

Zimbabwe: Integration, Reconciliation and Rehabilitation Processes

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Abstract

Over the years we have failed to stop tyrants and dictators getting into positions of power. Should we just sit back and do nothing about this or should we just be philosophical about it? Being philosophical simply means accepting what we cannot change. This paper sought to change what we thought could not be changed. Integration means 'working together', Rehabilitation means "rebuilding what had been destroyed" and "Reconciliation means forgiving one another." These are all ways of changing what we thought could not be changed. For all this to happen, people of one nation should evolve unity in diversity. Only when people can live together, work together, have mutual respect for one another and speak freely to one another and the country have Peace. Rehabilitation, Integration and Reconciliation can only take place where there is peace. Reconciliation will only succeed where we as Zimbabweans say: 'I hate what you say, but will defend to death your right to say it.' This is a powerful defence of the idea that even views that you despise deserve to be heard. Only after reconciliation will integration and rehabilitation be possible. In the wake violence on a societal scale, finding the right balance between justice and healing retribution and forgiveness, tribunals and truth commissions, remembering and 'moving on' is a messy if not an impossible goal. 'Reconciliation' is the term that has been used to refer to this series of messy compromises. Though it may be offensive or inconceivable to some, this is the only sustainable and genuine form of prevention in societies that have undergone mass violence or conflict. Reconciliation is not being cosy; it is not about pretending that things were other than they were. Reconciliation based on falsehood, on not facing up to reality is not true reconciliation and will not last, the paper has argued. Thus, a conclusion that has been drawn is that while truth might not always lead to reconciliation, there will be no reconciliation without truth-hence this paper. The significance of the study was to bring national healing to a country that is heavily polarised, traditional justice o a country in which the judiciary is highly politicised and to bring peace to a country that is heavily fractured by violence. The study has also outlined Zimbabwe's attempts at striking a balance between justice and healing, vengeance and forgiveness.

Keywords: forgiveness, philosophical, integration, reconciliation, rehabilitation, truth

INTRODUCTION

Zimbabwe, a potential giant is in a crisis, (Ayithey, 1998). The causes of socio-political turbulence, economic difficulties, environmental degradation and its cultural dislocation have been well documented, (Bhebhe, 2002, Bloc, 2004, Ndlovu, 2003), but action to redress these problems and reverse the trend has so far failed to produce the expected results. Never in the history of the country has its people been under attack on so many fronts as it is today. This is a sign that we have gone too far and too fast in the wrong direction. Although the country has research action programmes and lobbying at both national and international levels to awaken the public to political turbulence, economic difficulties and its cultural dislocation, little has been done to educate the masses on the basic, underlying and immediate causes of the present political turbulence, environmental, economic and development problems. As a consequence, despite a number of interventions to correct the

complex situation, they have had mixed, but on the whole poor results. This is not surprising because in a way the cart has been put before the horse, hence the progress has been difficult and frustrating. That Zimbabwe is in serious political, economic and development crisis is no longer a gossip but a reality that manifests itself in multifarious forms. However, it is only the **effects or symptoms** of the crisis and not the **causes** that are common knowledge and quite often emphasised (Otim, 1992). This needs immediate correction.

Zimbabwe's own internal contradictions which need immediate correction include the institution of reckless political decisions and unscrutinised policies. These range from the use of hate language such as 'down with' (pasi) P.F ZAPU, down with Dumiso Dabengwa, down with 'Tea Boy' Morgan Tsvangirai etc, to inciting ethnic and/or tribal conflicts or civil unrest, from premeditated capital flight,

mismanagement of institutions, locked-in-thinking by elites to corruption. All such practices themselves bring social unrest and may create instability in the government thus further crippling the country's capacity to tackle economic and political issues and to embark on sustainable development, (Ayittey, 1988). Today, nearly all government departments have resorted to management by crisis as a method of running the affairs of the state, (Ndlovu, 2003). The next stage may be the whole country's crash landing if nothing is done to reverse the trend.

Our country's complex problems cannot continue to be tackled by the traditional piece-meal approaches, (Bhebhe, 2002). They require integrated and multi-disciplinary approaches that synthesise indigenous knowledge and culture, mobilise institutions, economic, human, natural and organisational resources from grass-root to national levels. The time for action is **now** not political pronouncements – hence this paper. I need to add here that Zimbabwe's key socio-economic weakness remains its inability to think and plan ahead. The political vices of procrastination, disagreement and governance by telling lies as a political gambit are sinking the country, (Ndlovu, 2003). Leaders must learn to draw the line between imitation and meeting the aspirations of the people. Politically motivated short-sightedness in dealing in domestic socio-economic issues has to stop.

