

MIDLANDS STATE UNIVERSITY



FACULTY OF ARTS DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

**“AN INVESTIGATION OF THE ROLE PLAYED BY THE
YOUTH AND THEIR INVOLVEMENT IN POLITICS FROM
1980 TO 2016”. CASE STUDY MBARE**

BY

TENDAI SHAMUYARIRA

R134763B

SUPERVISED BY

DR MASHINGAIDZE

**A RESEARCH PROJECT SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY IN
PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE BACHELOR OF
ARTS HONOURS DEGREE IN HISTORY**

DECLARATION

1. Tendai Shamuyarira, declare that this research project is a result of my work. It is submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the Honours Degree in History in the Faculty of Arts at Midlands State University.

Signature

.....

Date

.....

APPROVAL FORM

The undersigned certified that they have read and recommended to the Midlands State University

for acceptance as a dissertation entitled:

**“AN INVESTIGATION OF THE ROLE PLAYED BY THE
YOUTH AND THEIR INVOLVEMENT IN POLITICS FROM
1980 TO 2016.” CASE STUDY OF MBARE**

Student.....

Date.....

Supervisor.....

Date.....

Chairperson.....

Date.....

External Examiner.....

Date.....

RELEASE FORM

Name of Student Tendai Shamuyarira

Registration Number R134763b

Degree Title B.A Honours in History

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Signed.....

Date.....

Contact Details:

Tel: 0776 789 597 / 0718 976 308

DEDICATION

To my parents Mr and Mrs Shamuyarira, Uncles, Brothers, Sisters and Friends.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to the Creator, my Lord for guiding me and protecting me throughout my studies. I would like to thank my friends Tafadzwa Chirara, Believe Manheru and Tawonga Daliken for their moral support throughout my course .Specials thanks goes to my parents for their financial support and love . I also would like to express gratitude to all my lecturers from the Faculty of Arts and Department of History .Lastly my special thanks goes to my Supervisor Dr Mashingaidze for the support and guidance throughout my research .

ABSTRACT

This study investigates the role played by the youth and their involvement in politics from 1980 to 2016, basing on Mbare. The will look from the transition of Chibwidos and Mujibhasi from the war and their integration into the society and the army. The formation of the 5th Brigade and its deployment in Matabeleland and its practices on the local people which led to more than 20 000 deaths including women and children, due to hunger, torture and abductions. The failure of the government to act and rescue the people as it was part of the strategy which was to prolong its stay in power. The research also looks at the role played by the youths in land invasions of 2000 and the damage it brought to the communities and the country at large. Also brings to light the emergence of a new generation youths leaders who became active in politics and violence that occurred in Mbare. This study also looks at the formation of the youth brigades in 2000 by late Border Gezi and the role it played in ensuring that ZANU (PF) stayed in power. Furthermore the research looks at Chipangano and its extractives practises in Mbare, which led do devastation of properties, loss of human lives, torture and abductions. All this crimes are against humanity from 1980 to 2016 how they have gone unpunished, because they are done in the name of ZANU (PF). Interviews, books and internet sources have been extensively used by the researcher in gathering information. Personal observation has also allowed the researcher to compile the facts and finding of the study in a chronological manner.

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LIST OF ACCRONYMS

ZANU PF..... Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front

MDC..... Movement For Democratic Change

ZAPU..... Zimbabwe African People's Union

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

Introduction

Zimbabwean History has been written in the service of the governing ZANU-PF government, thereby distorting the legitimate grievances of the youth. This has led to the creation of patriotic history by the media. According to Ndlovu-Gatsheni the concepts patriotic history and patriotic journalism have characterized the dissemination of information and production of knowledge and have made sustained attempts to proclaim the continuity of Zimbabwe revolutionary tradition in ways that give credence and monopoly of nationalism to ZANU- PF .¹Patriotic history and patriotic journalism target the young generation, with a banal presence on state radio and television ,in the state press, schools and colleges and in youth militia training camps.² The youth of any country or nation represents continuity and the future because they are highly aspiring. A youth falls under category of a good citizen so a lot is expected out of him like any other human being. Youths be it of any country should be able to respect the authority, obey laws ,believes in doing what is right, up holding rights of his or her country fellowman also contributes to the society and the community, the by making his or her country worth to live in .In 1980 when the country attained independence the 2nd Chimurenga war had been fought by the youth who were associated with ZANU-PF and ZAPU in hope of getting employment and other benefits associated with liberation victory .It is against this background that Zimbabwean politics for the past decades has been characterized by wide spread of politically orchestrated violence especially during election times, land seizures and the inception and course of Chipangano. According to Toque mude demographically the youth constitute the majority of the population in Zimbabwe³, yet a lot them are failing to secure employment and even attaining better education due to financial constraints. As a result civic leaders and other influential peddlers target the youth, thereby the youth target their fellow community members. This has been common cases among the MDC-T, MDC and

ZANU-PF supporters. The inception of MDC in 1999 has intensified the presence of the youth in politics. Targeting of the youth by ZANU-PF supporters was strategy to disrupt the MDC campaigns which had significant success in mobilizing the youth against ZANU-PF policies. These failed government policies were seen as responsible for unemployment and radical decline in the quality of education, health and social services which directly affected the youth. These youths they become the darling of the political elite, were there are immune to prosecution.

Since 2000 ZANU-PF embarked on massive militarization programme that has taken various forms, thus compulsory national services programme has seen the militarization of the youth Green Bombers. This was given birth by no other than the late Border Gezi who was then the minister of indigenization and youth empowerment⁴. As a result the youth become repository of ideological indoctrination; they are to serve as institutions that championing ZANU (PF) hegemony, literally surrendering themselves. Furthermore the state instigated violence against perceived opponents of the opposition in the run up of the June 2008 presidential run off. Youth militias embarked on Operation Maka Vhoterepi (WHO DID U VOTE FOR) it was an discriminate and nationalized process that involved the compelling people to attend rallies for doses of anti MDC propaganda and racist and anti-western vitriol.

The youth also have been used as agents of abduction and torture have been working closely with the state security apparatus (the Zimbabwe National Army, the Central Intelligence Organisation, the Zimbabwe Republic Police.⁵ There has been very limited legal traction for addressing abduction, the police are uninterested in official reports, the courts are slow to process cases, and when cases are successful, it is difficult to extract damages payment from the perpetrators. The rise of Chipangano being controlled by the likes of Amos Midzi, Jim Kunaka, Tendai Savanhu and its extractive politics. This has led to the incentivize of the youth by influential peddlers through

buying of drugs, alcohol and given money. This has led to the creation of job titles by the youth such as rank marshals these youths control ranks in Harare, some of the youth they now control council property and extorting funds from individuals. This destroys the moral fibre of an individual.

2. Research Problem

The youth unemployment in urban areas makes them vulnerability of political expedience. Lack of adequate education due to financial constraints brought forth by the HIV and AIDS pandemic, poor government policies that can enhance the youth's future. And the product of it is disorder. Then the youth have become fertile ground for youth militia recruitment by political parties, such that after conscription most of them are deployed in rural areas to terrorize people.⁶ In absence of a balanced media, in addition to a culture devoid of debate on topical issue the youth is a prey of misinformation. To a large extent an information underclass is dilebarately for political advantage or expedience. Youth militia groups and organizations in Zimbabwe are well known for torturing, intimidating and killing those with political views opposed to their respective political parties. Examples are Chipangano in Mbare, Harare and the Al Shabab styled organization in Kwekwe.⁷ The lack of service and maintaince of recreational facilities such Mai Musodzi hall, Stordat complex, Chinembiri hall and funding of social clubs, has left the youth vulnerable as they are left with nothing to do. This has led the youth to venture into drugs, violence, extortion, intimidation of community members. This is among the reason why Mbare has failed to produce even a single swimmer, despite presence of a community swimming pool. Absence of these activities gives birth to disaster, because a mind of a person must be occupied, thus raising the level of competitiveness and the level of exposure .The ministry of youth going back to the late

90s till present has been led by unprofessional people who have nothing on the ground, who claim to be knowing what they are doing, but the end product has been always the same.

