

ZAKA WEST

1. OVERVIEW

1.1 Study area

The study areas falls under Masvingo province. Zaka West is a communal land which receives below average rainfall, making it prone to drought. Zaka West falls under the chieftainship of Bota. The area has 8 wards and researchers managed to cover 7 wards. The wards covered were 17, 22, 23, 24, 27, 29, and 33.

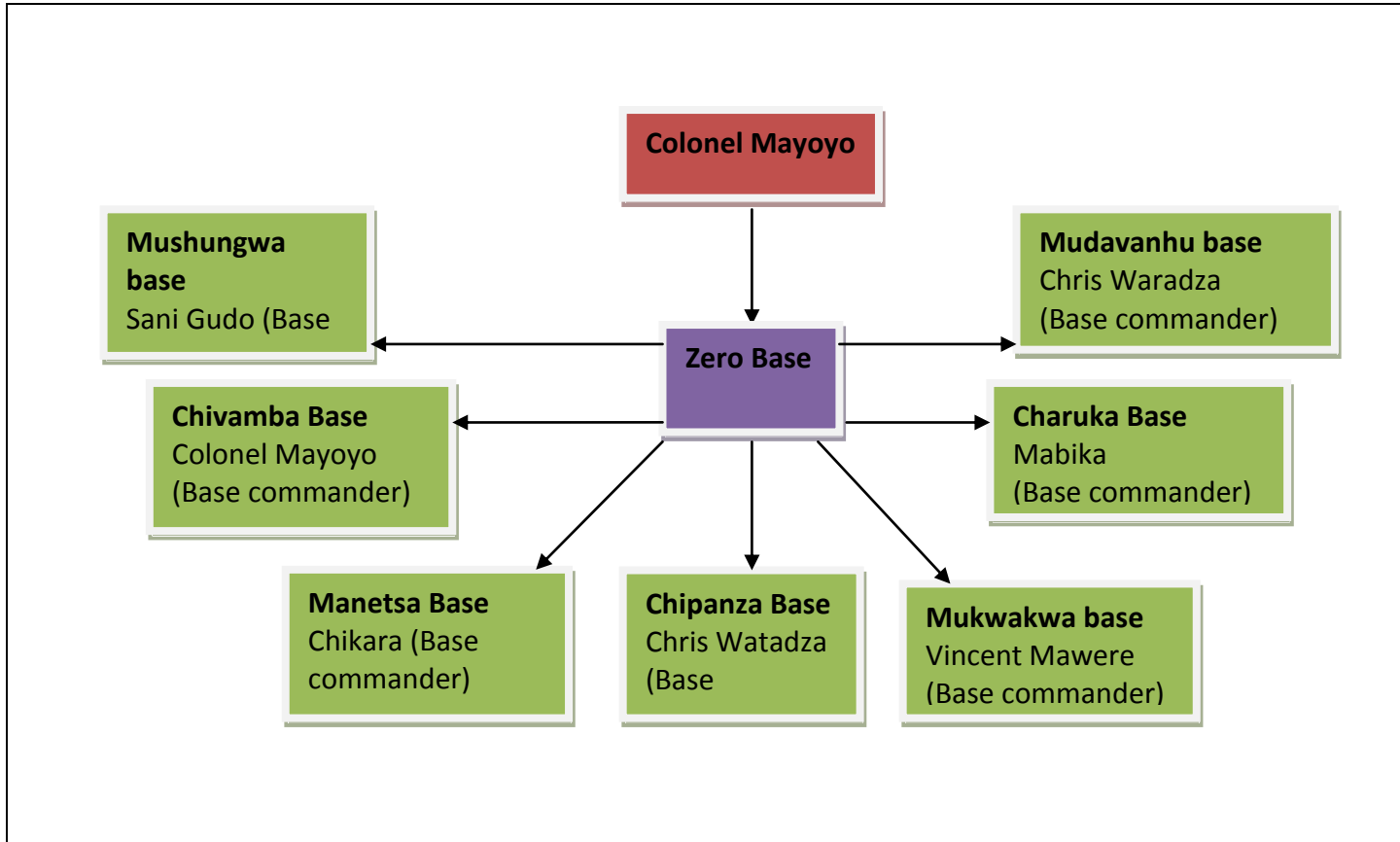
The chief perpetrators of violence, which includes Lieutenant Colonel Mayoyo, were ex-soldier Fani Gudo and Professor Makonese (UZ). They were base commanders at Mushungwa and Chivamba bases. Benjamin Chikani, a ZANU-PF councillor, is also influential. Youth officers who are key perpetrators include Rodreck Baradze, Tovadini Makwanda and Bernard Madziire.

