

Challenges of Peacebuilding in Matebeleland North and South Provinces-Zimbabwe (1980-2010)

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ABSTRACT

This paper is entitled “The Challenges of Peacebuilding in Matebeleland North and South Provinces. Zimbabwe (1980-2010).” The main objectives of this study include to establish the major factors contributing to failure of peace-building in the Matabeleland North and South Provinces. Another objective of the study is to evaluate the approaches that can be used to achieve sustainable peace building in the two provinces. Some of the research questions were: What are the major reasons for the failure of peacebuilding and reconciliation processes in Matebeleland North and South Provinces?The rationale for the study is that some of the findings of the study will assist government and non- state actors to learn peacebuilding process to avoid similar mistake like those that were committed in the dark period of 1982 to 1990 in the western Zimbabwe. More importantly, other beneficiaries in the government include The Organ on National Healing and Reconciliation, Trauma Centre. It will assist researchers as well as policy makers, institutions such as those dealing with peace, governance, conflict on how to deal with post conflict situations. The design of the study was qualitative because the topic dealt with emotions and feelings of the people who were involved in the conflict. The research used purposive sampling technique in selecting the majority of respondents. Data was gathered through interviews, questionnaires and focus group discussions. The major findings do indicate that the government has not been sincere in peacebuilding efforts and reconciliation was not properly implemented and that the communities in Matebeleland provinces remain divided. There were no laws that were instituted to deal with reconciliation and peacebuilding matters. In addition, properties of the opposition PF ZAPU were confiscated by the government in 1982 under the pretext of arms caches discovery. The study concludes that the government has not made any apology for all the killings which were done by government forces. This paper recommends that government should make full acknowledgement of all the killings and compensate the regions affected. In addition, there is need to establish Truth and Reconciliation Commission to handle all the cases of violence. Finally establish framework for dealing with national healing of the nation and to unify all the citizens.

KEY WORDS : peacebuilding, conflict, peace, reconciliation, governance,

CCJP.....Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace.

CIO.....Central Intelligence Organisation.

LRF.....Legal Resources Foundations

MDC.....Movement for democratic Change

MoD.....Ministry of Defence
PAPST.....Public Affairs and Parliamentary Support Trust
PF ZAPU.....Patriotic Front Zimbabwe African Peoples Union
SPT.....Solidarity Peace Trust
ZANU PFZimbabwe African National Union
ZLHR.....Zimbabwe Lawyers for Human Rights
ZNA.....Zimbabwe National Army
ZPP.....Zimbabwe Peace Project
ZRP.....Zimbabwe Republic Police

1.1 Introduction

This paper seeks to investigate the challenges of peace building in volatile Matabeleland North and South Provinces in Zimbabwe which has not supported government since 1980 up to now. There has been very little written about this issue of peacebuilding from a Zimbabwean perspective and it is the desire of this researcher to dig a little bit deeper into these issues so that by the end of this research a lot of challenges which are affecting peacebuilding in the volatile provinces of Matabeleland North and South will be unearthed and discuss the problems that led to failure of the reconciliation process in these provinces and in Zimbabwe in general. The paper will also assist in broadening the understanding of issues of peacebuilding in Zimbabwe as well as the Sub-Saharan Region.

1.2 Background of the study

Zimbabwe was a British Colony from September 1890 until Independence on 18 April 1980. Then it became part of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland from mid 1960s until mid 1970s. The country has two major ethnic groups which are the Shona and Ndebele who have historically been at logger heads and that was exacerbated by the colonial policy of divide and rule till the attainment of independence in April 1980. This was further worsened by the liberation's ideological differences and power struggles. The Zimbabwean war of liberation was a protracted liberation struggle of independence from 1966 to 1980 when Zimbabwe attained its political independence. There were three major armies that were fighting in the war of liberation, two of these on the same side that is ZANU and its ZANLA army and ZAPU and its ZIPRA army which later formed Patriotic Front and the Rhodesian Army. ZAPU was predominantly made up of Ndebele people though the high command was multiracial or multi-ethnic in its composition. On the other hand, ZANU was predominantly made up of Shona. These parties had different political ideologies and it therefore follows that in the areas where they operated they influenced people in the way they saw or understood and interpreted issues.

As Patriotic Front, (that is from 1976) these two political parties and their armed wings namely ZANLA and ZIPRA were of different ideological leanings and were supported by China and USSR respectively. Hanlon (1992) has argued that at some point USSR supported both liberation movements. The patriotic front was supposed to go into 1980 elections as a united front. However, this was not to be. Following the attainment of independence on 18 April 1980, a government of National Unity composed of former Rhodesian Front, ZANU PF and PF

ZAPU was formed. This was followed by the creation of new Zimbabwe National Army made up of forces from former Rhodesian Army, ZANLA and ZIPRA. The integration of the army had its share of challenges too. There were serious divisions and suspicions, mistrust among these three armies right from the assembly points. The process of demobilisation, disarmament and reintegration had major political problems; hence seeds of the future unrest and or civil conflict were sown.

C.C.J.P. and LRF (1988) authoritatively claim that over 20 000 mainly people of Ndebele origin and those associated with ZAPU were massacred by the North Korean trained Fifth Brigade mainly composed of former ZANLA forces. Gradually PF- ZAPU was weakened, swallowed by the 1987 Unity Accord with ZANU (PF). In other words, PF- ZAPU was destroyed. According to Woods (2007) the Ndebele people have not forgiven ZANU (PF) leadership for the Gukurahundi Massacres over which the President of Zimbabwe did not apologise and describes as “as a moment of madness.” As a result, the Ruling party ZANU PF has never won any elections in the Matabeleland Provinces since 1980s save for the supposed rigging that is said to have taken place in the harmonised election of 31st of July 2013. (European Union 2013)

Legal Resources Foundation (1986) argue that ZANU (PF) attempted to introduce one party state in Zimbabwe and to achieve this, they did everything their power to dismember the opposition PF ZAPU and anyone who was associated by it. Legal and Extrajudicial approaches were used to deal with opponents. There were many arrests of leading ZAPU members such as Lookout Masuku, Dumiso Dabengwa, Kembo Mohadi and several others. As a result, ZAPU suffered irreparable damage politically socially and economically and also lost all the properties it had bought with the proceeds from the demobilizations of its combatants. Even in the subsequent Government of National Unity after the Unity Accord of 1987, ZAPU emerged a loser and far weaker and it thus died a natural death-(Todd 1984)

Scarnecchia (2013) argues that failure of unity between PF ZAPU and ZANU (PF) has to be understood in the in the context of the Cold War and the policies of apartheid South Africa in the southern Africa. He goes further to say Harare government was not in a position to confront Pretoria militarily as Super ZAPU was created as reaction of the Fifth Brigade by ZANU (PF) Government.

In January 1983 The Fifth Brigade of the ZNA consisting of between 2500 to 3500 soldiers was deployed in Midlands and Matabeleland provinces to “crush” the dissidents. The Brigade was entirely made up of former ZANLA combatants. This Fifth Brigade was called Gukurahundi in the Shona Language meaning” the early rains that washes away the chaff before spring rains.” The Brigade proceeded to terrorise the population of the Midlands and Matabeleland Provinces leaving approximately twenty thousands of civilians dead, several thousand- displaced and many others traumatised by their terror tactics.

It has been argued that Western powers could have known about these events but kept quiet to give room to Mugabe Government and make Zimbabwe a successful story in Southern Africa. Furthermore, Hanlon (1998)-strongly argues Mugabe’s ability to contain information about Gukurahundi was one reason why the international community was not able to keep an eye as the media was severely curtailed to operate in the area. Hence, there was no outcry about the atrocities. In addition, there was a lot of sympathy for Mugabe in the Western capitals as a result of his role in the Front Line States in fighting Apartheid system in South Africa. So the Fifth Brigade campaign was a deliberate, systematic and determined plan to wipe out the dissidents, to liquidate Nkomo’s PF ZAPU party accused of directing dissidents and to cause such terror among ordinary civilians that their support (for ZAPU) would suffer irreparably.

Sampling techniques

The nature of this topic demands that the researcher uses a number of techniques to sample the respondents in order to get the best out of the situation.

The writer used several techniques with various respondents and these sampling techniques include snowball sampling. This technique involves interviewing well placed respondents in the Zimbabwe National Army, The Central Intelligence Organisation, Zimbabwe Republic Police, as well as those in the Zimbabwe Prison Services. As result of connectedness, it may follow that more respondents will be accessed than previously thought

4.4 Data Collection Tools

The writer adopted the use of several research or data collection instruments which enabled them to get the best and most accurate information from numerous sources in the area of Matabeleland North as well as beyond the area. The reason for this is that the entire data collection instrument will complement one another thereby providing the best information or plenty of data for analysis purposes as well as for making the generalisations. The writers used interviews, questionnaires, focus group discussion with various stakeholders. Seventy five percent of the respondents were above sixty years old, while the youngest respondents were about twenty percent. The youngest respondents were between thirty and thirty nine years of age. Twenty percent were those in the forty to fifty nine years. The reason for these age groups is that the respondents who went through the disasters of Gukurahundi and saw all the hell are fairly old and the young ones are those who were born before and around that time and bear the burden of having lost parents, guardians, opportunity and dignity. In addition sampling techniques that were adopted by the researcher were such that the respondents would be knowledgeable on matters of concern to this research.

4.0 Findings

Characteristics of Matebeleland North and South (Population make up)

Matebeleland North Province has eight districts. It is a province that consists of Ndebele, Tonga and Nambiya, Lozi speaking people. But the Ndebele is the most dominant. As far as Gukurahundi affected mostly people in Nkayi, Jotsholo, Lupane and in some of these areas people uncomfortable to talk to Shona speaking people. The Shona language reminds them of the terrible Gukurahundi of the 80s. Thus the people are still frightened and resent having Shona speaking police in their areas. People feel thus domination by the Shona. In areas like Binga, the Tonga didn't suffer that much due to political violence before 2000 but there are suspicions that Zanu PF is not good because they have been voting for MDC since the year 2000. In Jambezi areas where most Nambiya speaking people live, there weren't many disturbances to talk about Matebeleland South Province has thirteen districts. Its capital city is Gwanda. The population of the province as of December 2012 is 683 893 and the area of the province is 54 172 square kilometres.

In Midlands Gukurahundi was rife in Zhombe, Silobela areas. Voting patterns from 2000 indicate that people voted for the MDC before split in 2005. Silobela, Lower/Gweru areas had serious attacks during Gukurahundi. However, what is noticeable is that in most of these areas people vote for Zanu PF due to fear or duress. In Binga, the Tonga vote for MDC since 2000. In Lupane areas, the MDC dominated from 2000 but due to the split of 2005, some went to support MDC-N for example Hon Mguni. In the Hwange areas, MDC dominated since 2000. In Nkayi, ZANU PF has regained ground most likely due to the fast track resettlement since

people got plots in areas around Nyamandlovu and Nkayi. When Zapu was swallowed by ZANU PF, people were forced to support it since the leaders were now working in ZANU PF.

Matebeleland Provinces are cosmopolitan because there are at least ten ethnic groups. According to the respondents, the dominant language that is widely spoken in the provinces is Ndebele. It must be noted that there as many as nine ethnic groups in the provinces and these include: Ndebele speaking with Venda, Sotho, Tonga up to Zambezi Valley, Nambiya up North Dete, Nyanja in Hwange mining area, Bulawayo is metropolitan, Nkayi, Lozi people, Zulu chief Mtabeni there is a mixture of Ndebele and Lozi, Shurugwi mixture of Ndebele and Shona, in Mberengwa mixture as well Shona and Ndebele.

5.5 Factors that affected Peacebuilding

Sixty Nine percent of respondents in Matebeleland North and sixty five percent in Matebeleland South strongly argued that ZANU PF Government lacked sincerity on the implementation of reconciliation policy. The reasons given were that ZANU PF had hidden agenda of trying to destroy the opposition PF ZAPU and establish its one party state program in Zimbabwe.

The policy of national reconciliation was only on paper and there was nothing that was done officially to show that various categories of the Black people were reconciling. According to the respondents, the relations among various Black groups were exacerbated by the attitude of government. Such groups include Pf ZAPU, UANC of Bishop Muzorewa, ZANU Mwenje of Reveland Ndabaningi Sithole and remnants of Rhodesian Army. It does appear according to the respondents that Whites were well respected and treated than the rest of Black groupings.

The reasons for this maybe have been to appease the Whites and the International Community so that assistance continues to flow in in many different areas as was the case in the first decade after Independence in 1980. Government made blunders after independence. It did not handle Entumbane I and II well. For reasons that are not clear, armed combatants from both ZIPRA and ZANLA were occupying assembly points that were just adjacent and were armed. They carried their arms and respondents argue that the government should not have let this happen knowing fully well that there were going to be trouble between these groups who were always at loggerheads and that violence could erupt any time. Comrades were allowed to move with their weapons and this was a serious mistake on the part on government. All the respondents were of the strong view that this could have been done deliberately to create a situation where the government would react to the violence and blame it on the ZIPRA combatants.

Seventy five percent of respondents were of the strong view that if the government was not to blame, why it did fail to release the findings of Chihambakwe and Dumbutshena Commissions. The respondents are of the view that the government could not make findings public for reasons that included allegations that the ZANU PF government was heavily implicated in the violence that broke out. They further argue that up to this day, the findings of these commissions have never seen the light of the day.

The outbreak of Gukurahundi and how it was handled by the government exacerbated matters. This created deep seated problems for the whole country. According to CCJP (1997) twenty thousand people died as a result of the civil conflict. Respondents are of the strong view that this negatively impacted on the peacebuilding process. 78% of the respondents consider this Gukurahundi as the straw that broke the camel's back. Technically, speaking it threw spanners in the whole peacebuilding work.

Eighty two percent of the respondents argued that there was no way peace could be built with what happened to Matebeleland North and South as a result of 5th Brigade activities that devastated the region and left a trail of destruction and long term negative impact for the region in many ways ranging from developmentally, socially, economically, politically and culturally.