This research has come on a conclusion that unemployment, lack of funding of social activities by the government, poor policies and unprofessional leadership from the leaders of ministry of youth. This has led to the increase of more youth involvement in politics on a negative side. The research will be also looking on the people like Nelson Chamisa, Jim Kunaka, Magiret Dongo, Job Sikala, Tafadzwa, and Learnmore Jongwe. Which some of them were fresh graduates from University and politics was their first formal job

3. Objectives

- 1 To examine why the youth are at the fore front of violence.
- 2 To highlight the role played by the Green Bombers in ensuring the long stay of ZANU (PF) in power.
- 3 To evaluate the efforts made by the MDC party to make youths participate in politics and not to engage in violence in whatever circumstances.
- 4 To examine the damage instigated by youths in their participation in politics and the effects it left upon the people of Zimbabwe e.g Chipangano (Mbare).

4. Research Questions

- 1 Why the youths are taken for granted by the government and are being led by unprofessional leaders.
- 2 What have the youths benefited from state sponsored violence?
- 3 What are the reasons for the less participation in politics as far as parliamentarians and councilors is concerned.

- 4 What are the challenges faced by the youth who are involved in politics.
- 5 What were the effects of abductions and torture that were done by the youths e.g., Chipangano led by Jim Kunaka in Mbare upon community members..
- 6 Why the youth have continued to pursue violence and other deeds, whilst they remain poor.

5. Historical Background

Mbare is the oldest high density suburb in Zimbabwe its population is estimated to be above 800 000. According to Obert chifamba Mbare was established by the Pioneer Column in the then Rhodesia in 1907. With industrialisation gaining pace, the Rhodesians needed labour, which came in the form of migrant workers that naturally needed accommodation.⁸ Mbare has played a very significant role in shaping what what is Zimbabwe is today , ranging from culture and the leaders it has brought forth such as Herbet Murerwa. During the colonial era stodart hall was used as huber by nationalists were they had their meetings. The township was also a hotbed of politics and today whenever the Zimbabwe African National Union- Patriotic Front (Zanu-PF) accords a person a national hero status, his or her body is taken to the hall en-route to the National Heroes Acre for burial.⁹ It is this time or event when the youth are unleashed to the community members. Whereby community members are forced to attend the funeral to an extend of closure of business places such as Mupedzanhamo, Siya So and the whole of bus terminus and the markets.

Political tension between ZANU and ZAPU re-emerged in 1982 when ZANU claimed that it discovered several arms caches in some of the farms owned by ZAPU, a bitter dissident war ensued and raged for five years. The youths were deployed by Mugabe regime to restore order were local

people were forced to attend rallies, buy membership cards and chant slogans in 1985. The dissident war ended after Nkomo and Mugabe signed the Unity Accord on 22 December 1987.

The failure of ZANU (PF) government to curb corruption as they was scandal after scandal, effects of ESAPS and implementation of poor policies drove the economy into doldrums as Mugabe was striving to retain power at all cost. The emergence of a credible and highly popular opposition political party, the Movement for Democratic Change in 1999 and the popular rejection of a government sponsored draft constitution in February 2000. This alerted the ruling party a high possibility of losing political power at the polls that had been scheduled for June 2000. The ruling party allegedly rigged the 2000 parliamentary elections this resulted in ZANU (PF) winning only 62 of the contested 120 seats and the MDC and another small party winning the remaining 58 seats. Political violence continued through the holding of the 2002 presidential elections in which youths were used to be defenders of the regime, which were also allegedly stolen by Mugabe.

6. Literature Review

This study explores on how the ZANU (PF) government has retained to power since independence up until 2015 through the help of the youths who constitute the majority of the population of Zimbabwe. Gatsheni and Muzondidya notes that the lawlessness that characterized the land take over was termed as the Third Chimurenga and youths were promised the status of future veterans, thus continuing the revolutionary tradition, this implied benefits of heroism wooed the youths into uncontrollable fits of hatred and rage against perceived enemies in ways that vilified difference and pluralism.¹⁰ Furthermore Makumbe is of the view that a selection of members of ZANU(PF) youth militia that participated in some dastardly acts such as burning opposition supporters houses beating up the MDC supporters and other state sponsored acts of repression. Some of these militia

elements have been rewarded with places for study and training institutions including state universities.¹¹ However some of the youths have attained scholarships to study in various tertiary institutions despite not participating in violence, others have even secured jobs in both parastatal entities and government institutions despite not going through the Border Gezi youth programme.

Sue Onslow notes that here youth violence has been co-opted, licensed and encouraged by the party-qua-state, in the formation of the Green Bombers.¹² Moreover a culture has developed of wearing political regalia be it of any party such that some because of wearing a certain regalia are immune to intimidation even extortion of some sought. Such that when rallies are conducted in Mbare by ZANU (PF) clearance is never any issue and the youth are at the forefront singing songs of praise and comradeship. They even go to the extent of doing house to house knocking gathering people for meetings forcibly especially in the flats of Matapi, Magaba, Shawasha and Mbare hostels. In this case the youth act as watchdogs of the party. Meredith notes that in 2008 Mugabe unleashed terror to ensure that he won the second round of voting was more intense than any previous election episode, in a military-style operation youth militias and party thugs moved into opposition areas, setting up torture camps and indoctrination centers and meeting out in discriminate brutality.¹³ Since schools were closed these premises were turned into bases such as in Mbare where recreational facilities were turned into bases and camps eg Mbare Hostels, Nharira primary school and even at Stodart complex. Having an interview with the former councilor of Mbare Mr Bwanya despite having evidence he denied these atrocities leveled against them noting that they are ideas of the enemy that are western funded.

Furthermore Meredith postulate that in 2005 Mugabe ordered the police and youth militia to evict the mass of the disaffected Zimbabweans living in slums and shanty towns on the fringes of urban centers-the poor of the poorest and their homes were razed to the ground.¹⁴ Some schools of

thought notes that the youths razed their relatives houses to the ground , also others took the change to settle their grudges with their community members .The government established youth camps sometime around in 2001 by the which had the mandate to teach patriotic history. Ranger notes that this militia would fight anti-government factories such universities and products of those mentality factories.¹⁵ Also Ranger goes on to note that the militia became available to discipline their own parents and intimidate teachers and other educated civil servants.¹⁶ Moreover Residents of Mbare have reported gangs of militants forcing household domestic workers and family members to attend meetings known as a “pungwe.” That is colloquial term for night-long political indoctrination used by militants since the independence war that swept Mugabe to power in 1980. These actions and behavior has left many children homeless and orphans due to the youth involvement in politics.

The likes of Jim kunaka the former leader of the so called Chipangano and other political bigwigs have grabed council properties whereby the rent is given to them by tenants in market places such as Mupedzanhamo, Mbare Musika rank and other market places as shown by council documents ,the youth are finger in corruption scandals. Furthermore upon attainment of independence all flats in Mbare were leased to companies, but years after they are now controlled by the youths. Since then they are the ones who decides who stays were at the end of the day the council get a little share from the rentals. Some local people have noted that when a hero dies in the name of ZANU (PF), market places in Mbare are forced to shut down and attend the funeral's.¹⁷ Failure to do so results in cancellation of one lease at the market places and booted out of the market place, they even go the extent of marking register of who is present on such events. All this is done in the name of patriotic nationalism. Ranger goes on to say that it was meant to reach out the “youth”

over the heads of their parents and teachers all whom were said to have forgotten or betray liberation values.¹⁸

7. Sources and Methodology

The print media has done a remarkable job of reporting on history of Zimbabwe since 1980, so I will be using the research and design in my research on the youth involvement in politics. I will also collect data through recording discussions. In this research available information will be used especially, journals, Textbooks, articles sources Churches, Civic organizations, Zimbabwe African National Union- Peoples Front and Movement for Democratic Change party information. Interviews are also going to be used they are going to be done in either a structured or unstructured fashion. They are mainly important because they are suitable for everyone, including illiterate respondents as their clarification of questions is possible. This study shall involve interviewing identified selected key in formats from such groups as civil society, political parties, family members and members of diplomatic corps at their parade points, who deal with situation on a daily basis. Furthermore in this research data analysis will be used on gathered information which shall be analyzed through bar graphs, including the major Protection of Human Rights and their abuses that dominated the post-colonial era and the treatment of opposition under the law and the supporters.