The challenge for government, all political parties, NGO's, (local, bilateral and multilateral agencies), is to have the **WILL** to work more closely with each other in a more coordinated manner to achieve the cherished goals. This must be done with the full understanding of the historical circumstances as well as the local and international factors responsible for Zimbabwe's political, economical and developmental debacle, (Ayittey, 1982). Let us all remember that when there is a problem or a crisis one must tackle the root cause(s) but not the symptoms for short-term bluff. The later remedy, on which a lot of time and resources are wasted, seems to be the trend in Zimbabwe today, (News Day, Saturday, December 8, 2012). This will not take us and the country anywhere. Our leaders must stop supping with the devil.

Importance of the Study

To both scholars and readers, the ability to handle conflict is a key factor in managerial success. Scholars should highlight this in their research papers. The study makes the point to its readers that wherever we wish to make changes, there is potential conflict. Scholars are urged to find ways of reducing conflict through research. The importance of the paper is that it has also highlighted to both scholars and reader the dangers of conflict and our attitude to it. The paper has argued that conflict becomes a

dangerous and disruptive force whenever personal 'glory' is staked on the outcome. The further the conflict develops, the more 'glory' is staked, the more bitter the conflict becomes and the less easy it is to achieve a solution. This explains why elections are potential sources of conflict. Reconciliation brings the opposing parties together.

The Problem Statement

Africa has suffered from a surfeit of dictators and dictatorial governments, Amin, Habre, Hastings Banda, Mengistu, Mobutu Seseke among others. All these had many commonalities. All were brutal to their enemies, all were corrupt, all brought their countries to economic ruin and all lived and died in comfort at the expense of their people. None of them faced the just consequences of their crimes. Now it seems possible that the same comfortable fate awaits most of our current long-serving dictators and their henchmen. Amnesty and impunity have always been a characteristic of African politics. After any conflict there is need to confront and then put aside the history of that conflict so that life can continue without the enduring pain in the conscience of the perpetrators and in the lack of closure for the victims. Zimbabwe, after the war of liberation and through pressures of Lancaster House, introduced a policy of reconciliation. This meant that the history of colonisation and of the war was not confronted and reconciliation was in fact, not achieved.

In South Africa the new dispensation went a step further by holding a Truth and Reconciliation process through which the history was confronted but closure for many thousands of victims was not achieved. While both of these efforts were laudable there is no doubt that in order to bring true closure, a more comprehensive process of reconciliation is required – hence this study.

The Christian Church has developed a Rite of Reconciliation through which a sinner may be reconciled with God. This rite has taken different forms over the years, but the current form seems to cover all the necessary aspects of true reconciliation. There are four fundamental requirements for such reconciliation which are: (a) contrition (b) confession (c) a firm purpose of amendment and (d) Penance i.e. some form of recompense for restitution. A brief explanation of each of these is given below:

- a) Contrition means a real regret for what has been done, not merely a feeling of guilt, but regret;
- b) Confession means the truthful admission of the wrong done in some detail;
- c) A firm purpose of amendment indicates that the wrongdoer has serious intention not to commit the offence again in future;
- d) Penance is, in a sense, a corrective measure.
- e) This form of reconciliation can be modified to be used in the political sense. When a government

has violated the rights of its citizens, those citizens require to be reconciled both to the perpetrators and to their own suffering. In normal circumstances the citizen may sue the government, or offending person, for compensation, but when a government sponsored gross offences, something more is required. In particular, if the offending government is overturned, either through the ballot box or through revolution, the citizens will probably demand some punitive action to be taken against the offenders. The likelihood of these demands often causes the offending government to cling to power through whatever means at its disposal in order not to face the consequences of its citizens. This is the state of the affairs in Zimbabwe today. How do we as Zimbabweans overcome this problem?