More critically, sixty percent of the respondents argued that the confiscation of farms and properties belonging to PF ZAPU after the discovery of arms caches on PF ZAPU properties and the refusal to return these properties has been a blow to PF ZAPU empowerment of its ex-combatants such that it created a lot of animosity between government and PF ZAPU and its combatants as well as its supporters.

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These respondents do further argue that, if government was serious about peacebuilding, the government was supposed to return those properties and farms after the signing of Unity Accord in December 1987. In addition, the respondents are of the view that government wants to ensure that the former PF ZAPU has no economic muscle after losing its properties and anything that could bring them revenue. Over eighty percent of respondents from both provinces were of the view that confiscation of properties and PF ZAPU documentation was a deliberate act by government to ensure that it weakens and destroy PF ZAPU. Most historical records and political history of the opposition was collected and never returned. The respondents in Matebeleland North and South concurred that 5th Brigade operated closely with the Central Intelligence Organisation. Seventy percent of the respondents both those who were interviewed and focus group discussion agreed that Gukurahundi operatives moved from village to village with lists of names supplied by CIO (which were confiscated by Government from PF ZAPU properties and documents)

The respondents go further to argue that these Gukurahundi officers would then look for branch , district, provincial officers in all PF ZAPU and kill these individuals such that the impact was that all the structures of PF ZAPU and its support base was completely destroyed. The respondents are of the view that from 1980, the government deliberately started distorting the history of liberation of Zimbabwe and portrayed that PF ZAPU did not fight for the liberation of this country. Former commanders interviewed by this researcher, strongly argued that PF ZAPU was a national party that operated throughout the country. It is this regard that PF ZAPU had commanders from all over the country. In the words of one respondent, ZANU PF Government “*privatised national history and completely distorted the role played by PF ZAPU in the liberation of Zimbabwe.*” [Interview with Pius Ncube 21 October, Dete Hwange]

Over eighty percent of respondents from interviews and focus group discussion agreed that the arrests and detention of PF ZAPU leadership such as Dumiso Dabengwa, Lookout Masuku and several others was a major blow to the peacebuilding process. The respondents explained that the rank and file of the PF ZAPU membership found it extremely difficult to understand what the government was doing let alone the supposed unity of the people when all the leadership of PF ZAPU was detained, while others forced into exile. It was unfortunate to single out PF ZAPU for all the dissidents’ problems. Twenty eight percent of the respondents were strongly in agreement that most of the dissidents were from PF ZAPU. Their argument was that if they were not from PF ZAPU they would not have operated from this region because they would have linguistic barriers and furthermore, people would not easily assist them no-matter how much the se dissidents forced people to give them food.

Forty seven percent was of the view that PF ZAPU contributed most of the members of dissidents. The others may have come from the disgruntled ZIPA ZANLA, Selous Scouts, or simply from remnants from the Rhodesian Army. The other respondents argued that it was difficult to say from which group the dissidents were from because there were over six different groups after the war including Super ZAPU which was a creation of South Africa.

The other twenty percent argued that PF ZAPU ex –combatant may have joined dissidents because they felt that they got a raw deal during integration into the Zimbabwe National Army (ZNA). From the above responses it can be concluded that the composition of dissidents was from all these groups though mainly from PF ZAPU. All the disgruntled soldiers from any of the six groups would have joined in the disturbances. The other crucial factor that affected peacebuilding was that there was lack of cultural understanding and differences among the Shona and the Ndebeles culturally. The Shona who made the bulk of 5th Brigade members treated the Ndebele speaking people as ZAPU supporters and more so as dissidents. Thus,

according to the respondents, people did not see need to support the government after seeing that the government has negative attitudes towards one section of the population.

Handling of reconciliation in the provinces

Eighty three percent of the respondents in Matebeleland North agreed that there was no reconciliation that was seriously attempted in affected areas such as their province. They cited the disaster that befell Tsholotsho (Jotsholo) because there are issues raised by the respondents such as some children of Gukurahundi victims do not having birth certificates. The major reason why this is the case is that all the people who were killed between 1982 and 1989 were not issued with death certificates and the net result is that their children and other relatives are unable to get national identity documents. This means that they cannot get passports and are not officially known therefore, cannot vote or make meaning contribution. Furthermore, they cannot enrol in primary schools for basic education. *“The fact that government has not done anything about this matter with regards to issuance of these records, it shows that it is indeed arrogant and unrepentant towards its approach to dealing with Ndebele people and former PF ZAPU supporters.”* In the mind of over seventy five percent of respondents’ means that people are not reconciled is that they resent Shona speaking officers and the government in general. [Tsholotsho Focus Group Discussion 23 October 2015]

According to these respondents, they have grievances against ZANU PF and they tend to punish the ruling party by voting for the opposition. Binga in Matebeleland North has been voting for the opposition since 2000. The respondents argue that they felt neglected by the government since 1980 nothing tangible has been done to uplift their lives. They are worse off than they were in 1980. People in these districts have not seen what development is and if anything, they are worse off than during colonial times. Sixty eight percent of the respondents strongly argued that they *“expected the government to carry out policies in the two provinces that would benefit the people in the form of distributive justice. Examples would include building of clinics better school infrastructure, good road network, and radio and television network.”* [Interview with Dr Ray Motsi, Theological College, Bulawayo 28 October 2015]

The above views have been echoed by over sixty nine percent of all the respondents who responded to questionnaire and interviews as well as focus group discussion.

Over three quarters of the respondents from both provinces are of the strong view that government did nothing about reconciliation. Their argument was that instead of government reconciling the people in the country, the very government started unleashing extreme violence on the people in the region. As if that is not enough, The ZANU PF Government trained a new brigade- the 5th brigade to deal with the menace of the dissidents. This dumbfounded the people in Matebeleland North and South as it was believed that the very government had the national army and support unit that had sufficient capability to deal with such menace.

This researcher is of the view that the president of ZANU PF as head of state and government is a power monger and looked for ways of being an absolute monarch hence his preoccupation with one party state concept. The respondents concluded that after being the supreme leader in the country, he did not do anything to reconcile with different stakeholders in the political process.

When arm caches were discovered in Matebeleland, in PF ZAPU properties, the then Prime Minister Robert Mugabe according to the respondents, did not make efforts to bring the people together. Instead, Robert Mugabe expelled Pf ZAPU ministers from Cabinet and this caused ill feelings among PF ZAPU rank and file. The feeling among the respondents is that, he as prime Minister should have known better that some of the weapons belonged to ANC of South Africa’s military wing- Umkonto WeSizwe.

Thirty seven percent of the respondents strongly argued that some of the weapons belonged to ZIPRA and were supposed to be used for self-defence in case Rhodesian Front soldiers take matters into their own hands. These respondents argue that imagine what would have happened had the Entumbane incidents taken place when ZIPRA ex-combatants had no weapons? These respondents go on to explain that the worst case scenario would have happened. The ZIPRA ex-combatants would have been slaughtered. Twenty eight percent of the respondents were of the view that reconciliation took place at individual level where in a few case, Gukurahundi soldiers feeling the 'heat' of *ngozi* that is avenging spirits came to pay families of the people they slaughtered in order to get things right. They go further to say this is difficult to quantify as they poke of the cases they witnessed both in Matebeleland North and South Provinces

The respondents especially those in Matebeleland North were of the view that government needed to carry out labour intensive process of reconciliation. This process must include all stakeholders such as non- state actors, churches traditional leaders in the communities and Government must take a serious lead in these matters. The female respondents were strongly opposed to the involvement of government in the process arguing that the government was the one that was responsible for this mercy which they created. As a result, they felt that government "were dirty because of its involvement"

Fifty three percent of respondents from the ZIPRA Demobilisation Directorate (that a total of two hundred and forty members) strongly complained that government was not for reconciliation at all. They reasoned that, the demobilisation and subsequent raw deal for ZIPRA ex-combatants suited ZANU PF Governments intentions and scheme very well.

The above respondents further argued that reconciliation was never handled in the provinces by the central government from Harare. It was just an announcement through the radio and there was no policy framework or legal act that should have done justice to such critical process. Forty seven percent of the respondents further argued that there was no explanation as to how this this process was to be carried out and there was no department that was responsible or in charge of handling these issues. The argument goes further to say that the ZANU PF government perpetrated violence and injustice to the people in the Matebeleland Provinces which negates that the policy of reconciliation that was at play.

This researcher believes that as a result of chaotic handling of the reconciliation process, there were no targets that one would measure the success of the process or lack of it. In addition, there was no program to bring all the people together such blacks and blacks and whites. In the view of the respondents ,the process of reconciliation was meant to bring together different groups of black people together as well as Black and Whites together in order to build a '*rainbow nation*'

Fifty eight percent of respondents with military background are of the strong view that the president of ZANU PF who is Head of State and Government is a power monger and looked for ways of being an absolute monarch hence his preoccupation with One party state concept since 1980 as well as crushing and detaining all the opposition parties and individuals opposed to him. These respondents cite Captain Nleya who died mysteriously and was found dead in the Hwange Game reserve, Sydney Malunga, Edgar Tekere, Ndabaningi Sithole, Margret Dongo, Morgen Tsvangirai, Dumiso Dabengwa, Lookout Masuku, Tonderai Ndira, and many others. The respondents concluded that after being the supreme leader in the country, he did not do anything to reconcile with different stakeholders in the political process. These stakeholders include various ethnic groups such as the Manyika from the East of the country Karangas from Masvingo, Ndebeles mainly in Matebeleland and Midlands Provinces as well

as those in Mashonaland East, West and Central Provinces. Furthermore, and racial tensions have been taken advantages by the ZANU PF Government whose leader Robert Mugabe (2005) said “lets strike fear into the hearts of the White men” and “the only White man you can trust is a dead White man” (Nemavhandu, M. {2008:12}Mugabe Crimes Exposed)

In addition, the churches, trade unions and the rest of the civil society have been divided so as to be easily manipulated. Thus, the respondents conclude that the extent of power hungriness in ruling party is unparalleled in this Southern African Region. When arm caches were discovered in Matebeleland, in PF ZAPU properties, the then Prime Minister Robert Mugabe according to 61% of the respondents, did not make efforts to bring the people together. They argued that instead, Robert Mugabe expelled Pf ZAPU ministers from Cabinet and this caused ill-feelings among PF ZAPU rank and file. The some of the expelled ministers included Joshua Nkomo Minister of Home Affairs, Joseph Msika Minister of Industry and Commerce, Kembo Mohadi Deputy Minister of Energy, John Landa Nkomo minister of Local Government; Cephas Msipa resigned in sympathy of sacked colleagues.

The feeling among the respondents is that, Mugabe as Prime Minister should have known better that some of the weapons belonged to ANC of South Africa’s military wing- Umkonto WeSizwe. Thirty seven percent of the respondents strongly argued that some of the weapons belonged to ZIPRA and were supposed to be used for self-defence in case Rhodesian Front soldiers take matters into their own hands. These respondents argue that what would have happened had the Entumbane incidents taken place when ZIPRA ex-combatants had no weapons? These respondents go on to explain that the worst case scenario would have happened. The ZIPRA ex-combatants would have been slaughtered. The fact is that ZIPRA combatants they were able to defend themselves because they had their arms. Furthermore, it is also argued that if all ex-combatants in the assembly points had no weapons, Ian Smith soldiers would have done exactly what ZANU PF did to ZIPRA

Twenty eight percent of the respondents were of the view that reconciliation took place at individual level where in a few case, Gukurahundi soldiers feeling the ‘heat of *ngozi*’ avenging spirits came to pay families of the people they slaughtered in order to get things right. They go further to say this is difficult to quantify as they spoke of the cases they witnessed both in Matebeleland North and South Provinces. The ninety three percent of respondents especially those in Matebeleland North were of the view that government needed to carry out labour intensive process of reconciliation. This process must include all stakeholders such as non-state actors, churches traditional leaders in the communities and Government must take a serious lead in these matters. The female respondents were strongly opposed to the involvement of government in the process arguing that the government was the one that was responsible for this mess which they created. As a result, they felt that government’s hands as well as ruling party’s hands “were dirty because of its involvement”

The fifty three percent of respondents in the ZIPRA Demobilisation Directorate strongly complained that government was not for reconciliation at all. They reasoned that, that way it conducted the process of payments of war compensation was gravely biased in favour of former ZANLA combatants and it suited ZANU PF Governments intentions and scheme well. They further argued that reconciliation was never handled in the provinces by the central government from Harare. It was just an announcement through the radio and there was no policy framework or legal act that should have done justice to such critical process. Forty seven percent of the respondents further argued that there was no explanation as to how this process was to be carried out and there was no department that was responsible or in charge of handling these issues. The argument goes further to say that the ZANU PF government perpetrated violence and injustice on the people of the Matebeleland Provinces which negated that the

policy of reconciliation that was at play. This researcher believes that as a result of chaotic handling of the reconciliation process, there were no targets that one would measure the success of the process or lack of it. In addition, there was no programme to bring all the people together such as blacks and whites. In the view of sixty seven percent of respondents, the process of reconciliation was meant to bring together different groups of Black people together as well as Black and Whites together in order to build a *'rainbow nation.'*

A senior Parliamentarian who served with ZANU PF and MDC Honourable Eddie Cross (He is White) strongly argued that another point that indicate that reconciliation was not properly handled was the fact that the new government in 1980 safeguarded the interest of ZANU PF and brought the whites back into cabinet at the expense of the Ndebele and other minority parties. The Whites in the Cabinet held very critical posts such as Ministry of Agriculture – Dennis Norman, Public Service Chris Anderson. Even when some disgruntled White officers run away with military planes to Apartheid South Africa, the Whites in the Cabinet were not expelled. The callousness with which the government treated the black people in Matebeleland and Midlands according to most respondents showed that government failed to create a rainbow nation where all Zimbabwean citizens were treated fairly. These respondents then strongly conclude that Whites were better treated by Mugabe Government up to year 2000 when ZANU PF Government embarked on land invasions that saw the chasing of White farmers by war veterans and ZANU PF supporters and by other rogue elements that took advantage of lawlessness. [Interview Honourable Eddie Cross, 21 November, MDC Offices Bulawayo]