8. Dissertation layout

Chapter 1

In this chapter I am going to look at the transition from chimbwidos to the youth's brigades. After the war the chimbwidos, Mujibhas were disbanded and integrated into youth brigades, some were incorporated into the army .It was clear that Mugabe intended to create a one party state in

Zimbabwe. Machinery was required to bring the population which had no experience with democratic institutions, into line and it became the youth leagues job to enforce support and stifle opposition. The party leadership decided that the youth leagues job, while vital tool was not enough a few months after independence the youth brigade's movement was launched. The state purpose of the youth brigades was to create a politically conscious youth who wished to participate in developing their newly independent country; these brigades cut down trees, planting them and did national duties for free. This chapter will also look on the role played by the 5th Brigade in Matabeleland and part of Midlands.

Chapter 2

This chapter looks at the youth from the 90's up to their role in the land reform in the 2000. This area of research will look their participation in the land reform such as role played by Tambaoga at the state media in most of his songs when he defended the regime and the land grabs. In this section I will be talking of the rise of young leaders and their participation in politics the likes of Nelson Chamisa, Learnmore Jongwe and Job Sikala. In this chapter will also look at the role they played as youths in politics being the first of their kind to engage in such a field and obstacles they encountered. Furthermore in this chapter also look at the violence that took place in Mbare from 2000 to 2003 which involves the hand of the youths of both parties.

Chapter3

The revival of the National Youth Services which was brought back to live by no other than the late Border Gezi and its strategies and how it attained its goals, by defending the regime by punishing all its enemies. The research will look at its activities on the Zimbabwe community and the catastrophe it brought upon its local people.

Chapter 4

In this chapter I will be looking at the rise of Chipangano and its extractive politics from 2000 to 2016. I will be looking why it was formed and controlled by the late Amos Muzorewa, Tendai Biti and Jim Kunaka. Because of this group Mbare was no go area for opposition politicians as well as business people with links to any party outside ZANU (PF). This chapter will also explore how this group has brought afflictions for visitors and residents, how it operates like a mafia by extorting from innocent people such as vendors. For when one was required to pay dollar by the council they double the amount. Also how the law turned a blind eye to them because they were acting on behalf of the state.

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ENDNOTES

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CHAPTER 1

THE HISTORY OF THE TRANSITIONS OF THE YOUTH FIGHTERS INTO THE NEW NATION

Introduction

Coltart notes that any nation that recovers from war is bound to be fragile and Zimbabwe is no exception.¹ Furthermore hardly a single family had escaped its horror and its psychological wounds.² The war had brought independence which the people for long had waited for in which blood had been shed by the gallant sons and daughters of the soil. Much was expected from this new government which was being led by Robert Mugabe who was the prime minister. The people who had fought in the war which the majority of them were the youth likes of chimbwidos and Mujibhas, expected a lot from this government most of them wanted to return to school and continue with their schooling. Others had the hope to be conscripted into the new amalgamated army of three fronts. Madondo notes that following Independence in 1980, it was clear that Mugabe intended to create a one-party state in Zimbabwe. Machinery was required to bring the population, which had no experience with democratic institutions, into line, and it became the Youth League's job to enforce support and stifle opposition.³ For the survival of the party and the government, the youths had to be involved into politics and it became the youth league of the party to take necessary measures to ensure that everything was intact. The youth league to the party it was their arsenal and just after independence many programs were launched as the youth brigades, retaining of ex-combatants into the arms of the government and other influential posts.

The stated purpose of the Youth Brigades was to create "politically conscious youth" who wished to participate in developing their newly independent country without necessarily joining the party.⁴

In reality the brigades were a duplication of the youth league of the party, whose role was to safeguard the government against any threats from those who opposed them. The state employed various methods that ensured that its stay in power was lengthened this also included cooperatives, military integration, use of the police force, training of a special unit the 5th Brigade and employment of former freedom fighters into arms of government. These methods were worked hand in hand with the youths whom at the time were the ex-combatants.

1:2 Motives behind the Youth Brigade and its involvement in Politics.

After the war most the ex-combatants were the youths the likes of Perence Shiri, by that time was in his mid-twenties, who later became the commander of the fifth brigade which is known for Gukurahundi in Matabeleland province. Kriger postulate that the party sought to retain ex-combatants support and build power and legitimacy by using the in two ways, deploying them into co-operative's that symbolized economic transformation. It gave the ex-combatants (Chiefly ZANLA) privileges accesses to employment and training in the bureaucracy and private sector both to preserve of its former Smith and Muzorewa enemies.⁵ This proved to be a wise strategy, because the government needed of the support it could get. The South African government on the other hand was working on a plan to destabilize the Zimbabwean government because it was a threat to its existence.

In 1980 a new ministry was created the Ministry of Youth, Sport and Recreation, which was headed by Teurai Ropa Nhongo whom by the time was a youth. It was reported to influxes by ex-combatants.⁶ this was meant to increase the party influence in the government among these ex-combatants majority of them were youths. The government introduced co-operatives which were seen as way to curb unemployment of the demobilized ex-freedom fighters .whom after war had

been promised a better Zimbabwe which was full of milk and honey. ZANLA ex-combatants, was an important political constituency which needed to be appeased, depicting the ex-combatants as the socialist vanguard, the ruling appeared to the to lead the co-operative a movement to fulfill war time goals.⁷In reality this ex freedom fighters were ploy to assert more authority and influence over their ZIPRA counterparts .

According to the CCJP report in the 1984 Pre-election violence began, mainly at the hands of the ZANU-PF Youth Brigades. Areas notably affected include Gweru, Kwekwe, Beitbridge and Plumtree.⁸This clearly indicates the involvement of the youth in politics, that their presence in such times like these is much needed to vanguard party interest so as to attain victory at all cost. Furthermore in 1985 ZANU-PF Youth rampages continue before and after the July elections, resulting in 2000 people being left homeless and scores dead in Matabeleland, the Midlands and Harare.⁹In the reality without the youth involvement it can be note that the government of couldn't retain the power it head against the opposition of ZAPU and Smiths comrades. It is of my view that the youth play an important role ensuring that the ZANU government won the election at all cost even if it meant shedding of blood of their fellow counterparts.

The youth are the future there are tomorrow leaders they shape the political discourse of any country as they are the oil needed to grease the machinery. Vocational training centers were established by the government in the eighties, which meant to install sense of patriotism and equip the youth with something to do, such as Kaguvi. In Mbare the youth's played an important role for the party as they were the vanguard of party interest as they uttered positive speeches on their interviews with news night BBC in 1980 heir fully pledged their support for President Mugabe without fail. Some schools of thought notes that these youths some who were in the brigades ,who had no jobs spent most of their time in doing parades for the ruling party sings songs of the 2nd

Chimurenga day after day . Because these youths were not economically empowered, thus making them vulnerable to political expedience by the ruling party this was game of political indoctrination to the uneducated to the youth in which they fall into.

After independence the government made it possible for the ex-freedom fighters, to be able to go back to school. The government made first preferences to the ex-combatants who were educated to be given jobs, such that more posts were created for these ex-freedom fighters. These former ex-combatants were the youth and after the war most them were the youth, were conscripted into the army. Much effort was done by the government to accommodate them into the government arms even if they had no education standards were lowered for them. The police force we have today its pioneers are the youths who had come from war, this police force was also unleashed to any group that seemed to be a threat for the government especially in the Matabeleland. The police force was used to set up road blocks and curfew for the people in the province. This was meant to dilute any form of opposition that was against the government, because after the war some deemed it as Marxist government, such that these enemies that had to be neutralized at all cost.

When caches of weapons were discovered at a suspected dissident farm in Matabeleland, the government responded in hostile way that had never been seen before. Dissidents were ex-combatants of ZIPRA forces who had lost interest in the integration of the army noting that they was bias as most of the army post were given to ZANLA ex forces. The ZANU PF Youth League and Youth Brigades, augmented by special units of the army, police and CIO, were unleashed on ZAPU and its unarmed civilian supporters.¹⁰ Some 10,000 innocent civilians were massacred and as many as 30,000 injured and displaced up until 1988, according to a credible investigation, *Breaking the Silence: Building True Peace*, undertaken by the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace and the Legal Resources Commission and made public in 1997.¹¹The youth league

youths and the youth brigades played a pivotal role in shaping the discourse of the war known as the GUKURAHUNDI, in disciplining the people of Matabeleland into coming to their terms in bid to achieve their goal of one party state. In this idea the ZAPU was an obstacle to the idea of one party state.