1.2 Summary

- *Organisation of violence*

Violence in the constituency was organised by Colonel Mayoyo. There are 13 bases in the whole constituency. However, 4 are currently active. These are Chivamba Base (headed by Colonel Mayoyo), Mukwakwa Base (headed by Vincent Mawere), Mudavanhu Base and Charuka Base. Colonel Mayoyo worked with base commanders in 2008 and is currently the main strategist. Most of the base commanders are war veterans. The area has 8 dormant bases and 4 active ones.

- **Organisational structure**



2. DATA ON BASES

2.1 Table of bases

Name of base	Place (Building?)	Grid ref.	Status	Used			
				02	05	08	10
Zero base	Jerera Growth point		Dormant			√	
Charuka	Charuka Primary school		Active				√
Manatsa	Manatsa B.centre		Dormant	√		√	
Zingwena	Zingwena B.centre		Dormant	√	√	√	
Chipanza	Bvumbura B.centre		Dormant	√	√	√	
Chivamba	Chivamba B.centre		Dormant	√	√	√	
Mukwakwa	Dekeza B.centre		Active	√	√	√	√
Vanyoro	Community hall		Dormant	√	√	√	
Mutsvangwa	Gvt building AREX offices		Dormant	√	√	√	
Mudavanhu	Mudavanhu		Active				√
Mushungwa	Community hall		Dormant	√	√	√	
Chivamba	District Administrator's (D.A) bar		Active				√

Notes: Most of the bases are active during election time, especially Zingwena, Chipanza, Chivamba, Vanyoro, Mutsvangwa and Mushungwa. Bases are situated at business centres and council community halls. Current bases are sited at primary schools headed by pro-ZANU-PF school heads.

2.2 2008 Violence

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

MANATSA BASE					
Incident	Description of Incident	Source of info	Verification	Names/IDs of alleged perpetrators	Names/IDs of victims
1	Abduction & Torture (10/06/08, 1730hrs) Chikara (ZANU-PF youth leader) ordered the violence. The victim was abducted by soldiers whilst she was working in her garden near her place of residence. She was ferried to Manatsa base using an army truck. She was tortured and beaten using feet and fists.	FG		ZANU-PF youth known as Chikara	CI

Notes: Soldiers who abducted the victim came from Ferri training centre (a vocational training centre established in early 80s). Soldiers who perpetrated violence were temporarily residing at the training centre. To this day the victim is constantly ill due to internal injuries sustained in the attack. The victim was a facilitator for Care International. She was a ZANU-PF supporter before 2005. She defected to the MDC in 2005. She had influence in the distribution of food in her respective Ward. ZANU-PF officials failed to manipulate the food distribution procedures due to her insistence on fair and impartial procedures.

CHIPANZA BASE					
Incident	Description of Incident	Source of info	Verification	Names/IDs of alleged perpetrators	Names/IDs of victims
1	GBH (03/06/08, 1900hrs) AM was spotted by militia whilst at the local shops. He was then marched to Chipanza base around 7pm. He was tortured whilst his head was covered with a sack. He was beaten using sjamboks and wooden sticks.	JZ	Researchers talked to his relative who confirmed the incident.	-Chris Watadza -Simon Chigavenga -Lawrence Shumba	AM

Notes: Chris Watadza is the current councillor and the Headmaster at Mudavanhu Primary school. He was the base commander at Chipanza base in June 2008. There was no attempt to report the matter to the local police. The victim was targeted because he was and is an MDC activist.

MUKWAKWA BASE					
Incident	Description of Incident	Source of info	Verification	Names/IDs of alleged perpetrators	Names/IDs of victims
1	Murder The victim was murdered a few metres away from the base. The victim and perpetrators were drinking traditional beer a homestead. The victim was attacked on his way home.	Peter Pedzisai (district youth chair MDC)	The perpetrator is psychologically affected by the murder. He calls out the victim's name all the time.	-Tauya Makonese -Sani Gudo	Magen'a

MUSHUNGWA BASE					
Incident	Description of Incident	Source of info	Verification	Names/IDs of alleged perpetrators	Names/IDs of victims
1	Stock theft and Torture (03/02/08, 1800hrs) The victim was forced to march from his home to the base by a group of more than 20 ZANU-PF youths. The victim was on the base commander's most wanted list. He was beaten with wooden sticks. After torturing him the youths took 4 goats, 2 sheep and a numbers of chickens from his home. His wife was also forced to attend base meetings every day from 6am-6pm whilst she was pregnant.	KG (victim)	Researchers talked to the victim and saw medical reports from Musiso hospital.	-Sani Gudo (base commander and ex-soldier) - Tafi Makono	KG