The allocation of ministerial posts in the first 1980 Cabinet shows that ZAPU received a raw deal. They were given junior posts. Only four ministries went to PF ZAPU out of a 23 member Cabinet. Joshua Nkomo became Minister of Home Affairs. The former Rhodesian Front was given three critical posts in the new cabinet and these were Commerce and Industry, Agriculture and Public Service. Mugabe supporters were given sixteen full ministries. Joyce Mujuru was given a full ministry though she was less knowledgeable on any of these matters of running a government department and she did not even have Ordinary Level Certificate. Some senior embers from PF ZAPU despite being very knowledgeable such as Cephas Msipa, a veteran educationist never got the best in 1980 first Cabinet. Records in the liberation history shows that Msipa has wide experience in the field of education, as a result of that experience; he would have been a better minister and better prepared for the task at hand. According to Dr Cephas Msipa, he was told by Mugabe, *"you should be a Minister of Education but please accept the alternative post that I am assigning you in the interest of unity and peace"* others. They had to pave way for ZANU PF functionaries. In an interview with this researcher, Dr Msipa agreed to take the other portfolio because *"when we were fighting the oppressive system, personally, I was not fighting for a government position but it was in pursuit of freedom and justice."* (Interview with Dr Cephas Msipa 22 October 2015, Gweru Midlands Province)

ZAPU cadres feel that their party received a raw deal from ZANU PF Government. They maintain that the government knew about the weapons in the PF ZAPU farms and could have asked for the surrender of these weapons into government hands. The argument by seventy percent of respondents was that the government wanted to embarrass and kick PF ZAPU out of government and then unleash its 5th Brigade into Matebeleland to crush PF ZAPU once and for all. These respondents maintain that this objective was fully achieved by ZANU PF. Former Commander in the ZAPU; Moses Mzila Ndlovu strongly argues that both ZAPU and ZANU did not surrender all weaponry to the state as required by law as there was lot of mistrust amongst the three protagonists. The only advantage that ZANU had was that it was the

government of the day but it had “*lots of weapons caches in many places and up to this day there are weapons all over in the hands of ZANU PF that is why they always stress that if we lose elections , we will go back to the bush.*”[Interview with Moses Mzila Ndlovu 18 November 2015, Bulawayo]

Eighty three percent of Catholic Bishops and other respondents in these two provinces are of the strong view that reconciliation was all rhetoric. According to the Catholic respondents, there is no-where reconciliation can take place if the perpetrators cannot acknowledge the past atrocities and take corrective actions in order to address the past then that is not reconciliation at all. The big question was how can people forgive and forget the past when daily they see graves of their relatives. The government has been very economic with apologies to the affected people of these provinces. According to the respondents, the nearest the government came to make an apology is when the President said, “*it was a moment of madness*” Mugabe according to ZAPU stalwarts [who include Cephas Msipa, Dumiso Dabengwa, Sandi Moyo, Simon Kaya Moyo] mentioned the above statement “*moment of madness*” at the burial of a senior ZAPU cadre at Lady Smith Cemetery in Bulawayo in 1993. According to ZAPU leader Dumiso Dabengwa, numerous bad things happened to Region of Matebeleland just as terrible things happened to Kosovo people in the 1990s through ethnic cleansing. Further he argued that it will take new thinking and completely new government several years to rectify the damage caused by the policies of this ZANU PF Government.[Interview with Dabengwa, Bulawayo 11 December 2015]

Seventy percent of one hundred and eighty respondents from human rights defenders mainly from the Catholic, Methodists, Anglican churches and villagers maintained that there must be a process which must be objective and truth telling and the process must be victim oriented. The respondents go further to argue that both perpetrators and victims must come together and then justice must take place. They argue that there are four critical ingredients for the success of the process namely truth telling, forgiveness, mercy and justice. It is the strong belief of the human rights defenders that none of this took place. In this regard, the victims must tell their stories as to what happened. Furthermore, the process must look at how to achieve justice and build lasting peace. When all is said and done, justice must prevail. The above view is also shared by Lederach (1997) who feels that the victims play a significant role in the process of reconciliation and they set the pace and way forward with the perpetrators.

Major factors that contributed to failure of reconciliation

There are several factors that contributed to failure of reconciliation process in Zimbabwe. One of the major reasons was ZANU PF’s failure to apologise for the atrocities of Gukuruhundi and the sufferings which people in Matebeleland went through when other Zimbabweans were enjoying independence. There is no-way reconciliation can take place in the atmosphere of mistrust where there is never an apology from those who oversaw the atrocities. ZANU PF or any senior government officials never apologized for the atrocities or acknowledged the same. Mugabe only managed to say it “*was a period of madness*”. Ninety percent of the respondents concurred that people in Matebeleland Provinces need something like what happened in South Africa or Rwanda where they spoke about their experiences, grievances and what they wanted done so that they could forgive and forget. Traditional leaders, churches and civil society could help in reconciling communities with the government. The utterances by ZANU PF leadership especially the Head of Government Robert Mugabe and some of his staunchest supporters such as Enos Nkala and Emmerson Mnangagwa did not help matters at all if anything, they exacerbated matters. The Prime Minister Mugabe made public statement such as:

The dissident party and its dissident father [Joshua Nkomo], are both dissidents and they are not only for rejection but for utter destruction.....

[Robert Mugabe in a BBC interview April 12, 1983]

According to ninety percent of respondents, such inflammatory statements created further problems and as such there was no-way reconciliation would succeed in the country let alone in Matebeleland Provinces. It was the Gukurahundi that accomplished the task for Robert Mugabe. In addition, there are scattered graves all over these two provinces. As pointed out by eighty one percent of respondents some of the mass graves are still visible up to this day though cattle and weather has made these less visible save for the villagers who know about their location. There is a lot of evidence in these areas: Tsholotsho, Lupane, Gwayi, Mapisa, Kezi, and Plumtree. There are other statements such as the “*only good Whiteman is a dead one*” This is not expected in a democratic state in the twenty first century. [Nemavhandu, 2008:72]

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PF ZAPU has never forgiven government of ZANU PF for destroying its history so that future generations will never understand the role that PF ZAPU did from the 1960s up to 1980. This then means that what the government of the day feeds the nation and is in the curriculum of education will negatively impact on the people and future of this country. Seventy percent made the above feelings known because they argue further that *“each of us in PF ZAPU as ex-combatants contributed \$50.00 each and that money was used to mobile resources and many properties were bought to benefit ZIPRA combatants and all this investment was confiscated by the government in the early 1982s and have not been returned to us the rightful owners”* [Interview with Dabengwa, 11 December 2015]

It is the views of sixty eight percent of respondents that there was strong dissatisfaction by ZIPRA combatants with the integration process into the national army and appeared to be excluded from the process. Whether they were not physically fit to be selected and attested into the national army is another issue. There was a lot of mistrust among ZANLA and ZIPRA ex-combatants. The fifty seven percent of respondents, who went through the process of reintegration into the national army, argued that they felt the British Military Advisal Team tended to sympathise with ZANU PF forces. This could probably be explained in terms of cold war politics since ZIPRA was Soviet Union trained and therefore Communist against ZANU PF which was Chinese oriented.

PF ZAPU had a good policy of empowerment among its forces and they were well disciplined. Upon independence in 1980, ZAPU ex-combatants made significant contributions and raised a lot of money that ran into millions of dollars. They used this money to buy several farms not only in Matebeleland but in Midlands, Mashonaland and Domboshava. In addition to farms; they also bought hotels and other buildings especially in Bulawayo some of these farms include Snake Park near Harare, Lido, Castle Arms and Magnet House. They had a technical college which was used to train ex combatants into various skills such as farming, carpentry, needlework, motor mechanics, fitter and turners and many other trades.

According to ninety percent of respondents, problems worsened after ZANU PF Government confiscated these farms, buildings and farms and deprived ZAPU ex-combatants opportunities to earn a decent wage and lead uninterrupted lives. Thus according to these ex-combatants from the PF ZAPU camp, *“we are leading very destitute lives when they had invested in these productive ventures.”*

From this, seventy percent of all respondents from all the two provinces have argued strongly that there was no-way reconciliation could take place under these circumstances. It was simply impossible. The respondents further argue that the government has not busy willing to listen and discuss this issue in the interests of peace and reconciliation. One former Governor and Cabinet Minister Cephaz Msipa explained that the majority of ministers from ZANU PF camp were not willing to have the matter discussed at cabinet level for reasons that are not very clear. He argues further that during his tenure as cabinet, he tried to have the matter brought up for discussion but was accused to be *“a tribalist who wanted to open old wounds.”* The then powerful ministers such as Enos Nkala (Defence), Enerst Kadungure, Kembo Mohadi, and Sydney Sekeramayi blocked all the discussion. This could be attributed to politics of patronage where the occupation of any government ministry or post is at the mercy of Robert Mugabe. All those who differ from his perceived views are labelled saboteurs of the revolution and suffer *“political Siberia”*

In addition, ZANU PF used all tricks in the book to destroy PF ZAPU. For example, Obert Mpfu, Phelekezela Mphoko and many others were recruited from ZAPU by Enos Nkala and he further used money and government positions for people to defect from ZAPU to ZANU PF. All PF ZAPU structures were destroyed and this made it extremely difficult for the people to reconcile with ZANU PF Government. The sixty eight percent of respondents argued that how could people in these provinces work with government that sent in a crack unit in the form of 5th Brigade that was trained to kill. The 5th Brigade wanted to wipe out all the Ndebeles hence the use of all the violence that was directed at civilians and not the dissidents. The argument goes further that there are no published numbers of dissidents killed from late 1982 to the time of Unity Accord of 1987. Furthermore, people were perplexed as to why the government sent in a crack unit that operated outside the normal army channels, the unit had different uniforms, different communication systems and different vehicles which they used for their operations.

Methods adopted by Fifth Brigade

The 5th Brigade was commonly referred to as the Gukurahundi which in the local Shona parlance means “*the rains which washes away the chaff before the spring rains.*” By implication, it would mean that the brigade would clear or wash all the unwanted elements in Matebeleland and in this context the Ndebele people and ZAPU. The 5th Brigade adopted various cruel and inhuman methods of victimising and torturing civilians. According to eighty one percent of the respondents in this study, Gukurahundi used some of the methods described below.

The Gukurahundi would gather people in one place then blindfolded them and then told them to run and while they tried to run, the red Beret soldiers would then shoot them from the back. The implication would be that they were running from the army or soldiers therefore deserved to be shot. In some cases, people were beaten with huge sticks until buttocks, back and clothes were torn into shreds from beating. It was just inhuman and degrading and this could not have happened in the 21st century with all the enlightenment and civilisation. [Interview with Raphael Khoza, Bulawayo, 6 December 2015]

The Gukurahundi soldiers would bayonet pregnant women and would say “*we want to remove the dissident from inside.*” They would then slit open the pregnant women and that would be the end of life for both the mother and unborn baby. Respondents cried when they narrated these ordeals. They summed it as “*simply barbarism at its worst, meant only for Dark Age people.*” [Interview with Raphael Khoza Bulawayo 6 December 2015]

In Matebeleland South at Gwanda, there was a lady known as Chipo. She belonged to Zimbabwe Intelligence Corp or CIO. She would parade her womanhood out for the men as a torture weapon and then she would sit at a high position with no pants, and open her legs then she would ask men to come and make love to her. According to the testimonies of two survivor of this horror at Gwanda, “*She would say Iwe huya, huya undiise, ndaakunzwa kuda. which means you! Come and fuck me.*” The outcome was the same whether one agreed or refused. In fact by agreeing, one would be committing worst offence. For the majority of men at Gwanda this was the worst part than beatings which they endured

The above was corroborated by several eyewitnesses who were interviewed by this researcher. They further maintained that people were forced to come to the Centre in Gwanda and spent the whole day in the sun being indoctrinated, while others were interrogated and tortured. At the same time, others would be beaten. Furthermore, all the people who were gathered were forced to sing songs that denigrated PF ZAPU and its leadership. In the words of one Chief Ndiweni, *"sifundileukuhlabelela ingoma ezitsha ezeZANU PF emhlanganweni ngesikhathi esincane ngoba kuyimpilo lokufa"* This Ndebele translated into English, means *"we learnt to sing new ZANU PF songs in these meetings in a matter of short time because it was a matter of life and death."* The respondents were of the strong view that they will never recover from the psychological traumas they went through in that dark moment in the history of the country.

Seventy nine percent of respondents testified that another common method used by the 5th Brigade was that individuals would be forced to dig their graves and then asked or forced to jump into the grave then lie on their stomachs. This would be followed by others who would be ordered to start throwing soil until the grave was filled with soil after that then people would dance on top of the fresh grave until it became flattened as if there was nothing. Those showing emotions would be severely thrashed. The people in Filabuzi were spared from most of these sufferings. The respondents strongly argued that the 5th Brigade was never deployed in Filabuzi District now known as Uzingwane District. The reason for their non-deployment was that it was the home area of the Defence Minister Enos Nkala. However, the district is now the largest than it was in the period of Gukurahundi. According seventy percent of respondents as well as government officers, there was severe curfew that was imposed in all the provinces. This had negative impact on the whole population in the areas save for those in the army, CIO and police.