1:3 Role of the Fifth Brigade

In the Chronicle of October 1980 it was noted that Prime Minister Mugabe entered into an agreement with North Korea for the training and arming of a brigade of the Zimbabwe defence forces.¹² The 5TH Brigade was a special unit of former ex-combatants that was trained by the North Koreans it was led by Perence Shiri who was the commander of the battalion, upon leading the special unit Shiri was in his mid-twenties. Thus making him a youth cadre in his time. Tension had been building up between the ZAPU and ZANU; this was further fueled by the discovering of weapons at suspected dissident farm. These dissidents went on to kidnap tourists who had visited the area and killed them. Also the failure of the demilitarization of the former ex-combatants and the army integration process. This enabled the ruling party ZANU to find a reason to strike, thus when the dissidents were deployed in Matabeleland in a bid to cleanse the province of the dissidents.

Upon arrival the brigade unleashed horror which never been seen before which claimed more than twenty thousand people. For example they took any one for torture and harassment according to an interview conducted by the CCJP some had to say

"They came and took everyone in the line to the school. They beat us and then they shot people dead, including my brother, named."¹³

This shows clearly that instead of stamping out the dissidents they had no were exactly to start for their search for dissidents, thus making any one who at that time in the province a sellout. The 5th brigade was made up of ex-combatants who showed no remorse for the local people of Matabeleland and some parts of Midlands. According to Coltart on his article on Zimbabwe Situation an online paper he notes that since Mugabe took power in 1980, he has spent his time and energy on one mission and it was not the welfare of the people. But it was how to take full control of the State and all significant organs of society.”¹⁴ And the use of the Fifth Brigade was among the main agendas to achieve this goal and it was necessary evil but had to be down. The brigade which was made of the youths from war did what they were asked to do as it was in the name of national pride and service.

The brigade destabilized the province to the extent that up to this day, many are haunted by those experiences. Furthermore on another interview report made by the CCJP another family had to give an account of their encounter with the fifth brigade.

*"The 5 Brigade came after dark when we were sleeping. They forced their way into the house and asked if we had any daughters. When we said our daughters were only young and were sleeping, they went to the bedroom, and took our 2 daughters aged 12 and 14 to the forest, where they beat them for half an hour, then brought them home...."*¹⁵

In 1984 the brigade changed its tactics on how they conducted their activities. They had apparently realized in 1983 that it was not possible to kill hundreds of well-known people in front of hundreds of witnesses in their home villages, and expect the fact to remain hidden.¹⁶ Instead the brigade began to move their detainees from one place to another, as to bring confusion among their detainees.

It is against this evidence of what is exactly said in the media that is maintained by the state especially newspapers and the television. This state entity tries to cover or hide from the discussion whenever it has been raised of the role played by this special unit on behalf of the government. It was disbanded in 1987 after the signing of the unity accord between ZAPU and ZANU into forming ZANU (PF). Though another brigade was launched later the 6th brigade but did not do damage the same as done by the 5th Brigade

Many people were detained against their will in front of their neighbor's. The detained included all ex-ZIPRAs, all ZAPU officials, and other men and women selected on a seemingly random basis, even school children and the elderly.¹⁷ This disintegrated families and left emotional torture upon the local people. Those who were seen with Shona names when they were being questioned were excluded from harassment and torture, even abuse.¹⁸

Due to the climatic conditions in Matabeleland that only favor cattle ranging and some other drought resistant crops. The 5th Brigade enforced a food embargo in the province as a way of punishing the local people, so that they could provide names of dissidents. State officials, largely in the form of the 5th Brigade, also actively punished those villagers who shared food with starving neighbours.¹⁹ Furthermore 5th Brigade commanders at rallies repeatedly stated the desire of the government to starve all the Ndebele to death, as punishment for their being dissidents.²⁰ The brigade made it clear that they were there to eradicate the Ndebele tribe from existence with the methods and tactics they used in a bid to bring forth the so called dissidents.

1:4 The effects of the involvement of the 5th Brigade, Uniformed forces and the Dissidents in Matabeleland and parts of Midlands.

The scars left by the 5TH Brigade are unspeakable as it has left memories that are fresh to this day, that will take decades to be healed. Human rights were abused by this unit in its bid to extract the so called dissidents in the provinces. Family were left broken that they couldn't mend, they were cases of houses being brought down by fire even whilst some members were in it. Curfew had been established in the province's and they were some who tried to break the curfew faced the consequences. In Ndawana(6 km of west of Pumula Mission):

“FEB 83: 2 villagers from here were curfew breaking and their tracks were reported by villagers from Egomeni nearby, who did not know who they were. 5B prepared to beat and destroy all at Egomeni, and had already dug mass graves. However, the 2 from Ndawana were caught before this happened, and they were killed instead. The soldiers then moved to Ndawana, where the commander ordered the whole village into a hut and set fire to it. Once the commander left, another 5B soldier let the villagers out of the hut, so they were spared.”²¹

This kind of atrocities left many people homeless, some of the family members were left with physical disabilities that have disadvantaged them in many ways such as attaining manual jobs. Due to other reports of rape and torture it has left many children as orphans as the breadwinners of the families has been wiped out by diseases, due to rape, torture and detention. And they are evidence of mass graves where people were buried without proper burial, such that family members could not even identify their family members up to this day.

The diagram below shows the parties that were involved in the Gukurahundi atrocities.

YEAR	PERPETRATOR	DEATHS	MISSING	KIDNAP/DETAINED	ASSAULT	RAPED	TOTAL
	OR	S	G	IN	T	E	L

1984	5 BRIGADE	157	39	1989	556	10	2751
	ARMY	32	10	7	14		66
	ZRP	2	2	1	1		4
	ZANU-PF YT	15			31		46
	DISSIDENT S	15		1	4	1	21
TOTAL							2888

22

This table above shows the number of people that were affected by Gukurahundi in 1984. Some of the people who were detained and raped, ended up forgetting who had detain them and were they were being kept as were moved from one place to another. People who were travelling to their own destinations were detained; some were never seen again by their relatives. Property and buildings were destroyed, after the war many were left homeless and the government never provided compensation for the people of Matabeleland According to the CCJP report 680 homesteads were destroyed.²³ Most people run away to other neighboring countries such as Botswana and South Africa for protection and to secure employment. While in the neighbouring countries, they become victims of xenophobia with the locals there accusing them coming into their country “to take their women and jobs”.²⁴ This clearly shows some of the effects that came with the massacre in Matabeleland.

1:5 Conclusion

In conclusion the above chapter sheds light on the transition of the ex-combatants the likes of Chibwidos and Mujibhas entering into a new dispensation of a free Zimbabwe. The chapter shows how the ex- freedom fighters were used for selfish gains by political bigwigs into committing some atrocities that have left a permanent mark in History of Zimbabwe. It also highlights on the government initiatives that were given birth to which were to cater for the ex-combatants especially those who had not ventured into the army and other departments in the government. The 5th Brigade left many people for dead in their search for dissidents in Matabeleland. Around 20 000 people were murder through torture, burned by fire and death by malnutrition due to hunger, in their search for dissidents. P roperty was destroyed such as homesteads that were brought down by fire and livestock were also burned. This led people to flee out of the country for protection.

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CHAPTER 2

THE ROLE OF THE YOUTHS IN THE LAND INVASIONS OF 2000

Introduction

Nyawo notes that Land is a key asset for humanity and especially for the rural and urban people.¹ The Zimbabwean liberation war was fought for the betterment of the blacks and among its goals land was one of them, which was to be redistributed to the masses. At Lancaster house the issue of the land was compromised, that the land was to be sold on willing seller willing buyer agreement with the government getting funds from Britain. Upon reaching the end of the 20 first century it became clear to the people the government had done nothing for them especially for the issue of and is concerned. It is a time when the opposition support was growing at an accelerated rate, so the government had to sell a blue print to ensure that its stay in power was not threatened, thus the inception of the land invasions in 2000.

Therefore, when the land emerged as a central issue, young people became involved in various ways: as troops in the land occupations, as black marketers for government inputs (seeds, fertilizers, fuel), and the middle man in the trading produce .² Most of these youths were drawn from many parts of the country , with some coming from Mbare residential area It is of this importance that the youth due to lack of employment and other social benefits exploit such opportunities with pleasure. In this chapter the researcher looked at how the youth were involved in the land invasions, motives and the implications it had on the Zimbabwean people as country. Also will be looking at the rise of young leaders and their entering the political arena the likes of Nelson Chamisa, Learnmore Jongwe and Job Sikhala .Will also look at role they played in the political field.

