MTHWAKAZI LIBERATION FRONT

IN PURSUIT OF OUR IDEALS, WE SUBMIT:

ROBERT GABRIEL MUGABE’S CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY:
THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY’S WILFUL BLINDNESS TO GENOCIDE AND ETHNIC CLEANSING COMMITTED AGAINST THE PEOPLE OF MATEBELELAND (MTHWAKAZI) 1980-2017

A CLEAR CASE FOR THE RESTORATION OF MTHWAKAZI KINGDOM
Compiled by
MTHWAKAZI LIBERATION FRONT (MLF)
06 September 2017

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(MTHWAKAZI LIBERATION FRONT (MLF) STANDS, FOR ECONOMIC, CULTURAL AND POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE OF MTHWAKAZI AND RESTORATION OF HER INDEPENDENCE THAT EXISTED PRIOR TO COLONISATION)
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Abstract
This document chronicles the suffering compounded by the despicable genocide and ethnic cleansing inflicted on the people of Matabeleland (Mthwakazi) during the past one hundred and twenty-four (124) years by both the British establishment and its proxy, the ZANU-PF regime of Robert Gabriel Mugabe. It gives a fundamental justification as to why the people of Matabeleland (Mthwakazi) must be free to chart their own destiny, free from the tyranny of British colonialism and its proxy, Mugabe’s regime in present-day Zimbabwe. It is the intention of this document to lay bare all of the facts by way of a summative outline regarding the genocide and ethnic cleansing that was not only inflicted and imposed through the annexation of the Kingdom of Mthwakazi (Matabeleland) - but also which has been continued and sustained by Robert Gabriel Mugabe’s regime during the past thirty-seven (37) years.

In presenting the facts as they continue to remain unchanged, it is hoped that the reader close by to Mthwakazi, or within the region notably in Botswana, South Africa, Swaziland, Zambia and Malawi, and indeed elsewhere within the wider African continent as well as across all continents of the world, the leaders of these countries, including the opposition parties therein, together with Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs), Human Rights Organisations, Churches of the world and other such organisations will STOP recognising and supporting the regime of Robert Gabriel Mugabe.
Clearly, therefore, this document seeks to give readers, policy makers and political decision makers throughout the world, an insight and understanding as to why the people of Matabeleland (Mthwakazi) must be freed from the chains of genocide, ethnic cleansing, disappearances, unimaginable brutality and torture, poverty, unemployment, disease, illiteracy, and above all homelessness and lack of identity not only in this world but most critically in their own country of origin.

It is hoped that after reading this document, the reader will have a concrete and objective basis upon which to validate the plight of this besieged nation. Not least, it is hoped that those who have for so long perceived and admired Robert Gabriel Mugabe as a statesman will recognise him for what he really is, a butcherer and mass murderer of the people of Matabeleland (Mthwakazi). More importantly it is hoped that for the first time, the international community which includes both Botswana and South Africa will react accordingly and effect serious mechanisms aimed at addressing the plight of the people of Mthwakazi, instead of making so much noise in respect to Cecil the Lion gunned down at Wankie Game Reserve. Rather the international community needs to understand that the assault suffered by a young woman recently in Johannesburg, by the name Gabriela Angels, at the hands of Grace Mugabe provides an historic and contemporary insight into the irrationality of Robert Gabriel Mugabe’s ZANU-PF regime in totality since its assumption of power in 1980 in present-day Zimbabwe.

1. The Infliction of Genocide on the people of Matabeleland (Mthwakazi)

During the last century the world experienced the horrors and abominable annihilation of a People in Germany (the Holocaust), Bosnia-Herzegovina, Rwanda and Zimbabwe, for no other reason than belonging "to a particular national, ethnical, racial, and religious group". The only difference being that the perpetrators of these abominable crimes in Zimbabwe have not yet been brought to justice. Not only does the sheer scale of the 1982-88 crime against the Ndebele people of Matabeleland (Mthwakazi) fit
the name of genocide, but it also requires that those responsible are arrested and brought to justice.

According to the 1948 Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime Of Genocide which came into force on 12 January 1951, genocide is defined to include the following acts: "killing members of the group; causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group; deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part; imposing measures to prevent births within the group; and forcibly transferring children of the group to another group".

Viewed in this light the following atrocities that were committed in 1982-88 against the Ndebele people of Matabeleland (Mthwakazi) in present-day Zimbabwe, by the Fifth Brigade (also known as Gukurahundi) of Robert Gabriel Mugabe's ZANU-PF regime, under the military command of Colonel Perence Shiri (notoriously known as the Black Jesus, and currently the Air Vice Marshall), can only be described as GENOCIDE:

- burning victims alive;
- forcing villagers to dig their own mass graves and then burying them alive;
- trucking and burying victims alive in mine shafts;
- the use of any object to break the victim's skull;
- parading victims and shooting them before a forced audience, which is then butchered in similar fashion in turn;
- lining victims in a single line, one behind the other facing one direction, and then firing gun shot at the back of one victim's head so that victims are killed simultaneously by a single bullet;

1 This crime has been committed for thirty-seven years against the Ndebele people in present-day Zimbabwe. Shona hegemony and the happiness for the Shona people cannot be built on the despicable suffering of the Ndebele people. Neither can justice for the Shona people be built on the violation of fundamental humanitarian rights of the Ndebele people.

2 There is a wealth of information regarding definitions of the international crime of genocide and other serious human rights violations.

3 The word "Gukurahundi" is a Shona word that describes a vicious hurricane that washes away and disposes of all the dirt, litter or rubbish in its path before the spring rains.

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➢ torturing victims brutally and slowly until they died;
➢ forcing victims to lie down on their backs staring into the sun and denying them water and food;
➢ amputating victims' hands and legs with axes and other objects and then watching them bleed to death;
➢ cutting open the wombs of pregnant women with bayonets to see how the foetus of a Ndebele so-called "dissident" looked like in its mother's womb, and then watching these women bleed to death;
➢ tying up testicles of boys and men with a wire and then squeezing, pulling, beating and slicing them with bayonets until the victims bled to death;
➢ group raping of young girls and women after which they had their genitals savagely cut open with bayonets and left to bleed to death;
➢ starving victims of food and water until they died in various notorious detention camps, and also under the imposed chilling curfew which closed down shops and restricted virtually all movement;
➢ butchering victims and then forcing survivors to eat the flesh of their dead loved ones, including those of dead infants; and
➢ kidnappings and disappearances where people were taken from their homes, from the streets, from schools and offices, from buses and trains and, also taken while grazing their livestock in the forests, and from many other places and were never seen alive or dead again.

According to the estimate findings of the incomplete report "Breaking the Silence" of the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace in Zimbabwe 1997 (CCJP), "more

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4 The historical political affiliation and allegiance of the entire Ndebele people to ZAPU inevitably implied that there were not card-carrying members of Robert Gabriel Mugabe's ZANU-PF party. The entire Ndebele population was thus defined, labelled and stigmatised as "dissidents" and "enemies of the state" for not being members of Mugabe's ZANU-PF party.

5 Given the absence of any thorough inquiry undertaken by both regional and international independent experts with full participation of victims and survivors of the genocidal regime, the CCJP report represents a serious attempt in "breaking the silence" about the genocide, but remains an incomplete investigation. The fact that the report alludes or rather accepts (without thorough questions) the regime's contention about the existence of faceless so-called "dissidents" is not surprising given the brutal security wall of fear and silence prevalent at the time. As the report in its own words observes:

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than 3,000" and hundreds more disappeared, with well over 7,000 beaten and tortured and more than 10,000 arbitrarily arrested and detained for no other reason than belonging to a Ndebele group. The CCJP does concede however that its findings are gross underestimates.

There is indisputable evidence to suggest that between 300,000-500,000 Ndebeles were either butchered or disappeared at the hands of the notorious Fifth Brigade or Gukurahundi of Robert Gabriel Mugabe's regime in Zimbabwe. This evidence has since been backed up by a British Scholar, Hazel Cameron in her article "The Matebeleland Massacre: Britain's Wilful Blindness" of 2017 published in The International History Review.

The majority of the victims who met their deaths in the manner described above had been rounded up and transported either in army trucks or forcibly marched to various killing fields at gun point. In various rural areas the common method employed was to march villagers from one village (A) to the next (B), where they would then be forced to dig their own graves and forcibly buried alive by people in village B. Villagers in village B would then be forcibly marched to village C where the whole process of digging their own graves and having to be buried by villagers in village C was re-enacted and continued. An example of this method of killing which took place on 12 February 1983

"The government's attitude was...that to support ZAPU was the same as to support dissidents" (See page 3 of the report).

6 This figure is questionable given that people were massacred, raped, buried alive every single day for a period of six full years between 1982 and 1988 (See, "Nkompo presses for an atrocity inquiry", The Guardian, Wednesday, 18 April 1984.

7 This is because the CCJP report is based on a few areas covered by its investigations such as Tsholotsho and Nyamanduva districts in Matebeleland North and Matobo districts in Matebeleland South. By its own admission the CCJP report recognises that its findings constitute a tip of the iceberg.

8 We believe most strongly that a thorough independent investigation of regional and international experts covering all affected territories of Matebeleland (Mthwakazi) would reveal findings far above both these figures. As noted above, the CCJP report focused on relatively few areas in Tsholotsho, Nyamanduva and Matobo districts. Not only does the report not cover all the areas within those districts it purports to have investigated, but all the other districts of Runtree, Gwanda, Ribabsi, Beitbridge, Lupane, Nkayi, Siobela, Gokwe, Mberesi, Ngwanda, and various other areas were not covered by the CCJP investigations.

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in Gulalikabili village in the Tsholotsho district is noted in the Electronic Mail and Guardian which derived its information from the CCJP report. The

"whole village abducted from nearby to the Pumula mission area where they were beaten. Some were then forced to dig a mass grave, made to climb in and were shot. They were buried while still moving and villagers were made to dance on the grave and sing songs in praise of ZANU-PF. The number of dead given as 12".  

This process of forcibly marching and burying alive villagers from one village to the next was continued until various communities were annihilated from the face of the earth. There are many areas, for example, such as in Tsholotsho, where some village communities were completely wiped out by this chilling extermination method. To the Fifth Brigade or Gukurahundi, this methodology of exterminating Ndebeles seemed like an experimental game. Thousands of other people were taken from the buses at various road blocks while trying to flee the rural hinterlands into urban areas. Thousands more were taken from the Plumtree bound train, at Figtree and Marula. All these victims were never seen alive again.

The method of trucking victims to various killing fields was common in virtually all rural districts such as Tsholotsho, Lupane, Nkayi, Silobela, Gokwe, Plumtree, Gwanda, Filabusi, and Kezi. In the Kezi district many people were buried alive in mine shafts and also in caves, particularly at the Antelope Mine and in the Bhalagwe hills. After visiting the Antelope Mine to investigate allegations about the disposal of bodies by the Fifth Brigade at a disused Antelope Mine shaft following Mugabe’s "clean up" operation against "dissidents", Peter Godwin, journalist with the Sunday Times wrote in 1984:

"Every night for 'many weeks', I was told by local people, army trucks were seen driving to and from this shaft. Bodies were unloaded and thrown down the rectangular hole. Sometimes, the locals said, the corpses would snap on supporting iron girders across the shaft's interior. On some nights the trucks made only one trip, on others, several. I leaned over the open shaft and peered into the darkness. It was too far for me to see anything. But the stench hit me like a sledgehammer... At another mission, run by the Salvation army, 15 miles away, staff had to plead with soldiers to allow hospital patients to remove their babies from their backs before being beaten... But the worst stories of atrocities concern Bhalagwe itself. I was told that in the camp detainees have had their wrists and ankles broken by being jumped on by

soldiers in heavy boots. The hospital at Antelope had treated more than 100 fractures caused this way since the curfew was imposed".¹⁰

Still many thousands more people were rounded up in urban areas (particularly in Bulawayo during the so-called cordon search in late February to August 1983) and taken to mass detention camps which were located within and outside urban areas. Thousands of these victims were never seen alive again. It is also noteworthy that a queue system of butchering Ndebele people was employed. Thus, as others were being burnt to death, buried alive, or forcibly pushed into the mine shafts and caves, those next in the queue to be maimed were forced to sing, dance, ululate and praise Robert Gabriel Mugabe and ZANU-PF before being butchered themselves.

The neighbours and relatives of victims who survived were not allowed to bury their dead. Anyone found to have buried their dead was immediately brutally maimed. In addition to this butchering campaign, the Fifth Brigade simultaneously engaged in a programme of looting anything they could lay their hands on, including the livestock of both the dead and survivors in Matabeleland and Midlands. The following account was given to Peter Godwin, journalist with the Sunday times in 1984, when a survivor showed him the remains of his father's charred bones still lodged between two rocks of the hill:

"The soldiers gathered all the people of the area together for a compulsory rally. They made us shout government slogans and they beat many people with rifle butts - screaming at us the whole time - Where are the dissidents? They then selected three men at random, including my father, and took them behind the hill. We heard three shots and the soldiers returned alone. They warned us not to collect the bodies. They were left there for weeks and their rotting remains were eaten by dogs".¹¹

However, it was Mugabe's regime's policy of exterminating the Ndebele people by starvation under an imposed curfew which was even more deadly, given the crippling drought of the 1980s - the worst ever to be experienced in Matabeleland (Mthwakazi) since the turn of last century. During this period the Ndebele people were already dependent not only on buying food from the shops but also on food aid donated by the international community.

¹⁰ See an article by Peter Godwin, "Stench of death everywhere in Mugabe's siege of Matabeleland", in The Sunday Times, 15 April 1984.

¹¹ Ibid
Yet Mugabe's regime not only deployed the Fifth Brigade, but also imposed a brutal dusk to dawn curfew, cut off food aid (supplies) and closed down all the shops in these areas. With access into all these areas sealed off for many months in succession even to the world’s media, Mugabe’s ZANU-PF regime was thus able to employ with impunity a two thronged strategy of annihilation involving the Gukurahundi and death by starvation. As an officer of the Fifth Brigade (during one of the many compulsory rallies) explained Mugabe’s starvation policy to his victims:

"First you will eat your chickens, then your goats, then your cattle, then your donkeys. Then you will eat your children and finally you will eat the dissidents".\(^{12}\)

In the district of Gwanda alone, in Matabeleland South approximately 500,000 people faced death by starvation in 1984. As the late local Member of Parliament (who sustained injuries from the Fifth Brigade while held alongside thousands of other victims at a football stadium) commented:

"After three years of drought, those people have no food at all. They depend on the shops. The Government cuts the supply of mealie meal overnight. It's genocide, as far as I am concerned... People were living hand-to-mouth with the food from those shops. Now they are closed. My conclusion is that those people are starving".\(^{13}\)

The Fifth Brigade or Gukurahundi annihilation campaign against the Ndebele people of Matabeleland (Mthwakazi) was closely aided by the Central Intelligence Organisation (CIO), the ZANU-PF Youth Brigade and the frenzy state controlled media in Zimbabwe. The CIO was responsible for the interrogation and used all lethal and brutal methods of torture which included electric shocks and holding a victim's head under a bucket or a sack full of water until the victim choked to death. In various other holding/detention centres the CIO forced their victims to have sex with goats, donkeys and dogs. An account of one of the brutal methods of torture was given to Donald Trelford, a journalist with the Observer in 1984 by one of the survivors:

\(^{12}\) See, an article by Peter Godwin, "Zimbabwe massacre bodies found in mine", in The Sunday Times, 15 April 1984.

\(^{13}\) See, an article by Andrew Meldrum, "Harare MP tells of army beating", in The Guardian, Saturday, 3 March 1984. See, also another article by the same author, "Churches say 450,000 people face hunger: Zimbabwe curfew cuts off food to drought-hit areas", in The Guardian, Thursday 8 March 1984.
"I myself was only beaten, but I saw others being given electric shock, and when they fainted water was thrown on them. What I saw is that they put a wire into the mouth of the victim, which is secured by strings that are attached to the ears. The other wire was put at the back. The second wire was placed on and off the back of the person. Four people in army uniform, two men and two women, did the electric torturing while the victim was lying down".  

The main task of the ZANU-PF Youth Brigade was the forced politicisation of villagers in the rural areas and residents in urban areas into joining ZANU-PF party. Those who were found without ZANU-PF membership cards were beaten up, burnt with plastics, had their property (including houses) burnt down, stolen and destroyed. They were also prevented from buying food from the shops by this Youth Brigade. Residents or villagers without ZANU-PF membership cards were accused of being enemies of the state by this Brigade, and such accusations were punishable by deaths, kidnappings and disappearances. Hundreds of thousands of Ndebele people were maimed as a result of the ZANU-PF Youth Brigade.

The media in Zimbabwe supported and colluded with Government when the most ghastly butchering and despicable genocide was taking place in Zimbabwe. In fact, the media was at the forefront of the frenzy extermination strategy against the Ndebele people, not only in terms of concealing the truth about the killing fields, but also urging the regime of Robert Gabriel Mugabe to intensify the barbaric carnage. For example, the Harare based Herald newspaper gave unequivocal support to the imposition by Mugabe’s regime of a dusk to dawn curfew on Matabeleland (Mthwakazi) in February 1984 in the following words:

"When bandits were on the rampage in the same areas in 1982 the Government unleashed 5 Brigade, a move which earned widespread condemnation of sections of the world press. But it worked. The bandits were routed... A return by the Army in force would be welcomed by the masses and that restoring

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15 We would seriously question the reason why as part of its investigative methodology as to whether or not there ever were in existence the so-called "dissidents", the CCJP report based its findings solely on data sources such as the Bulawayo Chronicle and the Archives, given that both are censored media mechanisms under the control of Robert Gabriel Mugabe’s ZANU-PF regime.
peace was more important than risking dents in Zimbabwe's image. The troops must go in - no holds barred".\(^\text{16}\)

The media also openly indicated to its listeners and readers that anybody who spoke any of the Ndebele languages was a "dissident", and that the same applied to the unborn babies whose parents were Ndebele people. The role of the media was as serious a threat to the wellbeing and survival chances of the Ndebele people as the genocide itself proved to be. As the Catholic Bishops rightly noted in their Easter Statement of 1983:

"Quite a number of public utterances made by not a few public figures seek to hide the atrocities that have taken place, hardening thereby the sufferings of the defenceless victims. Such tactics are self-defeating; we cannot see how they will lead the country to peace and reconciliation. Any society that is not built on the firm foundation of truth, honesty and justice is already doomed to failure. In all this the mass media have singularly failed to keep the people of Zimbabwe properly informed about the facts which are common knowledge, both in the areas concerned and outside them through the reports of reliable witnesses. The facts point to a reign of terror caused by wanton killings, wounding, beatings, and burnings and raping. Many homes have been burnt down. People in rural areas are starving, not only because of the drought, but because in some cases supplies of food have been deliberately cut off and in other cases access to food supplies has been restricted or stopped. The innocent have no recourse or redress, for fear of reprisals".\(^\text{17}\)

A description of the factual facts regarding some of these atrocities and abuses based on the CCJP report have been highlighted in the Electronic Mail and Guardian to include the following in the Tsholotsho and Nyamandlovu districts:

- "Neshango line. February 3 1983. Mass beatings of villagers and shooting of two young pregnant girls, followed by their being bayonetted open to reveal the still moving foetuses.
- "Kumbula School, Pumula village. February 13 1983. Whole village beaten and seven shot dead, including a teacher, after digging their own graves. Witnesses refer to a fountain of blood from the pit.
- "Tangahukwe. February 1983. All the villagers were rounded up and severely

\(^{16}\) See, an article by Stephen Taylor, "Zimbabwe curfew renews d d fears", in The Times, Tuesday, 7 February 1984.