Curfew Time

Seventy percent of respondents strongly argued that curfew was imposed from six in the evening to six in the morning. However, the respondents strongly noted that it virtually lasted the whole day or in some cases the whole week or month. The people were scare to death for those that braved travelling they met with hell on the roadblocks that were scattered and even the transport operators were scared to have buses to operate in the areas as the 5th Brigade could burn the buses and attribute it to the dissidents. One former 5th Brigade operative testified *"isu taitonga. Taaiita madiro, hapana mupurisa aitisunga, taive nefreedom kubva kuhoffice yaPrime Minister Mugabe"* This roughly translated means *"we were a law unto ourselves, no police officer could arrest us, we had freedom and blessings from Prime Minister Mugabe's office to deal with Ndebeles."* (Requested anonymity, 17 August 2015, Mapisa, Matebeleland South)

There was no way of verifying such cases as there was no media in these areas. During the curfew period:

- There was no transport from city to affected rural areas save for the military police and CIO vehicles.
- All shops were closed and as a result there were no supplies to assist the people in these areas. Shops were virtually empty in some cases not even salt was available.
- No buses from town to various rural villages making it difficult for the wounded, sick, and those moving from one point to another

- No movement of people between 6pm to 6 am. Anyone seen moving would be shot at and was deemed a dissident.
- Not even scotch carts would be allowed into the areas.
- No food was allowed and it would be believed that it was meant for the dissidents.

[David Foya Interview with Raphael Khoza, Bulawayo 6 December 2015]

According to Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace programme Officer Raphael Khoza interviewed by this researcher, from early February 1984, 5th Brigade was redeployed in Matebeleland South and the methods of operations were changed. Whereas in the Matebeleland North, Gukurahundi beat and killed people and left them, in the Matebeleland South they tried to destroy all evidence. They were replaced by para-group (parachute group) and Grey Scouts (those who move on horses) on the grounds that these were well trained and physically fit soldiers and were also less, cruel and criminal and were more human as compared to the Gukurahundi whom they replaced.

A former commander with Fifthy Brigade Mehluli Mpofo in focus group discussion with this researcher had this to say: *“we were trained to kill, torture, beat, rape and reorient these Ndebele people with ZANU PF philosophy and they were supposed to hate and not support PF ZAPU for good. This was made possible because as a brigade we were largely made up of ex-ZANLA and predominant Shona and would fight the Ndebeles and ZAPU better than the National Army which was well trained as disciplined and made up of three major components of ZIPRA, ZANLA and former Rhodesian Army personnel.”*[Mpofo, Magwegwe Suburb, Bulawayo 17 December 2015 Comments made in Focus Group Discussion]

The above sentiments were echoed by all seventy percent of the respondents. They added that the whole issue was to destroy ZAPU supporters and structures. Those that were hunted were cell district and provincial chairpersons so as to eradicate the party or destroy it completely and render it leaderless. ZAPU was no more and it was systematically destroyed. It is in this regard that when Unity Accord came, the party was serious weakened and signed the document which did not spell their future. It spelt doom for the party and future of the regions. More than sixty five percent of the respondents strongly argued that if the intention of ZANU PF Government was to hunt dissidents, why then destroy civilian homes, kill unarmed defenceless civilians instead of hunting the criminals wherever they were? Why close the shops that served the rural people? All these questions begged answers that were not forth coming from those in the government.

In other ways, people would have leg irons and their hands tied at their back and beatings would take place. Pregnant women were no exception in all these treatments. The 5th Brigade would accuse the women as giving love to the dissidents. Eighty percent of respondents argued further that homes or villagers were completely destroyed. The Red Berets or Gukurahundi accused the rural people of supporting the dissidents hence they destroyed homes and all livelihoods of these people. Their argument was that once the cover of dissidents was destroyed, they would destroy the dissidents.

Some of the approaches used included:

- Crude barbaric methods of killing people

- Whole families were killed
- Burying people alive
- Bayoneting pregnant women in order to 'kill the dissident before birth'
- Based on the people speaking Ndebele not on combatants
- Whole villages killed

The above views of respondents were also corroborated by documents such as, Choosing the Path to Peace and Development by Zimbabwe Human Rights Association (1999), When the State Turns on its Citizens by Lloyd Sachikonye (2011), Mission Accomplished by Dr J.F. Davis (2013)

Then 5th brigade had to start from somewhere geographically. According to this research, the reason why they started with Matebeleland North could have been that, it is an area that is predominantly Ndebele especially Tsholotsho, Lupane and Nkayi areas. Furthermore, these were the areas that formed the core of PF ZAPU support base. Thus hitting them hard there would effectively send the 'correct signals' to the rest of the Matebeleland North and South to 'watch out.' A retired lieutenant with Fifty Brigade, Fainos Malufu Dhlamini concurred with the above idea and added that "from our training base in Mberengwa it made military sense to start from the north then move southwards to Matebeleland South and Gwanda area. This explains why Matebeleland North and part of Midlands adjacent to Matebeleland North were affected at the same time. These areas of Midlands include Zhombe, Silobela and part of rural Gokwe." [Dhlamini, 16 December 2015, Interview with David Foya]

The 5th brigade took people to Stops Camp situated in Rose Camp in Bulawayo) and those taken there would disappear into thin air and no trace would be available. Records and people were all destroyed. [Coltart, D. 2016]

According survivors of interrogation, Colonel Mandlankosi Mulindeli and Flight Lieutenant Paul Dumisani, there was 'KK', a black man who used to work with Special Branch (part of Central Intelligence Organisation) and was extremely ruthless when dealing with any suspect. He was based at Stops Camp in Bulawayo. He used inhuman methods such as inserting sticks to suspects' anus and tying both testicles with rubber bend then hit the testicles with a ruler until victims fainted and some died as a result of this and Colonel Mulindeli concluded by saying "it was a miracle that we survived the horrors of the torture at Stopps Camp and in my case I no longer have erection no matter what I try. Hence, I will not forgive ZANU PF " [Mulindeli and Dumisani 3 November 2015, Interview with Foya]

Impact of Fifth Brigade Operations

The 5TH BRIGADE must be located in the context of liberation war of 1970s and the violence it brought. In addition, there was a lot of impunity by those who had done atrocities during the liberation and thereafter. The above was explained by Moses Mzila Ndlovu former senior artillery commander in the PF ZAPU. Therefore, it promoted the continuity of these barbaric acts. It also explains why liberation movements have used violence to achieve their ends. [Marry Ndlovu, 5 November 2015, Interview with Foya]

In 1981, Robert Mugabe went to North Korea and confided to the dictator Kim III Sung that he felt insecure since the British were the ones who were training his ZNA and that where the British had handed power, there was a military coup and perhaps the same could happen to him in Zimbabwe. Kim III Sung then assisted with the training of 5th Brigade that would be directly answerable to the Prime Minister. These soldiers were extremely loyal, supportive of the Prime Minister, accountable to him alone. [Judith Todd, 2007]

Perrence Shiri was quoted by government owned Chronicle as saying “5th Brigade was elevated above all other brigades. Composition of 5th Brigade included mainly Shonas, those willing to serve the new government without inclination to PF ZAPU.” For example, Perence Shiri had no rank in the army but overnight was promoted to lead it and has been promoted ever since then. In this regard, more than sixty percent of the respondents argued that from the look of things in the ZANU PF, violence pays because all those who committed atrocities since liberation have been handsomely rewarded.[The Chronicles, 28February 1986 cited in Coltart 2016]

Humiliation of People

Testimonies of seventy percent of respondents did indicate that women were inhumanly treated, there were told to undress in public and touched on their private parts either by hands or by nose of the guns. Individuals were tortured in public. The above respondents argued that this was meant to reduce the manhood or womanhood of the population and also to make these people feel that they are nothing and culturally reduced. Furthermore, unlucky pregnant women at Gwanda interrogation Centre had their tummies ripped open by bynotes by soldiers and were accused to be spouses of dissidents. The above views were expressed by all respondents. It appears that the respondents were of the same views on the matters. There was convergence of ideas and thought

Sixty four percent of ZIPRA ex-combatants argued that 5th Brigade operations traumatised the entire region regardless of ethnic group. The Gukurahundi affected everyone who witnessed the inhuman cruelty of the ZANU PF government. The respondents go further to say that the Zimbabwean liberation war was not traumatising as was the Gukurahundi. Gukurahundi would force fathers to be intimate with their daughters in the presence of the village and there are reports of fathers who were killed for failure to have erection so that they sleep with their daughters. Gukurahundi war was very disorienting to the people in the region and beyond. This was the case because there were people who had relatives in Matebeleland North, South and Midlands Provinces. It paralysed all the systems in the rural areas even in some cases in towns. Seventy percent of respondents maintain that close to fifty percent of the adults in the region are traumatised especially those in the rural areas. The evidence of death and destruction is there for all to see. These respondents showed this researcher mass grave in the playgrounds of one school. For example, there is a mass grave at Silwane Primary school grounds in Matebeleland North where three teachers are buried up to this period when this research was conducted October 2015- January 2016.

According to the retired Member In-Charge of Kezi Police Station (1981-1988) Chief Inspector Pilani Marxwell Ndlovu interviewed by this researcher, there is the mass grave in the police camp at Kezi Police Station.[Ndlovu, P 28 November 2015 Interview with Foya]

There is mass grave decorated as 'rockery' in order to conceal evidence because there is nobody who will temper with it. In addition to the above case, Father William Hebron who is now a retired Catholic Bishop who was in charge of Bulawayo Dioceses, at St Paul Mission Hospital, there is a mass grave in the school grounds where between twenty-five to twenty eight people are buried there. (See pictures in the appendices section.) All respondents were in agreement that the Gukurahundi had serious impact on the people in the provinces. The people have been largely disempowered. The affected people as a result of Gukurahundi do not have birth certificates nor death certificates thereby complicating already difficult issues. This means that several thousands of people who were born after Gukurahundi have no identification documents and this has deprived them of access to primary and secondary school education because without the identification, no one can go to school and ultimately cannot get employment. Even after unity Accord, nothing was done by the government to work on this issue. Hence, over sixty percent of respondents view government's attitudes of trying to continue Gukurahundi in another way to ensure that the Ndebeles are dealt with once and for all. Once the ethnic group has had its leadership destroyed and its home party destroyed in terms of structure and leadership there is nowhere they would become a challenge to the ruling establishment.

Documents

Sixty one percent of all the respondents from Matebeleland Provinces were of the strong view that there are several hundreds of people who use surnames not theirs for the sake of having documents and they used other relatives' documents in order to get identity documents. This is what has enabled some children to go to school and acquire documentation such as national identity documentation and passports that enables them to get employment and also enabled them to move from Zimbabwe to other countries that include South Africa, Botswana and the rest of the world. The danger of getting documents in this manner is that this becomes a vicious cycle so that for eternity, the families will be using surnames that are not theirs.

A group of headmasters interviewed by this researcher, in focus group discussion explained that they knew very well of over twenty seven percent of the students using other surnames other than their family names. *"As school heads in the affected areas, we have known that the surnames being used by families were not theirs. There is nothing that we can do about. The fault lies squarely with the government for not having affirmative action to allow these people to have documentation. Maybe, it serves the government well since people without documents cannot travel or do anything worthwhile"* In this regard, people cannot ask for any employment because they will be told that they have no educational qualifications and documentation.

The Gukurahundi created a massive exodus of young and adult males from especially rural areas as well as from towns and cities because nobody was safe from Gukurahundi. They followed people into their homes as they were using lists confiscated from ZAPU offices. According to fifty nine percent of respondents, in most villages in Matebeleland North and South, there are very few young people. Majority of the young people have either left for urban areas and neighbouring countries notably Botswana and South Africa. These people do come during Christmas and Easter holidays. There are older women herding cattle because there is nobody to tend for the domestic animals. These views are confirmed by population census of Matebeleland North and South. For example, There are more women in Tsholotsho by 10 847, In Nkayi there are 7 047 more women than men and Lupane 5 209 more women than men. (ZimAsset 2012)

Depopulation of professionals

There was exodus of professionals from the affected areas and receiving areas of towns. All those professionals ran away from rural areas but most were pursued into towns and in some cases the state's agents would move to neighbouring countries such as South Africa and Botswana where they kidnapped these people and some were brought into the country. According to Mary Ndlovu, ZAPU Director of Education and former Lecturer at Hillside Teachers College in Bulawayo, "*rural Matebeleland has lost trained teachers and nurses and the schools and clinics are now manned by teachers awaiting training and first aiders in most clinics. The pass rate in all Matebeleland is extremely disgusting to say the least.*" [Ndlovu, M 5 November 2015, interview with Foya]

The Gukurahundi left a vacuum that will take generations to fill assuming that things get sorted. Vacuum in the sense that it is very difficult to fill in all the vacancies left by those who left this part of the country. Seventy three percent of the respondents are of the strong view that this has been a deliberate way to impoverish these provinces by any means possible. They argue further that government is not serious about peace-building and reconciliation. In this regard, ZAPU Leaders interviewed by this researcher argue that ZANU PF Government should have attempted to solve these issues of professionals. For instance, the local teachers' colleges such as Hillside and United Teachers Colleges should have embarked on a deliberate aggressive programme to train more science and mathematics teachers in order to fill the gaps. In the same vein, former Senior Nurse Tutor at United Bulawayo Hospital (1980-1985) and at Mpilo Hospital (1985-1997) Mrs Catherine Ndlovu argued that "*the government had all the resources to train more nurses from the region and deploy them to these district to boost nurse complement in rural hospitals and clinics. However, the political will was simply not there*" [Catherine Ndlovu, 14 November 2015 ,Interview with Foya]

Most schools are manned by untrained teachers (that is teachers awaiting training), these schools are poorly resourced, and infrastructure resembles precolonial structures. The same applies to rural clinics in the areas, there are very few qualified nurses and the clinics have to drugs, poorly funded. Sixty three percent of respondents feel that in some cases patients visit traditional healers and the *mapositori* (Faith Healers). These fifty six percent of respondents went further and said that only were police force and Central Intelligence Operatives remained in the rural areas in these rural areas. Those in the national army were not safe from Gukurahundi. They were arrested and tortured especially if they were members of former members of ZIPRA or were of Ndebele speaking. For the Gukurahundi officers were a law unto themselves. Those in the villages strongly believed that Gukurahundi soldiers were above any other members of the uniformed forces.