2:2 Land Invasions

The land invasions in Zimbabwe marked another episode or chapter in the country history it became to be known as the Third Chimurenga. The fast track land reform were characterized by violence which to some extent was funded by the government.³ these land invasions were led by the late Chenjerai Hunzvi

February 2000 a gangs armed with axes and pangas invaded whited owned farms across the country, government and army trucks were used to transport them and to kip them supplied with rations once they were there.⁴ These gangs were youth who had been taken from high density suburbs such as Mbare, who economically had nothing to do, so they saw this as their way out of poverty. These gangs were called war veterans but the majority of them were young to have participated in the liberation war twenty years earlier as noted by Meridith.⁵

The government as the head of the country was supposed to put in place plans in order to distribute land formally with procedure. But instead of using the local government structures, to identify local needs the government allowed the youth and war veterans to help themselves indiscriminately.⁶ The youth saw this as an opportunity to do whatever they wanted, without hindrance from the law. Robert Mugabe is quoted saying:

It makes absolute nonsense for our history as an African country that most of our arable land and ranching and is still in the hands of our erstwhile colonizers, while the majority of our peasant communities still live like squatters in their God-given land.⁷

To others it was a go ahead statement to go and invade the farms. Some of the youth were Promised Land, this to some an extent gave an assurance to the youths who were invading farms that they were to have a share at the King's table. Mutondi postulate that the youth were a major force in in

the land occupation, noting that they were disruptive, and most had been hired by the elites to occupy the land for a fee.⁸ Furthermore these youth who had been taken from high density suburbs such as Mbare, which is known to produce such kind of radical people who can do anything for money. In Mazowe district, a policy was there to allocate two youths to every A1 farm, which translates to a potential of 274 young people given land.⁹ These kind of statistics were a force behind the youths to invade farms, as one was imagining that a certain in their life time, they would be farmers. Media played an important role in the invasions supporting it, Tambaoga who was a youth at the time appeared more than 20 times a day on the state led media singing songs of chimurenga. Some of the songs included Rambai makashinga ne hondo, referring to the war of the land invasions.

During the time of the fast track land reform program was also the time when the ZANU (PF) led government had been defeated in the referendum; the white population was seen as the supporters of the MDC. Thus their punishment was coming in form of intimidation and grabbing of their farms by the war veterans and the youth. The youth immediate task in was to peg out plots of land, but their main purpose was to crush the opposition supporters in the run up election.¹⁰ Most of the farmers and their workers were in support of the new political party the MDC. The party from its inception was showing signs of victory, especially from the support it was getting from the urban population. More land had been grabbed by the end of year 2000, fear had been installed in the hearts and minds of the white population, whom by that time had begun to flee the country. These farms began to be used as bases of operation to hunt down opposition supporters, harass and even torture them. Because protection from the police was not coming as it was to be.

Though there were certain incidents where the police acted on behalf of the law, as evidenced by an interview of a resident in the communal area of Mashonaland who went to the police to report a crime that had happened on nearby farm:

“I went to the police the following day. They police came and the CIO [Central Intelligence Organization, the security police] came and took pictures of the burnt houses and told me there's nothing they can do as they are also being beaten. They arrested four youth”¹¹

This also serves as evidence that the situation was bad to the extent that, even people of the law were in confusion not knowing what exactly to do. As some people even noted that they the police would even watch the crime being committed. This was further fused when the president in 2000 when president gave amnesty to those who had committed crime during the land invasions , only excluding rape, robbery and murder .¹² This further worsened the situation as it was a clear sign to those who had committed crimes , that they can do it again without prosecution especially the youth's.

This can be further supported by an another incident that occurred in Murehwa , when ZANU (PF) militia opened fire on a white farmer, who went to refuge in a police station. But the police stood and watched large group of so called veterans seized in from of them and took him to a nearby base.¹³ Such kind of operation and harassment were orders that came from the above , from the heads of party and government and the youth were cleaners of the dirty which the leaders would come and dine. After the massive land invasion by the youth, their disruption of farming activities and harassment of opposition supporters were rewarded. After the election of 2002 ZANU (PF) party youths were incorporated into the police, given rapid promotion and transferred to the rural areas. Where victims of political violence police reporting to the police risked of a

further beating from the police.¹⁴ It is during this time when selective persecution was born and matured, such even to this day is being a blind eye.

2:3 Social, Economic and Political Consequences of the Land Invasions

The fast land reform brought with it great consequences upon the Zimbabwean people, that up to this day other families are still recovering from the tragedy experience. The youths displaced farm workers that were on the farms forgetting that they were also their brothers and sisters, who were getting a living from their work at the farms. Farm workers were forced to attend meetings in the bases that had been set up by the land invaders in the nearby areas. Also these farm workers were beaten if they failed to chant slogans and singing the songs of the liberation struggle amassing a lot of bruises as they were said to be in support the white owners, who were in support of MDC. Furthermore Makumbe postulate that a marauding of farm invaders also killed more than two hundred black farm workers .¹⁵The involvement of the youth in the land invasions, left bad memories for others. A lot of human rights were violated as the invasions were characterized by violence as it was language of the day. Farm workers lost their jobs, as result of the land reform, with an estimate of about 220,000 were left jobless.¹⁶ during these invasions some of the white farmers and their workers reattribute with the land invaders ending in some of the youths injured.

Economically the economic went on further into the doldrums, the situation even worsened for the ordinary Zimbabweans. The country had been getting a lot of foreign currency from the agricultural sector and even contributing a lot to the national budget, in a blink of eye this seized to exist as the state coffers started dwindle. Even for the youth it was set back the land that they had invaded and terrorized the rural people was not forthcoming it was grabbed by political peddlers, they had been duped. Economically the youths remained disempowered only a few got

jobs in the police who were deployed in the rural areas. Politically the youths and the war veterans had won for they had ensured another victory for ZANU (PF) its long stay in power, for land invasions was used as the correctional of colonial legacy. The government came out as victors from the fast track land reform.

2:4Conclusion

The fast track land reform was the correction of the history of the colonizers, that despite 20 years of independence the land was still in the hands of the white population. The rise of the opposition support in the urban centers forced the ruling party to engage in the land reform in search of support to legitimize their rule. The youth were a force that ensured that the fast track land reform was success. The youths who were school leavers and those who were out employment went to invade the farms, causing disruption in farming activities this further worsened the life that the youth were living prior the invasion. As the economy continued to miss perform. A lot of lives were lost on both sides, as some of the youth encountered resistance leading some to be injured.

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CHAPTER 3

THE RISE AND THE ROLE PLAYED BY THE YOUTH BRIGADES IN 2000 TO 2004 IN POLITICS.

3:1 Introduction

The National Youth Service also known as the “Youth Brigade” came into existence in 2000, when the ruling party ZANU (PF) hegemony was threatened by the winds of change from all angles of the society. The failure of government policies, rise in corruption and the increase of critics of the regime brought forth the idea of the youth brigades who would safeguard the party interests. Border Gezi the loyal comrade of Robert Mugabe came with the initiative to resuscitate the program in a more efficient way, by then he was the Minister of Gender, Youth and Employment. The main purpose of the programme was to install a sense of patriotism in the youth, in reality it was vice versa. Most youths who filled the camps came from urban areas with many coming from Mbare. In the camps where they were being trained the youth were being indoctrinated of ZANU (PF) ideologies. The youth of Zimbabwe were being used, and abused, in a most cynical and calculating way by the very people entrusted with responsibility for their welfare.¹ The very people whom they look to as leaders were they got advice were the ones that using them as pillars of power.

3:2 The rise of the Youth Brigades

Hill notes that training camps were set up across the country; thousands of young people joined the National Youth Service in exchange for a regular meal.² It is this time when the economy was not performing well and many places in Zimbabwe were struck by hunger, so many youth had to join so that they could be fed. ZANU (PF) authority was at siege with forces from all angle such as civil societies, academics, churches, white population and the external forces from Europe

which want to eliminate it from existence. To ensure that the camps were filled with candidates the government made it a requirement for one to hold a graduation certificate, if one was to be employed by the civil service or even enroll at state colleges.³ Many youths flocked into camps, especially those who had finished A-level as they awaited to go to colleges that were state funded.