\(^{17}\) See, "Reconciliation Is Still Possible", A pastoral statement of the Zimbabwe Catholic Bishops' Conference, Easter 1983.
beaten. Twelve were selected and shot after being forced into mass graves. One of the chosen managed to run away so his younger brother was killed instead.

➢ "Korodziba. February 1983. Five Brigade came to the school and took about 60 pupils aged 14 years. They were beaten and asked about dissidents. Twenty to 30 girls were raped and then ordered to have sex with some of the boys while the soldiers watched.

➢ "Solobhoni. February 23 1983. Five Brigade rounded up the entire village to the borehole. Six people were chosen at random and were bayoneted to death and buried in one grave. Everyone was then beaten. Five people were beaten to death...one man who wept to see his brother killed was severely beaten and died a few weeks later from his injuries. One old lady who was found in her hut was raped and Five Brigade then set fire to a plastic bag and burned the old lady with it, setting fire to her blanket. She died three weeks later from the burns.

➢ "Emgagwini. March 1983. One young man was taken by Five Brigade, badly beaten, returned and while his parents were washing his wounds, the Five Brigade came back and shot him.

➢ "Mkhonyeni. January 1983. The first woman to die in this area was accused of feeding dissidents. She was pregnant and was bayonet...open to kill the baby. She died later. In the same area in February 1983. All the villagers were forced to witness the burning to death of 26 villagers, in the three huts of Dhlamini.

➢ "Bonkwe/Nyanganyoni. A young woman from Bonkwe going to buy mealie-meal was beaten for wearing her husband's watch. Her husband was summoned to Nyanganyoni and beaten to death. Every bone in his body was broken - he is referred to as being "like a cloth"

➢ "Tshomwina and Dzokotze. January/February 1983. All the villagers of Tshomwina were force-marched to Dzokotze nearby. They were beaten and five were killed. One man died after terrible mutilations which included having his jaw broken and his tongue cut out. This man ran away and was found by his family in a neighbouring village. He took eight days to die, without medical care.

➢ "Mpungayile. 1983. Five Brigade shot dead a mentally retarded boy and then shot three other men. Because the women wept they were shot too, four of them.

➢ "Nkwalini. February 1983. A man from here, trying to take his wife away to
Bulawayo, was shot dead at Mlagisa siding and so was his wife when she cried when she saw him shot.

➢ "Sipepa Area. February 1983. Whole village forced to dig roots, some were then beaten and two school boys who looked too old for their class were shot dead".  

The following few horrible atrocities that have been noted by the Electronic Mail and Guardian from the CCJP report occurred in the Matobo district in Matabeleland South:

➢ "A four-month old infant was axed three times and the mother forced to eat the flesh of her dead child. An 18-year-old girl was raped by six soldiers and then killed. An 11-year-old child had her vagina burnt with plastics and was later shot. Twin infants were buried alive.

➢ "Dry Paddock area. February 1984, A young woman and her father-in-law were asked about dissidents and beaten. They were then stripped naked and told to have sex with each other. The father-in-law said he would die first. A shot was fired, missing them, and the two were severely beaten and left for dead.

➢ "DonkweDonkwe. February 1984. Five Brigade rounded everyone in the area to a local school. There were about 200 men, women and children. Everyone was beaten and kicked from sunrise to 10 am. Then some were made to dig two graves, while others were made to fight each other. Six men were chosen at random and placed in two groups of three. They were then shot dead. Everyone else was told to sing songs praising Mugabe and condemning Nkomo... While some sang and danced, others were beaten. Some of the villagers were made to bury the six dead and then had to join in the singing while being beaten. At 4 pm about 19 young men were taken away and another man was shot as they departed.

➢ "Mloyi area. February 1984. Approximately 100 adults and school children were rounded up... they were told they were in for a treat... People were then beaten, including a 12-year-old girl and her sister and their father. The two girls were so badly beaten they were later hospitalised. Their father was then shot in front of everyone and his children were made to search his pockets to see if they could

18 See David Beresford (13, op. cit. pp. 4-6)

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find any evidence that he was a dissident.

➢ "Mbembeswana area. February 1984. An ex-Zipra soldier was taken from his home in nearby Silonkwe to Mbembeswana. He was badly beaten and then his family were summoned to fetch him. He had both arms broken and no teeth. He refused to leave, saying he was dead already. He was then shot dead". 19

By any conceivable human standards these few factual examples of brutality represent a systematic and deliberate strategy of annihilating a people from the face of the earth. Not since the time of Hitler (and his fascist cronies) had a regime in Africa put into practice its extermination designs against a people that it claims to be its own defenceless innocent citizens (infants, children, pregnant women, the mentally retarded, the disabled and the old), for no other reason than for belonging to a particular ethnic group.

To kill in the manner in which they did vividly illustrates the fact that there never were in existence any so-called "dissidents". Rather, this slaughter had been intended to drive out all the Ndebele people from Zimbabwe, as well as to create conducive conditions for the establishment of a one (ZANU-PF) party state in the country.

Robert Gabriel Mugabe and his murderous cronies were fully (and still) aware that had the so-called armed "dissidents" (former Zimbabwe Peoples’ Revolutionary Army - ZIPRA forces) ever been in involved and operational, they would without any difficulties whatsoever had halted this slaughter. The notorious Fifth Brigade would have suffered the consequences in fact they would have been routed and given no chance to retreat. Thus the Gukurahundi would have been severely punished for these inspired ZANU-PF crimes against the Ndebele people.

It is virtually inconceivable that former ZIPRA forces (probably the best ever liberation war fighters in the whole of Southern Africa this century) who had fought so gallantly against the former Rhodesian forces (RF) during the liberation struggle against colonialism could have been a mere walk-over for Mugabe’s Fifth Brigade (a Brigade that was trained to exterminate foetuses and infants), without any kind of resistance whatsoever.

19Ibid., pp. 6-7.
History has recorded that whenever there had been hostilities during the liberation war against colonialism in what was Rhodesia between Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (ZANLA), the military wing of ZANU-PF, and ZIPRA the military wing of the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union (ZAPU), the ZIPRA forces had always defeated ZANLA forces in battle. This was also clearly demonstrated in 1981 when the ZANU-PF regime of Prime Minister Robert Gabriel Mugabe instructed ZANLA forces to destroy ZIPRA forces while awaiting integration into the Zimbabwe National Army. ZANLA forces were heavily defeated and driven out of Bulawayo by ZIPRA. At the same time, open conflict and skirmishes between ZANLA forces and ZIPRA forces had also broken out in various integration camps throughout the country with ZIPRA forces emerging victorious.

In February 1981, Prime Minister Robert Gabriel Mugabe having recognised the defeat of his ZANLA forces but still determined to destroy ZIPRA forces, sought air power assistance from Ian Smith, the former Rhodesian Prime Minister, and deployed the Rhodesian air force supported by the Rhodesian African Rifles against ZIPRA forces based at Entumbane township in Bulawayo.20 Several bombing raids were carried out by the Rhodesian air force against ZIPRA forces resulting in scores of people being killed. The Rhodesian forces also suffered heavy casualties. The cessation of these hostilities only came to fruition after Prime Minister Robert Gabriel Mugabe (having started the war and suffered defeat) persuaded the ZAPU leader, Joshua MqabukoNkomo, to intervene by ordering his ZIPRA forces to cease fire and return to their camps to await integration into the newly established Zimbabwe National Army.

When Prime Minister Robert Gabriel Mugabe's inspired strategy of destroying ZIPRA forces in 1981 had resulted in the defeat of his ZANLA forces in Bulawayo, he had simultaneously requested assistance from apartheid South Africa, alongside that of the Rhodesian air force and the Rhodesian African Rifles. The apartheid regime had positively responded to Prime Minister Robert Mugabe’s request by deploying South African troops21 (supported by tank divisions, armoured personnel

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21 We call upon the democratic government of South Africa to set up a commission of inquiry into the workings of the secretive alliance between the ZANU-PF regime of
carriers, air power and other heavy military equipment) along the Zimbabwe Beit bridge border (on the South African side) ready to intervene in support of Mugabe's regime.

The readiness of the apartheid South African troops to intervene in support of Mugabe's ZANU-PF in 1981 had been intended to prevent Zimbabwe from providing operational bases to the African National Congress (ANC), and its military wing Umkhonto We Sizwe (MK), in the event of ZIPRA emerging victorious and ZAPU assuming power in the country. This assistance was consistent with the pre-1980 secretive agreement between ZANU-PF and the apartheid regime represented by the Defence Minister General Magnus Malan and the Foreign Minister Pik Botha, which was signed in Mozambique in March 1980. However, it subsequently transpired that the apartheid regime's concerns about such a possibility (ie, of ZAPU overthrowing the Mugabe regime) had been ill-conceived.

It was not because ZAPU had no designs or desires of ruling Zimbabwe, but that the ZAPU leadership recognised that they were rapidly being dragged by ZANU-PF into a brutal ethnic conflict that would have had serious consequences. On the question of principle, therefore, the ZAPU leadership were determined at all cost to prevent Zimbabwe degenerating into a civil war of the types experienced in Mozambique and Angola in recent times. It was this conviction more than any other reason that constituted ZAPU's full compliance with the Lancaster House settlement.

As a result, the disarmament and demobilisation of all the ZIPRA forces proceeded smoothly without any incidents. Those who had not been integrated into the new Zimbabwe National Army joined the labour market and the ranks of the unemployed, whilst others embarked on various economic activities comprising co-operatives and

Robert Gabriel Mugabe and the former apartheid regime. There is a wealth of documented evidence that such an inquiry could consult. Former members of the apartheid regime, the military and the secret service (BOSS) could also be called to give evidence. Such an inquiry should also establish the terms of the agreement reached between ZANU PF and the apartheid regime in Mozambique on the eve of the first elections that resulted in the birth of Zimbabwe in 1980. The inquiry should also establish the truth regarding the validity of Robert Gabriel Mugabe's regime's allegations about the existence of so-called "dissidents" who were allegedly sponsored by the apartheid regime to overthrow his regime. This is absolutely vital because Mugabe's ZANU-PF regime justified the slaughter of approximately half a million (500,000) Ndebele people on the basis of these absurd allegations.

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community development projects. However, as ZAPU was voluntarily disarming its ZIPRA forces out of existence under the terms of the Lancaster House settlement, Robert Gabriel Mugabe’s ZANU-PF, on the other hand, was welcoming into Zimbabwe a total of 106 North Korean instructors\(^22\) who began arriving in August 1981 to train and equip the Fifth Brigade or Gukurahundi.

The Ndebele people are still baffled as to the reasons why Joshua MqabukoNkomo (as supreme commander of ZIPRA forces) proceeded voluntarily in disarming his forces in accordance to the Lancaster House settlement provisions, whilst around the same period Prime Minister Robert Gabriel Mugabe was doing exactly the opposite - not complying with the Lancaster House settlement, but instead training and equipping his separate army, Gukurahundi or Fifth Brigade.

The explanation is simple. Robert Gabriel Mugabe and the entire ZANU-PF leadership were fully aware that the Zimbabwe question had already decidedly been determined along ethnic lines during the first independence elections of 1980. In other words, the Shona people had triumphed over the Ndebele people. This victory therefore represented the first phase of ZANU-PF’s intentions to establish a Shona state in Zimbabwe. And since they had only won in the Mashonaland and Manicaland regions of the country, they were determined to conquer and dominate the whole country at all cost. Hence their next phase of campaign would be in Matabeleland (Mthwakazi).

It is precisely at this stage that Robert Gabriel Mugabe and ZANU-PF played their cards to perfection. They knew very well that the ZAPU leadership was mainly dominated by Shona-speaking people of highest convictions who had fought gallantly against colonialism in order to achieve genuine democratic values in Zimbabwe. Robert Gabriel Mugabe and his henchmen therefore reasoned correctly that if ZANU-PF unleashed a brutal extermination campaign against the Ndebele people, the executive Shona leaders of ZAPU would prevent it from responding in kind. In other words, the Shona executive members of ZAPU (representing constituencies in both Mashonaland and Midlands) would not approve any decision (under any circumstances) that would have led to the slaughter of their own people in their respective regions. After all, none

\(^{22}\) See David Beresford (13, op. cit. p. 3)
of the Shona executive leaders of ZAPU represented any constituency in Matabeleland (Mthwakazi).

It was therefore this dominance of Shona executive members within ZAPU which paralysed the decision-making process of ZAPU, and which effectively allowed the slaughter of the Ndebele people by ZANU-PF to continue unabated for many years. In other words, hundreds of thousands of Ndebele-speaking people paid a heavy price with their lives simply because ZAPU had convictions about unity and democratic values, and also because of the existence of a few Shona people within the leadership hierarchy. That such a grave situation of indecisiveness could have been allowed to happen, given Joshua MqabukoNkomo's appeal amongst his followers is even more baffling.

Until the brutal carnage of the Ndebele people by Robert Gabriel Mugabe's regime had been completed, Joshua MqabukoNkomo had a unique authoritative appeal of a religious kind on his followers. He had always been revered as some kind of a living god by his followers. It was because of this appeal that his ZIPRA forces had heeded his instructions (without any questions) to cease fire after they had defeated and driven ZANLA forces from Bulawayo in 1981. It was also precisely because of his stature and appeal that all of the ZIPRA forces disarmed and disbanded quietly when he had instructed them to do so in 1981 in compliance with the Lancaster House settlement.

Joshua MqabukoNkomo's appeal effectively transformed him into some kind of a spiritual cult figure. As a result, for generations, the Ndebele people have been incapable of taking any independent political decisions that affect their lives without being instructed to do so by Joshua MqabukoNkomo. This is perhaps the fundamental reason why the genocide was committed against the Ndebele people. It could have been stopped had Joshua MqabukoNkomo called for such action. There is virtually no way in which Robert Gabriel Mugabe's butchering brigades could have escaped with their lives from Matabeleland (Mthwakazi) had there been any resistance.

The fact that Joshua MqabukoNkomo chose not to instruct his followers to drive out the Fifth Brigade from Matabeleland (Mthwakazi), demonstrates clearly his incapability of giving clear cut directives to his most senior Shona members of ZAPU, even if such directives resulted in their resignation from the party. It also shows that he was incapable of leading a movement (particularly at the political executive level) which

(Thunderwakazi Liberation Front (MLF) Stands, for Economic, Cultural and Political Independence of Mthwakazi and Restoration of Her Independence that Existed Prior to Colonisation)
comprised people with varied interests and objectives, and as such he could not give strong leadership regarding the way forward to challenge and redress not only the hidden agenda of ZANU-PF, but the actual brutal carnage of his followers by Robert Gabriel Mugabe’s regime.

Arising from this incapability to lead, Joshua MqabukoNkomo’s long held convictions about achieving unity and democratic values in Zimbabwe shifted towards naked appeasement. Thus he did not want to be seen or perceived (particularly by his Shona colleagues within ZAPU) to be on the side of his Ndebele people and thus playing tribal music. Rather than openly taking a stand as leader of ZAPU (whose followers were being exterminated) and instructing all his ex-ZIPRA forces to take up arms against Robert Gabriel Mugabe’s butchering brigades, Joshua MqabukoNkomo resorted to cries reminiscent to those of the infants or babies. The following comments represent a telling example of the extent of appeasement that Joshua MqabukoNkomo (as leader of simply the best former liberation war fighters in Zimbabwe) had degenerated into:

"I told Parliament that soldiers had rounded up six men and accused them of failing to report the presence of anti-government guerrillas. They were beaten and buried in two shallow graves... I also informed parliament that government troops were preventing food getting into the curfew area and that several children had died."23

"There is something terribly wrong. There has been a curfew since February 3. The press cannot go into this enormous area. There have been horrific eyewitness reports, some of them in your British papers. Yet not one of the so-called dissidents has been arrested and brought to court. No minister has been to the area. Nothing has happened except military action".24

"I said it was the duty of the Zimbabwe Government to make a full official investigation. I pressed for this urgently. I find it disturbing that after a series of these crimes in Matabele country, all we have seen in court are just armed robbers. We would like to see these politically motivated people we are told about, the dissidents, brought to court and, if found guilty, convicted. This is either inefficiency or else there is something terribly wrong".25

"The estimates [of the dead so far] vary from 3,000 to 20,000, but no one knows.