Number of people killed & displaced

According to the State Security Minister Emmerson Mnangagwa,(quoted by Government Herald Newspaper 13 July 1987) the total number of dissidents at their peak was four hundred. But the whole brigade was dispatched to Matebeleland in order to deal with the menace of these four hundred dissidents. According to forty seven percent of one hundred and twenty one Independent observers interviewed by this researcher as well as fifty eight percent of thirty nine NGOs that operated in these provinces strongly suggested that the total number of people killed by the Gukurahundi was higher than the figures given by Catholic Commission for

Justice and Peace of twenty thousand people dead. Some of these NGOs include ZimRights, Plan International, Save the Children UK, World Food Programme, Christian Care, Red Crescent, Goal, International Red Cross, World Vision, Catholic \Relief Services and many others. This figure does come from few selected districts where in-depth study was carried hence the arguments by the respondents that the figure could be far higher than that. Besides those who died at the hands of 5th Brigade, thousands more escaped to South Africa, Botswana and others into diaspora.

Then there are those who were thrown into mine shafts such as at Antelope Mine and others were burnt with chemicals. This was corroborated by former intelligence operative who requested to remain unnamed for security reasons. This operative explained that all those who were really perceived to be serious threat and of influence were burnt in that way. *“we did many terrible things that when I look down the memory lane, I regret being part of the system that did those sadistic things to other human beings. There is no way I can be forgiven by people. It is regrettable. Now, as an old man I have no peace with myself, my extended family community and my God”*

According to the former Minister of Reconciliation and National Healing, Moses Mzila Ndlovu anything between two to three and half thousand people died at Entumbane in Bulawayo during shootings that took place. These numbers are not being added to the 20 000 as given by the CCJP. (Interview 18 November 2015)

The dissidents killed a few whites. The number according to former PF ZAPU government ministers the number of White farmers killed by dissidents comes close to thirty. The above former minister Callister Ndlovu argued in an interview with Foya that *“some whites were killed by 5th Brigade to give impression that the dissidents were evil and anti-White. The government controlled newspaper.”* The Chronicle 17 July 1985 did comment that *“the dissidents were evil because they were killing the Whites in Matebeleland and negatively affecting beef production in the provinces and instil fear in the White Community.”* Surprisingly, the same paper did not say anything when thousands of Blacks were being massacred. It was heavily censored by the government and also self-censorship on the part of the editor and his entire staff.

This in the view of this researcher would build a coalition against the dissidents by the international community. The Whites would in turn support the government in its efforts to eliminate dissidents and their supporters. The White community became frightened and others moved from their farms in Matebeleland provinces to other provinces thereby affecting people's livelihoods.

Development of negative attitudes

The 5th Brigade brought a lot of lawlessness and suffering in Matebeleland North, South and Midlands Provinces. The brigade was a law unto itself and from its operations; it does appear everyone feared the group right from the police and the rest of the army. Fifty four percent of the respondents maintained that individuals with criminal mind and inclination took advantage of lawlessness in committing crimes purporting to be dissidents. The above was explained by the respondents who argued that the Gukurahundi hardened people in the region and worsened their hatred of the Shona people as they are viewed being the same as the perpetrators.

Shaping of People's Perceptions

Sixty eight percent of the respondents were of the strong view that the people of Matebeleland North, South, and parts of Midlands have been neglected by the government since the 1980s up to date which is 2015. To a large extent they feel that government has been extremely careless in the treatment of people in these regions. Seventy percent of the respondents feel that they are simply neglected in many ways. The people in these provinces according to the above percentage of respondents are convinced that they have been marginalised by the government since the time of independence. This marginalisation has come in many forms and these forms include: lack of development in areas such as education, health delivery systems, road infrastructural development, telecommunication and social services for the people in the region. It shaped the negative perceptions that the intention was to murder and wipe out Ndebeles as those who were Shona speaking survived the ordeals that others went through even Shona teachers and nurses were spared in the torture and killings that took places in these places . In the view of eighty percent of respondents, Gukurahundi had targets to achieve and this does suggest that it was an ethnic cleansing and was well planned and carefully executed.

Sixty three percent of respondents have strongly argued that there has not been any forum to discuss these Gukurahundi matters. Those who have attempted to attend commemorations of Gukurahundi in 2012 in Lupane Centre Matebeleland North were arrested. These include Honourable Member of parliament who was also Minister of reconciliation and National Healing Moses Mzila Ndlovu. Fifty five percent of respondents strongly argued that if such could happen to a Cabinet Minister, what more of civilians ordinary villagers? Furthermore, exhibition of photographs showing Gukurahundi events in pictures at Bulawayo National Gallery were stopped and exhibitors arrested by the police. No charges were laid according to The Chronicles 21 August 2012. This researcher interviewed (29 November 2015) the former member in Charge of Northern Police Station in Bulawayo on the matter. Inspector Mhlanga had this to say *"We received radio communication from PHGQ in Harare to arrest the Minister of Reconciliation and National Healing Honourable M. M. Ndlovu. The instruction was to hold him there and no charge were preferred against him. Even if things are not right as a police officer, I am forced to take the government position least I am fired from my job."*

More than fifty eight percent of the respondents in this research strongly felt that Gukurahundi impact has been extremely negative. It brought ill feelings between the Shona and the Ndebeles especially rural Matebeleland. The reasons according to seventy percent of respondents are that those who committed these heinous crimes spoke the Shona Language and were mostly from the other provinces of Zimbabwe other than Matebeleland. Three former Cabinet Ministers, Dr Cephass Msipa, Mr Dydimus Mutasa and Mr Rugare Gumbo in interviews with this researcher (November 2015) concurred with sixty percent of the village respondents that there is a sense of not belonging to this country. Furthermore, this is being compounded by statements from politicians such former Minister of Transport Obert Mpofo who said, *"Bulawayo must become part of Zimbabwe, and the people here should vote for ZANU PF and failure to vote for the revolutionary."* (From the Chronicle 21 November 2015) The statement by implication means that it is not part of Zimbabwe. That is why people in these provinces do not get a fair deal. In this regard, people feel alienated from the country and governmental activities that take place in these provinces.

According to sixty six percent of the respondents, Ndebele people view themselves as Second class citizens. Asked why they felt that was the case, they argued that government deliberately placed the Shona people in all government positions of authority for instance in the ZRP, ZNA, headmastership positions especially important schools even in non-Shona speaking areas. For example there are Shona speaking Headmasters in Nkayi, Tsholotsho schools such as Sizane Primary, Sizinda Primary schools, Kezi Primary School, Tshayile primary school, Nyamandlovu Secondary. There are very few Ndebeles in high levels of government positions through the regions. According to Education officers stationed in Gwanda and Bulawayo who spoke of condition of anonymity, there are over seventy nine headmasters in rural Matebeleland whose origins and provinces are traceable to outside Matebeleland provinces.

In addition even government institutions are manned by people from beyond the region yet there are people from Matebeleland Provinces who are equally knowledgeable in these matters. However they are not given opportunities to do apply themselves diligently. This applies to nurses' and teachers training institutions too. For instance, during 1984 to 1989, there were more Shona speaking nurses trained at Bulawayo United Hospitals and Mpilo Central Hospital. According to Sister Catherine Ndlovu (Senior Nursing tutor) in an Interview with Foya only two hundred and fifty three Ndebele nurses were trained against one thousand and forty one Shona Shonas. Former PF ZAPU Artillery Commander and Cabinet Minister Moses Mzila Ndlovu commented that *"all positions of authority in the army, police, education, health services, are manned by Shona and this caused an uproar with the late Governor of Matebeleland North, Welshman Mabhena who raised the issue with the President Mugabe and he was labelled an 'an unrepentant tribalist' by the president himself."* [M. M. Ndlovu 18 November 2015, Interview with Foya]

With regards to teachers training colleges in Bulawayo that is Hillside Teachers College and United College of Education, according to principals Mr F. Chirandu and Mr Kennedy Chakanetsa, of Hillside and United College of Education respectively *"most of the staff are non-Ndebele and not from Matebeleland but we have never really questioned this trend. People apply for posts and attend interviews and successful candidates are offered the job. Admittedly, most of our students are non Ndebeles for the simple reason that among those who qualify and apply are not from this region because there are very few schools in Matebeleland that produce good results at Ordinary level let alone at Advanced level. Thus the region, is handicapped"*

In the Zimbabwe Republic Police , it is worse in terms of deployment, forty eight percent of respondents testified that at Nkayi, Tsholotsho, Binga, Hwange, Kezi, Victoria Falls, Maphisa, stations just to name a few major police stations are headed by Shonas and over sixty percent of all the officers are Shona. In the view of these respondents, it is grossly unfair to have this state of affairs in this country because on paper, the citizens are equal but on the ground the situation is different.

There is a strong argument from more than fifty percent of respondents that the situation in the provinces is that of gloom and despondence as individuals find themselves hopeless by the politics and man- made disasters that will take generations to resolve assuming that there is enough political will to sort this mess out. People are facing bleak future and this has been exacerbated by the economic circumstances that have been merciless. As a result, people are living one day at a time because there is nothing to look forward to. To compound matters, more than fifty percent of the respondents testified that people in Matebeleland are hopeless

and there is nothing for them in the national affairs. A retired former Army Colonel Nkosi Dube in a focus group discussion had this to say “*there is no local leadership to take charge of local affairs. Those elected end up serving own interests and tore the Harare line and behaviour so that they continue eating from the gravy train.*” From the testimonies of respondents it can safely be concluded that it will take a long time for the missed opportunities in the provinces under discussion to reach the level of other provinces.

Gukurahundi made Matebeleland rural areas more emotional and resistant to the current government’s moves even if the intentions are noble, everything is accepted with scepticism. The people from Matebeleland have become less interested to work in Mashonaland Provinces save for professionals who view issues differently. These are views of the sixty percent of the respondents. One of the greatest issues brought by the Gukurahundi into Matebeleland is fear. The brigade was so ferocious and killed and did all unimaginable things that will for ever create a state of fear amongst the population. According to a group of sixteen ex-combatants from ZIPRA who spoke in focus group discussion:

*Gukurahundi brought excessive fear among the Ndebele population as a result of what had happened to people at Nkayi, Tsholotsho, Lupane, Kezi and many other areas. That served as lessons for the other areas where the Ndebeles were prominent such as those in Matebeleland South.
(Interview 18 December 2015)*

Further seventy percent of the respondents in focus group discussion were of the view that people in Matebeleland developed strong hatred of ZANU PF and the Shona people. It brought to the fore the violent nature of ZANU PF and its government as well as everything which it represent. Thus, the people have perceptions of violence and justifiably so. Thus, people join ZANU PF to avoid being victimised and killed. It is purely for survival purposes and to avoid being persecuted.

Unity Accord of 1987 and reconciliation

The unity Accord between ZAPU and ZANU PF signed on 22 December 1987 between Robert Mugabe (ZANU PF) and Joshua Nkomo (PF ZAPU) was described by Dumiso Dabengwa Leader of ZAPU in an interview with this researcher as “*a document of the vanquished with no future for the defeated.*” The victor humiliated the loser who is ZAPU and all the Ndebeles. The Shonas who were part of ZAPU switched sides when they realised that ZAPU had lost the 1980 elections. These who moved from ZAPU knew very well that there would be politics of patronage. They had seen this during the tenure of Bishop Muzorewa of Zimbabwe Rhodesia. Muzorewa’s supporters were rewarded with high salaries especially those in education and health services. (Source: The Great Betrayal by Ian Douglas Smith, 2005)

According to eighty seven percent of respondents, there is nothing in the Unity Accord for the Ndebele or PF ZAPU. Three former cabinet ministers who were in the ZAPU have argued that the Unity Accord has 11 articles and the issue of reconciliation is completely absent. It was only incorporation of PF ZAPU into ZANU PF.

The Unity Accord talked about establishing a one party state in Zimbabwe under the guidance of Marxist-Leninist principles. PF ZAPU was strongly against this ideology of one party state. It is from this background that the respondents strongly suspect that it was forced unto PF ZAPU by ZANU PF because the former had been weakened by the Gukurahundi and all its

leadership had been eliminated and others had gone into hiding outside the country and more so the venue of the signing- The State House. It is not even suitable for such important and neutral events. (See *appendix for Unity Accord details*)

Seventy one percent of respondents concurred that the only positive thing about the Unity Accord is the ending of the civil conflict and the stopping of killings and the return of relative peace and the allowing in of the goods including food and basic necessities into the rural areas and the end of the curfew.

The above respondents are of the strong view that Unity Accord did not assist matters at all. It left Matebeleland fractured. In an interview with Writer Charles Mungoshi (September 2015), *“everyone in Matebeleland provinces has some kinds of wounds.”* He goes further to explain *“that virtually everyone suffered in some way or the other and everyone suffered differently depending on geographical location.”*

Judith Todd and Mary Ndlovu in interviews with this researcher argued that peace was dictated to ZAPU at ZANU PF's terms hence the retaining of the name of the 'new' party no change in terms of leadership of 'old' ZANU PF as well as the structure of ZANU PF. It just incorporated a few former PF ZAPU cadres. [Todd, 4 November 2015, Interview with Foya; M. Ndlovu, 5 November 2015, Interview with Foya]

The name of the party remained ZANU PF which has been associated with killings and destruction of lives and people's livelihood. People had lost properties, loved ones and all future posterity. In most cases, the whole lineage was wiped out spelling doom and disaster for the future of the families in Matebeleland. Furthermore, the symbol of the 'new party' was a ZANU PF cockerel a sign that the ruling party was the cock in the country and that it was the one that had killed the 'Bull' that is ZAPU. Mugabe even named one building in the city centre of Harare as Karigamombe a clear reference to ZAPU. Seventy five percent of the respondents view ZANU PF very suspiciously and as not interested in reconciliation. These respondents go further to say the idea is that ZANU PF is neither interested in reconciliation nor peacebuilding because they stand to lose their stronghold and use of violence to achieve their interests.