VANYORO BASE					
Incident	Description of Incident	Source of info	Verification	Names/IDs of alleged perpetrators	Names/IDs of victims
1	<p>Arson and Food Theft (13/06/08, 0400hrs) Soldiers from Ferri training centre, along with youths from the base, attacked MDC activists who were hiding on Chigombi mountain. They fired live ammunition in the air to scare the victims. Perpetrators proceeded to Chimondo homestead and set his house on fire. 8 blankets, 3 passports and other property were burnt. The perpetrators seized groceries brought by the victim's daughter from South Africa. They proceeded to M's homestead where they destroyed window panes and whipped his two wives. To date M's wife has internal injuries.</p>	M (victim)	Researchers talked to the victims	-Soldiers (names not known) -Colonel Mayoyo	M Mr C

Notes: M had won the council elections which is why he was targeted. The case was not reported to the police.

CHIVAMBA BASE					
Incident	Description of Incident (Date, Time)	Source of info	Verification	Names/IDs of alleged perpetrators	Names/IDs of victims
1	<p>Torture , Intimidation and Theft (18/06/08, 1900hrs)</p> <p>Victims were taken from their homes, marched to the base and beaten thoroughly with wooden sticks. R1,880 belonging to the victim was taken by Tsopi Nhendo. The base commander Nenjana ordered the violence. Perpetrators have relocated to resettlement areas.</p>	PP	The researchers talked to the victim and managed to acquire the docket number CR183/07/08	<p>-Nenjana (base commander)</p> <p>- Chomugore (war veteran)</p> <p>-Tsopi Nhendo</p> <p>-Councillor Benjamin Chikuni</p>	AD) Mr M
2	<p>Torture (25/06/08, 2330hrs)</p> <p>Victims were taken from their homes to the base where they were tortured using wooden sticks and sjamboks. Youth officers Bernard Madziire and Rodrick Baradze ordered the violence. Perpetrators are still free.</p>	Researchers spoke to victims who gave docket numbers – KC 's case docket number is CR58/10/09	VM (victim)	<p>-Professor Makonese(UZ)</p> <p>-Rodrick Baradze(youth officer)</p> <p>-Bernard Madziire(youth officer)</p> <p>-Tovadini Makwanda(youth officer)</p>	VM KC

Notes: Zero base was responsible for strategy formulation. All other bases received instructions and information from Zero base. Zero base is commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Mayoyo.

2.3 Current intimidation and violence

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

MUKWAKWA BASE					
Incident	Description of Incident (Date, Time)	Source of info	Verification	Names/IDs of alleged perpetrators	Names/IDs of victims
1	<p>Threats (23/07/10, 1000hrs) The victim was threatened with death and seizure of his land. The victim was threatened because he refused to join ZANU-PF structures. The perpetrator went to the victims homestead and threatened him with death.</p>	Mr B		<p>-Vincent Mawere (ZANU-PF DCC chairperson) -Freddy Makonese (Sub-chief) -Chakavata (Village Head)</p>	IM

Notes: I.T Mushava is a very influential person which is why the ZANU-PF DCC chairperson wanted him to attend all ZANU-PF meetings. His Village Head Chakavata also threatened Mushava with land seizure if he does not join ZANU-PF. The victim is living in perpetual fear. Freddy Makonese is the sub chief who replaced I T Mushava.

CHIVAMBA BASE					
Incident	Description of Incident (Date, Time)	Source of info	Verification	Names/IDs of alleged perpetrators	Names/IDs of victims
1	<p>Attempted Murder (07/05/10, 0100hrs) At Chivamba Business Centre behind the DA's beer hall, two soldiers attempted to abduct and kill a guard at the DA's bar. The victim was instructed by the DA to accompany one of the soldiers to his base which is 7km away. The security guard refused because he had been tipped of the intention to kill him.</p>	RM (Victim)		<p>-Lit Colonel Mayoyo -2 unknown soldiers</p>	RM

Notes: A few days after Mayoyo threatened Musareva with death, two soldiers arrived on 07 May 2010 and had a brief talk with the DA who then instructed Musareva to accompany one of the two soldiers by foot to a base 7km away.