25 Ibid.
I know of six young men who were shot by the soldiers of the Fifth Brigade, and dumped in a mass grave. I have received reports of our young girls raped, and other Matabele people whose limbs have been broken by these soldiers”.26

"I asked the minister if he would be prepared to meet a delegation of six - two who had seen the young men shot and know the grave, two who saw the rapings, two who saw the bones being broken. But the minister said "No, I believe you". So that makes the case for an official investigation more urgent".27

"I presented the men who had buried the six victims in Kezi to cabinet ministers. I also brought them two teenage schoolgirls who had been raped by Fifth Brigade soldiers... I have done my bit to tell the government about these things. It is up to the Government to discover what has happened".28

"You cannot have a one-party state when people are torn apart by hatred, tribalism and racism".29

"I can't say what has gone wrong with Zimbabwe, because I don't know what is right with him (Mugabe)".30

"All my men were disarmed. I have no military support. I have asked the Government to set up a commission of inquiry, but they have refused. There has been no investigation of allegations I have made in Parliament about the killings and rapes".31

The evidence thus far presented in this paper shows beyond any shadow of doubt that Robert Gabriel Mugabe's regime committed genocide against an unarmed Ndebele civilian population. Throughout this period of carnage not even a single "dissident" was ever caught and brought to court. Responding to the Catholic Bishops' statement alleging widespread slaughter of the Ndebele people, Prime Minister Robert Gabriel Mugabe accused the Church at a press conference in the following words:

26 Ibíd

27 Ibíd


29 Ibíd


31 Ibíd
"The same Church has now decided to counter successful government activities directed against institutions of Joshua Nkomo which have been sustaining dissidents". To this he added how "very happy" he was with the "wonderful" slaughter of the Ndebele people.\textsuperscript{32}

Earlier, before addressing the press conference on Saturday 14 April 1984, Prime Minister Robert Gabriel Mugabe had called for the establishment of a one-party State in Zimbabwe in an address to the compulsory rally (in which residents had been forced to attend) in Bulawayo. Subsequently, however, in a telling interview with Donald Trelford, Prime Minister Robert Gabriel Mugabe gave the real reasons for the genocide when he said:

"The solution in Matabeleland is a military one. Their grievances are unfounded. The verdict of the voters was cast in 1980. They should have accepted defeat then. The situation in Matabeleland is one that requires a change. The people must be reoriented".\textsuperscript{33}

It is absolutely crucial and vital that the experiences of those at the receiving end of Mugabe's genocide reorientation programme designed not only to achieve a one-party State in Zimbabwe, but also to completely annihilate them (the Ndebele people) from the face of the earth are revisited. They include the following eyewitness accounts:

"This is a dissident baby. This is what will happen to your babies if you help dissidents. He then dropped the tiny corpse in the dust... They began beating us with sticks and guns, bayonetting us, burning plastic against our skin while our hands and mouths were secured. They tore curtains, put cushions into our mouths. We were tortured for about four hours".\textsuperscript{34}

"Do you think that this government is so stupid to send soldiers to defend you from dissidents when there are no dissidents? Therefore, you are the dissidents... You are screaming, who are you calling, is this a sign that you are calling dissidents...

"Then the commander shot Tshaka and Wilson Ndlovu and released MagandaDube. Next he killed Daniel Ngwenya and SigidiniDube, who was shot five times... On the grave we put branches. I also saw a big grave which had

\textsuperscript{32} See, an article by the Foreign Staff of \textit{The Observer}, "Survivors tell of tribal slaughter", 15 April 1984.

\textsuperscript{33} See Donald Trelford's article (18, op cit.)

\textsuperscript{34} Ibid.
stones in it. There are 16 buried in this grave. I can identify the commander who did the shootings".  

"The men were made to raise their hands while being beaten. The young women were made to sing and dance...They beat me with mupani sticks, shambok and truncheon. They were all beating me at the same time. I was beaten until I fainted. They pulled up my dress and beat my bottom and back and I was bleeding".

A former cabinet minister, EnosNkala, in Mugabe’s regime at the time when the notorious Gukurahundi was unleashed in Matabeleland (Mthwakazi) later on (before his death) regretted his involvement in the genocide experiment. Not only did he describe his involvement as "eternal hell", but publicly blamed Robert Gabriel Mugabe for having given orders to the genocide brigade.

As a cabinet minister in Mugabe's regime from the time of independence until 1989, EnosNkala held various ministerial posts: finance, national supplies, home affairs and defence. At the ImbovaneYaMhlabezulu meeting held in Bulawayo on 26 February 1998, EnosNkala who was one of the guest speakers alongside Joseph Msika (National Chairman of ZANU-PF), repeatedly denied any involvement and responsibility in the Gukurahundi genocide. At that meeting Nkala made outrageous claims specifically that Prime Minister Robert Gabriel Mugabe deployed the Gukurahundi genocide machine without either consulting or informing the majority of his cabinet ministers. He maintained that he could not have been part of the decision to exterminate what he called "his own people".

Instead, Nkala explained to the Imbovane meeting that the responsibility for the commissioning and deployment of the Gukurahundi genocide machine had been taken by the three members of the State Security (SS): Prime Minister Robert Gabriel Mugabe, Sidney Sekeremayi (defence minister in the Prime Minister's office) and Emerson Munangagwa (security minister in the Prime Minister's office). He concluded by calling for the setting up of a Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) along the lines of South Africa, that would clear his name as well as uncover the truth about the responsibility for the training, arming and deployment of the genocide brigade. Not long after that, at a regional executive meeting of Zimbabwe Union of

35 ibid

36 ibid
Journalists (ZUJ) in Harare at which he was one of the guest speakers, Nkala repeated his denial about the involvement in the Gukurahundi carnage:

"I have chosen righteousness. I have many sins and have decided to turn to God to cleanse them so that I may go to eternal heaven. I do not want to go to eternal hell. I was never responsible for the deployment of the Gukurahundi".37

Nkala's repeated denials represented a non-serious event. He was of course correct to acknowledge his "many sins". Nkala will always be remembered in Matabeleland (Mthwakazi) as a man who embodied all forms of evil and "eternal hell". In Matabeleland (Mthwakazi), it was Nkala who embodied everything that was evil with Robert Gabriel Mugabe's regime and ZANU-PF against the Ndebele people. His authoritative evil appearance and public incendiary threats and speeches at all the compulsory rallies in which hundreds of thousands of people had been forcibly gathered throughout Matabeleland (Mthwakazi) sent shockwaves of indescribable fear penetrating the spines of all the Ndebele people.

For, every Ndebele person instantaneously knew their fate after attending those compulsory rallies addressed by Nkala. They knew how they would be killed, how they would be tortured, how they would be raped, how they would be made to disappear, how they would be starved, how they would be forced to sing songs while dancing in praise of Mugabe and his henchmen, how they would be forced to entertain the Fifth Brigade killers (by being assaulted, forced to have sex with donkeys etc., and amongst themselves) whilst awaiting (in a queue) their turn to be slaughtered, how their homes would be burnt down or destroyed and how they would be robbed of their livestock and property by the Gukurahundi killing machine. All this, because of a long running personal vendetta Nkala had with the leader of ZAPU, Joshua MqabukoNkomo.38 In Nkala, Mugabe’s regime could


38 Nkala also made various unfounded allegations not only against the Ndebele people of Matabeleland (Mthwakazi, but also openly accusing international humanitarian organisations of recruiting so-called “dissidents” to act as their informants. In one such press interview in May 1986, Nkala accused Amnesty International for not only recruiting a prominent ZAPU exiled politician (Mkhathini Bekiszwe Guduzi) in Botswana, but for having paid for his return air ticket from Botswana to London. These incendiary allegations subsequently destroyed the life of this ZAPU politician whose only crime had been to escape with his life to Botswana from Nkala’s and Mugabe’s...
not have chosen an able willing psychotic, an African "Goebbels", in their genocide drive to cleanse Zimbabwe of all Ndebele people.

2. The Infliction of Ethnic Cleansing on the people of Matabeleland (Mthwakazi)

According to the United Nations Ethnic Cleansing report, ethnic cleansing is defined as "rendering an area ethnically homogeneous by using force or intimidation to remove from given area persons from another ethnic or religious group". Therefore, alongside the genocide committed against the Ndebele people, Robert Gabriel Mugabe's regime has simultaneously been implementing a complete programme of ethnic cleansing aimed at ensuring Shona hegemony in areas of education, employment, economic development, culture and various others. These areas of great concern are addressed in turn.

With regard to education, the regime of Robert Gabriel Mugabe has for the last 18 years been systematically implementing an exclusive education policy aimed at benefitting the Shona people, at the expense of the Ndebele people. This strategy has been implemented along the following lines:

- promoting only the Shona teachers to positions of General Certificate of Education (GCE) Examiners at both Ordinary and Advanced levels, who then fail Ndebele pupils and students,
- forcing higher institutions of learning such as Teacher Training Colleges, Polytechnics and Universities to adopt an admissions policy based on a list system of names of students supplied by the ZANU-PF Party of Robert Gabriel Mugabe; such students can only be Shona, c) posting Shona-speaking teachers to teach pupils who do not understand Shona in primary schools throughout the whole of Matabeleland (Mthwakazi), and
- providing educational scholarships both within the country and abroad to only Shona people.

Sad the torture that he subsequently received from Nkala as Gro after he had been handed back to Mugabe's henchman from Botswana where he had sought political asylum damaged him for life. For an example, of Nkala's trumped up charges, see, an Amnest y International Urgent Appeal AI Index: AFR 46/09/86, sent to Enos Nkala (home affairs minister) and Emerson Munangagwa (security minister) in Harare, Zimbabwe, dated 13 May 1986.

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Similarly, employment policies have been designed and implemented to maximum exclusionary effect during the last 18 years. The exclusionary mechanism is implemented as follows:

➢ promoting only the Shona-speaking people to managerial positions in factories, banks, Post Offices and any other fixed capital investment and production units throughout Matabeleland (Mthwakazi) regions,
➢ allocating key administrative positions in all Government Departments, even those dealing with the registration of births and deaths, or tea jobs, to Shona people within the Matabeleland (Mthwakazi) regions.
➢ denying Ndebele people employment opportunities in hotels, bars, restaurants, bakeries, and wherever possible, by importing labour from Mashonaland and Midlands, even for menial such jobs as street cleaning, security and delivery of postal mail,
➢ allocating powerful and key managerial positions to Shona people in the civil service, such positions as permanent secretaries and undersecretaries who are charged with the formulation and implementation of government policy, in all the various ministries and government departments,
➢ allocating and posting of Shona people to various ambassadorial and diplomatic posts in foreign missions regionally and abroad (so-called Zimbabwe's embassies/ high commissions) throughout the world,
➢ allocation and promotion of only the Shona people to key jobs within the three state security institutions: the army, police, and intelligence services; only the Shona command positions of power in these key structures, and
➢ allocation of key posts or jobs in the aviation industry to Shona people (only the Shona can become pilots and fly Air Zimbabwe),

In the Health Service the situation has reached catastrophic proportions. There is compelling evidence which suggests that the health service is used as yet another mechanism by Robert Gabriel Mugabe's regime and ZANU-PF for annihilating the Ndebele people. Hospitals in Matabeleland (Mthwakazi) have become death traps and abattoirs for hundreds of thousands of Ndebele people. Those admitted (even for very minor illnesses) in these hospitals usually do not survive beyond a few hours, the maximum survival time period is usually two days.
In all the various hospitals in Matabeleland (Mthwakazi) there are no mechanisms of establishing the cause of death for thousands of suspicious deaths, let alone any deaths. It has become an astonishing norm for thousands of these deaths to be simply recorded as having been caused by AIDS/HIV. As a result of these deaths, the mortuaries within these hospitals can no longer cope, hence thousands of the dead are usually buried the following day after their deaths. The effect of this has been that bereaved families, relatives and friends, no longer have any opportunity of paying their last respects to the dead, since by the time they receive news about these deaths, the dead would have already been buried. The saying that the Ndebele people dare not fall ill these days, has added to the psychological genocide on the people of Matabeleland (Mthwakazi). It is no longer the fear of only the Fifth Brigade, but that of the Butchering Hospital Brigades which is gripping the Ndebele nation. Every Ndebele person in Matabeleland (Mthwakazi) knows that being admitted to hospital for any kind of illness is a sure death sentence.

Significantly, economic development during the last 37 years in Zimbabwe has been skewed in favour of Mashonaland and Manicaland regions at the expense of Matabeleland (Mthwakazi) regions. Undoubtedly, there is irrefutable evidence that whilst economic development has been accelerating in Mashonaland and Manicaland regions, it has been in continuous decline in Matabeleland (Mthwakazi) areas. The process of de-industrialising Bulawayo in Matabeleland (Mthwakazi) whilst promoting the industrialisation of Mutare and Maswingo in Manicaland and Mashonaland has been in effect since Zimbabwe gained independence. A large number of Bulawayo based companies and firms (with a long history in the city) have since been compelled for their own survival to relocate to those regions, including Harare. Only a minor services sector industry such as banking is visible in Bulawayo.

Access to loans from the banking industry has benefitted only the Shona people, and thus enabled them to operate small scale business concerns throughout the whole of Matabeleland (Mthwakazi). The desire to control every economic activity is also evident in the transport industry. Only the Shona people have access to loans from banks that enables them to operate commuter buses within Bulawayo, as well as linking all the rural areas and other cities in Zimbabwe with Bulawayo.

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Ndebele people have also been denied access to land in their indigenous Matabeleland (Mthwakazi) regions. In addition, the land resettlement programme (within these regions) initiated by Mugabe’s regime during the past few years has also benefitted only the Shona people. Similarly, the much talked about land grabbing of white farms by Mugabe’s regime within the Matabeleland (Mthwakazi) regions will benefit the Shona people.

The plans of the Ministry of Local Government and National Housing of resettling six (6) million Shona people in Matabeleland (Mthwakazi) were uncovered during the recent past. A system of commercialisation of all the land within these regions has also been introduced through a mechanism of compelling all the villagers to buy stands (pieces of land) on which their homes are constructed or built. There is evidence on the ground already that Shona-speaking people now constitute a settled population numbering millions throughout Matabeleland (Mthwakazi). Other evidence includes the acquisition of property (farms and retail business outlets) throughout these regions. 

This evidence points only to a single outcome: the alteration of the composition of the indigenous populations of these regions, and as such represents overwhelming and compelling evidence of ethnic cleansing.

Fundamentally, it is the promotion and export of the Shona language (with its object of destroying indigenous local languages) in all areas of Matabeleland (Mthwakazi) which provides further irrefutable evidence of a grand strategy of ethnic cleansing of the Ndebele people by Robert Gabriel Mugabe’s ZANU-PF regime. This grand strategy, as has already been shown above, has been effected through a mechanism of importing and deploying Shona personnel in all the key private sector jobs, as well as in government departments, so as to administer all the peoples of Matabeleland (Mthwakazi).

This grand strategy of ethnic cleansing by Mugabe’s ZANU-PF regime has had the following effects on the life chances, wellbeing and employment opportunities of the Ndebele people:

➢ several thousands of Ndebeles have been forced to flee Zimbabwe and seek refuge in neighbouring countries (such as Zambia, Botswana, Lesotho, and Namibia), and to a number of Western countries (such as the UK, USA, Canada, Netherlands, and Australia),
➢ thousands more of Ndebele people have become enforced semi-slaves of the Shona in various business activities within the Matabeleland (Mthwakazi) regions, and
➢ hundreds of thousands more have been forced to seek employment and other survival strategies outside Zimbabwe: particularly in South Africa. Thousands of Ndebele people from the different areas of Matabeleland (Mthwakazi) regions have been killed by crocodiles while crossing the Limpopo river to seek employment in South Africa; still many more are arrested by South African authorities for illegal entry and deported back into Zimbabwe after spending several months in prison.

For the ZANU-PF regime of Robert Gabriel Mugabe, the Zimbabwean question has always been to create a mono-linguistic state (their own Shona village) using whatever available means at their disposal. This obsession by ZANU-PF of creating a mono-linguistic Shona village within the imposed colonial unitary boundaries of Zimbabwe has also included a programme (in addition to inflicting genocide and ethnic cleansing) of outbreeding the Ndebele people through the natural biological reproduction mechanism. Under this outbreeding programme, the Shona males were fuelled to impregnate Ndebele women specifically in order to render their historic indigenous areas mono-linguistic or Shona speaking. This outbreeding programme represents a callous and contemptible deliberate strategy of rendering to extinction a particular group of the human species through the sexual destruction of their genes. It is also designed to upset the historic normal loving interrelationships and marriages between the Ndebele people and Shona people.

It was only after Mugabe came into power that their grand strategy of rendering the whole of Zimbabwe ethnically homogenous and mono-linguistic, including this programme of outbreeding Ndebele people through (contemptible) natural biological processes came into force. The late Herbert Ushewokunze (former transport minister) will always be remembered within the Ndebele sections of the population for his public callous remarks in which he urged on the Shona males to contemptuously impregnate Ndebele women who would reproduce and multiply offspring with Shona blood.

Unfortunately, not only has this outbreeding programme resulted in thousands of failed marriages and relationships, including "date rapes", but also to hundreds of thousands of illegitimate children whose fathers' whereabouts are not known. The deliberate
exclusion of the Ndebele males from virtually all meaningful economic activity from which they could derive a livelihood, including wealth has exacerbated the plight of Ndebele women. These women have been forced for their own survival to enter into such relationships in which they have been transformed into semi-compliant "sex slaves". There seems to be no end in sight of the sexual genocide and cleansing abuse of these Ndebele women, given that Mugabe's ZANU-PF regime has exported hundreds of thousands of Shona males into all the areas of Matabeleland (Mthwakazi) to occupy virtually all socio-economic, political and cultural positions at the expense of Ndebele males.

The list of grievances is so strong that in other countries it would have long led to calls for some form of federalism or complete secession. It has become intolerable (more than a human rights issue) since it entails the survival of a people in areas of, the survivability of genes, education, economic and business activity, language and culture.

3. Ideological and Superiority Justifications for Genocide and Ethnic Cleansing

Any inquiry into the 1982-88 genocide on the Ndebele people will be assisted by being placed within an account of the development of Robert Gabriel Mugabe's ZANU-PF ideology and the subsequent emergence of a triumphalist Shona tribalism which was imposed in Zimbabwe after it gained independence in April 1980. This is important because it is the long term process of the development of Shona tribalism and hegemony in Zimbabwe which not only gave rise to the 1982-88 genocide, but which also led to the existing social-spatial structure, the present day position and life chances of the Ndebele people in the socio-economic, political and cultural systems in Matabeleland (Mthwakazi).

It is critically important to recognise that the goal of ZANU-PF policy has had little to do with granting Ndebele people political rights, freedom and justice. ZANU-PF goals are determined by the interests of Shona tribalism. There has been no intention by the ZANU-PF regime of changing the already existing colonial socio-economic, political and cultural (master and servant) relations. Rather, the intention has been to transform the nature of the class structure of the country (within the framework of those inherited colonial relations) by hastening the development of a Shona state that would be more capable of fulfilling the demands of a triumphalist Shona tribalism and anarchy. This objective was to be achieved through the twin policies of genocide and ethnic cleansing.
against the Ndebele people, as excerpts from the ZANU PF Special Committee Publication of 1979 reveal:

"Nobody can doubt that we are forming history and history takes a long time to shape. Once it is shaped it often holds. Our investigation shows that most of the Ndebele people are blindly following Nkomo despite the fact that ZAPU is losing ground. It is clear too that there is no sphere of our life where the Ndebele people are or can be prominent, and thus a threat. Politically, they are unsophisticated. Educationally they are far below the mark, even if we compare them with the Shona groups - separately - Zezuru, Karanga, etc.

"One clear evidence against them losing ground all round, is the way a lot of them are changing from Ndebele to Shona. Almost all Ndebeles speak shona now. They have nothing in the Ndebele language and culture to cling to.