According to ten Catholic bishops that were interviewed Unity Accord of 1987 should have dealt with the past dark period and try to open up dialogue and apologise for atrocities of the past. Steps were supposed to have been taken at local level to deal with these issues. Focus group discussion contributions were that there was need for concessions especially in developmental terms to be given to the region. Unfortunately, The Unity Accord did not address these issues. Close to seventy nine percent of the respondents were of the view that Unity Accord had many structural weaknesses that include the fact that there has been privatisation of history of the liberation struggle in which PF ZAPU is denigrated and is seen as having played second fiddle to ZANU PF. PF ZAPU was a national party operating in the whole of Zimbabwe and even among the rank and file, there were people from all ethnic groups, Ndebele, Kalanga, Manyika, Zezeru and others. Hence they had Mangena, George Nyandoro, Willie Musarurwa, Joseph Msika, George Silundika, and Lookout Masuku just to name some. The whole process of peacebuilding and reconciliation failed as it was based on wrong premises and did not address the issues that brought the conflict in the first place.

Eighty percent of all those interviewed in this research maintain that the unity accord was a marriage of convenience between Joshua Nkomo and Robert Mugabe. ZAPU only came to the negotiation table on ZANU PF terms and to save people from Matebeleland from extinction. ZAPU came to accept dictated terms by the big brother, ZANU. ZAPU even allowed itself to be swallowed and lost its identity for ever. There has never been a state sponsored/initiated peace building programme in the two provinces. No-one especially from ZANU PF wanted to take blame or to acknowledge that some wrongs were done.

According to Habakkuk Trust Chief Executive Director Dumisani Nkomo, reconciliation was poorly handled and from the word go, government was not sincere at all with the process. It just wanted to build its buttered image as a result of Gukurahundi. He commented thus: *“Hence, signing Unity Accord and showing the world that he, the Prime Minister Robert Mugabe was willing to work with those who fought him in this civil conflict and that give the world the impression that he was a peace loving person.”* [Nkomo, D, 3 November 2015, Interview with Foya]

In the same vein, Judith Todd a ZAPU stalwart and historian argued that Unity Accord was affected by the historical issues. She argues that the split of 1963 was disastrous for future of nationalists’ politics in Zimbabwe. It brought seeds of discord between the parties such that there would be no reconciliation at all. Robert Mugabe was not genuine with all the pronouncements he made on reconciliation policy. [Todd, J. Through Darkness, Life in Zimbabwe, 2007]

Lack of sincerity on the part of Robert Mugabe is seen historically by his manipulation of one group at a time. Firstly, he crushed opposition within his own ZANU PF. For example Rugare Gumbo, Augustine Chihuri, and Edgar Tekere, suffered in many ways as a result of opposing the authoritarian policies. After dealing with his internal enemies, he went for ZAPU and destroyed its leadership by arrests, detention and destroyed its support base by killing all the population perceived to be supporting ZAPU. [Sharri Eppil, 2 November 2015, Interview with Foya]

Whites were spared for the time being until farm evictions which began in the year 2000. That was followed by 2002 Citizenship Act which deprived citizenship from people whose parents were from SADC and other countries which include Britain, New Zealand and Australia. The major reasons for these actions were purely selfish reasons because these people did not support Robert Mugabe. Instead they supported the nascent Movement for Democratic Change which had been formed in September 1999. The above views of respondents were supported by Eddie Cross, an economist and Honourable Member of Parliament for Bulawayo South Constituency. Honourable Cross concludes by saying *“in Zimbabwe, differing with the principles of the President Mugabe is treasonous, one can die, get imprisoned, politically neutralised like what happened to numerous politicians that include Joshua Nkomo and Edson Zvobgo.”* [Hon Eddie Cross, 20 November 2015, Interview with Foya]

According to seventy percent of respondents, Mugabe embarked on fast track land reform where supporters of his party were encouraged to move into the White owned farms as punishment for the White farmers’ support for the MDC. The accusation was that the mining and farming were mainly made up of aliens. In order to disenfranchise them, government came up with a Citizen Amendment Act which deprived all people of foreign descent from being

citizens and therefore would not have voting rights until they renounced their foreign citizenship even if one was born and bred in Zimbabwe. These foreigners were even called 'totemless' by Mugabe.

In May 2005, just before parliamentary elections ZANU PF Government instituted in Operation Murambatsvina and this operation displaced over eight hundred thousand people and destroyed the livelihoods of vulnerable and the poor. The Operation Murambatsvina was carried out by Ministry of Local Government from May 2005. According to sixty percent of the respondents, to all intents and purposes, the operation was meant to drive all the supporters of opposition party who were very strong all urban centres and the ruling party had totally lost all support and city councils were under opposition councillors. According to Paul Themba Nyathi, former legislator for Gwanda South, "*operation clear up filth was meant to drive out opposition supporters whom the government regarded as filthy and totemless*" [Paul Themba Nyathi, 5 November 2015 Interview with Foya]

The above respondents, say this was a reference to all the urbanites across the cities and towns in Zimbabwe caused a lot of suffering for the urbanites in Zimbabwe. The ripple effect reached all corners of the country. United Nations argue that eight hundred thousand people were directly affected by this move and they lost their livelihoods and housing and were forced to move into rural areas. (Tibaijuka Report July, 2005)

The more than sixty percent of respondents concurred that this was meant to dilute all urban constituencies and dilute strong opposition support base. Eighty percent of respondents maintained that Unity Accord introduced a culture of intolerance and distorted unity as conformity which is not the case. Above all, Robert Mugabe defines everything in the party and in the country therefore, he is the Centre of Power. One respondent, Paul Themba Nyathi of ZAPU Directorate and former Member of Parliament was of the view that, "*Mugabe should have taken the opportunity through Unity Accord to unite and rebuild the country. Instead, he created a very hostile environment for democracy to thrive by seeking to build one party state which left no room for divergent views.*" [Paul Themba Nyathi, 5 November 2015 Interview with Foya]

Former National War Veterans Chairperson commented that after the Unity Accord 1987, ZANU PF invested heavily in violence and sharpened all instruments and institutions that perpetuate violence and all national institutions were adulterated to the extent that they serve the interests of ZANU PF party rather than the state. Thus, ZANU PF according to more than fifty three percent of the respondents have made it a point that there is a very thin dividing line if any between the state and the party.

According to Mary Ndlovu the widow of a national hero, Edward Ndlovu, the Unity Accord and "*the merger was more political than anything*" (Interview with Mary Ndlovu 5th of November 2015, Bulawayo)

This researcher is of the view that the Unity Accord of 1987 demonstrated Joshua Nkomo's desire for peace and the love for his people. This view can be explained by the fact that the terms of peace accord were in favour of the ruling party ZANU PF and there was nothing for the PF ZAPU let alone for the region.

The positive

The Unity Accord showed that people in conflict as was the case in Zimbabwe, can find solutions to their conflicts or problems. For some members in ZAPU it brought benefits of being appointed into positions in politics and government. Fifty percent of respondents do strongly argue that once appointed, that these officials from this region stop serving interests of their respective regions but served the interests of appointing authority in Harare. Forty seven of the respondents felt that causes of violence were never addressed at all. This has serious implications for the future generations because the conflicts may remain at latent stages.

Negative

Eighty percent of ZIPRA ex-combatants interviewed [one hundred and thirty] said that there was a training centre known as Paradise Camp in Mazowe Valley where some ZNA soldiers were taken there for training early 1982. The ZNA soldiers were indoctrinated into ZANU PF ideology and to make slogans in favour of ruling party and chant slogans against the other leaders notably Joshua Nkomo, Bishop Abel Muzorewa and Ndabaningi Sithole. At this training centre, the training was not being done by the BMMAT. At the gate there was an anthill shaped structure inscribed in white paint "*Pasi na Joshua Nkomo.*" According to the fifty eight percent of the above respondents from ZIPRA, "*they felt as if they were brought to that place to be killed after a few weeks, they ran away back to KGIV and they were not even punished as should have been the case under normal circumstances.*"

Then at the end of the range, there was a mound of soil and then a kilometre before there was inscription written in white washed bricks "*down with imperialists, down Joshua Nkomo and Bishop Abel Muzorewa.*" Raphael Khoza, a medic in the ZNA who survived torture for refusing to make slogans had this to say "*a lot of individuals in this country do not appreciate how evil ZANU PF system is, even you, the researcher will never understand these things. I went through hell and so did most ex-ZIPRA combatants as well as Ndebele People at the hands of ZANU PF*" (Interview with Raphael Khoza, 6 November 2015, Sizinda Suburb Bulawayo)

According to sixty six percent of respondents, it was the time that the issue of reconciliation was being touted and spoken on daily basis yet the prime Minister was clandestinely doing such things when the process of unity and reconciliation was supposed to be in action. In the view of the respondents, it shows high levels of hypocrisy.

According to Joseph Nkathazo formerly with Catholic Commission of Justice and Peace for twenty years, to a large extent, ZANU PF Government played with people's emotions. After Gukurahundi, Government adopted a more silent approach of dealing with divergent views and the opposition adopted more silent approach. (Interview with researcher 6 November 2015 Luveve Suburb Bulawayo)

Reconciliation has been a failure in Zimbabwe according to the findings of this research and it consolidates the views of Lederach (1997) and Worthington (2001) that contend that reconciliation will only take place under circumstances where there is truth telling, forgiveness, mercy and justice. The failure of reconciliation was direct result of refusal by ZANU PF

Government to acknowledge the killings and make apologies to the people in the region of Matebeleland North and South because government's admission that "*it was a moment of madness*" is not sufficient and it smacks of mockery to thousands who died and several thousands.

The process of reconciliation is not one that a certain section of the society can say "*we are revoking the process because the Whites have not reciprocated.*" Robert Mugabe cited in Nemavhandu (2008:49). The process of reconciliation was not sustainable from the beginning and there was no strategic framework that would have capacitated people in order to ensure that the process would be successful and that the leadership threw spanners in the work of peacebuilding and reconciliation as the findings show. Non-state actors were not allowed to participate in the process with material, financial or political support. The reason being that the government does not trust anybody and it wanted to maintain power at all costs including loss of thousands of lives and the displacement of thousand more and left the population traumatised. Research findings show that ZANU PF Government according to Rudney (2008) strongly believed that "promoting reconciliation and the strengthening of civil society" would weaken its resolve of building a one part state after demolishing PF ZAPU.

Peacebuilding and development in Matebeleland

There have been significant challenges with regards to peacebuilding in Matebeleland North and South Provinces. In an interview with this researcher, Senator David Coltart (12 November 2015 Kelvin Industrial Site, Bulawayo) maintained that conflicts in Matebeleland Provinces, have had developmental consequences. The rest of the country from 1980s experienced development in many areas while there was conflict in this side of the country. He argued further "*that while the rest of the country witnessed massive development in education in primary schools, secondary schools teachers colleges and technical colleges, health infrastructure, and road infrastructural development. Matebeleland provinces have not seen the same levels of development. The schools in the region are far below in terms of infrastructure and teaching staff training and qualifications.*"

Sixty five percent of the respondents have argued strongly that Matebeleland experienced nothing in terms of development. The argument goes further that ZANU PF Government had a deliberate policy of not even trying to develop the provinces.

According to former Member of Parliament for Gwanda South Constituency, Paul Themba Nyathi, from 1983 to 1987 development was arrested. The government under the pretext of fighting the dissidents in Matebeleland North and South ensured that no development would take place at all. Up to this point nothing on the ground suggest that something is being done or will be done any time soon. (Interview with Paul Themba Nyathi Suburbs Bulawayo 5 November 2015)

Road network

Elsewhere in Zimbabwe, there are much better roads and better accessibility and development comes through accessibility to the outside world. With regards to road development, there are no major roads for example in Nkayi, Tsholotsho, Kezi and Lupane. There is not even a link road to Binga, the rest of the country road infrastructure is much better as compared to Matebeleland North and South.

This scenario has been exacerbated by lack of deliberate cooperation from the Central government in Harare. There is a strong view by residents of Nkayi and region that the people in the Region are fundamentally disenfranchised and have since given up. In addition, all elected representatives are serving own interests at the expense of the electorate.. However, fifty percent of respondents in this discussion were of the view that there was nothing these members of parliament could do. The Central Government in Harare is the one that makes priorities in development terms. Thus, no-matter how vocal the members of parliament are, if the government does not give its nod, there is nothing that can be done.

Dr and Rev Ray Motsi, Director of Theological College of Zimbabwe commented that that Matebeleland has four major roads and these are: Plumtree Road, Harare road, Gwanda Road and Victoria Falls Road. The rest of small roads do not go very far at all and they do not link major areas at all. In this vein, ZINARA gave less money for road development for Matebeleland Provinces citing that there were very few roads in the area and that it did not warrant disbursement of a lot of money. ZINARA goes further to argue that funds are disbursed as per road requirements and plans according to councils as well as projects that require funding.

State of road in Mapisa, Matebeleland South



Roads are extremely bad and it makes the movement of people and goods very difficult and even transportation becomes very difficult let alone during rain-season. Buses and Lorries have resorted to using longer routes in order to get to their destinations. Bridges have been broken since 1980s up to 2015. People have to travel long distances in order to get home or town. This becomes costly in terms of fuel and time when doing business.

Mineral resources

The provinces have economic potential in terms of minerals, climate, and water resources. Most areas are very dry regions. While cattle-ranching was a booming business, it suffered from sanctions and fast track land reform of 2000. The Zambezi Water Project has lost steam because most industries were closing in Bulawayo. The reason why the area is lacking in development is more to do with politics and commonly believed political theory around Matebeleland Provinces is that people are being punished for not supporting ZANU PF. According to fifty eight percent of the respondents, since independence in April 1980, government has created very limited economic opportunities for citizens. For instance, Lupane has abundant gas reserves that could be exploited for the benefit of the district, province and the whole country. In addition, this can also assist the country with revenues that are greatly needed. These reserves are believed to be of the best quality on earth but it is plentiful somewhere else for cheaper prices.