After the death of Border Gezi a youth camp was established in his name in Mt Darwin, with other camps being established in Matabeleland and in Zvishavane in Midlands. Some camps became full with young people. To make this idea success many youth were forced to attend training and some were kidnapped at night would wake up in the morning in camps, they were even cases of young people of around 11 years of age.⁴ To the commanders in camps had to do anything in their power to make sure that more people were enrollment, even if it violated ones rights. Furthermore Mataire wrote in the Herald

“[Youth training will] prevent the youth from becoming certified slaves of Western neocolonialism. ... [It] will address the effects of the cultural nuclear bomb of imperialism that has deluded our youth of direction.”⁵

The State used all its machinery that was at hand to support and defend the National Youth Service, parading it as savior for the youth who were losing direction. And they had to be reoriented on what was happening to their country, which was facing foreign threats.

3:3 Youth Brigades and their activities

The youth brigade's role in politics left a mark in the Zimbabwean history, that will take years to heal from emotional torture. These youths after their graduation they were deployed to different parts of the country, especially to those areas where opposition support was on the rise, they were set to cleanse the areas. This was very common in urban areas where the ruling party support was diminishing every hour of the day. One of the youth gave comment when he was interviewed that *"We are Zanu-PF's "B" team. The army is the "A" team and we do the things the government does not want the "A" team to do."*⁶

In the eyes of the law whatever the youth were proposed to do by their leaders was prohibited. So the youth were used as scape goat for sacrifice, whilst in their minds they regarded it as national duty, thus fighting enemies of the state. The youths were deployed into groups of 50 people, so as to create bond among the brigades. Chan notes that groups of 50 would then train other groups in the camps, thus strengthening each group.⁷ These groups would ensure that the group they were going to train were to master their techniques and they were reports of abuse among these youths who were training others. Women were the most vulnerable group in the camps a lot of human rights was violated. Women were raped by their fellow youths comrades especially, the youth leaders who were entrusted with their wellbeing.⁸ To those who reported would be punished, no proper procedures were taken to the abused. The abusers were left free, such that they continued to abuse women some ended up catching diseases as they were raped without protection. Many women came from the camps with children who had no fathers, because they had been impregnated by youths leaders.

Furthermore the "Green Bombers" who were the youth brigades with the name coming from the overalls that they wear, which resembled army uniform, were against anyone who questioned the

fast track land reform program. To them such people were enemies that needed to be taught a lesson or punished. Anyone who seemed to be threat or who did not convey with their ideologies, punishment was certain. With an interview with a former youth brigade who reside in Mbare noted that in the camps electric torture was very common to those who were brought in from raids even to those who tried to escape.⁹ Some of the youths competed for posts in the camps, such that it led them to do unspeakable things against their colleagues. The photo below was taken when the brigades were coming from Mt Darwin and disembarked in Bulawayo.



Fig 1: Shows Graduates of the National Service training in Mount Darwin disembark from a train in Bulawayo.¹⁰

3:4 The Youth Brigades around election times

Whenever election are near it is known that terror and intimidation haunt the Zimbabwean community. In the elections of 2002 the brigades were deployed to urban centers and rural areas where they established camps to campaign for the ruling party ZANU (PF). The youth brigades did not only campaign for the presidential campaigns, but also for the rural districts council elections bringing their unchecked power to anyone who deemed as threat. Physicians for Human Rights, Denmark, produced 3 major reports on torture in Zimbabwe during 2002.¹¹ This clearly highlights the role played by the green bombers in ensuring that the ZANU (PF) led government stay in power. In the rural areas there were many incidents whereby villagers complained much to the police of their livestock that were taken to feed other youth that had been left in the established bases. These duties were usually carried by young ones who were in the chain of command of ranks.

When one talks of the elections in Zimbabwe the word violence should accompany it and that the survival of ZANU (PF) since 2000 has come with the help of the youth brigade who fought enemies of the party. The youth brigade stormed houses of opposition supporters at night and kidnaped them, thereby taking them to bases that were nearby such in Mbare at Mai Musodzi hall. In these bases victims were tortured and punished they were made chant party slogans and sing songs failure to do so result in punishment. To those who were not found at home their relatives would be harassed even beaten, sometimes taken bases so as to act as collateral so that the suspect would eventually show up.¹² They were incidents whereby one would be asked to beat his neighbor or relatives who were perceived as opposition supporters. Failure to do so resulted in punishment for both of them with the other brigades. During the times of the election of 2002 the youth brigades patrolled in the streets of Mbare, Kuwadzana, Mufakose and even in Bulawayo they

usually did it at night anyone caught up was intercepted into the march.¹³ Those caught up would be realized the following day, some were even robbed the money and valuables that were with them. The picture below shows a house of a suspected opposition supporter that was burnt with valuables inside by youth brigades in Bulawayo.



Fig 2: Shows a homestead burnt and vandalized by youth militia in suburb of Bulawayo¹⁴

The photo clearly shows that the youth brigades were unleashed on the society to curb out any type of opposition that was threatening the ruling party existence. The brigades set up road blocks especially in the rural areas, were they asked one to produce party membership cards, failure to do so came with price. The police at some instances were seen working with the brigades on the road block.¹⁵ Furthermore in Bindura, in early January, youth militia sealed off the town by mounting illegal roadblocks on all roads in and out, and demanded from both those who lived there and those passing through, to purchase ZANU-PF cards.¹⁶ To them the youth brigades believed that they fighting for the party so persecution would not come as long it remained in power and

this proved to be so. When they did all the intimidation most of the time they were under the influence of alcohol and drugs that enable them to do unspeakable things.

3:5 The results of the role played by the Youth Brigades

Many families were left with emotional wounds of the trouble brought by the youth brigades. Others after the election they came out with disability and homeless due to vandalism of property. The youth were also known of raping their capture victims especially women, whom at times were raped in front of their husbands. In some instances, men were forced by militia to sodomise each other.¹⁷ In this cases diseases were transmitted especially sexual ones and even HIV. Also other youth brigades after the elections were ashamed of going back home, as they were regarded as outcast in the societies that lived in. Their honeymoon days were over and reality was finally catching up with them.

3:6 Conclusion

One cannot talk of the history of Zimbabwe without mentioning the youth brigades of 2001, for they played a big role in ensuring that all opposition supporters did not have an even playing field with the ZANU-PF. The youth brigades from their inception to their demise where violence was their weapon against the opposition. It is their role that ensured that ZANU-PF won the election of 2002 as they unleashed terror upon their community members. A lot of property was destroyed due to vandalism; there were many cases of injured people as a result of political orchestrated violence among the youth.

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CHAPTER 4

THE RISE OF CHIPANGANO AND ITS ACTIVITIES UNTIL PRESENT

Introduction

The fiasco of government policies that have been put in place after independence, have disempowered the youth instead of empowering them as they are the future leaders of tomorrow. Mbare is the oldest township in Zimbabwe with a population exceeding 800 000 people. The youth are youngsters who are in their childhood move into ward adulthood. In request to accomplish this move acceptably, components must meet up, of which will concentrate on three just: the need to employment or some type of salary - era and the requirement for socialization with grown-ups which helps them into good moral order. All these is are not present in Zimbabwe, thus leaving them at the most vulnerable position of political expedition.

After the defeat of ZANU-PF in the 2000 constitutional referendum which it had drafted, realized that that the wind of change was blowing against them. And as a consequence the ruling party hunted support from the disadvantaged youths of Mbare in its attempt to return the vanished support. As result a shadow group outfit called Chipangano was born, with its existence only to save those in power of authority the ZANU (PF) government hunting down all who are perceived to be its enemies. But all the ruling party structures deny its existence and their affiliation to the group.

4:2 Origins

They is no exact date of the formation of Chipangano, but its existence is owed to the ruling party leaders such Tendai Savanhu and the late Amos Midzi. Some schools of thought such as

Chikwanha notes that the inception of chipangano dates back to the food riots of 1999.¹ Other scholars also notes that, Chipangano was set up by the late Ali Khani Manjengwa in 2001, who was seeking to be a councilor in the March 2002 Harare Municipal Elections. Thus clearly showing that the origin of Chipangano is surrounded by a lot of debate on were exactly into came into existence. This group is made up of women and man mainly composed male counterparts, there are mined from hostels, joburg lines and part of Mbare national residential area.