"Educationally our evidence shows that most Zimbabweans overseas are Shona; and they are determined to study and climb in various fields.... We are pleased to note that our Committee is doing all possible to ensure the education of the Shona people. All schools have a Shona majority including the ones in Bulawayo itself. In the longer run the educated live to benefit.

"...As said above, the rich Shona language is now spoken by 85% of the population. There is no corner of the country where a Shona person feels lost. This leaves no doubt that Shona will easily be the future National Language... There is this evidence both at home and overseas, that Ndebele as a culture and language is dying a slow but sure death. In the United Kingdom most political meetings are held in Shona. Our young people are committed...We want to express our thanks to all who have supported this project over the years and are committed to the Shona Cause. Our strategies are working fine and various points of growth are taking shape.

"There is need to form smaller cells to deal with specifics. The ones that are catered for now are - education - at home and abroad, the military, inside and outside, key jobs at home, political strategies; housing and economic control (very vital, our business men have mushroomed on all corners of the country. The richest African in Bulawayo is Shona). We however, need a few more co-ordinators. The work is expanding. Pamberi! Continue to be discreet and pass on the flame. The Shona live to reign! Break not the Chain".39

On any analytical scale, whichever way the ZANU-PF publication is read and understood, it is revealing that the root principle contained therein is the urgency both in ideology and practice of making Zimbabwe a country for only the Shona people, which is rid of any other language speaking groups. It reveals a savage callousness for human values of respect and appreciation of other ethnic groups. It is not surprising

therefore that since independence in 1980, Robert Gabriel Mugabe's ZANU-PF regime has in effect been aggressively implementing in practice the philosophy underpinned in its special publication of 1979, and that this has in fact gone far beyond anything experienced anywhere in the world, and for that matter in totalitarian regimes.

Thirty-Seven years of independence in Zimbabwe have comprised a succession of deliberate measures aimed at not only annihilating the Ndebele people from the face of the earth, but also denying them their perceived social, economic, political and cultural aspirations. Thus the socio-economic and cultural impacts of a triumphalist Shona tribalism have required that the position of the so-called vastly numerous Shona people (even their lowest ranks) should be able to attain and maintain a standard of living far above that of the richest sections of the Ndebele people. The motivation for this progressive depriving of Ndebeles of their existence rights has been supported by the unlimited power of Mugabe's ZANU-PF regime which has been used to commit genocide and ethnic cleansing against the defenceless Ndebele population.

It is important at this juncture to provide the chronology of events that were used as a pretext by Robert Gabriel Mugabe’s regime to inflict genocide, rape and ethnic cleansing against the people of Mthwakazi. We are revisiting these events in order to call on the world community to protect through the restoration agenda, the people of Mthwakazi against the imminent threat of the second genocide which may result in the complete annihilation of the people of Mthwakazi from the face of the earth, again committed by the ZANU-PF regime of Robert Gabriel Mugabe.

4. Mugabe’s Pretext of Inflicting Genocide and Ethnic Cleansing on the People of Matabeleland (Mthwakazi)

In July 1982, Robert Gabriel Mugabe's regime announced the abduction of six (6) foreign tourists. This was the first instance in which the whole of Mthwakazi country learned about the existence of so-called ‘dissidents’. According to this announcement by Robert Mugabe the so-called ‘dissidents killed a group of six tourists – two Britons, two Americans and two Australians – on the road to Victoria Falls only 76 kilometres from Bulawayo’.
This announcement by Robert Mugabe’s regime represented the naked deception which was invoked as a pretext to commit genocide and ethnic cleansing against the people of Mthwakazi. From this claim a number of questions immediately arise. How, for example, did the so-called dissidents identify the vehicle that these tourists were travelling in? Why tourists in particular? What was their motivation? Was it for ransom, if so for what? Was it for robbery, theft, rape, carjacking, or what? Did they smell that such and such a vehicle would be carrying tourists? Or did they stop all the vehicles that were travelling to Victoria Falls only and not those coming from the opposite direction, in order to isolate the one with tourists?

Our own argument as MLF is that the announcement by Robert Mugabe’s regime represented an orchestrated international campaign aimed at committing genocide against the people of Mthwakazi. Although Mugabe's regime blamed the abduction of the six tourists on the so-called "dissidents" (presumably faceless people acting on the orders of Mugabe himself), it is interesting to note the following, that:

➢ it was only Mugabe’s regime who had full intelligence information about the arrival into Zimbabwe of the six tourists;
➢ they also had intelligence information about the visiting, travelling and accommodation plans of the tourists and their destinations;
➢ the Zanu-pf regime also had intelligence Ndebele information about the mode of transport the tourists would use and the times of their journeys between destinations; and that
➢ the main point of entry into Zimbabwe for the tourists was the immigration and customs departments at Harare Airport, and that, it is here where investigations about the disappearance of the tourists should have begun.

Whilst these tourists were never again seen alive or dead, it is important, also to note, that their disappearance marked the beginning of the infliction of genocide and ethnic cleansing against the people of Mthwakazi. The justification was that these so-called dissidents were destroying property. Which, what and whose property? According to the Zanu-pf press at the time, the dissidents destroyed ‘development projects, schools, clinics, hospitals, farms, government offices and police stations’.
All this was just said and believed, when there was no shred of evidence on the ground. The fact of the matter is that in Zimbabwe during this period there never were any scars of wars and devastation as witnessed in countries such as Somalia, Syria, etc. This is perhaps the only time in history where the infrastructure of a country (Zimbabwe in this case) remained intact whilst all the destruction by dissidents was taking place, and where buildings housing schools, clinics and so on were not destroyed, but remained intact without traces of any structural scars and collapse, cracks, bullet holes, fire, etc.

There can be no doubt therefore that the arrival of the tourists in Zimbabwe presented real exploitable opportunities for Robert Gabriel Mugabe’s regime to commit genocide and ethnic cleansing with the sole purpose of driving out the people of Mthwakazi into South Africa.

It is therefore not surprising that Mugabe’s regime’s propaganda about the existence of the faceless so-called “dissidents” emerged and gained prominence simultaneously with the disappearance, abduction or kidnapping of the six foreign tourists in July 1982. These tourists were never seen alive or dead ever again. Only Mugabe’s killers know where they lie buried. Thus, the abduction and disappearance of the six tourists not only gave Mugabe’s regime a pretext, but also a justification to begin implementing the genocide programme against the Mthwakazi people.

Within days after the disappearance of the tourists, Mugabe’s regime deployed the army supported by tanks, artillery, helicopter gunships, fighter aircraft and the CIO (comprised of only Shona soldiers) in the Mthwakazi areas of Lupane and Tsholotsho. This deployment was justified under the pretext of searching for the whereabouts of the missing six tourists. Scores of villagers and communities were raped, beaten, tortured, killed or disappeared. Hundreds of thousands more were compelled with threats of torture, beatings and killings to join and buy ZANU-PF membership cards. Below, we present concrete evidence of what actually happened against the people of Mthwakazi.

5. The Complicity of the Local and International Media in the Genocide against the people Mthwakazi

The manner in which the people of Mthwakazi were let down by both the local and international media is highlighted below. This let down in fact constituted complicity by the local and international media in the genocide and ethnic cleansing perpetrated
by Robert Gabriel Mugabe’s regime against the people of Mthwakazi. There was never at any time when this media conducted any independent investigations regarding what was fed to it by the ZANU-PF regime.

It is even more shocking that reputable media organisations like the Washington Post, The New York Times and The Guardian relied entirely for their news reports from Robert Mugabe’s media houses: the Zimbabwe’s Herald, Financial Gazette, the Chronicle and Sunday Mail newspapers. All these four newspapers were and still are owned and controlled by Robert Gabriel Mugabe’s regime as ZANU-PF publications and mouth pieces. Throughout this period that the slaughter against the people of Mthwakazi continued it is shocking to note that the media listed below dependent for news and their reporting entirely on Robert Gabriel Mugabe’s ZANU-PF regime.

Whilst it is understandable that Robert Mugabe’s media houses would report what they are fed by the regime, it is totally unacceptable for reputable newspapers like the Washington Post, The New York Times and The Guardian to have played the role of Robert Gabriel Mugabe’s mouth pieces. This media never conducted its own investigations at any time throughout this period. There was virtually no investigative journalism during this period apart from hearsay reporting from all these media organisations based on what they were fed by Robert Gabriel Mugabe’s ZANU-PF regime.

It is in terms of the below listed reporting that we as the MLF state categorically that both the local and international media became complicit in the genocide against the people of Mthwakazi. The media ought to have played an independent investigative role to uncover the truth as to what was happening to the people of Mthwakazi rather than rubber stamping everything that was fed to it by Robert Gabriel Mugabe’s regime. There can be no doubt therefore that the media failed the people of Mthwakazi by its complicity to the relentless slaughter. The international media failed to uncover the truth during a period in which Mugabe’s propaganda equated all the people of Mthwakazi as ‘dissidents’. These so-called ‘dissidents’ were in fact defenceless people of Mthwakazi: the elderly, the young, babies, unborn foetuses whose mother’s wombs were torn apart with bayonets causing thousands of deaths.
We have shown above how Mugabe killed the six foreign tourist (two Britons, two Australians and two Canadians) as a pretext to send in his armies including the North Korean trained Fifth Brigade (Gukurahundi) to commit genocide against the people of Mthwakazi. Below, the headline list represents a telling example of the siege that the people of Mthwakazi found themselves under during the most intense complicity between the media and Robert Gabriel Mugabe’s ZANU-PF regime. No one within Mthwakazi was spared of this media bombardment which was driven by a different ethnic/national grouping from Mthwakazi. Nor were the people spared from reports emanating from Mugabe’s radio and television stations which equated the people of Mthwakazi as rats and cockroaches.

What is even more significant to note from this slaughter is that not even a single area of Mugabe’s own ethnic/national group, the Shona speaking people, was ever affected by any army or media activity – everything was directed to Mthwakazi country against the people of Mthwakazi. Throughout this period Mugabe’s army did not suffer EVEN A SINGLE CASUALTY, yet they are reported to have been at war with a formidable well trained enemy (former ZIPRA guerrillas), who brought the Rhodesia’s Smith’s regime to negotiations at Lancaster House.

It is therefore in terms of the foregoing that, as the MLF, we appeal to the South African government to come out in the open and inform the international community whether or not the apartheid regime did at any time during that period provide arms to the so-called ‘dissidents’ who were supposedly fighting the Mugabe regime. This exposure is absolutely important for the people of Mthwakazi to know the truth because they were butchered by Robert Gabriel Mugabe who accused them of receiving arms from apartheid South Africa. Surely the post-apartheid administrations in South Africa must have that information as we need to verify Mugabe’s pretext for genocide against the people of Mthwakazi.

As the MLF, we are quite convinced that no such collaboration between the apartheid regime and the people of Mthwakazi ever existed, for the simple reason that Mugabe’s regime would have experienced what both Angolan and Mozambique experienced when apartheid South Africa got involved. In the case of Zimbabwe, there was not a single shot that was fired in defence of the people of Mthwakazi,
there was also not a single scar of war that was registered or witnessed throughout the period that the people of Mthwakazi were being annihilated.

As a matter of fact, the headline list below suggests that the people of Mthwakazi were so crazy, devoid of any mental faculties that they could had started a war against themselves. Rather as the MLF we have to reiterate that the people of Mthwakazi (as Maphenduka has observed) have never been defeated in battle by those of Mashonaland at any time in history, and that this remains the case. Genocide was inflicted on them simple for lack of leadership and that this is not likely to happen again as we will never allow again to be killed without defending ourselves.

It is important at this juncture to refresh the memory of the international community of how the slaughter of the people of Mthwakazi was reported in both the local and international press. From the headline reports below, who can doubt the complicity of the local and international media against the people of Mthwakazi, given the absence from these headlines of any eye witness accounts and indeed the absence of any investigative journalism? These following headlines and reporting represent naked complicity with Mugabe’s genocide campaign against the people of Mthwakazi. Therefore, they cannot compare with the reporting of eyewitness accounts and independent investigative journalism captured as references used to produce this entire document:

➢ 'Bandits will be Court Marshalled', (1982) The Herald (Harare) 2 September.


'Dr. Jonathan Moyo's Article is a Display of Intolerant Tribalism' (1992). The Financial Gazette Gazette (Harare) 19 November.


'Findings May not be Published' (1984) The Herald (Harare) 5 July.


MTHWAKAZI LIBERATION FRONT (MLF) STANDS FOR ECONOMIC, CULTURAL AND POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE OF MTHWAKAZI AND RESTORATION OF HER INDEPENDENCE THAT EXISTED PRIOR TO COLONISATION
- 'Playing the Tribal Card is a Dangerous Game' (1992) Herald (Harare) 8 December.
- 'Unity Talks at Advanced Stage- PM', (1986) The Herald (Harare) 19 August.
- 'We are Set to Train Militia, Says PM', (1982) The Herald (Harare) 12 September.
- 'We have a Subversives List - Nkala', (1982) The Herald (Harare) 20 July.
6. The killing of White Farmers in Mthwakazi

White farmers in Mthwakazi were next in line to be targeted for killings under the pretext of the chaotic land grab. Before this land grab policy was implemented, the White people across the breadth and length of present-day Zimbabwe had been deceived into believing Robert Gabriel Mugabe’s pretext of inflicting genocide against the people of Mthwakazi.

As a matter of fact, even before this evil land grab exercise against White farmers was implemented, Robert Mugabe’s regime used its own forces to disrupt farming activities and destroy equipment in the farms, resulting in random killings of White farmers. This coordinated exercise against many white farms in Mthwakazi was then blamed on the faceless so-called ‘dissidents’ which gave Mugabe a pretext to commit genocide against the people of Mthwakazi (Matabeleland). It was always a well calculated plan that Mugabe’s ZANU-PF regime would murder white farmers and then blame the people of Matabeleland, in order to then justify the deployment of the Fifth Brigade (Gukurahundi) to inflict genocide and ethnic cleansing on the people of Mthwakazi (Matabeleland).
As already shown above, the random killing of White farmers at the beginning complemented that of the killing of six (6) tourists which then gave a pretext and justification for Robert Gabriel Mugabe to deploy his North Korean trained army in Mthwakazi (Matabeleland) resulting in approximately half a million Ndebele-speaking people being annihilated. According to Robert Gabriel Mugabe and his ZANU-PF regime, they had deployed the Fifth Brigade in order to protect White Farmers in Mthwakazi (Matabeleland). Unfortunately, the White Farmers also believed in this unfounded propaganda and justification for the slaughter of the Ndebele-speaking people of Mthwakazi (Matabeleland) during that time. As a matter of fact, Britain pretended to be blind and offered Mugabe’s regime tacit support when the most heinous human rights violations were committed against the Ndebele-speaking population throughout Mthwakazi (Matabeleland).

Little did Britain know that once Mugabe was done with the Ndebele-speaking population in Mthwakazi, that the White people would be next through the well-orchestrated and coordinated farm confiscation programme. Many white farmers were murdered and brutalized and succumbed to the pressures of the ruling regime. During the clamour and “take back” of land violently, one White woman exclaimed, “We’re all Zimbabweans, what difference does your colour make”.

At Nyamandlovu in Mthwakazi (Matabeleland) a group of some 40 armed so-called war veterans attacked Olds farm on April 18, 2000, killing Martin Olds as he tried to escape his burning farm. The burning car of slain farmer Martin Olds was left outside his farm in Nyamandlovu, some 50 kilometres (31 miles) west of Bulawayo, Zimbabwe, on April 18, 2000.

There are many white farmers who not only lost their farms and property, but also their lives throughout Mthwakazi (Matabeleland). These farms and looted property was then given to Mugabe’s cronies. This criminal activity was done with impunity in full view of the entire world community. The beneficiaries of the looted land, Mugabe’s cronies, had no training (and still have none) in farming and agriculture, and thus compromised food security for the people of Mthwakazi (Matabeleland). There can be no doubt that these farm murders and confiscation of white farms throughout Mthwakazi (Matabeleland) represented a systematic and deliberate strategy intended to starve the Ndebele-speaking population to death.

(MTHWAKAZI LIBERATION FRONT (MLF) STANDS, FOR ECONOMIC, CULTURAL AND POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE OF MTHWAKAZI AND RESTORATION OF HER INDEPENDENCE THAT EXISTED PRIOR TO COLONISATION)
Attempts by a group of dispossessed white farmers to take their case to the Southern African Development Community (SADC), a regional economic and political bloc of which Zimbabwe is still a member failed. According to the statement released by this group at the time:

“Unless the culture of impunity stops, no investment will take place in our country and the economic crisis will deepen. Without property rights and the rule of law, our negative trajectory as a failed state will accelerate,” said Frith in a statement by SADC Tribunal Rights Watch.

In response to this legal action, the SADC tribunal ruled that Zimbabwe could not evict a white farmer, Mike Campbell, from his land, and that forced evictions amounted to discrimination against whites. The tribunal also ruled that fair compensation should be given to farmers dispossessed of their land. However, Zimbabwe consequently pulled out of the tribunal and questioned its credibility. Campbell died in 2011; his family claimed his death was as a result of complications following a brutal beating by Mugabe supporters in 2008.

One of the farmers involved in the complaint, David Conolly, said he was forced off his farm by a deputy secretary in Mugabe’s office, Ray Ndhlukula (current speaker of parliament and a lawyer by profession). A Zimbabwean court ruled in 2015 that Ndhlukula should leave the farm and it gave him a suspended prison sentence, but he has remained on the property. Regarding this case, The Telegraph reported:

“All I want to do is to be allowed to farm our family farm and live in my home,” said Conolly. “If the Zimbabwe government doesn’t want to allow me to do this then it must pay fair compensation for the loss of my farm and my life’s work.”

Western donors responded to these farm murders and confiscation of white owned farms by cutting aid to Zimbabwe and imposing sanctions on Mugabe and his government ministers. In the face of international condemnation, Mugabe has remained resolute on the violent land grab exercise. At one of the rallies commemorating war heroes in the recent past, Mugabe said he would not prosecute those who killed white farmers during the evictions in the following words:

“Yes, we have those who were killed when they resisted. We will never prosecute those who killed them. I ask, why should we arrest them?”

While the white farmers whose land was violently expropriated have generally moved on to other things, this has not been the case for the majority of their
employees. Former white farm workers now live in abject poverty as a result this murderous farm confiscation programme. The post-2000 recession has also seen the emergence of a class of "poor white people". These are typically persons who lack capital, education and skills – and who are therefore unable to migrate from Zimbabwe. Social workers have commented that black people facing difficulties are usually able to fall back on support from extended families. White and coloured people have a much more individualistic culture and appear less able to cope with hardship.