There is a lot of wildlife in the provinces. There should be plough back into the communities so that they are developed by the resources from the area. Even Camp Fire program that was run by NGOs and benefited the communities is no longer in place and the net result is that the villagers have no reason to protect the wildlife because there are no benefits associated with it. (Campfire Report No.19, 16 July 2007)

Furthermore, at least fifty nine percent of respondents strongly believe that all proceeds from mining activities in the provinces have not been ploughed back into the society in order to improve standards of lives of these rural people. However, the funds realised from mining licences, royalties are channelled elsewhere away from the real beneficiaries. All proceeds from mining go to Harare and the distribution is rather eschewed in favour of other provinces at expense of Matebeleland Provinces. Eighty percent of the respondents interviewed are extremely bitter about the attitude of government and what happened to these regions from 1980 to 2010 in terms of development. It is the belief of these respondents that the government could have done better for these provinces.

Coltart [2016] has argued that ZANU PF wanted to buy votes they could use development as a carrot. Unfortunately, punishing the people in any way the government has done has not helped matters at all. In fact, it has hardened the attitudes of the people in the provinces and the people have developed negative perceptions that government will not be able to deal with in future. These research findings affirm the above views. He concludes by arguing that general corruption in the country is the course of underdevelopment in most if not all parts of the country as most resources are diverted to save individual use.

There is no framework to follow in implementation from national to village level of all developmental projects. To make matters worse, the people are appointed corruptly and patronage system is deeply embedded in the government system. In fact fifty one percent of respondents have strongly argued that all posts have been allocated for ZANU PF supporters from other provinces even where there is need for "*cleaners, the government will bring them from elsewhere to ensure that the locals in the Matebeleland are deprived of employment and livelihoods.*" The above respondents cite general cleaners at Victoria Falls Airport, Hwange Local Board, Victoria Falls Zimra offices, Gwanda Ministry of National Housing, Plumtree Boarder Post. This is done at the expense of the local people be they Ndebeles or Kalangas or Tongas.

Availability of water in the provinces

The province has great potential for development as it can easily have irrigation through construction of canals from Zambezi. There is lack of serious commitment by Central Government to embark on development of water systems dams and pipelines that can supply water to Matebeleland North province as well as Bulawayo industries. Sixty percent of the respondents are of the strong view that shortages of water in the region, is artificial in the eyes of the Ndebeles. They feel that it is part of sustained campaign to make the region a wasteland. The government is dodging the real issues in Matebeleland which is marginalisation and underdevelopment. (Interview with District Administer of Lupane, Mr Abednigo Bhebhe 18 December 2015 Lupane Centre Matebeleland North)

The Zambezi Matebeleland Water Project has been on the cards from 1982 and according to sixty percent of respondents, *“the issue is always brought towards general and presidential elections and there is no budget for such critical project.”* It has been argued further by fifty two percent of the above respondents that it took government less than five years to engage donors and other stakeholders to bring water from Pungwe River into Mutare which was not in a serious water predicament as compared to Matebeleland North or South. Hence, if government can adopt the same zeal with regards to other provinces Matebeleland included it would have been much better.

Sixty percent of the respondents are of the strong view that the leadership from Matebeleland has let down the people and are of the view that if the Shonas were elected as representatives of the people here, they would do something in order to alleviate the problems because they would want to make a point or prove a point that their predecessors were not doing anything. Thus, Paul Themba Nyathi a former Member of Parliament concludes by saying, *“people with limited leadership abilities find themselves at the top because they are being promoted for their loyalty and not for competency.”* (Interview with Paul Themba Nyathi Hillside Suburbs Bulawayo, 5 November 2015)

Educational development in the Provinces

Two thirds of the respondents strongly felt that the provinces had lost opportunity twice. During the liberation struggle, the area suffered. However, at that point, it was being appreciated because people were fighting for the independence but after independence it was completely different. There was destruction of infrastructure schools deep, clinics and tanks because government believed that people of these regions supported *“dissidents and hence they deserved that kind of treatment.”* (Interview with Archbishop Pius Ncube, 21 October 2015, Dete, Matebeleland North)

According to former ZAPU Director of Education in Zambia during the struggle (1970-1979), Mary Ndlovu, widow of national hero-Edward Ndlovu, Matebeleland North and South have been negatively affected by lack of peacebuilding. She goes further to say, Gwanda ZINTEC College resources were diverted from the institution and were sent to develop some colleges in Masvingo. Thus, the Gwanda ZINTEC College was never developed until it became part of Joshua Nkomo Polytechnic College. These views were echoed by Senator David Coltart, former Minister of Primary and Secondary Education who observed that curriculum in Matebeleland North and South is seriously deprived. There are very few science and maths teachers in the province. For example out of 748 part one students at National University of Science and Technology in Bulawayo, only one hundred and eleven students are from the two Matebeleland Provinces. (NUST Admission Records 2015 Academic year Report 2015)

Senator Coltart further argued that as a result of this deficiency in Science and Mathematics teachers, there are very few students who pass Mathematics and Science at Ordinary Level and this negatively impacted on the Advanced Level results. For instance, among the top 100 secondary schools, there are less than five high schools from both Matebeleland and North and South Provinces. Yet Manicaland account for the largest numbers that is 337 students and the followed by Masvingo Province in second place and the three Mashonaland Provinces are the last in terms of enrolment.[Coltart, D. Bulawayo]12 November 2015, Interview with Foya]

Other key informants such as Webster Sibanda {retired Provincial Education Director}(interviewed on 3 November 2015 Parklands Suburbs, Bulawayo) strongly argued that Matebeleland North for example, has no technical college, there are no renowned high schools that produce the best Advanced Level results nor Ordinary Level results, no teachers' college, no government hospital that trains nurses. Sixty percent of respondents are of the view that government should have done something concrete about this situation. They concluded that this situation is serious and detrimental to the province with regards to developmental issues. St Luke's Hospital is Roman Catholic owned and not government. In terms of funding it suffers from neglect by the government more so because it belongs to the Roman Catholic Church whose Bishops have been very critical to the governance or lack of it by ZANU PF Government.

The schools in the provinces are far apart from each other because the population is sparsely populated making it very difficult to have schools close by so that pupils and students do not have to walk long distances to learn. The other option according to the respondents is to have boarding schools built to cater for the students. Even if that was to be the case, the parents from the region would not afford to pay fees for the boarding facilities. It therefore, mean that parents from outside Matebeleland provinces will have their children in these schools and the locals will not benefit as should be the case. These long distances have social impact in that girl children are abused while they travel to school by fellow students as well as villagers. The Provisional Education Directors for Matebeleland North and South Provinces concurred that the total number of schools in both Matebeleland North and South is far less than of Manicaland Province. Manicaland has a total of 441 secondary/high schools while Matebeleland North has 180 and Matebeleland South has 151 giving it a total of 431 schools.

As of 31 December 2014, both Matebeleland North and South had a total of 137 untrained teachers in different schools, most of these teachers in the secondary schools. These districts have resorted to moving primary trained teachers to teach in the secondary schools. [Mr Sikhosana Dube and Bernard Maforo at Gwanda Education Offices, Gwanda 20 October 2015 Interview with Foya]

The major constraint with regards to development is that the resources are controlled from the Central Government in Harare. The whole of Binga has very few primary and secondary schools to service the population. Binga District has 17 schools out of these four are not registered with the Ministry of Education and Culture. To make matters worse, the Tonga language is never examined at Grade Seven and even at Ordinary Level. The Tonga People in Binga do not want Ndebele teachers. Their argument is that Tonga is not the same as Ndebele. They want their language to be taught in schools so that it does not die a natural death and become extinct. They are of the strong opinion that they have been let down by the government

hence their voting patterns show that they have been voting for the opposition MDC since 2000.[Interview with Counsellor for ward 3, Cllr Tomuyambilani, 9 August 2015, Manjolo Rural Business Centre, Matebeleland North]

Schools are poorly resourced and understaffed especially trained teachers at primary schools. The worst affected are secondary schools which do not have science and mathematics teachers and this has compromised standards as well as those Advanced Level results. Nkayi District Education Officer, has argued that “*Matebeleland North and South has very few schools both primary and secondary and sixty percent of the schools in Nkayi District have less than twenty percent of degreed teachers and most of the teachers*” [Nkululeko Ncube , 10 October 2015, Nkayi |District Offices, Interview with Foya]

The schools in Matebeleland are failing to produce students who qualify for university entrance. In view of the poor schools, there are very few students who make it to university. In all the universities, there are very few students from Matebeleland provinces. Thus, the universities in this region have most of its students from outside the provinces. According to interview with Admissions Senior Assistant Registrars at National University of Science and

Development

In 1980, Zimbabwe adopted the concept that rural areas had to be developed by starting growth points. The idea was to ensure that people would not flock to urban areas. Thus, the concept was well thought out indeed but there was no incentive to attract businesses to these rural growth points. For example growth points such as Murambinda, Dewedzo Beitbridge, Deweri Chiendambuya in Manicaland Province, Gokwe, Zvishavane, Mberengwa, and Mataga in Midlands Province, Tsholotsho, and Lupane Nkayi have developed more than other growth points. Growth points such as Nkayi, Lupane Tsholotsho have not been developed to the same extent as those mentioned above. The reasons are varied. Some of the reasons include, funding from Central Government, better leadership that promotes development in their areas. Furthermore, there is better road network that allows better access to these areas. This is even made better by excellent networks of communication which is not the same as is the Matebeleland North province. Econet, Telecel, NetOne and Tel One are not within reach in these areas. [Marxwell Madondo Mlalazi 18 October 2015, Lupane Matebeleland North Province, Interview with Foya]

GPA (2009), Reconciliation and National Healing

There was a golden opportunity for the country to move forward from the ruins of the past in terms of peacebuilding and reconciliation. The idea was too noble to have ministers responsible for National Healing and reconciliation. This was critical in that according to Charles Mungoshi, “everyone has some kinds of wounds” and these have to be healed, Some of these wounds are psychological, some emotional, while others are physical. The healing is needed by both the victim and the perpetrators of the violence that was experienced from the time of liberation to0, through Gukurahundi up to 2000 violence as well as those who suffered from Murambatsvina. (Charles Mungoshi, Book- Some kinds of Wounds, College Press Harare, 1987)

According to Pious Ncube, former Archbishop of Bulawayo, the failure of the whole programme of Reconciliation and National Healing was a result of a number of factors and these include the fact that the GPA Government had too much on its hands and there were too

many issues to be taken care of by the government. (Interview with Pious Ncube Marist Dete, Hwange 21 October 2015)

Furthermore, fifty percent of respondents argued that the ZANU PF part of the GPA was very much insincere and not willing to promote the process. The reason was simply because they “*had too many skeletons dating from liberation war, Gukurahundi, land invasion of 2000, 2005 Murambatsvina and 2008 election violence.*” The above respondents feel that nothing practical was done by the government to ease tensions and suspicious relationship between the government and the people in these provinces. The government continued with its attitude of “*business as usual.*”

Sixty percent of the respondents maintain that GPA Government could not be trusted in that the key ministries such as Home Affairs, Defence, Security, Agriculture and Land Reform, Foreign Affairs were in the hands of ZANU PF. Therefore, the ministers in these ministries made life difficult and they deliberately did not seriously commit themselves to change that would benefit the people of the country. For in so doing they would stand to lose ground and it would show that what they did in the past was not right at all. The Government of Global Political Agreement came as a result of rigged elections in 2008. It is from this point that SADC brought in South African President Thabo Mbeki as a peace broker to come up with a compromise peace deal that would bring peace to Zimbabwe.

This was the opportunity for PGA Government to tackle important and sensitive issues once and for all. Such issues would have included 1982-1987 Gukurahundi which is still emotive and fresh in the minds of the people in Matebeleland Region as well as Midlands. They should have tackled Gukurahundi. This researcher strongly thinks that this would have been a golden opportunity for the government to redeem itself of this crime against humanity. It could therefore mean that the reason why they were unwilling to deal with such critical issues raised above was that it served the interests of ZANU PF government very well and it fits in their scheme of things of manipulating people and instilling fear.

Cephas Msipa has argued that “*unity was of the leaders and not of the people.*” In this vein, Vitalis Gutu Governance Officer with Public Affairs and Parliamentary Support Trust commented that “*besides talking on podiums and coming out holding hands, the government has not succeeded in healing the people in the aforesaid areas.*” [Dr Cephas Msipa 22 October 2015, Gweru in Midlands Province, Interview with Foya]

Sixty percent of the respondents have argued that the Organ on National Healing and Reconciliation was set up at national political level but there has been no implementation. In fact it is argued by the respondents that it was a façade to hoodwink the world to believe that the government was serious about national healing and reconciliation. In fact the intentions are similar to those in the 1980s. When the government of National Unity came to an end in mid-2013, the whole thing evaporated. This researcher strongly feels that the fact that the Organ on National Healing and Reconciliation had no budget and secretariat at provincial and district levels shows lack of seriousness on the part of the powers that be.