THE AFRICAN PERSPECTIVE – DANCING TO THE WRONG TUNE

‘A sharp tongue sometimes cuts its own throat’ – Jim Scancarelli

It was hoped that with the transfer of power to indigenous Zimbabweans in 1980, the ills of colonialism and cultural barriers that had existed between policy makers and implementers on the one hand and the indigenous people on the other hand would disappear and a new epoch of understanding and democracy would be ushered in, (Bhebhe, 2002, Ndlovu, 2003). This, it was further hoped would create an enabling environment for the restoration of Zimbabwean culture and traditional equality of sharing nature's gifts (ibid). Unfortunately this has not been the case in Zimbabwe because of racism, tribalism, ethnicity and greed. Hate language by those in leadership positions divided the country leading to its destruction, (Ayittey, 1988). Slogans such as ‘down with’ (pasi) and ‘forward with’ (pamberi) divided the country further and hardened the people's hearts, (Ndlovu, 2003). Any programme initiated by the government in power was militarised such as Operation Maguta, Operation Murambatsvina, Operation Chikorokoza Chapera, Operation Mavotera Papi etc. ZANU PF has remained a liberation movement to this day which has its merits and demerits, (Bhebhe, 2002). It was the responsibility of the government to bring integration and reconciliation among the people, but instead the government divided the people through hate language, racism, tribalism and ethnicity, (Ndlovu, 2003). So, today in Zimbabwe, it is leadership or governance that presents the greatest challenge to the country's capacity to protect its environment, conserve its biodiversity, improve the quality of life of her people and to establish sustainable development, (Otim, 1992). The adoption of the medieval monolithic mode of governance by the country has caused instability in the country and government, encouraged ethnic and tribal conflicts,

provided good ground for corruption, capital flight and refugee problems and failed leaders to differentiate between state and personal wealth which explains the misuse of government property in the country, (Bhebhe, 2002). The impact of this has been gradual institutional decay, increase in poverty, illiteracy, state terrorism, mafia-type killings in urban centres, environmental destruction and pollution, among other evils. A don't care attitude-every person for himself/herself and God for all of us-has been the end result making effective mobilization difficult, (Otim, 1992).

Presently ordinary people in this country are in a dilemma as to whether European colonialists divided them more than what has happened under indigenous authorities in post independent Zimbabwe. One thing is, however, clear in their minds. The sentiments of oneness which colonialism had created in nationalist Zimbabweans and traditional belonging to a community have disappeared and instead fragmentation and poverty are increasing. The traditional Zimbabwean democracy based on discussion and consensus have been stifled, (Ndlovu, 2003). The ZANU P.F authoritarian government has created mistrust and stress on the governed. This government has in particular strained relationships among people of the same nation to the extent that Zimbabwe now finds itself caught between the danger of anarchy, (decentralised violence by the people when there is no effective government) and tyranny, (state sponsored violence or terrorism designed to achieve the goal of a dictator and his cronies), (Hitchcock, 1992). Colonisation of Africans by their fellow African leaders who yesterday cried Wolf or foul play when Europeans dehumanised them has become a more resented pill to swallow because people feel their trust has been betrayed and they have been taken for a ride, (Otim, 1992).

Not surprisingly many Zimbabweans, some of them highly enlightened have romanticised colonialism in comparison to independent governance. Okot P'Bitek illustrates candidly the growing feeling of helplessness among Africans, in this song of prisoner;

I plead sickness
I am an orphan
I am diseased with
All the giant diseases of society
Crippled by the cancer of uhuru
Far worse than the jaws of colonialism
The walls of hopelessness
Surround me completely
There are no windows
To let in the air
Of hope
(Otim, 1992)

Many Zimbabweans today share the sentiments of Okot P'Bitek and putting most of the blame of the

current socio-economic and political ills on post independence distraction, (Buckle, 2001). To some extent they are right. Ethnicity and/or tribalism for political gain and all their manifestations, such as religious bigotry and nepotism are the fundamental causes of political mayhem and the resulting suffering in many African countries, (Ayittey, 1998). They have wretched the relative ethnic and tribal calm that prevailed in the early independence era

The widespread existence of militarism which is competing with civilian supremacy has made Zimbabwe even more tyrannical and anarchist. Unless this dangerous situation is resolved and halted quickly, the stability and peace needed to allow people's energy to be directed to tackling their environmental and development problems cannot be achieved. Experience over the last three decades appears to suggest that the most important factors the Zimbabwe government must bring into play to promote peace, stability, unity, environmental conservation, food security and sustainable development are:

- i. Equitable power sharing based on cultures and traditions of all Zimbabweans;
- ii. Equality of job opportunities across ethnic and gender lines;
- iii. Limiting of tenure of the Presidency to a maximum of two five year terms;
- iv. Use of any hate language such as 'down with' (pasi), 'forward with' (pamberi) to be stopped forthwith; and
- v. Stopping from ascending to power militarist leaders who are agents of violence, environmental destruction and underdevelopment and hence ill suited to govern the country's people to greater heights of sustainability, (Ayittey, 1998, Otim, 1992 and Ndlovu, 2003).