Sympathisers of the expropriated white farmers have claimed that lack of professional management skills among the new landholders has resulted in a dramatic decline in Zimbabwe's agricultural production. Indeed, in an effort to boost their own agricultural output, neighbouring countries including Mozambique and Zambia offered land and other incentives to entice white farmers to immigrate.

At the dawn of 2008, an estimated one in ten out of 5,000 white farmers remained on their land. Many of these continued to face intimidation. By June 2008, it was reported that only 280 out of an approximate total of 5,000 white farmers remained in the country as all of their farms had been invaded. On the day of Mugabe's inauguration as President on 28 June 2008, several white farmers who had protested the seizure of their land were beaten and burned by Robert Mugabe's supporters. A British-born farmer, Ben Frith (who had several articles and letters published in the British press regarding the hostile situation), and his in-laws, Mike and Angela Campbell, were abducted and found badly beaten. Mr Campbell, speaking from hospital in Harare vowed to continue with his legal fight for his farm.

In recent years there has been a surge in violence against the dwindling white community and particularly against white farmers. On 18 September 2010 droves of white people were chased away from participating in the constitutional outreach programs in Mthwakazi (Matabeleland), in which violence and confusion marred the process with similar incidents occurring countrywide.

Most of the seizures in Mthwakazi (Matabeleland) have taken place in Nyamandlovu and Inyathi. After the beating to death of a prominent farmer in September 2011, the head of the Commercial Farmers' Union decried the attack saying its white members continue to be targeted by violence without protection from the government.

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Genocide Watch declared that the violence against whites in Zimbabwe was a stage 5 case. In September 2014 Mugabe publicly declared that all white Zimbabweans should "go back to England" and called for black Zimbabweans not to lease agricultural land to white farmers.

Catherine Buckle, a victimised farmer, has also tackled the issue of chaotic land reforms. Her books are African Tears and Beyond Tears. The former deals with the emotional struggle that she and her family faced as war veterans invaded her farm. She also explores the traumatic situation facing farm workers and other farming families in similar positions to hers. In Beyond Tears she writes about the family of a murdered farmer and five farmers who were abducted as well as to rape victims. She also reflects about what she found on her return visits to her once-productive farm, which has been burnt to the ground and turned into a squatter camp.

The farm murders and confiscation of white farms continued since February 2000, when pro-government militants, led by so-called war veterans of the 1970s liberation war, began invading white-owned farms. Eleven white farmers were killed instantly during the first farm invasions, and thousands of black workers assaulted, women raped and forced to abandon farms. During this period the Commercial Farmers Union (CFU) which represented white farmers reiterated its support for transparent and lawful land redistribution, but was totally opposed to the violent system employed by the government.

At this juncture, it is important to pose and ask the following questions. What exactly was the Mugabe regime teaching the youth about the murders of white people? What about the thousands of black people who were brutalized and lost everything in land invasions and the thousands murdered in political violence in the same time period? As one victim observed,

"It doesn’t matter if we are black or white, our blood is the same colour and we are all entitled to justice and protection under our country’s Constitution. Until the perpetrators of crimes are held to account, whatever the skin colour of them or their victims, Zimbabwe will not be able to move forward, regardless of this blanket “immunity” given by our 93-year-old President".
Across Mthwakazi (Matabeleland), mobs loyal to Mugabe’s ruling Zanu-PF party invaded farms. Some of these mobs were drunk or high on Imbanje/Insango (cannabis), armed with axes, machetes and pangas (long knives). They attacked, terrorised and killed the farmers, their families and their workers. They slaughtered cattle and pets, stole tractors and combine harvesters, destroyed crops, cut down trees and held all-night pungwes (indoctrination sessions) with non-stop drumming and chanting around bonfires on the farmers’ lawns. They frequently gave those farmers just hours to leave their properties, before they ransacked their homes.

The police stood by and the courts did little, which was hardly surprising as at least 16 senior judges were on the long list of ZANU-PF cronies – ministers, MPs, army commanders, district administrators, councillors, girlfriends – who received farms in the name of the land-redistribution programme. Robert and Grace Mugabe acquired 13 farms. All politburo members of Mugabe’s ZANU-PF regime, all 10 provincial governors and 98 MPs acquired at least one farm. The first vets arrived at Mount Carmel in late-2000, moved into a hayshed and began a relentless campaign of harassment and intimidation. They also brought with them a virulent strain of malaria, which killed 11 workers and Frith’s sister-in-law, Heidi, who was pregnant with twins.

In 2007, Campbell and Frith sued Mugabe before the Southern African Development Community (SADC) Tribunal. It was an astonishingly bold step. As Frith explained, ‘the definition of appeasement is feeding the crocodile and hoping you’ll be the last to be eaten’. On June 29, 2008, a fortnight before their case was due to be heard, Frith and the ageing Mike and Angela Campbell were seized by war vets, trussed up, severely beaten with sticks and rifle butts, and driven into the bush, where their torture continued late into the night.

Their abductors beat the bottom of Frith’s feet with sjamboks (whips made of hippopotamus hide). They put a burning stick into Angela Campbell’s mouth, and forced her to sign – at gunpoint – a statement promising to drop the SADC case. At midnight, Frith and the Campbells were dumped on a roadside, barely conscious. All three had broken bones and faces bruised almost beyond recognition. Frith suffered a fractured skull, but attended the SADC hearing in Windhoek, Namibia, in a wheelchair with his head heavily bandaged.
That November, the tribunal ruled that they should be allowed to live and work peacefully on their farm. It was a moment of extreme euphoria. ‘We were incredibly excited’. As Frith recalls, ‘here were black African Judges ruling for the first time that white people have a place in Africa.’ The plaintiffs and their lawyers hugged tearfully in the courtroom. But the celebrations proved premature. Mugabe called the Ruling, ‘nonsense’. He declared, ‘Our land issues are not subject to the SADC Tribunal.’ A new group of armed war vets led by LovemoreMadangonda, alias Landmine, arrived at Mount Carmel to ratchet up the terror.

They threatened to kill Frith’s children. They wrapped barbed wire around a horse’s head and mouth. According to Frith, ‘it was continual harassment – stealing cattle, poaching game, cutting down trees and getting in your face all the time’. Finally, they burnt down the Campbells’ and Frets’ homes. The family lost almost everything, except miraculously, a tattered black and white photograph of Angela as a very young girl that had sustained her father when he was a prisoner of war in Germany in the Second World War. He called it his ‘lucky charm’.

Mike Campbell never really recovered from his injuries. According to Frith, ‘his spirit to fight for justice carried on, but his will to live became difficult’. He died in 2011. He was buried on a neighbouring farm that was still white-owned, and hundreds of mourners, including many of his old farmworkers, attended his funeral.

7. International Criminal Tribunal

The evidence presented above indicates clearly that under the terms of the Genocide Convention of 1948, the Ndebele people of Matabeleland (Mthwakazi) in present-day Zimbabwe suffered from the "international crime of genocide". It is quite clear that what happened against the Ndebele people of Matabeleland (Mthwakazi) constitutes a prima facie case that those who committed these despicable atrocities are indicted and brought to justice under the terms of the 1948 Genocide Convention.

In the case of Rwanda, for example, the International Tribunal ruled that "rape is an act of genocide when women are assaulted because they are members of another ethnic group". The International Tribunal made further rulings: that governments and officials had a "responsibility for what happened under" their "jurisdiction". They were also guilty of genocide if they refused to "use the police
under" their "command to prevent killings and assaults, or punish the perpetrators", as this constituted a "tacit authorization of their actions which amounted to acts of genocide".\(^{40}\) The talk of a war situation prevailing in the country, "merely served as a pretext for genocide by associating all Tutsis in Rwanda with the rebel Rwandan Patriotic Front".\(^{41}\) The International Tribunal made similar findings against various Serbian individuals in the case of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

There is a prima facie case that between 1982-88, Robert Gabriel Mugabe as Prime Minister, Defence Minister and Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces of Zimbabwe; Emmerson Mnangagwa as Minister of State For Security in the Prime Minister's Office (now Vice President); Sydney Sekeramayi as Minister of State For Defence in the Prime Minister's Office; EnosNkala (who held various ministerial portfolios); SimbiMubako (former Home Affairs minister and now Ambassador of Zimbabwe in Washington, DC, USA.) the Entire High Command; former General Rex Nhongo (re-named Solomon Mujuru after Zimbabwean Independence, now deceased.) as Commander of the Defence Forces; Josiah Tungamirai as Air Force Vice Marshall (deceased); the Commissioner of Police; the Director of the Central Intelligence Organisation; Colonel Perence Shiri (also known as Black Jesus) as Commander of the Fifth Brigade or Gukurahundi (now Air Vice Marshall) and various other individuals in similar positions of power, inflicted upon the Ndebele people of Matabeleland and Midlands the "international crime of genocide".

It is important to note that not only did the listed individuals commit genocide, but that unless they are stopped, they continue to be directly involved in the psychological genocide and human rights violations, and retain powerful ministerial positions from which they might yet unleash yet another brutal genocide on the Ndebele people of Matabeleland (Mthwakazi) in present-day Zimbabwe. It is quite clear, for example, that the extermination policy of genocide against the Ndebele people has continued unabated, which for a very long time now has been expressed through disappearances, assassinations and mysterious deaths of hundreds of vocal


\(^{41}\) Ibid
individuals, such as NjiniNtuta (former ZAPU MP), Lookout KhalisabantuMasuku (former ZIPRA Commander), Sydney Malunga (former ZAPU MP), MthandazoNdema (former University of Zimbabwe lecturer), Amos Dlamini (killed while visiting Zimbabwe from the UK) and many others.

It should also be pointed out that when the most ghastly crimes of genocide were committed and continued to be committed against the Ndebele people of Matabeleland (Mthwakazi) by the Zimbabwe regime of Robert Gabriel Mugabe, the Ndebele people (the victims and survivors of these atrocities) were appalled, and continue to be outraged by the silence and outright failure of the international community to intervene to "prevent and punish" those responsible as stipulated by the Genocide Prevention and Punishment Laws under the Genocide Convention of 1948.

As in other cases before the barbaric carnage of the Ndebele people of Matabeleland (Mthwakazi), the nations of the world were very slow to investigate and act against genocide allegations, dragged their feet when they should have been intervening to end the carnage (despite a wealth of evidence of abominable crimes taking place), and only intervening once the international crime of genocide had been completed. In the case of the Ndebele people of Matabeleland (Mthwakazi), their experience of genocide, their cries and prayers for help in the form of international independent experts to investigate the 1982-88 genocide, and their prayers for bringing the perpetrators to justice have fallen on deaf ears, as if the international community did not want to know, hear or see no evil. Today, those who committed and continue to commit these despicable crimes against humanity - the mass murderers, annihilators and exterminators of the Ndebele people in present-day Zimbabwe are revered as great leaders/statesmen - the Mugabes and his cronies.

Donald Trelford, in his coverage of eyewitness accounts about the atrocities in Matabeleland, described the Ndebele people as "A Lost People". He was correct, for he vividly captured their plight. Not only were the Ndebele people of Matabeleland (Mthwakazi) victims of Mugabe's genocide and ethnic cleansing, but they were victims too of the cold war (of particular ideologies) between the West and East. They were virtually surrounded and could not run any further but to experience the slaughter in disbelief. Their fate had been decidedly sealed by the 1979 Lancaster House settlement. This settlement also meant that the game for ZAPU was over; it could no
longer receive any support from its former supporters, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) and countries of the Eastern bloc.

Neither could the Ndebele people expect to receive any support from the Western countries, given that ZAPU was perceived to represent in then Rhodesia everything that was fundamentally evil with communism. Since ZAPU had fought in the liberation war under the banner of socialism (just like the ANC, FRELIMO in Mozambique and the MPLA in Angola), the Western countries had no reason to intervene given their history in supporting and sustaining colonial and apartheid regimes in Africa. But, in addition to their historical support for colonial and apartheid regimes, the Western countries only intervened without any hesitation in situations or conflicts where they desired to prevent or contain what they perceived as the spread of communism.

As a result, ZAPU and its followers were doomed. It was not surprising therefore that the slaughter of ZAPU's (Ndebele) supporters also suited apartheid South Africa well, given ZAPU's historic links with the ANC. Thus the slaughter of ZAPU followers by Mugabe's ZANU-PF regime essentially resolved once and for all time, the possibility of the ANC ever establishing bases in Zimbabwe from which to seriously threaten the fortunes of the apartheid regime. There can be no question therefore, that Mugabe's ZANU-PF's genocide policy against the unarmed and defenceless ZAPU followers in Matabeleland (Mthwakazi) complemented the apartheid regime's proxy wars in Mozambique and Angola. Both were essentially two sides of the same coin. The only difference being that ZAPU had completely disarmed and had no means of defending its followers against Mugabe's onslaught, whereas the Frelimo and MPLA governments could still count on the support from their allies in the East in resisting the apartheid regime's aggression.

Now that the cold war has long been over, what is required is for the international community to look again at what happened in Matabeleland (Mthwakazi) between 1982 and 1988, and recognise that genocide was committed not against communists or ideologies, but against real people, real defenceless human beings (foetuses, infants and babies, women and children, the disabled and the sick, and the old) who neither subscribed to the ideals of communism nor committed any crime other than for being Ndebele people. What is required is for the same standards that were applied in bringing the transgressors of genocide to justice after the
Holocaust, Bosnia, and Rwanda genocides to be applied to those who perpetrated the international crime of genocide against the Ndebele people.

The evidence that has been presented in this document chronicles a progression and succession of deliberate measures that were employed to commit genocide and ethnic cleansing against the Ndebele people by Mugabe's ZANU-PF regime, and then concealing the truth about these despicable crimes against humanity. Firstly, it is inconceivable that any genuine and concerned government in any part of the world would have failed to investigate genocide allegations perpetrated by its army against its own citizens. Secondly, it is also inconceivable that any army anywhere in the world could have been deployed against armed rebels in a foreign terrain only to emerge victorious several years later having annihilated hundreds of thousands of armed rebels, but without itself suffering any casualties and capturing any rebels. This is basically how Mugabe’s ZANU-PF regime explained away the genocide and ethnic cleansing against the civilian Ndebele population of Matabeleland (Mthwakazi) in present-day Zimbabwe.

It should be emphasised that throughout the six-year period in which the Fifth Brigade or Gukurahundi was deployed in Matabeleland (Mthwakazi), not even one of the so-called politically motivated "dissident" was apprehended and brought to court. In addition, throughout this period the Fifth Brigade or Gukurahundi emerged unscathed without suffering any casualties at all. This is surprising given that the Fifth Brigade did not even understand the terrain of Matabeleland (Mthwakazi); they were basically foreigners in these regions. It is basically inconceivable that the so-called politically inspired "dissidents" (with several years of guerrilla experience behind them particularly as they were claimed by Mugabe's regime to be former ZIPRA forces) could have failed in their own terrain to inflict a SINGLE CASUALTY, let alone casualties on the Fifth Brigade.

It is also hard to believe that the so-called politically driven "dissidents" could have restricted their operations in Matabeleland (Mthwakazi) against their own people (who supposedly included their families, relatives and friends) when their objectives were supposedly directed against the institutions of Mugabe’s regime. It is even harder to believe that such politically motivated "dissidents" could have failed to direct their anger against any Shona person within the Matabeleland (Mthwakazi) regions (let alone
failing to penetrate the regions of Mashonaland and Manicaland), given the brutality against their own Ndebele people perpetrated by Shona soldiers of the Fifth Brigade or Gukurahundi.

The alleged conflict in Matabeleland (Mthwakazi) between Mugabe’s regime and so-called politically motivated “dissidents” is perhaps the first armed conflict in history in which the protagonists never engaged in a single verifiable battle over a six-year period. Rather, it remains an alleged conflict which resulted in hundreds of thousands of the defenceless civilian Ndebele population being annihilated by Mugabe's Fifth Brigade or Gukurahundi. It also remains an alleged conflict in which not even a single soldier of the Fifth Brigade died or suffered any injuries.

The allegations about the existence of so-called politically motivated “dissidents” in Matabeleland (Mthwakazi) were simply that, allegations and not facts in reality. They were allegations designed merely as a pretext of exterminating all the Ndebele people by associating them with the non-existent so-called “dissidents” who existed only in the minds of their creators (Mugabe and his cronies), but not in reality. The fact that the so-called politically inspired “dissidents” did not exist at all, explains the reasons why Mugabe's regime cordoned off the regions of Matabeleland (Mthwakazi) and prevented any press (foreign or otherwise) from going into those areas to uncover the truth and reality for themselves about the operations of the Fifth Brigade.

As a result, throughout the whole period that the Gukurahundi remained deployed in Matabeleland (Mthwakazi) the press did not witness any of its operations. The press reports were either based on the information supplied by Mugabe’s regime or from eyewitness accounts. It was unlike in other conflicts of the world where (local and foreign) reporters are able to report events as they unfold. It is ironic that rather than allowing the press into these enormous regions of Matabeleland (Mthwakazi) in order to expose the activities of the so-called “dissidents” who had supposedly committed various crimes against innocent civilians, Mugabe’s regime chose instead to prevent the press into those cordoned off areas.

Undoubtedly, the prevention of the press into the cordoned off (no-go) regions of Matabeleland (Mthwakazi) was designed to conceal the reality on the ground of the Fifth Brigade's/ Gukurahundi’s genocide campaign against the defenceless Ndebele population. This is the situation that the press would have found or uncovered had it
had access into these no-go areas been allowed. The press would have simultaneously discovered that allegations about the existence of so-called "dissidents" were false and that they merely represented a cover up of Mugabe’s ZANU-PF regime’s long held designs of annihilating a defenceless Ndebele population.

The failure of Mugabe’s ZANU-PF regime to investigate genocide allegations, despite repeated calls for such investigations, not only from the victims themselves but from clergymen and the leader of the opposition ZAPU party, Dr Joshua MqabukoNkomo, constituted naked authorisation of the actions of the Fifth Brigade or Gukurahundi against the defenceless Ndebele population. Not only did Mugabe’s ZANU-PF regime fail to investigate genocide allegations against a defenceless civilian Ndebele population, but it also accused and labelled those calling for such investigations as supporters of so-called "dissidents". Moreover, Mugabe and his cronies dismissed all calls for genocide investigations from the missionaries and the ZAPU leader Dr Joshua MqabukoNkomo as a campaign of vilification against them. Reports on eyewitness accounts by the foreign press and interventions by Amnesty International were also seen by Mugabe and his cronies to be representing a vilification campaign against the ZANU-PF regime in Zimbabwe.