CHARUKA PRIMARY SCHOOL					
Incident	Description of Incident (Date, Time)	Source of info	Verification	Names/IDs of alleged perpetrators	Names/IDs of victims
1	Intimidation (23/05/10, 1000hrs) ZANU-PF youth meetings are held at the school. During one of the youth meetings Reuben Rusosa threatened MR with torture if she did not join ZANU-PF before next elections.	BM		-Reuben Rusosa (youth officer) -Anesu Mabika (headmaster)	Teachers MR

Notes: Four primary schools have turned into ZANU-PF meeting grounds. The schools include Charuka, Sazaume, Dekeza and Mudavanhu primary schools. The number of schools (including secondary schools) in the whole constituency that hold ZANU-PF gatherings is approximately 20. Anesu Mabika does not allow community meetings or meetings hosted by the MDC councillor at his school. ZANU-PF fertiliser that was meant for Ward 24 was stored at Charuka Primary School until distribution to party supporters in May 2010.

MUDAVANHU BASE					
Incident	Description of Incident (Date, Time)	Source of info	Verification	Names/IDs of alleged perpetrators	Names/IDs of victims
1	Intimidation (Early June 2010, 0800hrs) In early June, headmaster Watadza gathered village heads and gave them instructions on what to say in front of COPAC officials.	JZ		Chris Watadza (headmaster)	Village Heads JZ

Notes: Chris Watadza is the councillor for Ward 17. He is also the base commander at Mudavanhu primary school where ZANU-PF meetings are held during the weekends. He was once a base commander at Mutsvangwa base in June 2008.

COPAC

People could not freely give their views as they had been intimidated by militia. Jabulani Sibanda had on several occasions visited Zaka district threatening people with unspecified action if they failed to support Robert Mugabe's ideology.

2.4 Description of bases

MUKWAKWA BASE						
PERSONNEL						
<i>Name</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Sex</i>	<i>Organisation</i>	<i>Rank/ID</i>	<i>Role</i>	<i>Source of information</i>
Vincent Mawere	Late 50s	M	ZANU-PF	DCC chairperson	Base commander	PP
Tauya Makonese		M	ZANU-PF	Youth officer	mobilisation	
FINANCE AND SUPPORT						
Payments to personnel (Q22, 23): Tauya Makonese is a youth officer on the Government payroll.						
Local supplies, food and provisions (Q24, 25): Vincent Mawere provides all food supplies to the base and provides catering equipment at every meeting.						
VEHICLES						
<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>
Vincent Mawere (driver)	Mazda pickup			White	ZANU-PF Zaka DCC	To mobilise ZANU-PF activities and meetings
WEAPONS						
<i>Name of owners/users</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Display(Yes/No)</i>	<i>Notes and comments</i>		
ACCOMODATION AND EQUIPMENT						
<i>Description</i>	<i>Use</i>	<i>Notes and comments</i>				

		No accommodation is offered at the base. It is a huge Mukwakwa tree that base members gather under.
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Notes: The base is 50 metres away from peoples' homes. The foot print of the base is 10km. There are usually about 35 people gathered by the base as it is near a shopping centre and some schools.

CHARUKA BASE						
PERSONNEL						
<i>Name</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Sex</i>	<i>Organisation</i>	<i>Rank/ID</i>	<i>Role</i>	<i>Source of information</i>
Mabika	Late 40s	M	ZANU-PF	Green bomber	Base Commander	BM
Ruben Rusosa	35	M	ZANU-PF	Y/officer	Mobilisation	
Andrew Pikiti	37	M	ZANU-PF	Y/officer	Mobilisation	
FINANCE AND SUPPORT						
Payments to personnel (Q22, 23): Ruben Rusosa, Andrew Pikiti and Elizabeth Bhara are youth officers on Government payroll. Elizabeth Bhara EC No. 6105542H, has a POSB account (pay slip has been provided).						
Local supplies, food and provisions (Q24, 25): The youths are given fertiliser from ZANU-PF. Mabika stocks the fertiliser at Charuka primary school and also distributes it to ZANU-PF supporters.						
VEHICLES						
<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>
WEAPONS						
<i>Name of owners/users</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Display(Yes/No)</i>	<i>Notes and comments</i>		
ACCOMODATION AND EQUIPMENT						
<i>Description</i>	<i>Use</i>	<i>Notes and comments</i>				

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Notes: The base is 100 metres away from peoples' homes. The foot print of the base is 40km diameter. The base is at primary school. ZANU-PF meetings are held at the school. The school head Mabika is always at the base. When they are having meetings around 25 people will be at the base. Mabika threatens teachers and wears ZANU-PF militia regalia at the school.