4:3 Prompted Nationalism and Patriotism

The commencement of year 2000 ZANU (PF) was faced with the greatest opposition force it had never witnessed before, which was threatening its existence. So it began to rewrite history portray itself as the salvation of the people, anything outside that history was labeled any enemy or a traitor and Chipangano was roped in the picture as the defender of the gains of the liberation struggle that came with independence. During those times it when the media was used to broadcast anything that was in support of ZANU(PF), these broadcast included drama's and songs that legitimized its stay in power. The Elliot Manyika sang songs that were in surppot of the party activities such as nhora.

“Kune vamwe vakapanduka nepamusana pekuda mari (mhururu kuenda nekudzoka mhurururu)

Kune vamwe vakapanduka nepamusana pekusafunga mari (mhururu kuenda nekudzoka

mhurururu)

Toraika vanhu vakadai dzidzisai gwara reZANU

Toraika vanhu vakadai dzidzisai gwara reZANU”²

Sentiments drawn from these lyrics clearly show that those who were not in line with the party at party had to be taught a lesson or to be re oriented to the party ideologies. Chipangano was in the

job of indoctrinate their fellow community members. Thus forcing people to sing liberation songs and the wearing of party regalia, any seen wearing regalia that are not of the party or of any other party punishment is unavoidable in any chance.³ such acts are accomplished when they are under the influence of drugs and alcohol as they will be no remorse. Female counterparts are usually present at the bases where they will be camping doing some chores, some are also present when people will be singing as they will be adding their melody voices.

4:4 Prompted Partisanship

The vigilant group Chipangano controls Mbare business activities including some council properties and it's are against the law of the land that prohibits one to own property without title deeds. Since the group it is in charge of the day to activities of the township, flea markets lease are given to ZANU (PF) card carrying members only and they are conditions on the issuing of such enterprises. Even when food aid that is meant for the people of the community they choose who to give and not give, with community members left only to watch from afar or go and hibernate. The group and the leader Jim Kunaka controlled ranks in the capital of Harare where they demand parking fees to commuter operators with the money they get pocketing themselves. Gumbo from the VOA notes that Chipangano youths struck commuter omnibus operators on Tuesday at the transport end inverse Harare Central Police Station, and beat up cops who came to investigate the aggravation.⁴ Owing their allegiance to the ruling party the youths exactly know that nothing of whatsoever will befall them, as they are immune to prosecution. The late Mr Chataika the godfather of Chipangano also had power to allocate market stalls to the local, those whom he saw as enemies were ejected.

Mupedza nhamo and Siya-So flea markets in Mbare are in control of Chipangano who to them is an business outfit, that is used to control their supporters to be on the right track. Mbare is congested with many people who live in the flats which is the property of the Harare city council, but since the coming of the shadow group the group now controls them, they are the ones that are the landlords of the buildings.⁵ As of the reason that such arrangement has been put in place, though it is illegal, they sometimes get rentals from the tenants. Also there are the ones who decide who should be a tenant depending on their affiliation with the party. If one disagrees he or she is ejected from the premises since they make the rules. Some local people also notes that some of the remittances from the youth based group are taken by their political leaders who are in big offices as tithe or protection fees.⁶ Most of the markets are rented by women who are seen as to be doing the day business whilst their male counterparts are in hibernation. Corruption is part of their day today activities they black mail local people forcing to pay bribes for their protection. Vendors from the market places are also forced to pay tithe for operation in the area and most of the tuck-shops that are present in Mbare are being administered by foreign nationals mainly congolians.⁷ These foreign nationals are extorted their money by this group since they immigrants who have ran away from their countries due to wars.

Despite directions from the council in the to erase such infrastructure as it is illegal, more and more tuck shops are being build day after day the immigrants who have to pay bribe, for such activicity to take place. In 2011 Chipangano under the leadership of Jim Kunaka they halted the Bill and Melinda foundation project of construction of residential flats for the people of Mbare. Chipangano threatened violence against construction workers in demanding a 51 percent ownership of the project and by assaulting the workers⁸ Furthermore Alex Mashamhanda, a local businessman who proposed funding construction of a service station and a food court

near the Matapi police station was also harassed.⁹This hindered the \$1.2 million scheme regardless of its approval by the Harare municipality. But local people have noted that such stances came from the offices above. As the ruling party thrives on disorder, failure to do so the regime cannot survive. Since development brings independence to an individual.

And independence of an individual is not good for the party, as they want to control people, because they will be having leverage on them. The former leader Jim kunaka arranged on choices on who gets what, where, when, why and how.¹⁰ such sentiments were maintained and respected in this shadow group. At the point when ZANU (PF) leaders have a meeting/exhibit/getting of foreign dignitaries in Harare, they are altogether anticipated that would rally behind the "party" and 'guarantee that everybody' goes to without come up short or they lose their positions/markets/slow down.¹¹This clearly illustrates why you will find that the thousands of people who seem to rally behind ZANU (PF) amid these open shows of bolster exercises are not converted into ballot votes.

4:5 Prompted Violence and Extractive Practices

It will be nonsensical for one to speak on elections in Zimbabwe without mentioning Chipanganano, violence and its extractive practices. Whenever a rally or hero dies the shadowy group coerce people to attend despite one not related to the deceased. Market places mainly in Mbare are closed and a register is marked of the attends of the people to the activities that need attends, those who reject are punished with ejection and some are beaten. During their parades when their doing toyi toying, even those who are walking near their parades are amassed into the crowd without their will. Despite differences among the leaders, the Chipanganano group is mandated to publicly keep everyone in line behind the leadership.¹²

The shadowy group convenes meetings at any time they deem necessary, but the law makes it that one has to notify the police or authority.

“In terms of Section 25 (1) (b) of the Public Order and Security Act (Chapter 11:17), a convener of a meeting should give a notice of the intention to hold a meeting, in writing signed by him or her to the regulating authority for the district in which the public meeting is to be held.”¹³

But this is different to Chipangano they do whenever they see fit, despite what the law says. Furthermore the Act goes on to say in section 25:

*“Any person, who knowingly fails to give notice of a gathering in terms of this section, shall be guilty of an offence and liable to a fine not exceeding level twelve or to imprisonment for a period not exceeding one year or to both such fine and such imprisonment.”*¹⁴

This only applies to members to other members of the society, who are arrested when they do such activities, especially those of opposition party’s e.g MDC-T. To them the group is given a blind eye by the authority whenever they conduct their meetings even rallies. Local people are forced to attend those meetings; they even do door house to house campaigns, coercing local people to attend meetings against one’s will.

One of the main aims of the cult movement is to gunner support for ZANU (PF) candidates in Mbare and prevents opposition from penetrating into the high density suburb. At point in time Jim Kunaka who was the leader at that time was quoted saying in an interview with a local paper that “during my term as the chairperson of the province of Harare province, I rescued people in my constituency who had gone to the Movement for Democratic Change”.¹⁵

Whenever elections are around the corner the mafia group installs fear in the local people, such that many they move to other neighborhoods, only to come back when the dust has settled. Violence is used as an instrument of governance, with the law enforcers turning a blind eye. The shadowy group uses violent whenever they is it necessary, one should not forget that violence has its roots dating back to the colonial period. Robert Mugabe has been quoted in one of his speeches bragging that he has a degree in violence.¹⁶ The picture below shows Chipangano at the national heroes acre on a parade with some coerced people in their midst



Fig 3 from Nehanda Radio shows Jim Kunaka parading Chipangano at the National Heroes acre on the day Cde Rex Solomon Nhongo Mujuru was being buried.¹⁷

4:6 Chipangano and the 2008 Election

The group left a scar in the history of Zimbabwe in the year 2008 , were elections were disputed by the opposition parties. It took weeks before the first results were announce and no winner was announce as both political parties did not reach the percentage that was needed for one to be declared a winner. Though they were a lot of theories that suggested that the election had been rigged, another election was held in which ZANU (PF) contested alone, as a result of atrocities that were being done by arms of government departments and Chipangano.¹⁸ In Mbare the high density witnessed horror and punishment they had never witnessed before. Recreational facilities such as Stodart hall and Mai Musodzi hall were tuned into bases and camps were local people who were known to be aligned to the MDC-T were captured and brought to the bases were they were beaten and punished.¹⁹ In these camps local were taught to sing songs and declare their allegiance to ZANU (PF) and its leader Robert Mugabe. Who was potrayed as cult leader and that he was the only person who could lead the republic.