In fact, Robert Gabriel Mugabe himself went much further to dismiss the genocide allegations against his army as unfounded grievances of the defenceless Ndebele population, adding that they should have accepted defeat at the 1980 independence polls, and therefore, they needed to be reoriented. In other words, Mugabe saw no reason to be alarmed by the genocide allegations against his Fifth Brigade/Gukurahundi, since genocide and ethnic cleansing had been chosen by his regime and ZANU-PF at large as strategies of reorienting the defenceless Ndebele population to make way for Shona hegemony and the establishment of a one party state in Zimbabwe. This represents compelling evidence (presented in the course of this document) of the long held ZANU-PF designs and strategies to wipe out the Ndebele people from the face of the earth in order to achieve a mono-linguistic Shona hegemony in Zimbabwe.

It is not surprising therefore, that the slaughter of the defenceless civilian Ndebele population was carried out by the Fifth Brigade/Gukurahundi, simultaneously as calls for the establishment of a one party state in Zimbabwe were being made by Mugabe
and his ZANU-PF cronies. This coincidence of killings backed up by calls for the creation of a one party state demonstrates clearly that the existence of the alleged so-called "dissidents" merely served as a pretext for the achievement of Mugabe's ZANU-PF's goals.

This is primarily the reason why this pretext for genocide and ethnic cleansing continually remained in a state of flux. It all began with Nkomo and his ZAPU party being accused by Mugabe of seeking the overthrow of his regime, and when those charges were demonstrably shown to be false, the notion of so-called "dissidents" (former ZIPRA guerrillas) was invented and when that too could not be substantiated with evidence, then a faceless organisation called Super ZAPU (existing only in the minds of Mugabe and his henchmen) was invented. It is important to emphasise that all these false inventions by Mugabe's ZANU-PF regime were designed to prolong the genocide against the Ndebele people.

In the light of the evidence thus far presented in this document, it is absolutely critical to emphasise that Mugabe's ZANU-PF regime had a responsibility to protect all the citizens (not only Shona) under its jurisdiction. Mugabe's regime had all the available resources (such as the police and army) at its disposal with which to discharge its responsibilities to prevent genocide against its defenceless Ndebele population, and to punish the perpetrators of these horrible crimes against humanity. Even if Mugabe's allegations about so-called "dissidents" could be proven, his regime still had a duty to investigate the genocide allegations as well as (at the very least) to punish the perpetrators of the ghastly crimes against infants, the old and the sick.

As has been shown in the course of this document, not even a single "dissident" was killed by the military action of the Fifth Brigade. Instead, the Fifth Brigade targeted a defenceless Ndebele population and exterminated their foetuses, burned victims alive, buried victims alive in mass graves and in mine shafts, cut open the wombs of their pregnant women with bayonets, forced survivors to eat the flesh of their dead and a catalogue of many other evil crimes. It was as a result of the successful completion of this brutal genocide campaign against a defenceless civilian Ndebele population that the commander of the Fifth Brigade then, Colonel Perence Shiri (Black Jesus), was subsequently promoted to the position of Air vice Marshall in Zimbabwe.

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It is important to recognise that Mugabe deployed the Fifth Brigade genocide machine at the time of the greatest vulnerability and insecurity of the Ndebele people as they had recently lost the military support of ZIPRA which had been disarmed under the Lancaster House agreement. Mugabe would not have dared or attempted to deploy the Gukurahundi genocide machine if ZIPRA forces were still armed, given the 1981 Entumbane experience in Bulawayo, in which Mugabe had sought assistance from the Rhodesian forces after his troops had been heavily defeated in battle.

It follows that there can be no justifications under any contrived or stated reason for genocide that was inflicted on a defenceless civilian Ndebele population by Robert Gabriel Mugabe's Fifth Brigade/Gukurahundi forces. Besides, ZAPU was too big an organisation with decades of experience to have required assistance from non-existent faceless "dissidents" in order to topple Mugabe's regime. Had ZAPU desired to do so, it would have stated its position publicly for Mugabe and his cronies (including the whole world) to know, just as it had done under colonial rule in what was Rhodesia. There was basically nothing special or fearful about Mugabe and his cronies that would have stopped or prevented Dr Joshua MqabukoNkomo and ZAPU from publicly declaring their intentions of assuming power in Zimbabwe if they had so desired. The fact that they did not demonstrate vividly their absolute commitment to constitutional governance in Zimbabwe as provided for under the Lancaster House settlement of 1979.

Rather, as the evidence in this document has shown, Mugabe's ZANU-PF has always been directed by skilled psychotic and paedophile killers whose long list of victims include the following: ZIPRA recruits in Tanzania in 1975, their own leader Herbert Chitepo and hundreds of their own people during the Nari rebellion in Zambia in 1975 (resulting in ZANU's expulsion from Zambian soil during the same year), and their own military commander JosiahTongogara in Mozambique in 1979. The only difference between these killings by ZANU-PF amongst its own ranks and the killings by ZANU-PF of the defenceless civilian Ndebele population is that the latter case represented a deliberate programme in both ideology and practice of the total annihilation of a people on the grounds of their ethnicity.

This deliberate annihilation programme has been manifested in several ways: a) the actual infliction of genocide which spared not even foetuses in their mother's...
wombs, b) ethnic cleansing designed to alter the composition of indigenous populations, and c) the evil outbreeding programme of rendering the Ndebele people extinct through sexual genocide aimed at their genetic destruction.

The significance of Nkala’s fundamental shift from "eternal hell" to righteousness is therefore two-fold: a) his failure to offer a public apology for his role in the slaughter to the victims and survivors, and b) his acknowledgement that genocide was committed (not by himself, he claims) but by the regime in which he held various ministerial portfolios. Of critical importance about this shift was that Enos Nkala was then ready and willing to partake (spill the beans on his murderous colleagues) in any mechanism that was designed to uncover the truth and responsibility for the genocide and ethnic cleansing.

Such a mechanism would have had unquestionably provided not only Nkala, but Robert Gabriel Mugabe, Emmerson Mnangagwa, Sidney Sekeremayi, Simba Mubako, Perence Shiri and others, an opportunity to explain their individual roles in the heinous slaughter of the Ndebele people. In addition, Robert Gabriel Mugabe would have to explain why it was that he treated reports about the Gukurahundi genocide and atrocities as "ZAPU lies" that were being accepted by the Church as "gospel truth".42 He would also had explained why it was that he treated the missionaries (clergymen) with contempt when they accused his army of genocide, whereas before independence he believed the same missionaries when they had made similar claims against Ian Smith's Rhodesian regime.

Mugabe still needs to explain why he saw a "plot" against his "country's name, even an onslaught" by the coverage of allegations of brutality perpetrated by his army in the British and American press.43 He still has to explain why he threatened the business interests of Tiny Rowland (the proprietor of The Observer newspaper) in Zimbabwe with closure, as a result of the reporting of the Gukurahundi atrocities by the Observer’s editor, Donald Trelford, for which Tiny Rowland not only threatened to shut down his

42 See, for example, "Astonishment" attack on integrity of atrocity report: "Church raps Mugabe for Matabele statement", in The Guardian, Thursday 19 April 1984.

own Observer newspaper, but also subsequently apologised to Mugabe for Donald Trelford's atrocity report of Matabeleland.\footnote{See, an article by David Beresford, "Observer was threatened with closure over atrocity story", in \textit{The Guardian}, 18 April 1984.}

SimbiMubako (former Home Affairs Minister) would had explained why he said "\textit{food is flowing easily}"\footnote{See, an article by Andrew Meldrum, "Churches say 450,000 people face hunger: Zimbabwe curfew cuts off food to drought-hit areas", in \textit{The Guardian}, Thursday 8 March 1984.} when in reality people were dying from starvation, given the devastating drought and his government's food embargo into the cordoned off curfew areas of Matabeleland (Mthwakazi). Emmerson Mnangagwa (security minister) still has to explain why he maintained (in his ministerial statement of 20th August 1986) that any truth regarding news about the genocide and atrocities in Zimbabwe had to be cleared by his office before being published. He would also had explained why and how many prisoners died under interrogation or questioning by his ministry, including that of ThembaMoyo, son of the late Jason ZiyaphaphaMoyo (former Vice President of ZAPU).

Emmerson Mnangagwa must divulge (reveal) "a number of correspondence" to and from "Amnesty International" which he claimed to have been "recovered" from a prominent ZAPU politician after he had been deported from Botswana following the despicable and notorious representations from the Zimbabwean regime in 1986. Mnangagwa would have to back up his ministerial statement of 20th August 1986 with evidence which he claimed to be in his possession when he stated that the prominent ZAPU politician, in custody in Zimbabwe following his deportation from Botswana:

"as leader of Super ZAPU had the opportunity to debrief his bandits on acts they perpetrated against Zimbabwe citizens and fed this type of information to Amnesty International, falsely indicating that these acts were committed by Zimbabwe Security Forces. With these facts in hand, I caused enquiries to be made and am happy to say that all the cases reported to Amnesty International were in actual fact committed by Super ZAPU bandits. Cde. Speaker, it is sad to inform you that Super ZAPU was and is responsible for countless murders, rapes, atrocities, assaults, robbery and other crimes committed against Zimbabwean citizens".\footnote{The Minister of State (Security) in the Prime Minister's Office (M. Emmerson Mnangagwa), "Ministerial Statement: Amnesty International and Customs Officers (MTHWAKAZI LIBERATION FRONT (MLF) STANDS, FOR ECONOMIC, CULTURAL AND POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE OF MTHWAKAZI AND RESTORATION OF HER INDEPENDENCE THAT EXISTED PRIOR TO COLONISATION).}
Mnangagwa would be required to explain what he meant (in reply to questions from Amnesty International about the deaths in custody of known individuals and disappearances of scores of others) when he said; "All the other cases were too vague to permit conclusive investigation". Most importantly, Emmerson Mnangagwa would have to explain if his interpretation of a state justified the slaughter of another ethnic group when he defined it as:

"A numerous assemblage of human beings, generally occupying a definite territory, amongst whom the will of the majority of an ascertainable class of persons is, by the strength of such majority, made to prevail against any of their number who oppose it". 47

What is required is for all those responsible for the genocide in Matabeleland (Mthwakazi) to own up to their crimes against humanity. Thus far they include Robert Gabriel Mugabe, Emerson Mnangagwa, Sidney Sekeramayi and Perence Shiri. It should be pointed out most emphatically that there are parallels between the genocide carried out by the ZANU-PF regime of Robert Gabriel Mugabe and the genocide perpetrated against the Jews by the Nazis in Germany and Poland. Whilst the holocaust remains the first amongst equals, it differs in scale (in terms of the absolute number of people killed) and methodology of annihilation. In Matabeleland (Mthwakazi), the Fifth Brigade's or Gukurahundi's "gas chambers" took the form of mass live burials in graves, toilets, mine shafts, and mass burnings in huts, etc.

8. Who Are The People Of Matabeleland (Mthwakazi)?

The Ndebele people of Mthwakazi include bona-fide descendants of the mighty Zulu Nation. The founder of this Mthwakazi Nation during the early 1800, King Mzilikazi, was a great and astute nation builder who brought together into one proud nation without any bloodshed an inter-cultural society of multi ethnicities and nationalities: Zulu, Nguni, Ndebele, Kalanga, Xhosa, Venda, Tonga, Sotho, Nambya, Swazi, Tswana, Shangani, and the original black inhabitants Kung, Ba Sarwa or BaThwa.

From the north we have the peripheral Tonga and Nambya Nationalities. The Tonga people originated from the great Tonga Kingdom and the Nambyans originated from the Rozwi Kingdom. From the south we have the Sotho, Venda, Swazi, Xhosa and

Det ent i or "Z i m babwe Hansard, 20th August, 1986, p 810.

47I b d, p 802
Zulu/Ndebele nationalities, which originated from the South African Kingdoms. From the west we have the Tswana originating from the great Ngwato Kingdom. We also have the Sena or Basarwa or Nama [Thwa] who are recognised as the first nationalities to settle in Matabeleland (Mthwakazi country). The Kalanga is the nationality known by the Language which resulted from the mixture of San, Tonga, Rozwi and Tswana languages. In the east there is the Shangani nationality which originated from the Shangani Kingdom.

According to Maphenduka48 ‘the name of the state of Mthwakazi was derived from Queen Mu-Thwa, the first ruler of the Mthwakazi territory’ which existed as a ‘pseudo-dynasty’ from the 9th century up to around the early 18th century’. This pseudo-dynasty known as Mu-Thwa was later transformed into a hub of diverse cultures with the arrival of the Zulu people in the early 18th century and that essentially gave rise to a sovereign state of Mthwakazi that earned recognition from both European powers and regional states.

Furthermore, it was the mechanics of its social structure with its heritage from the great Zulu nation which earned it a collective identity and union of ‘uMbuthwaokazi’ the nation of Mthwakazi. It was King Mzilikazi, the great nation builder who coined this great collective union as the state of Mthwakazi from his recognition of its beauty, greatness, diversity, and character that resembled also a garden of beautiful flowers49 in these words ‘sazesabasihleisizwesakoMthwakazi, uMbuthwa-okazi!, undlelazimhlophe!, njengensimuyamaluba’.

However, this wonder and first of its kind social structure of Mthwakazi was attacked, conquered and annexed by British colonialists led by the British South Africa Company (BSAC) without any provocation whatsoever in 1893. It was annexed through the instrument of Queen Victoria of Britain, known as the Matabeleland Order-in-Council on 18 July 1894. This is the same instrument which according to Maphenduka50 was passed on to the ZANU-PF-pf regime by the British government in 1980.

49 Ibid p 1
50 Ibid (MTHWAKAZI LIBERATION FRONT (MLF) STANDS, FOR ECONOMIC, CULTURAL AND POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE OF MTHWAKAZI AND RESTORATION OF HER INDEPENDENCE THAT EXISTED PRIOR TO COLONISATION)
Robert Mugabe, like his predecessors, the British colonialists used this instrument, the Matabeleland Order-in-Council to annihilate the Mthwakazi nation through genocide, rape and ethnic cleansing. We state these facts because the Mthwakazi nation has suffered for far too long (more than 124 years) in total subjugation, humiliation and loss of the sense of dignity that only the restoration of its state can give the people of Mthwakazi hope again as a member of the human race on this earth. Failure to do so would be similar to South Koreans inviting the Japanese back after they instituted a severe form of genocide. As the MLF, representing all the people of Mthwakazi, we call on the entire world to do everything humanly possible to ensure that the annexation of the state of Mthwakazi is reversed and the restoration achieved without any further delay.

9. The Annexation of the Kingdom of Mthwakazi

It is worth underlining that Mthwakazi Kingdom was a systematic establishment with distinct structures of governance. Mashonaland on the other hand only had chiefdoms devoid of government structures whose inhabitants existed as wanderers’ dependent on bartering of various merchandise. Mthwakazi was a properly structured government with all the functions of a formal head of state with a central government overseeing the welfare of all its citizens. The status of the Kingdom of Mthwakazi came to an end when the British invaded the country, unprovoked, in 1893. Ironically, this was despite an assurance by Queen Victoria that no such aggression would ever take place.

No sooner had this assurance been given by Queen Victoria than that, the British colonialists led by the British South Africa Company (BSAP) under the stewardship of John Cecil Rhodes and Leader Starr Jameson assisted by Shona batmen attacked and annexed Mthwakazi. The precursor to this attack had already been set in train in the form of then Rudd Concession of 30 October 1888.

The Rudd Concession (signed by Charles Rudd, James Rothfort Maguire and Francis Tompson representing Cecil John Rhodes on the one hand and King Lobengula on the other hand representing the Kingdom of Mthwakazi) became of critical importance when these colonial leaders recognised that there were virtually no deposits of mineral wealth that they could plunder in Mashonaland. As a matter of fact, Mashonaland had absolutely nothing by way of mineral deposits.
It is doubtful that King Lobengula actually appended his signature to the Rudd Concession. What is beyond dispute is that the Rudd Concession of 1888 is nothing but a fraud, that has singularly been responsible for raping and looting the mineral wealth of Mthwakazi from 1888 to the present day, and this period of unrelenting fraudulent and corruptive looting amounts to a total of one hundred and twenty-nine (129) years. It is this ruthless plunder of Mthwakazi wealth by the British since 1888 and subsequently passed on to Robert Gabriel Mugabe’s ZANU-PF regime (the proxy of Britain) since 1980, which is perhaps the core reason and explanation why Britain does not want to entertain the question of the restoration of Mthwakazi.

There can be no question that Britain’s development and industrial revolution during the late 1800s was powered and sustained by this colonial looting of Mthwakazi wealth. It is important to note that the rights of the people of Mthwakazi remain reserved regarding their claim to damages and reparations regarding the looting of their wealth by Britain which amounts to trillions of British pounds.

In order to seal and legalise this annexation of the state of Mthwakazi, the British promulgated the Matabeleland Order in Council of 18 July 1894, a draconian annexation piece of legislation to justify/legalise the invasion and annexation of the country and to suppress and stifle any form of uprising or resistance from Mthwakazi. Mthwakazi was then amalgamated with Mashonaland to form what was known as Southern Rhodesia in 1923 in a whites only referendum whereby the British colonialists, afraid and in an attempt to thwart the advancement of the Boers from Transvaal, opted to bundle Mthwakazi with Mashonaland (present-day Zimbabwe) a British protectorate in order to enjoy the status quo already existent in Mashonaland, which included protection from Britain.

However, the unprovoked invasion and annexation was not a mere push over. Mthwakazi warriors perished whilst defending the sovereignty of Mthwakazi against superior weapons like maxims used by colonialists in cohorts with Shona batmen. More than twelve thousand (12,000) Mthwakazi warriors, women and children in 1893 perished at Gadade during this colonial invasion and conquest. The annihilation of these warriors together with the annexation of the state of Mthwakazi represented the first genocide that was committed by British colonialists against the people of Mthwakazi. The completeness of the annexation was celebrated by the
British colonialists as they advanced to Bulawayo (Mthwakazi capital), plundering, pillaging, raping, torturing and committing all sorts of human brutality, abuses disappearances and various other indescribable atrocities against the defeated people of Mthwakazi for their land and wealth.

It is worth underlining that when these warriors perished in defence of the Mthwakazi territory in 1893-94, there was nothing in their imagination, reality and historically that was called or known as Zimbabwe. The concept of Zimbabwe was a creation of Shona intellectuals in the mid-fifties to champion their hidden agenda which culminated into genocide again against the people of Mthwakazi. There can be no question therefore that the Shona people led by Robert Gabriel Mugabe were rewarded with power not only over Mashonaland, but also over Mthwakazi Kingdom, as a big thank you to the Shona batmen who assisted the British to annex the Mthwakazi Kingdom. It is thus unthinkable that such a huge number of warriors perished for nothing.