MUDAVANHU BASE						
PERSONNEL						
<i>Name</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Sex</i>	<i>Organisation</i>	<i>Rank/ID</i>	<i>Role</i>	<i>Source of information</i>
Chris Watadza	Early 50s	M	ZANU-PF	Councillor	Base commander	JZ
Lawrence Shumba	45	M	ZANU-PF	War veteran	mobilisation	
FINANCE AND SUPPORT						
Payments to personnel (Q22, 23): Government payroll. The war veterans benefit from land reform.						
Local supplies, food and provisions (Q24, 25): No food is supplied at the base						
VEHICLES						
<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>
WEAPONS						
<i>Name of owners/users</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Display(Yes/No)</i>	<i>Notes and comments</i>		
ACCOMODATION AND EQUIPMENT						
<i>Description</i>	<i>Use</i>	<i>Notes and comments</i>				

Notes: The base is 45 metres away from peoples' homes. The foot print of the base is 15km radius. Chris Watadza the councillor and school head is always at the base. Thirty people are usually at the base. The base is sited at primary school.

CHIVAMBA BASE

PERSONNEL

<i>Name</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Sex</i>	<i>Organisation</i>	<i>Rank/ID</i>	<i>Role</i>	<i>Source of information</i>
Lieutenant Colonel Mayoyo	Late 50s	M	ZNA	Lieutenant colonel	Commander	RM
Mutandwa	40s	M	ZANU-PF	Employee at HQ	Mobilisation	
Zindove	50s	M	Local government	District Administrator	Hosting	

FINANCE AND SUPPORT

Payments to personnel (Q22, 23):

Mutandwa is a ZANU-PF employee at the head quarters of the party. The district administrator and Mayoyo are on government pay roll.

Local supplies, food and provisions (Q24, 25):

Zindowe provides beer at his bar.

VEHICLES

<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>

WEAPONS

<i>Name of owners/users</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Display(Yes/No)</i>	<i>Notes and comments</i>

ACCOMODATION AND EQUIPMENT

<i>Description</i>	<i>Use</i>	<i>Notes and comments</i>
		The base is 30 metres away from peoples' homes. The foot print of the base is a 10km radius. The base is disguised as a bar. About 12 people are usually at the base. The base is used for formulate strategy.

2.5 Summary of Means of Control

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

Access to food, agricultural inputs and other benefits like community projects is biased in favour of ZANU-PF. MDC supporters are denied access to food. In ward 28 Tovadini Makwanda a youth officer who was involved in the torture of Vimbai Majoyi and Kiyasi Chilonga on 25 June 2008, facilitates the distribution of food. Food from GMB is distributed following a list compiled by ZANU-PF councillors from ward 17, 27, 28 and 29. Names of MDC activists are sometimes left out and access to food denied in the process.

- **Raiding resources and destroying property**

During election times ZANU-PF activists loot resources. Since 2002 bases have been used to raid MDC activists' homesteads, seizing food and other resources. The burning of houses is common whenever elections are drawing near.

- **Coercion, threats and violence (with Impunity)**

The ZANU-PF militia never stop threatening the people in the constituency. The youths are very confident that they will not be arrested. Threats are prominent in wards won by ZANU-PF.

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 *Unable and unwilling to speak freely*

Willingness to resist violence

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

Capacity to resist violence

Well organised, strong leadership 1 2 3 4 5 *Weak organisation and leadership*

Comments

As shown from the above estimates the community is very willing to resist violence. The presence of army personnel has affected the capacity of the local leadership to resist and contain violence.

- **Nongovernmental organisations**

ORGANIZATION	MANDATE	LEVEL OF INDEPENDENCE
CARE International	Poverty alleviation and food distribution	Very high, they show that they are apolitical and can operate freely
Swedish Agent Trust (SAT)	Promote Agriculture	High, independent

Mvuramanzi Trust	Sanitation	The organisation has been infiltrated by ZANU-PF councillors, such as Chris Watadza in Ward 17. The organization works with councillors and traditional leaders. In areas where there are MDC councillors the organisation has been hijacked by the traditional leadership. Traditional leaders choose the beneficiaries of programmes with the district administrator.
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3.2 Organisation

- **Establishment of committees and operational unit**

Researchers have established peace committees in each of the 8 wards comprising of three members. An overall DOP who covers the whole constituency was installed and each ward has its own Defender of Peace.