They were those who were suspected of being of the opposition they were visited at night at their , by the group and punished in front of their family members without remorse, even when their little children were watching.²⁰ Such that many local people moved out of the high density suburb in fear for their lives. Also schools were turned into bases such as Nharira primary schools since the schools were closed. Torture was used to install fear in the local so that they would go and tell others, that indeed the ruling party was there to stay and no one could stop them. George Hartely swimming pool was used as base for those who had been abducted in the area and from other surbubs in Harere, were people were being drowned.²¹ Despite the facility being less than a kilometer from Stodart Police Station, nothing was done to Chipangano as the police noted that they did not interfere in politics.

When the MDC-T wanted to do their rallies they were stop by the group, as they were told that it was a no go area. Chipangano would disrupt the events by throwing stones and other harmful objects and this resulted into war, with the police coming and disband the event.¹⁹ Their plan always worked as they had stop a rally, this was different when they hold their meetings the MDC-T would not come and intervene. Those who were seen putting up posters of the any party besides ZANU (PF) were bashed with harmful objections such as sticks and stones. The group forced the opposition supporters into political hibernation. And this led ZANU (PF) to contest alone in the presidential election and won, though they was a lot of blood that was spilled. Furthermore Edward Chataika who was believed to be the Godfather of Chipangano , his house was also used as camp for torturing people at night and the police feared him as he was a member of the central committee in ZANU (PF).²² This clearly shows that with such a member of the ruling party in their midst, nothing could stood in their way.

4:7 The effects of the 2008 election and the Aftermath

The Group has left unforgettable memories on the people of Mbare, such that the local people do not want to relive such an experience. The 2008 election left a horrific memory on the people of Mbare as many lost their loved ones. Many women contracted Aids as result of rape as they could sleep with many man without protection and some were even impregnated. A lot of people were tortured with many weapons ranging from iron bars, stones, also being drowned in drums of water and some were left for dead, only to be discover by other residents and some were even dropped in other suburb's after such experiences.²³ Those who were lucky to be alive were able to share their experience with their families. Father Wermter a priest in Mbare of the Roman Catholic Church offered shelter to those whose houses had been destroyed and burned down by the

Chipangano²⁴ The group activities left many people homeless, as some after the election of 2008 had to source out funds such as loans to finance in the rebuilding of their homes.

Children were left without parents as some of them had been murdered or abducted, such that they were never seen again by their families up to this date. Schools that were used as bases cases were many on whose reports that that some school infrastructure had been damaged and even recreational facilities have been vandalized by the cultic movement. To those who survived the trauma of the 2008 era were left with disabilities for life such that other are unable to look after their families.²⁵ To those who participated in the violence and killing of people, some of the members of Chipangano have been subjected to mental illness as a result of murdering their fellow community members.²⁶ In shona it is called Ngozi whereby one is tormented by the spirit of a person he/she has killed. To this day others are living the testimony of such evil practices of murdering their community members.

As one would take a stroll in the high density suburb, one is able to see pictures everywhere in dura walls and council buildings of Robert Mugabe being painted on the wall. Despite the council by laws prohibiting, such culture of painting anywhere. Despite their leader Jim Kunaka being ejected from the party, the group still survives and carrying out its practices. Masepe has noted that

“You have to understand that Chipangano is not a political animal. They are not even party youths per se. It is an economic grouping of foot soldiers who belong to the leader of the time. They are an outfit for hire who heed the directions of the highest bidder.”²⁷

The above sentiment undoubtedly shows that Chipangano is there to stay, whether its leaders come and go. After the dismissal of its leader Jim Kunaka from the ZANU (PF) many analysts

thought it was the death of the movement, but time and events have proved them wrong. As the group still handles Mbare social and political affairs up to this date. Chipangano still convene public meetings without clearance, they are still in control of the informal sector in the high density suburb. Since the suburb has been overpopulated by foreigners mainly Congolese, who are running away from their countries because of wars, and the group gives them permission to open up their tuck shops. In return the immigrants they pay protection fees, even political rallies are being held the migrants are the ones that are seen on the national television, fully packing venues and portray that the ruling party is still being loved by the people.²⁸ Even to this day many people are coerced to attend national events and funerals from Stodart to the national Heroes Acre.

4:8 Conclusion

In conclusion Chipangano reigns on Mbare social, economic and political affairs of the high density suburb. One cannot talk about Mbare without mentioning Chipangano and its activities. The shadow group has done more harm than good as the people of the community live in absolute fear and intimidation from these youths, who relentlessly do anything they wish to do. Crimes against humanity have been committed by this group ranging from murder, rape and torture of their fellow community members. Property and buildings have been controlled; some have been damaged especially to those who are perceived as enemies or from the opposition parties. The group is immune to prosecution since the police do nothing on behalf of the offended as they are rumours from the top offices that nothing must be done to them if they have acted any crime for the betterment of the party.

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20. An interview with Mrs George on the 8th December 2016

21. An interview with Mr Chipunza on the 7th January 2017

22. An interview with Mrs Gatula on the 20 January 2017

23. An interview with Mr Gwatidzo a Mbare resident on 22 January 2017

24. An interview with Mr Rusere a Mbare resident on 22 January 2017

25. An interview with Mr Rushaya a Mbare resident on 18 January 2017

26. An interview with Mr Gotogoto a Mbare resident on 11 February 2017

27. An interview with Mr Chibato a Mbare resident on 2 February 2017

28. An interview with Mrs Rudawo a Mbare resident on 21 February 2017

CONCLUSION

The time period of 36 years of independence Zimbabwe has witnessed a gross of human rights violation by the youths who are supposed to be the future leaders of Zimbabwe. Going back to the 80's nothing much has been done for the youths, such as policies that can help them to become independent adults. From the 80's the youth participated in the Gukurahundi in Matabeleland and parts of Midlands in form of dissidents, uniformed forces and 5th brigade under the leadership of commander Perence Shiri. People were murdered; their houses were brought down with fire, children were starved to death as a result of food embargo that were imposed on the province. All these methods were put in place to eradicate any seeds of opposition that would pose as a threat to ZANU. This brought desired results as it led to the unification of ZAPU and ZANU in 1987 to form ZANU (PF) under the Unity Accord.

Facing effects of ESAPS and a poor functioning economy ZANU (PF) government faced the greatest challenge ever in history. A labour driven movement was formed MDC in 1999 led by Morgan Tsvangirai and it got support from all walks of life and it became a threat to ZANU (PF) existence. The ruling party found itself in a state of oblivion, it embarked on the land invasions in the late 90's and 2000 as a way to redeem the support that was wearing away, the youths were then used as instruments. Youths chased away white farmers and their workers from the farms paving a way for their leaders to occupy, only them to be paid in form of promises, money and alcohol. In those farms crimes were committed as they were cases of murder, abductions, torture and intimidation.

Furthermore when the referendum was rejected by the people the ruling party realized that its stay in power was overdue and had to do anything to make sure that they remained power. The youth brigades were unleashed to terrorize the electorate to make sure they didn't vote for the MDC in the 2002 election. The period was characterized by violence everywhere across the country with houses being burnt down, people being tortured, women being raped and infected with AIDS. And the law enforces stood still only to watch perpetrators walking free, as they was a command from the top offices that such offenders were not to be arrested. During this phase it was also the time were new breed of youth leaders were jumping into the political arena such Nelson Chamisa.

Moreover in Mbare particular they is gang or shadow group known as Chipangano, which terrorize the high density suburb. The group controls the social, economic and political affairs of the community, as the call themselves a subsidiary branch of ZANU (PF) because they are immune to prosecution. Law enforcers even fear them because they have no remorse on what activity that the engage in, they coerce people to attend rallies, national events and state funerals against their will. Most their practices were seen during the 2008 election, when they murdered community members, abduct them, torture and even intimidate them. Even to this day they control everyday activities in Mbare. It is purpose of this study to show that unemployment, bad policies by the government, lack of educational programs and poor servicing of recreational facilities, has led political bigwigs to expedience the youth in their quest for power.

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