Rhodesia came to an end in 1980 after a protracted liberation war which again resulted in massive loss of lives and livelihoods. Mthwakazi illegally became part of Mashonaland (Zimbabwe) without a mandate from the people of Mthwakazi. This is known as Rule by Conquest as alluded to by author Jonathan Maphenduka in his book entitled 'Mthwakazi, Rule by Conquest ', published in 2015. This is a clear testimony of a grossly flawed decolonisation process.

When the colonised Africans took up arms of war to liberate themselves, the aim was to restore their sovereignty, gain their independence, freedoms, rights and restore their lost states to original owners but to Mthwakazi this never happened. The result of the colonial imposed unitary state remains the never ending antithesis of the struggle (war of liberation) that was intended to free the people of Mthwakazi. Instead this forced binding and marriage of two states has unquestionably resulted in genocide, state sanctioned rapes, arbitrary arrests, disappearances, imprisonment without trial, abductions, deprivation of rights, freedoms and dignity and institutionalised out right and systematic marginalisation of the people of Mthwakazi.

The people of this marvellous and historic land of Mthwakazi now exist on the fringes as third or fourth class citizens in their own land, as a direct consequence of the

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‘Rule by Conquest’ of the British which was passed on to the proxy of Britain, Robert Gabriel Mugabe’s ZANU-PF regime, which has continued to use the British annexation and repressive instrument – the Matabeleland order in Council of 18 July 1894. This instrument has never at any time been repealed; rather, it remains effective today as the single most powerful tool that empowered Mugabe’s regime to inflict genocide and ethnic cleansing on the people of Mthwakazi.

It is worth noting that the above the Matabeleland Order In Council of 18 July 1894 remains the single most critical tool of GENOCIDE as classified by Genocide Watch, because it meets every definition of genocide by any international or regional standards. It is as a result of this instrument that Mthwakazi people have been alienated in their own land for the past one hundred and twenty-four (124) years to date. This ordeal is set to continue unabatingly until Mthwakazi, like all other countries of the modern world, is granted her legitimate independence and status regionally and internationally. Mthwakazi is capable of independent existence, to choose her own destiny and friends, and enact laws that are consistent with its beliefs and aspirations.

Mthwakazi can no longer endure any more suffocation under annexation, repressive, brutal and genocidal policies of Zimbabwe. Mthwakazi is endowed with vast mineral deposits which can enable it to become an economic giant that could be on par with progressive countries of the world whereby civic and political rights are a virtue and a basic human right. As shown above, it is worth noting that the hundreds of thousands of Mthwakazi people that were callously butchered by Mugabe’s regime have still not received a proper human burial. Mugabe has said in his own words that the genocide inflicted on the people of Mthwakazi represented ‘a moment of madness’. Mugabe’s moment of madness took the form of exterminating whole villages in cold blood, with babies ripped out of their expectant mothers’ wombs in public and remains used as soccer ball, and with mothers forced to eat the flesh of their dead slaughtered infants.

10. The Legal and Historical Boundaries of Mthwakazi

(MTHWAKAZI LIBERATION FRONT (MLF) STANDS, FOR ECONOMIC, CULTURAL AND POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE OF MTHWAKAZI AND RESTORATION OF HER INDEPENDENCE THAT EXISTED PRIOR TO COLONISATION)
Matabeleland was known as the Kingdom of Mthwakazi – a sovereign state with diplomatic relations with many countries in the world. The kingdom had well known and clearly defined legal, territorial and historical boundaries with its neighbours (shown in the map below) which stretched from Beit bridge in the South to the Zambezi River with the British protectorate of Barotseland (present-day Zambia) in the North, and to the west it shared boundaries with the British protectorate of Bechuanaland (present-day Botswana).

To the east Mthwakazi Kingdom shared a boundary with Mashonaland which ran along Sanyathi and Umniati rivers agreed to and signed for between King Lobengula of Mthwakazi Kingdom with Starr Leander Jameson (known as the Jameson Line) in 1898 on behalf of Mashonaland British protectorate. To the south, the boundary between the Mthwakazi Kingdom and Transvaal was signed by way of a treaty between King Lobengula and ‘PeiterGrobbler on behalf of Paul Kruger’.

It is important to recognise that Zimbabwe continues to respect all but one of these boundaries that were signed between Mthwakazi and its neighbouring states of Barotseland (now Zambia), Bechuanaland (now Botswana) and Transvaal (now South Africa). The only boundary that it does not respect and wishes away is the Jameson Line which was signed for between Mthwakazi (Matabeleland) and Mashonaland (now Zimbabwe). All these four boundaries are clearly depicted in the map below as the legal and historic boundaries that separate Mthwakazi with its neighbours of Zimbabwe, Zambia, Botswana and South Africa.
It is important to emphasise that there is virtually no reason and/or justification as to why Zimbabwe will honour, recognise and respect the three boundaries that were signed for by the Mthwakazi Kings between the countries of Zambia, Botswana and South Africa, but refuse to recognise and respect the Jameson Line that separates Mthwakazi and Zimbabwe (see map above) agreed to and ratified by King Lobengula of the Mthwakazi Kingdom and Leader Starr Jameson of the British South Africa Company (BSAC) representing the territory of Mashonaland.

Mashonaland had been a British Protectorate since 1890 after the BSAC company had invaded that country without any resistance whatsoever from the Shona people. Between 1890 and 1893 the British Protectorate of Mashonaland had existed as a neighbour of the sovereign state of Mthwakazi separated by the Jameson Border Line (as shown in the map above). Maphenduka has observed that, ‘the Jameson Line Agreement’ signed between Leander Starr Jameson and King Lobengula remains valid to this day under international law.

It was and still is Queen Victoria’s Matabeleland Order-in-Council of 1894 that stands in the way of the Restoration of Mthwakazi as a sovereign state. According to Maphenduka, the unitary state which brought together the territories of Mthwakazi and Mashonaland was imposed on the people of Mthwakazi without their consent in 1923, and therefore the 1979 Lancaster House constitution that resulted in the birth of present-day Zimbabwe is as illegal as it was then until this very day.
From the foregoing, it is further critical to emphasise that at no time did the people of Mashonaland ever been participants in the drawing and or carving up of any border, including the Jameson Border Agreement that separated the state of Mthwakazi with the BSAC Protectorate of Mashonaland. Rather it was King Lobengula representing the state of Mthwakazi and Leander Starr Jameson representing the BSAC Protectorate of Mashonaland who agreed on the border separating the two territories. At that time the Shona people had neither the power nor King to represent their interests, but only the invading forces of the BSAC who installed the Union Jack flag on their country without any resistance whatsoever from the Shona people.

While Mthwakazi Kingdom was a systematic establishment with distinct structures of governance, Mashonaland on other hand only had chiefdoms devoid of government structures and inhabitants therein existed as wanderers’ dependent on bartering of various merchandise. Mthwakazi was a properly structured government with all the functions of a formal state with a central government overseeing the welfare of all its citizens. The status of Mthwakazi Kingdom came to an end when the British invaded the country, unprovoked, in 1893-4.

For a further perspective, it important to draw lessons from Maphenduka’s account of the historical facts as they stand undiluted. Thus Maphenduka observes that,

‘the people of Mthwakazi did not engage in war with or against the people of Mashonaland or Zimbabwe for them to be ruled as conquered vassals of the government of Zimbabwe. The reality of their defeat by the invading British forces is a historical fact, but the Rule by Conquest by Zimbabwe was contrived for Zimbabwe to extend the British conquest without the people of Mthwakazi ever being conquered by Zimbabwe’."^51

It is the contention of Mthwakazi Liberation Front (MLF) therefore that the consolidation of a unitary state should be decided at a referendum as conducted by the United Nations, otherwise Mthwakazi should without delay be granted its sovereignty with its pre-colonial borders intact. Furthermore, it is the contention of the MLF that the 1979 constitution continues to remain a British proxy granted to Zimbabwe to perpetuate the Rule by Conquest of Mthwakazi. This was done to punish the people of Mthwakazi for having resisted the invading forces. The Mthwakazi case is unique because no other territory in Southern Africa was
subjected to such crushing and bloody defeat by invading powers on a rampage to carve up territories for themselves at any cost to the native peoples.\textsuperscript{52}

The MLF is aware of the international statutes on discrimination of peoples according to their languages but the Mthwakazi nationals have been subjected to such inhuman conditions for a total of one hundred and twenty-four (124) years, of which 87 years were under British colonial rule and thirty-seven (37) years under the Shona colonialists of Robert Mugabe’s ZANU-PF regime. This is a historical moment for the people of Mthwakazi as the indigenous citizens to present this case before the world community, depicting our tragic and sorrowful story and the envisaged mechanisms we intend employing in order to liberate ourselves as a nation.

For [37] thirty-seven years, the people of Mthwakazi nation in present-day Zimbabwe, have resisted extinction, endured genocide, suffered economic marginalisation and absorbed immeasurable insult and injury from the genocidal regime of Zimbabwe. Mthwakazi Nation has lost hundreds of thousands of its people through the infliction of genocide, massacres, rapes, disappearances, various formats of brutality and torture and ethnic cleansing commonly referred to as the Gukurahundi Genocide (GG).

It is important to underline that at the time of the infliction of genocide through rape, no single woman or girl of whatever age escaped being raped by the invading and marauding Gugurahundi forces of Robert Gabriel Mugabe’s Zanu-pf regime. Since that time until this very day, millions have scattered to exile in neighbouring countries and elsewhere throughout the world, while many thousands are languishing in inhuman prisons and hundreds of thousands more continue to silently suffer punishment and torture from a regime that has trampled on human rights and justice with alarming impunity and arrogance.

11. The Quest for Justice for the people of Mthwakazi

In spite of the foregoing, there have been continued efforts by the Zimbabwe and British governments to keep such atrocities under the carpet. So many efforts have been made by various groups of Mthwakazi to seek justice but to no avail. Such

\textsuperscript{52}Maphenduka, J. (2015, p.iii)}

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reluctance to deliver justice for crimes of this magnitude clearly shows a great deal of conspiracy with those who yield power regionally and globally. So much so that recently Ms Carol Porter from the British foreign office in the United Kingdom stated categorically that they would not reply to any further mails or requests from the MLF Secretary for International Relations and that for all intent and purposes, the matter was closed.

This has been the situation throughout the MLF’s attempts to seek justice. It is clear why the British are taking this stand. At the height of genocide and all inhumane activities, the British army was in the country under the pretext that they were training and integrating the previously warring sides into one Zimbabwe national army. However, during this period Mugabe also had a battalion of instructors from North Korea who were training the Fifth Brigade (Gukurahundi) for the one and only purpose of annihilating the population of Mthwakazi. It is virtually inconceivable that the British Government was not aware of the killing fields during this period given that sections of its army were training the new Zimbabwe Army in terms of the Lancaster House Settlement.

Of late, Ms Hazel Cameroon, from St Andrews University in Scotland has made public damning findings related to this issue. It is clear from her impeccable findings that it was not only the British who intended to keep the genocide and ethnic cleansing closed, but others as well. To-date there has been a total black out on the Mthwakazi question. The MLF Secretary for International Relations has written to the International Court of Justice (ICJ) regarding this very subject on many occasions. One letter was hand delivered on 16 September 2016. Yet to date there has been no acknowledgement from the ICJ.

Furthermore, the MLF Secretary for International Relations wrote to the registrar of the court on three occasions with the same result. He also wrote to the new Secretary General of the United Nations, Antonio Gutteres expressing his dismay at such wilful blindness. Also there was no acknowledgement. This has been the pattern for years as though the international court is for the big guys only.

Hazel Cameroon has compiled a case which must lead to prosecution and certainly not before time so that the people of Mthwakazi, as citizens of the world too, also get
justice. We in the Mthwakazi Liberation Front want to again raise the issue of our sovereignty, not only to restore/our country to its original status, but to divorce from the man-made chaos called Zimbabwe under which we have never known peace and we are systematically excluded even from any benefit accrued by the binary arrangement whose bulk is drawn from Mthwakazi.

12. The Quest for the Restoration of Mthwakazi

Emerging from the chilling experience of genocide (1982-1988) and despicable ethnic cleansing (1980- to date) in present-day Zimbabwe (former British’s colony of Rhodesia), perpetrated by Robert Gabriel Mugabe’s ZANU-PF regime, the Ndebele people of Matabeleland (MTHWAKAZI) resolve:

➢ to establish a legal finding against Robert Gabriel Mugabe, his government and the Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) under the International Criminal Tribunal for “crimes against humanity”, and bring these perpetrators of genocide to justice, so that the world and our people can understand that such despicable barbarities will not, ought not, to be tolerated ever again since the world experienced the Holocaust, the Cambodia, Bosnia and Rwanda genocides last century;

➢ to campaign for self-determination by EXITING the IMPOSED UNITARY STATE of present-day Zimbabwe to recreate the Kingdom of Mthwakazi which was annexed in an UNPROVOKED ATTACK by British Colonialists in 1893, in order to found a new state (under the United Nations decolonisation programmes and international law), using any method available to ensure the basic survival and freedom of the Ndebele peoples from the hegemony of Robert Mugabe’s ZANU-PF regime and its genocide and ethnic cleansing policies in Matabeleland (Mthwakazi); and

➢ to revive our Mthwakazi Kingdom, identity and culture by: (i) appraising the importance of our languages (Kalanga, Lozwi, Ndebele, Nguni, Nanzwa, Sotho, Tonga, Venda, Xosa and Zulu) in the development of present and future generations; (ii) restoring the role of traditional chiefs in rural areas; and (iii) upgrading the institutions of the new governance system to be as democratic and open and provide enforceable protection against the rights of individuals and minorities.
These three objectives will be achieved by:

➢ explaining to all members of the regional and international communities the enormity of the 1982-88 genocide and relating this event to other genocides committed last century, and to the Robert Gabriel Mugabe’s regime’s close association with North Korea (a rogue state) and other countries on the fringe of acceptable behaviour;

➢ sustaining a campaign that will as part of a permanent solution, seek legal redress on Robert Gabriel Mugabe’s ZANU-PF regime and its officers for “crimes against humanity”; and

➢ demanding financial compensation for the ghastly and abominable crimes committed by Robert Gabriel Mugabe’s ZANU-PF regime on the indigenous citizens of Matabeleland (Mthwakazi) such as orphans, widows and widowers.

The objective of seeking to bring the transgressors of the ghastly genocide to justice, can be achieved under the terms of the Genocide Convention of 1948, through a vigorous and sustained campaign for the establishment of an International Criminal Tribunal for Zimbabwe to try those responsible for the outrageous crimes against humanity on the Ndebele people of Matabeleland (Mthwakazi), as was the case after the Holocaust, Bosnia Herzegovina and Rwanda genocides.

The objective of preventing genocide being ever inflicted again on the Ndebele people of Matabeleland (Mthwakazi) in present-day Zimbabwe, and the preservation of their identity and indigenous languages, can be achieved by a sustained international campaign to establish a political system based on the rule of law, justice and humanity, along the lines of countries such as the United States of America, Germany, France, United Kingdom, Japan, Australia, Canada, and of course, South Africa and Botswana, our neighbours.

We in the MLF also hope to engage with people who will understand the gravity of our plight and hopefully assist before our nation is completely wiped out from the face of the earth. This is an issue which is long overdue and needs to be rectified urgently. In so doing, restoring faith in the global legal system and paving a future for generations to come.
13. Special appeal

Unlike countries of Western Europe where nation states emerged as a result of the combination of the widespread feelings of belonging, the sharing of similar historical and cultural symbols as well as similar belief systems and common identities resulting in the formation of nation states, in Africa the situation has been completely different. In the case of Mthwakazi, its territory was not only annexed in an unprovoked attack, but was subsequently forcibly incorporated into a unitary state comprising Zimbabwe without consent from its subjects and without any due regard to ethnic/national, community, cultural, language and political identities and clear territorial demarcations.

We in the MLF believe that it is about time that the entire African continent need to reject any form of human rights abuses, genocide and ethnic cleansing in any part of this continent. We believe that it is also about time that real democracies within Africa, however small, must take the lead in championing the cause for the respect of human rights throughout the continent. It is also about time, we believe that, neighbouring states of Mthwakazi, especially Botswana and South Africa understood the nature of power that they have and which they can exert against such regimes as Zimbabwe solely in pursuit of their own national interests. The historical territorial and economic ties, including the common languages spoken between Mthwakazi's neighbours, Botswana and South Africa, including the common culture and religion ought to combine to establish the structure of resistance against the genocide regime of Robert Gabriel Mugabe.

Furthermore, both Botswana and South Africa and for that matter, the rest of the world, need to understand that the self-conscious national identity and cultural integration of the people of Mthwakazi is historically and contemporarily located within the confines on the Mthwakazi Kingdom, and will therefore not find any expression in an imposed unitary state system of Zimbabwe under any kind of circumstances, whether through genocide, ethnic cleansing or any other kind of brutality. This for the simple reason, that the people of Mthwakazi not only belong together by virtue of a common identity, common history, common traditions, common race and religious beliefs and common customs, but fundamentally also through a common destiny.
This is precisely why in spite of the horrors of genocide and ethnic cleansing bequeathed to and sustained by proxy Zimbabwe from the British colonialists, the Mthwakazi nation continues to exist without a state. So much brutality which dates back from the unprovoked attack and annexation of Mthwakazi country, and subsequently sustained even under Zimbabwe has still not changed how the people of Mthwakazi feel about themselves and their destiny of being liberated from the chains of domination and underdevelopment pursued by Zimbabwe.

Indeed, the people of Mthwakazi owe Zimbabwe nothing, after all, Zimbabwe has not made any progress (neither will it today or in the future) regarding any advances in anything developmental, whether in ideas and sentiments of liberty, equality, fraternity, rights of representation and participation in public affairs, or indeed developments in industrialisation, transportation, communication, trade commerce, health, education, social care, the distribution of wealth and so on, as it has been a self-destructive concept and project from inception. The people of Mthwakazi have befitted nothing as there have been no advances in any shape or form regarding basically anything developmentally in Zimbabwe. Put crudely and perhaps appropriately, the people of Mthwakazi are continually being suffocated by Mugabe’s Zimbabwe’s imperialism economically, politically, militarily, communicational and culturally.

The above represents the unintended consequences of the silence of Mthwakazi’s powerful neighbours, Botswana and South Africa, which are in grave danger of internal destabilisation from their own citizens for as long as they continue to pretend to be blind to the annihilation processes being carried out against the people of Mthwakazi in present-day Zimbabwe. For as long as both these countries continue to turn a blind eye to the tragedy of Mthwakazi, soon their own citizens will take the law into their own hands (in ways not seen before) by forcefully expelling all the people of Mthwakazi from their countries. There are millions of Mthwakazi people who fled Mugabe’s genocidal policies and sought refuge in Botswana and South Africa. The reality is that each and every one of these people from Mthwakazi has to compete on a daily basis every year for scarce jobs, access to health and educational facilities and housing in both these countries, and as such end up disadvantaging the citizens of these countries.