- **Building of membership**

The DOPs from all wards are working tirelessly to recruit more members. Peace committees in each of the 8 wards are also driving membership. Each of the peace committee members has been tasked to recruit 3 members per fortnight.

3.3 Information and communications

- **Methods of gathering information**

Defenders of the Peace shall attend ZANU-PF meetings to gather information on upcoming violence. This information will be used by peace committees to come up with strategies to nullify the effect of the violence and possibly prevent it.

- **Methods of relaying information**

The use of cell phones is preferable for the relay of information within the community and to outside support. Word pass shall also be used to relay information within the community.

3.4 Strategic Objectives

- To reduce and minimise violence
- To build the capacity of local communities to prevent and contain violence through peaceful means.
- To understand how violence is organised so as to disable party sponsored violence
- To facilitate the registration of new voters

3.5 Key Strategies

- **Food security and livelihoods**

Currently the whole constituency is in need of food. People are starving since the area is always affected by drought. There is therefore need for food assistance before elections so that food will not be used as a weapon for manipulation and violence. It is also crucial to stop the partisan distribution of agricultural resources.

- **Conflict avoidance: Getting out of harm's way**

Evacuation of targeted people is essential when the situation is tense. When the environment compromises life it is necessary to move people out of harm's way.

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

Personnel:

It is necessary to neutralise people like Lieutenant Colonel Mayoyo, Tovadini Makwanda, Bernard Madziire, Rodrick Baradze and Benjamin Chikuni.

Resources:

There is need to neutralise a grocery shop owned by Vincent Mawere at Dekeza Business Centre.

Bases:

The influence of pro-ZANU-PF school headmasters should be neutralised. Bases which are disguised as shops have to be neutralised.

3.6 Tactical Actions

- **Food Security and Livelihoods**

The peace committees have tasked the local Member of Parliament and MDC Councillors to liaise with NGO's involved in food distribution. The Councillors have been tasked to monitor the food distribution process to make sure it is apolitical. Peace committees will also engage the traditional leadership and demand the inspection of the list of beneficiaries of government funded projects as well as those initiated by the NGO's.

- **Conflict Avoidance: Getting out of harm's way**

The Defenders of Peace shall escort the victims to a safe area where they will look for transport to safe houses in cities like Harare and Masvingo. It shall be the duty of Defenders of Peace to protect immovable property. Movable property shall be transferred to a safe destination within the same constituency. Transport shall also be arranged for those evacuated to come back to cast their votes. The hired transport shall also ferry them out of the constituency soon after they cast their votes.

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

To mount pressure on the police, demonstrations shall be held advocating for the opening of dockets for those who have committed crimes during the June 2008 violence. A petition shall be handed over to the Co-Ministers of Home Affairs, Ministry of Justice, Office of the Prime Minister, Police Commissioner's Office, Human Rights Commission and the District Police Officer for the area. Civic case shall also be pursued against Colonel Mayoyo, Benjamin Chikuni, Rodrick Baradze, Tovadini Makwanda and Benard Madziire. Their cases shall revolve around any of the following:

- a) Looting of livestock
- b) Looting of cash
- c) Destruction of property

Villagers shall be discouraged to buy anything from Vincent Mawere's shop.

To neutralise bases, ghost workers (especially the so-called youth officers) should be removed from the government pay-roll through the engagement of the responsible ministries.

To prevent the use of schools as bases, the peace committees shall approach the responsible ministry to remedy the situation. Base commanders at these schools shall be

exposed to the media for what they are doing. Villagers shall also be told to shun meetings called by these youths who operate from primary schools.

4. Support

- Legal assistance and representation from Zimbabwe Lawyers for Human Rights. Funding is sought for the logistical and technical support necessary for the realisation of this agenda. Peace committees kindly appeal to the funding partners to provide the necessary funds.
- Cell phones are also required for communication purposes. Airtime is also a requirement.
- Bus fares to assist during the evacuation process.
- Food is required before elections. Peace committees will appeal to the NGO's involved in food distribution to assist the community.

Discrepancies:

1. In the box on the first page it states that there are 13 bases. The final sentence in the box states that there are 4 active bases and 8 dormant which makes a total of 12.
2. On page 11, in the Charuka Base table, in the finance and support section it states that a pay slip has been provided. I was not sure if a copy would in fact be provided in the final report so I left it.
3. The organogram on the original document was unclear. Please make sure to check the organogram on the original before accepting my interpretation.