATION AND EQUIPMENT</b>				
<i>Description</i>	<i>Use</i>	<i>Notes and comments</i>		
		The base is disguised as a church and people attend church services and go back home after the service.		
<b>Notes:</b> There is one common feature in the character of the bases of 2008 and the way the Johane Masowe church conduct their services;:the overnight 'pungwes'. The church leaders put on ZANU-PF regalia and chant slogans during the church proceedings.				

**COMMENT:**

The infiltration of churches is used as a ZANU-PF platform to dish out its propaganda and intimidation. In general, most people in the Makoni community are Christians. The Control of these churches has been temporarily overtaken by ZANU-PF war veterans. Besides church infiltrations, Brigadier Douglas Nyikayaramba is said to be intending to establish a military base in the constituency.

**2.5 SUMMARY OF MEANS OF CONTROL**

- **Denial of access to food, resources and benefits.**

GMB was supplying food and agricultural inputs to ZANU-PF supporters through their leaders - Happy Nyakuedzwa, Headman Gandanzara and kraal-heads. Those who were not affiliated to ZANU-PF were denied access to these benefits by way of excluding their names from the list.

- **Raiding resources and destroying property**

ZANU-PF supporters maintained control of power in the constituency by destroying property, for example, in 2002 they petrol-bombed the house of Bothwell Kawadza (I.D No. 63-164446F-42) and destroyed most of his household properties. It is alleged that the perpetrators were led and directed by Cephaz Makarumidze (I.D No. 29-129291X-42)

- **Coercion, threats and violence**

The militia were able to exercise control through threats of violence with impunity since no arrests have been made on reported cases of violence. If victims reported their cases to the police no investigations or arrests were affected. Some victims were even assaulted at Nyazura Police Station by uniformed soldiers in June 2008 (source: Jorum Bakare). In addition, MDC councillors are being prevented from taking a leading role in NGO developmental projects. The responsibilities are instead given to village heads in conjunction with influential ZANU-PF cadres.

**3 COMMUNITY STRATEGIES AND TACTICS FOR VIOLENCE-FREE ELECTIONS**

**3.1 Background**

- **Community assessment**

**Level of fear**

*Able to speak freely*

1	2	3	4	5
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*Unable and unwilling to speak freely*

**Willingness to resist violence**

*Strong will to resist violence*

1	2	3	4	5
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*No will to resist violence*

**Capacity to resist violence**

*Well organised, strong leadership*

1	2	3	4	5
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*Weak organisation and leadership*

**Comments:**

The establishment of VOD peace committees had the effect of increasing people’s willingness to resist violence.

- **Nongovernmental Organisations**

<b>ORGANIZATION</b>	<b>MANDATE</b>	<b>LEVEL OF INDEPENDENCE</b>
GOAL	GOAL is involved in food assistance and health development in the constituency.	Not very independent for it has been infiltrated by a war veteran psychiatrist Stephen Mudambo who is based at Rusape General hospital. He is said to have been trained at Mugagawu camp in Tanzania.
Biochemical Research Training Institute (BRT)	-assistance on HIV & AIDS issues -assisting the under-privileged on sanitary issues like building toilets -helping orphans	No infiltration from any sector was discovered in this organisation.

### **3.1 Organisation**

- **Establishment of committees and operational unit**

Committees have been formed in each ward comprising 10 members. A district peace committee comprising 10 members has been formed and its duty is to oversee the overall operations of the ward committees. Each ward has a Defender of Peace and there is a district Defender of Peace who oversees the overall operations of ward DOPs.

- **Building of membership**

Each ward committee has been tasked to drive membership within their respective wards.

### **3.2 Information and communications**

- **Methods of gathering information**

DoPs shall be the foundation for all information gathering. They shall attend ZANU-PF meetings so as to provide information on ZANU-PF plans. They will also investigate the plans and activities of the traditional leadership.

Peace committees assisted by Defenders of Peace shall monitor the movements of key perpetrators and activities at the shopping centres so as to detect any signs of violence. They will observe and monitor the political environment and frequent pubs and beer halls which key perpetrators usually frequent.

- **Methods of relaying information**

The area of Makoni has moderate network coverage. Within the constituency word pass shall be used as a method of relaying information. A select number of cell phones can serve as another method. However, those with cell phones will have to travel long distances in search of network coverage. To relay information to areas outside the constituency the media shall be used in addition to as cell phones.

### **3.3 Strategic Objectives**

- To facilitate the capacity of locals to prevent or reduce pre-election violence
- To reduce fear amongst potential voters and also to increase their confidence.
- To demoralise perpetrators of violence so that they will not kill, maim and rape villagers

- To produce a credible election that will be accepted by the international community
- To register new voters and also clean the voters' roll

### **3.4 Key Strategies**

- **Neutralising key points in structure of violence and control**

Naming and shaming of perpetrators: this involves exposing the perpetrators' names and details as a way of weakening their confidence.

A 'soft approach' can also be utilized which involves engagement and dialogue with specific perpetrators and some traditional leaders who are sympathetic to the MDC with the intention of stopping or reducing violence.

Neutralising perpetrators' investments like farms and shops is an additional strategy.

### **3.5 Tactical Actions**

- **Neutralise key points of violence and control**

This can be achieved by the use of spray paint by DOPs to write the names of perpetrators on rocks and other public places where people can read about them. Leaders like Happy Nyakuedzwa, Headman Broadwork Gandanzara (Ward 23), Israel Mweyamweya (Ward 23), and Alec Garura (Ward 28) should be publicized.

Publishing the activities of key perpetrators like Nathaniel Mhiripiri, the notorious Happy Nyakuedzwa and some traditional leaders on independent radio stations: such as Studio 7, and independent papers: such as the Zimbabwean, can shame perpetrators.

Negotiations can be carried out with traditional leaders with the help of the MDC Member of Parliament for the area. Most of the kraal heads in the constituency sympathise with the MDC and this can make it easier to have peace campaigns in the constituency. The campaigns would be targeting the paramount Chief Makoni, Headman Broadwork Gandanzara and some war veterans to avoid acts of violence ahead of elections. This is to be carried out by the Members of Parliament, the councillors, the appointed DOPs, and the ZRP.

## **4. SUPPORT**

- Whistles -for raising an alarm in the event of an attack on the members.
- Spray paint-for writing names of perpetrators of violence and some remarks that would instil fear in them and thereby reducing activities of violence
- Cell phones-for communication.