It is high time that both Botswana and South Africa assisted the people of Mthwakazi liberate themselves so that they can live in their own country and develop it for the

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benefit of their generations to come. Such assistance would put paid to the biased development strategies in favour of the Mugabe’s political community in power which has exacerbated the plight of the people of Mthwakazi in ways not experienced in any independent state throughout the entire world. The people of Mthwakazi know clearly well that both Botswana and South Africa which are currently hosting millions of the people Mthwakazi are acutely aware of the breadth and intensity of marginalisation experienced by the people of Mthwakazi in present-day Zimbabwe.

Both Botswana and South Africa know very well that the people of Mthwakazi have been systematically excluded from a proportionate share of political and economic resources. It should be added that the whole of Mthwakazi is being utilised by the imperialist ZANU-PF regime of Robert Gabriel Mugabe as a country that provides raw materials, markets, obedience, discipline, traditional hardware, events, passengers, goods, learning, validation and dependence for Zimbabwe. This imperial system operates at the expense of the people of Mthwakazi. Surely the entire world must awaken and understand that this imperial relationship coupled with the infliction of genocide and ethnic cleansing cannot be permanently sustained, and that sooner or later the people of Mthwakazi will liberate themselves with whatever means necessary.

At the heart of this problem, which both Botswana and South Africa should take note of is that of European labelling considerations regarding definitions of nations in so far as such definitions apply to Africans. The assumptions of these definitions are that Africans are not different from one another. They are supposed to be a monolithic entity without differing characteristics. Whereas in Europe it is normal to identify Europeans (white people) as the English, Welsh, Scots, French, Spanish, Portuguese, German, Polish, Russian and so forth, in Africa the people of Mthwakazi are not supposed be different from those of Zimbabwe, an absurdity of unimaginable pain which has aided dictators to inflict genocide and ethnic cleansing on these people with madness impunity.

As the MLF, we would appreciate an understanding from the entire world, but more especially from Botswana and South Africa that we are just like citizens of both these countries very different from the people of Zimbabwe. More importantly we would appreciate if both these countries could recognise that we have always shared...
territorial boundaries with them long before colonial penetration and annexation of our country, and that we continue sharing the same borders even as a vanquished and subjugated people ruled by conquest by the ZANU-PF regime of Robert Gabriel Mugabe. We further underline that the people of Mthwakazi, just like the English or German in Europe, are a different nation in terms of the following characteristics: that

- they comprise a strong widespread feeling of identity and solidarity within a political community which equally embodies a sense of wellbeing,
- they are characterised by widespread positive and negative perception of other political communities, and that
- Mthwakazi as a country lacks indisputable legitimacy because it was annexed and forcibly incorporated with another nation and ruled by conquest for more than 124 years.

It is important to note that the Rule by Conquest over the people of Mthwakazi has resulted in the state security apparatus of Zimbabwe being vigorously utilised in the political and economic development agenda as a way of forced state building exercises against marginalised communities of Mthwakazi. Arising from the Rule by Conquest of the Mthwakazi Kingdom which was annexed in an unprovoked attack by Britain and bequeathed its proxy Zimbabwe are questions of security and prosperity, order and justice, war and peace, and ultimately life and death which must be addressed by the people of Mthwakazi without fear of favour. We in the MLF intend to continually focus on these complex problems with the goal of achieving liberation and change against all odds. Mthwakazi will be liberated

**14 MEXIT for Mthwakazi**

As the MLF, we are aware that any challenge to colonial boundaries at this time usually means either extending these boundaries by encroaching on neighbouring countries or bifurcating the existing unitary state into more than one new state. The pursuit of some form of a political structure that changes the form and structure of an existing unitary
state is fraught with difficulties. In most instances, the groups that challenge the ruling regime usually arrive at such a juncture after genocide had been committed and demonstrable ethnic cleansing policies pursued by the ruling regime (such as those of Mugabe's ZANU-PF) are seen and perceived to be inimical to the survival life chances of marginalised groups\textsuperscript{53} in areas such as language preservation, education, access to employment and contracts, distribution of land, and the like.

The pressure to re-arrange the unitary state invariably has been met with strong arm tactics from the former colonial powers, regional and the international community with vested interests. It is also met with plain rigid political thuggery, from within the ruling regime of the country concerned that normally characterises long-serving dictatorships, aided by a compliant army and party which is dependent on political patronage. However, for the people of Mthwakazi in present-day Zimbabwe, the thirty-seven (37) years have been anything but daily contact with various forms of genocide, ethnic cleansing and internal colonialism from ZANU-PF (in a way very similar in form to British colonialism).

Given the international crime of genocide and ethnic cleansing against the people of Mthwakazi perpetrated by Robert Gabriel Mugabe's ZANU-PF regime, the people of Mthwakazi must, out of necessity to survive address the following questions:

- Would the victims and survivors of the genocide and the continuing ethnic cleansing by Robert Gabriel Mugabe's ZANU-PF regime be better served by partitioning Zimbabwe into the pre-colonial separate states?
- Would the partitioning of Zimbabwe address the endemic corruption, and the relentless impoverishment of the peoples of Mthwakazi?
- Why is it that a unitary system of government that the Treaty of Versailles (1884) imposed on Africa and subsequently bequeathed to us by our founders has from inception become unpalatable?
- Does democracy (defined to be individual choice, individual responsibility and rights of individuals) within a unitary state ensure non-marginalisation of ethnic groups?

\textsuperscript{53} We use the term "marginalised groups" interchangeably with Matebelaland and Midlands.

\textsuperscript{MLF stands, for economic, cultural and political independence of Mthwakazi and restoration of her independence that existed prior to colonisation}
The mechanisms of secession and restoration provide serious alternative governance structures under which genocide and ethnic cleansing would not occur, and these mechanisms which must be addressed despite the protestations of Mugabe’s ZANU-PF (the internal colonial power), because they guarantee the survival of the people of Mthwakazi. Moreover, every people have the right to overthrow psychotic oppressors by any means possible. This is a basic fundamental human right that is clearly covered under international law.

In fact, the same impetus that led to the fall of British colonialism can be projected to serve as a basis to fight Zimbabwean colonialism over the people of Mthwakazi. For the peoples of Mthwakazi to do otherwise, would be equivalent to being led to the final slaughterhouse (final solution as in the case of the Holocaust) as evidenced during the 1982 to 1988 period when ZANU-PF in conjunction with North Korea (a promoter of nuclear proliferation and despicable human rights abuses) committed the abominable genocide in the whole of Mthwakazi.

In terms of issues facing the peoples of Mthwakazi regions, Mugabe’s regime has been very flexible in accommodating both internal and external pressures. While Zimbabwe has continued to hold elections, ZANU-PF has re-written the Constitution, to ensure that it is the only party to qualify for a subsidy from the Treasury since 1980. Given the 1979 ZANU-PF document and the level of highly intimidatory and questionable (corrupt) practices on election rolls, the fact that it has always won is a serious non-event. After all, the level of intimidation by party thugs, the use of donated food aid as a political weapon, physical assaults on independent candidates, and the legal hurdles experienced by those interested in the formation of new parties ensures that multiparty democracy remains a convenient slogan for the ZANU-PF regime, and never an objective to be realised.

In Zimbabwe, democracy is simply “single-party-participatory democracy” whatever that means! Under this perverse view of democracy, only members of ZANU-PF, acting in
accordance with strictly pre-determined guidelines issued by the Politburo can enjoy some form of "democracy". This distorted view of democracy does not allow for dissent without severe and in most cases fatal consequences. Thus, the concept is akin to that of ZANU-PF rights (closely related to authoritarian rights under Mugabeism) and yet so far from widely understood and clearly much more appealing view of democracy - individual choice, individual responsibility and rights embedded in the individual.

Furthermore, in Zimbabwe, the difference between ZANU-PF party rights and individual rights is that other national and ethnic groups have no clear and unimpeded guaranteed avenues for redress against ZANU-PF tyranny and genocide. For example, the North Korean-trained Fifth Brigade, including the entire ZANU-PF apparatchiks which perpetrated genocide in Mthwakazi received immunity against prosecution.

Most prominent ZANU-PF officials and members subsequently won promotion for "thorough work" in Mthwakazi. Colonel Perence Shiri, the Fifth Brigade Commander now serves as Air vice Marshall of Zimbabwe. Most of the members of the cabinet who took the decision to commit genocide in Mthwakazi are still part of the cabinet of the regime, including Robert Gabriel Mugabe himself. Emmerson Mnangagwa having been promoted to the position of Vice President appears the likely person to succeed Robert Gabriel Mugabe at any time in the near future.

The MLF is also aware that in many African countries, perpetrators of genocide can still be chosen by their fellow despots to be Chairman of the then Organisation of Africa Unity (OAU), now African Union (AU). It should be remembered only too well how Idi Amin, Jean-BedelBokassa, Arab Moi, Robert Gabriel Mugabe, Gaddafi and others were all elected to this post. The fact that the AU Charter has a clause prohibiting a member state from interfering in the internal affairs of another served Robert Gabriel Mugabe and his ZANU-PF regime well because they committed genocide, and various other atrocities and ethnic cleansing on the people of Mthwakazi with the full knowledge that other despots and dictators would never raise an objection. This says a
lot about how far we have to strive to prevent those who have committed crimes against humanity from achieving the status of leading such a continental organisation as the AU.

The survivors of the ZANU-PF genocide and ethnic cleansing have no legal recourse in Zimbabwe for restitution claims for the loved ones butchered for no other reason other than belonging to the Ndebele, Lozwi, Kalanga, Sotho, Venda and Tonga language groupings. If the standards that were applied in the case of Bosnia and Rwanda were to be applied to the case of Mthwakazi, most of the members of the ZANU-PF regime would definitely be tried for crimes against humanity. The fact that a few of these perpetrators now claim that they did not know strikes us as an act of double cruelty. They knew, they remained silent to this genocide, and used the government-controlled media to portray innocent victims of the Fifth Brigade as "dissidents" despite evidence to the contrary.

What Africans of goodwill and other peace-loving peoples of the world must inculcate is to bring all mass murderers to the international court of justice where they can stand trial as happened after the Holocaust, Bosnian and Rwandan genocides. The world community must also tie its foreign investment, aid and funding to NGOs to the prevention of genocide by governments. The slaughter of citizens by one ethnic or national group should be prevented at all cost and under any contrived or stated reason.

In any imposed unitary state system prevalent in most of Africa, the people of Mthwakazi envisage a constitutional structure that allows for the exit option and yet provide fundamental security in the areas of great destruction such as those that were perpetrated by the ZANU-PF regime of Robert Gabriel Mugabe against the people of Mthwakazi since 1980. The areas of concern include education, culture, and socio-economic development, the control of natural resources, broadcasting, security and bringing the violators of gross human rights to justice.
To the extent that an imposed unitary state system such as the one in Zimbabwe provides even-handedness in issues of language preservation, access to jobs, education (including scholarships), the preservation of all cultures (not only Shona as in present-day Zimbabwe), balanced expenditures across regions, and the prevention of ethnic cleansing practices (such as importation of Shona people into Mthwakazi to be given land over and above the local people), the exit option could remain forever that, an option. However, because this scenario is highly unlikely not only in the imposed unitary state system of Zimbabwe, but elsewhere within the African continent, the people of Mthwakazi have no other option but to pursue the restoration agenda for their country Mthwakazi.

It does not take any hard statistics to tell the following story. At independence, Bulawayo and Gwelo were thriving industrial centres. In fact, Bulawayo was more industrialised than Harare. There was open competition for students for in secondary schools. Ndebele teachers taught Ndebele to students in Mthwakazi. Likewise, Shona teachers taught Shona in in their country Mashonaland and Manicaland. Today, however, given the excesses of Mugabe's ethnic cleansing policy all the Ndebele teachers have been replaced by Shona teachers in all the schools in Mthwakazi. Hundreds of thousands of these Shona teachers are members of the CIO. They represent a systematic denial of education to the Ndebele population of Mthwakazi by siege of their educational schools and institutions. As if to exacerbate this siege, the Ndebele people of Mthwakazi are also continuously being exposed to Mugabe's picture which hangs everywhere: in classrooms, bill boards, toilets, restaurants, post offices, work places, banks and virtually in every sphere of their daily lives.

Following independence, ZANU-PF has continuously pursued de-industrialisation policies for Gwelo, Wanke and Bulawayo in order to promote Harare and Mutare, etc. The strategy has been to place people from Mashonaland and Manicaland in place of
those from Mthwakazi in government jobs in the regions, as heads of companies (where ZANU-PF using government funds has bought controlling interests). The net result has been a deliberate change in the composition of the population of Mthwakazi in order to ensure majority votes for their candidates in the near future. Those who survived the 1982-88 Genocide have now been forced to migrate to across many countries in the world, including South Africa (ZANU-PF's object) and thus create a vacuum that can be filled by a deliberate policy to import people from Mashonaland and Midlands as landholders under the Farm Confiscation Programme of the ZANU-PF regime.

It is pivotal that the Ndebele people of Mthwakazi penetrate the top government employment market both within and outside Mthwakazi. Other than the direct beneficiaries of the "Unity Accord" [understood to be the complete capitulation by the former ZAPU executive leadership in return for privileges and positions], any top person from these marginalised regions is usually seconded by a person from Manicaland and Mashonaland. But the reverse is not true! Thus, it is not surprising that Zimbabwe's Embassies are completely staffed by Shona personnel as if Zimbabwe is entirely Shona-speaking. We state this not because it is new or out of the ordinary, but because it has gone on for so long to present a clear basis for the restoration of our country Mthwakazi. No more will people from these marginalised regions be treated as third class citizens in an imposed colonial unitary system of government that has clearly become unpalatable.

Furthermore, we have no other attractive governance mechanism other than the restoration of our country Mthwakazi as our people must have absolute control over education, culture and broadcasting, economic development and the whole issue of local government revenue-sharing with the central government. In addition, there has to be clear, legally-binding rights to redo-revenue demands by the central government and any public expenditure reductions by the central government of Mthwakazi.
Thus, in seeking a permanent solution to the plight of the Ndebele people we propose that Mthwakazi secedes from the imposed colonial unitary state system of Zimbabwe (formerly Rhodesia) and revert back to the historic boundaries of the kingdom of Mthwakazi. Our first preference demand and determination to secede from the imposed colonial unitary system of Zimbabwe is not conditional upon Mugabe’s ZANU-PF regime of Zimbabwe, and it has to be guaranteed by the UN and other members of the Security Council.

Our demand for the restoration of Mthwakazi from imposed colonial boundaries of Zimbabwe is non-negotiable. This demand is also contingent upon the implementation of the Bosnia-Herzegovina and Rwanda principles regarding the establishment of an International Court (the Zimbabwe Criminal Tribunal) that would bring the transgressors of the ghastly genocide and ethnic cleansing (Robert Gabriel Mugabe and his cronies) to justice.

The fundamental objective of the restoration agenda would be to write the a constitutional document for Mthwakazi with the broadest possible input from traditional leaders (chiefs, headman and sub-headman, political leaders nominated by villagers and constituencies, pressure groups, women’s’ groups, academics, lawyers, industrialists, trade unionists, representatives of victims of genocide and ethnic cleansing, groups of international and regional experts, major powers, NGOs and various other interested parties). Such a process is absolutely critical so as to craft a constitutional document, which reflects the fears and aspirations of the people of Mthwakazi.

It is important to emphasise that if BREXIT is good for the people of Britain, then MEXIT must equally be good for the people of Mthwakazi. We can no longer allow the British to regard and treat us as barbarians, savages or uncivilised stupid people who have no needs, desires and aspirations. The people of Mthwakazi desire the same as the British. It is Britain who put the people of Mthwakazi in this hell hole by annexing our country in an unprovoked attack. We therefore appeal to the entire international community to hold Britain
accountable and responsible for this mess, including the looting of the mineral resources of Mthwakazi since 1885 to date with impunity for which we demand reparations.

15. Conclusion

Robert Gabriel Mugabe’s crimes against the people of Mthwakazi have a long history of notoriety and they need to be revisited and told again and again until such time that they are taken seriously by the world community. The world community needs to understand that when Robert Gabriel Mugabe’s regime was killing the people of Mthwakazi it did so simply because they belonged to a different ethnic group than his own. Furthermore, it is important for the international community to recognise that the deliberate infliction of conditions of life that were intended to cause serious bodily harm, mental harm and the physical destruction in whole or part of the people of Mthwakazi by Robert Gabriel Mugabe’s regime, including the imposition of measures to prevent births within these people constituted a crime of genocide for which he ought to be held liable and accountable together with his generals and policy makers.

16. Recommendations/ Way forward

The following are recommended as a way forward:

➢ International assistance is required to mobilise funding for the specific purposes of prosecuting Robert Gabriel Mugabe and all his cronies or associates for the crimes against humanity committed against the people (black and white) of Mthwakazi from 1980 to date;
➢ International assistance is required for the conducting of an international investigation involving teams of biological anthropologists and other experts in uncovering the full extent of crimes committed by Mugabe’s regime against the people of Mthwakazi;
➢ International assistance is required regarding the best possible EXIT MECHANISMS for Mthwakazi from the imposed unitary state system comprising present-day Zimbabwe; including assistance with the determination and observance of borders, and the division of assets and liabilities with Zimbabwe;
➢ International assistance is required regarding the provision of any means possible for the people of Mthwakazi to free themselves in the event that that peaceful mechanisms are not considered;

➢ International assistance is required regarding the establishment of Mthwakazi's own competent army, police and intelligence services based on the rule of law, which will not threaten any other state but which will be called upon to defend the security of its people at all cost whenever threatened in an independent Mthwakazi, and which will not tolerate any potential insecurity posed by its neighbours, especially Zimbabwe;

➢ International assistance is required for the provision of education to the people of Mthwakazi from tertiary to university level, including skills training in a range of work-related environments;

➢ International assistance is required in respect to the RECOGNITION AND PROTECTION of the people of Mthwakazi (black and white) as political refugees wherever they are including inside Mthwakazi; and last but least;

➢ International assistance in respect of procuring international legal minds to assist the people of Mthwakazi for the entire duration of the restoration of their country Mthwakazi and beyond.

17. References


The Catholic Commission For Justice And Peace In Zimbabwe and The Legal Resources Foundation, Harare.