In addition, government attempted to play down the role of other stakeholders in the process. Other stakeholders were invited to propose a framework and the churches which include Roman Catholic Church, Evangelical Fellowship of Zimbabwe and Zion Christian Church sat

in meetings and stakeholder meetings all over to map a way of doing peace building and reconciliation but it all died in the bud after government without notice and or reason stopped all the meetings. Joseph Nkathazo of Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace argued that although GPA had the Organ on National Healing and Reconciliation, “*it was the right remedy but wrong methods of doing things.*” (Interview with Joseph Nkathazo 6 November 2015, Magwegwe. North, Bulawayo)

With regards to Organ on National Healing and Reconciliation, the GNU tried as much as it could but it was handicapped by illness as two ministers who eventually died. These ministers are John Landa Nkomo (ZANU PF) and Gibson Sibanda of the Movement for Democratic Change. [Coltart, D. 2016]

One of the grave mistakes was that the ONHR focused on current struggle rather than historical root cause of conflict. It has been argued by fifty percent of respondents in focus group discussion that there was no political will to get to the bottom of the matters that had been accumulating since the liberation struggle. ZANU PF on its part had no political will while MDC Members of Parliament were too young and immature to fully master critical issues that took place in the 1980s and then articulate them. Furthermore, most of these Members of Parliament did not come from the Matebeleland Region hence did not have strong picture and views on the matter. For example, Thokozani Khupe and Gordon Moyo

Involvement of Non-State Actors in Peacebuilding

Seventy percent of the respondents in focus group discussion were of the same view that government of Robert Mugabe was very uncomfortable in working with independent minds and other stake holders for fear of unknown. This may be attributed to its past history of violence and the effects that violence has had on the people. In this regard, Pious Ncube, former Archbishop of Bulawayo is of the view that some non-state actors who were involved in these issues included Mafela Trust, which tried to pay school fees for the affected school. In addition, Amani Trust carried out reburials of the dead people in affected Matebeleland Provinces and government seemed to accept this process until 1999 September when the opposition MDC came into the political scene. [Pious Ncube, 21 October 2015, Marist Dete, Hwange Matebeleland North Interview with Foya]

The fear of refusing reburials and commemorations of Gukurahundi could be explained by the fact that government felt that the opposition could capitalise on this matter and gain political mileage. After 1999, government was no longer kin or was not accepting the reburials anymore due fear of non-state actors unearthing a lot of dirty things that government did. [Legal Resources Foundations Report 1998p141]

Furthermore, the belief in the government thinking was that all NGOs were supporting opposition parties. This could be true to some extent as all the NGOs rallied behind the opposition in the period under discussion. Dumisani Nkomo of Habakkuk Trust explained that several non-state actors were involved in these issues but they were hindered by government informers and sell outs as well as CIOs. [Dumisani Nkomo 3 November 2015, Bulawayo, Interview with Foya]

Mary Ndlovu former lecturer at Hillside Teachers College in Bulawayo was of the view that non-state actors present in the Matebeleland North as well as South these include churches,

Red Crescent, Plan International, Cadec, World Vision, as well as Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace. There would have been many non-state actors but the playing field was not level and these organisations withdrew their operations from these affected provinces. The sixty seven percent of respondents felt that there was serious violence and threat to life to people working for these organizations thus making it difficult to carry out effective work. [Mary Ndlovu, 5 November 2015, Suburbs, Bulawayo Interview with Foya]

This researcher is of the opinion that the peacebuilding process requires a multi-sectoral approach in order to come up with lasting effective process which is community based and the role of the Central Government should be to facilitate and provide a framework to work to be carried out. In this regard, eighty percent of respondents are of the idea that there is need to set up structures that are made of competent professionals who are able to deal with critical issues such as reconciliation and national healing so that there is building of peace in the nation. It therefore, follows that if precolonial issues between the Shona and Ndebeles were settled then Gukurahundi would not have arisen. The reason for this belief is that there are pre-colonial issues that are harboured by the majority ethnic group which has been a recurring theme in the discussion.

Non-state actors most likely not going to make progress because these issues have to be addressed in a holistic manner with government playing a critical role of providing framework, lawyers and creating a conducive environment that allows this work of healing the nation and reconciling people to be a successful programme. In Matebeleland North virtually all villages were affected by Gukurahundi so there is need for the process to be broadened to include many people.

The work of non-state actors has been seriously hampered by the government which deliberately threw spanners in the work being done by the non-state actors. Government refused commemoration of Gukurahundi in the past. In past that is 2001 and 2004, 2007 and 2009 all commemorations were deliberately sabotaged by government. For instance, some of the invited guests that included the three ministers oh National Healing and Reconciliation that John Landa Nkomo, Moses Mzila Ndlovu, and Sekai Holland. The two others ministers did not turn up for reasons that are not clear. When the commemorations were about to begin in Lupane, riot police arrived and arrested the organisers as well as the minister Moses Mzila Ndlovu. He was detained for several days at Northern Police Station in Bulawayo. No Charges were laid for his arrest. According to Moses Mzila Ndlovu, the arrested minister:

This approach of stopping events that had obtained all necessary police clearance is meant to instil fear into citizens and should not take in a state that claims to be democratic. They have something to hide. it is a result of this threat that people especially in Matebeleland that fear is entrenched. If they can arrest a cabinet minister and get away with it, how about an ordinary villager?

[Moses Mzila Ndlovu, 18 November 2015, Bulawayo, Interview with Foya]

This researcher is of the strong view that such attitudes do not promote the role of other non-state actors in working with communities. In addition to the above case the photographic exhibition at Bulawayo National gallery was stopped by the police who had instruction from Harare. The purpose was simply show photos of the dark period. Ray Motsi Director of

Theological College of Zimbabwe has argued that ZANU PF Government has since maintained its stronghold on the rural areas through instilling fear and violence. This has been done through chiefs and headmen and network of informers who include ward officers who spy on behalf of the government. He adds that in rural areas there are strong traditional values and this perpetuates tribalism. He thus proposes a theory “*Supply and Demand*” in his theory; he argues that ZANU PF Government sought to control everything. These things include: information, food, developmental aid, emails, monitoring of citizens call, movement of people, it also determines who gets food, it controls statistics as well as who are the vulnerable and determines which international aid organisations including WFP and Red Crescent, Goal operate where and when. Even if organizations follow all the protocols, it does not follow that an organization will be free to operate in any given rural area. [Dr Ray Motsi 23 October 2015, Theological College of Zimbabwe, Bulawayo, Interview with Foya]

In the same region there are many Shonas who work for various organizations and have dubious political credentials and they have wrong ideas about patriotism because of their training and brainwashing that they have gone through. As such, they do not understand the intricacies of the issues at hand. In fact their presence tends to open the wounds of Gukurahundi more than anything. Most of these functionaries are graduates from the Border Gezi Training Colleges have been taught eschewed views of patriotism. Fifty one percent of these trainees are very arrogant and very difficult to deal with. They openly say “*we were brought here by big office and don't treat us like ordinary student nurses if you still need your job sister*”. It must be understood that some of the graduates from these Border Gezi institutions are sober and human enough and pleasant to work with. However, this is only forty five percent of all the graduates. They are not that bad but are shadowed by the bad ones who happen to be the majority.[Interview with Sister Mapako, Senior Tutor at St Lukes Nurse Training Centre Matebeleland South Province, 28 August]

Non-state actors who work in the communities are heavily affected by the Central Intelligence organisation and its network of informers which instil fear and controls people for the benefit of the ruling part ZANU PF. Shona people are seen as part of the problem by the locals. According to sixty five percent of respondents this view is justified in the sense that even in deep down Matebeleland, there are some non-Ndebele people working for the government. There is anger and hatred not even focused towards perpetrators but towards another ethnic group for the calamity and in this context-the Shona. The above views were echoed by Cllr Dumisani Ndlovu, MDC Counsellor for Ward Nine in Kezi Matebeleland South Province. [Interview 21 August 2015, Kezi, Matebeleland South]

The reasons according to sixty eight percent of respondents are that most of the Fifth Brigade operatives spoke Shona and no other languages. These, in their view strengthen the ethnic dimension that ZANU PF Government wanted to eliminate the Ndebele as an ethnic group. This is supported by statements that the late Defence Minister made that “*the Ndebeles were foreigners and they should go back to South Africa and join other Nguni People. They should be treated in the same manner as the Whites.*” Statement like the one above did not assist matter of nation building let alone reconciliation. (Source: Interview with Dr Cephas Msipa, 2 November 2015 Gweru, Midlands Province)

Conclusions

The Matebeleland North and South Provinces suffered so much during the period 1982 right through 1989 because of the Gukurahundi which had disastrous effects on the population of the region. The findings do indicate that over thirty five thousands of people were brutally killed by the Gukurahundi operatives between 1983 and 1989. In addition, nearly two thousand and six hundred and eighty of professionals left the provinces and the country to Botswana and South Africa while others went to diaspora.

There was a lot of displacement of people especially from the rural areas of Matebeleland. These rural areas were left with old men and women who have no option but to remain where they are. Some of these old people lost all sons and daughters and their livelihood during the dark period of Gukurahundi. The findings do indicate that government has not made an apology to the victims and people of the region about Gukurahundi atrocities and there is no formal official acknowledge of its past deeds and it appears that as long as there is no acknowledgement, there is no way peace can be built. Furthermore, this researcher would like to conclude that reconciliation policy was just an announcement and it only assisted the Whites and ZANU PF Government to co-exist between 1980 and 1990. There was no policy framework for dealing with the past and how to handle these sensitive matters. There was no department within the government that would attend to issues of reconciliation. In addition, there was no-one was in charge or responsible for the process. The process seemed to have ignored that there were many social and ethnic groups that should have been involved in the peacebuilding and reconciliation process. There was no reconciliation between ZANLA and ZIPRA and non whatever between the ZANU PF and Matebeleland people.

Another conclusion drawn from the findings is that the confiscation of ZAPU farms, buildings and other properties after the discovery of arms caches and the subsequent refusal by the government to return those properties was a major blow to peacebuilding and reconciliation. Government if was sincere about peacebuilding and reconciliation, it should have returned the properties to its rightful owners after the 1987 Unity Accord between ZANU PF and PF ZAPU.

The provinces are lagging behind other provinces with regard to development of infrastructure such as roads, bridges. There are no connecting roads from one district to the other. Communication networks, rural clinics and hospitals; schools both primary and secondary are old with collapsing infrastructure. Furthermore, they are poorly resourced and there are no qualified teachers especially the science and mathematics teachers. There have been serious challenges to peacebuilding and reconciliation in the provinces. One of the major reasons is that the government is not sincere in building peace in the region as witnessed by lack of faith and commitment by the Central Government to avail funds for development purposes

The study concludes that the government must allow people to do proper reburials as per cultural practices of the people in the regions and to further allow the people or communities to hold commemorations of Gukurahundi in the way that they will be able to express themselves within the constitutional limits and in a peaceful manner.

Recommendations

Following the findings and conclusions above, this researcher would like to make the following recommendations:

1. The is need for government to make full acknowledgement of the killings that took place in Matebeleland North and South Provinces and parts of Midlands Province such

- as Silobela, Zhombe and Gokwe districts. The government must take responsibility for its actions and the consequences that it caused.
2. This should be followed by setting up of a Truth and Reconciliation Commission so that all issues are fully investigated and dealt with once and for all so that in future there are no unresolved issues that remain in latent stage which has a tendency to resurface. The reason for this is that some of the issues that arose during discussion with respondents are of historical nature and have been pending for a long time without anyone in government doing something positive about it.
 3. The study recommends that national outreach programmes to communities such as holding public hearings on what they want for them to move on should be done. It therefore follows that if the solutions come from the people and they realise they have been consulted, they will respect that approach. Council of Elders to work and conduct this process.
 - 4 This study recommends that there is need to come up with all well thought out process of paying the communal reparations to all these affected area and this may be in the form of development aid to these areas. This can be, in the form of government embarking on construction of schools, clinics and other related rural infrastructure, deep tanks, road network and communication infrastructure and this can be done in conjunction with other stakeholders. This will enable the whole communities to benefit from these schemes.
 5. The conflict that raged in these provinces (1980-1987) created numerous problems for the survivors. Some of the problems include failure to obtain all forms of documentation such as birth certificates, death certificates and national identity documents. People were not able to obtain providing documentation in the form of death and birth certificates to victims and survivors. This study recommends that government must issue all forms of documentation to these people in these regions in order to cover up all the problems it created.
 6. The researcher strongly recommends the return of ZAPU properties, farms and buildings to its rightful owners that are ZIPRA ex-combatants. This will enable them enjoy the fruits of their contributions and economic empowerment. The findings indicate that peacebuilding and reconciliation have not been possible and one of the critical reasons is that after discovery of arms caches on ZAPU properties, all ZAPU properties were confiscated by the government in early 1982 and have never been returned to their rightful owners. In line with the above, it is recommended that all documentation and ZAPU history confiscated from their offices by CIO/ZANU PF Government in Matebeleland and Midlands Provinces should be returned to ZAPU so that their history can be kept for posterity and to enable future generations to understand the roles played by ZAPU and other liberation movements.
 7. In order to cool down tempers and emotions amongst the population in Matebeleland and Midlands, it is critical to allow national, provincial and district commemorations of Gukurahundi and other events without fear of reprisals as has been the case in the past. Citizens should be allowed to express themselves in any way as they deem as long as it is constitutional and peaceful.
 8. There is need for constitutional reforms that will assist to safeguard the interests of the people in these marginalised provinces and the rest of provinces but in the rest of Zimbabwe. The media in White ruled Rhodesia as in black ruled Zimbabwe has been largely controlled by the government. From 1982 to 1989, government media was very silent about the conflict and killings in these provinces as if nothing was

happening. There was a complete blackout. The media should be impartial and unbiased so that it portrays all ethnic groups in positive light and avoid hate language such as “*Ndebele is dissident Language.*” Furthermore, the media, newspapers, radio and television must focus on peacebuilding and promote reconciliation rather than divide the population along ethnic lines. There must be enforceable constitutional provisions that guarantee human rights and their enjoyment. In this regard, the National Human Rights Commission must be empowered.

9. In addition, it is further recommended that universities such as National University of Science and Technology in Bulawayo and Lupane State University in Lupane should design programmes that train and retrain teachers in the critical areas that need serious attention. This will go a long way of alleviating shortages of teachers in sciences and mathematics.

In connection with the above, government must release funds to enable designing and implementation of these programs. These funds will also assist in paying the lectures and the assessments of the student teachers who are in the programs. The researcher is of the strong opinion that once universities try this approach, it will be very greatly improve the standards in the provinces.

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