The Bully Boy Syndrome

In the light of the above scenario, we must pose this question: Can Zimbabwe's military be the guardian of environment and sustainable development as well as protect democracy? Zimbabwe has become notorious for security forces that wield too much power to the detriment of the national image, (Otim, 1992, Ndlovu, 2003). Armed forces which are highly repressive which litter the country retard the country's development, shatter people's morale and quite often promote crime and terrorism instead of curbing them, (Bhebhe, 2002). The country is tearing itself apart under militarism because state violence has bred societal violence. Merchants of death are usually armed to the teeth and believe in Maoist contention that power comes from the barrel of the gun and not from the ballot box, (Hitchcock, 1992). This is the cause of the current and persistent tension between soldiers on the one hand and politicians and civilians on the other. Their pre-occupation is how to hold on to power not how to serve the people,

(Ayittey, 1988, Bhebhe, 2002, Ndlovu, 2003). The brutal behaviour of Zimbabwe's militarists, which is a legacy of the cold war strategies between the west and the east, has contributed directly and indirectly to environmental destruction, pollution, biodiversity loss and worsened the already unsustainable development in the country, (Diana, 1992, Bhebhe, 2002, The Washington post, 2000). When the armed forces are used in ethnic conflict or civil war, the direct effects include the destruction of human and animal life, destruction of properties and facilities, destruction of vegetation and a large refugee influx, (Ayittey, 1988, Otim, 1992). I am sure that the Gukurahundi period of the early 1980's and the 2008 elections are still fresh in our minds. Many Zimbabweans lost lives during these periods and a polarised country. Indirect impact of armed conflict include death due to famine and diseases, overcrowding in 'safe havens', overgrazing, environmental pollution due to poor sanitation and deforestation of areas where refugees with their livestock are camped. Schools are also affected as the victimised and frightened parents go with their children, (Bhebhe, 2002, Ndlovu, 2003).

Thus when the former US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Herman Cohen talks about African militaries having the responsibility to protect democracy, let us be very clear about the type of militaries we ourselves have in mind. Certainly everything must be done by Zimbabweans to rid themselves of the bully-boy syndrome which has made some African dictators build anti civilian armies ranging from 100,000 to 250,000 soldiers using international and bilateral aid meant for development projects. In many African countries, even local resources are used to build support and sustain these huge anti-civilian armies, (Ayittey, 1998, Hitchcock, 1992, Otim, 1992). The armies which have in many countries tortured, raped, maimed, killed, intimidated and put in prison hundreds of thousands of African lives, while they have displaced others internally and externally are a liability to mother Africa. The litany of their misdeeds on the continent are well known, (Hitchcock, 1992, Otim, 1992).

Today's Zimbabwe requires armed forces which during peace time are helpful to the nation in such areas like reconstruction of infrastructure, protection of resources instead of plundering them and helping civilians during natural catastrophes such as floods, earthquakes, veld fires and other emergencies. In short, armies by their training have no business running a country; theirs is to provide protection to the nation and its people, (Hitchcock, 1992, Bhebhe, 2002, Ndlovu, 2003). To use the phrase of Charles Snyder, a former infantry trainer and chief political/military adviser in the state department's African Bureau, only after African armed forces are

converted from being 'praetorian' to 'constitutional' guards who protect the constitution and territory of the nation can we regard them as defenders of democracy. Defending democracy leads to defending the environment, biodiversity and sustainable development, for these can only be done when there is peace, stability and individual creativity in a free society. This is far from being the case in Zimbabwe today, (Ndlovu, 2003).

As of now the purpose of our armed forces is to defend despotic leaders both military and other against internal rebellion. Nothing beyond that. They are like the praetorian guards who protected the emperors of ancient Rome. Synder emphasised that a professional army in any democracy protects the constitution and territory of the nation not just and individual leader, his cronies and their property as is the case in Zimbabwe today. Democracy only works well in a country where the army is professional. I want to appeal to our armed forces to behave and act professionally at all times. Democracy depends on an army that respects human rights, the democratic systems however they are defined and promotes socio-economic development for all, (Ayittey, 1998, Hitchcock, 1992).

Therefore if Zimbabwe is to improve the quality of life of its people, if the country is to protect its environment and biodiversity and establish sustainable development then the first step is to have armed forces that are **not** technicians of violence. The impact of this violence in terms of losses of human life, destruction of the environment and pollution is a great shame to Zimbabwe. The country cannot continue to create and perpetuate chaos and instability and heap all the blame for its marginalisation on the north. It must accept its share of the blame.

Power

Since politics constitutes the gateway to fabulous wealth and power in Africa, the competition for political power has always been ferocious, (Ayittey, 1998, Hitchcock, 1992). Political belief could mean exile, jail or starvation. Those who win power take over key state institutions and proceed to plunder the treasury at will as is happening in many African countries today, (Ayittey, 1998). Key positions in these institutions are handed over to the president's tribesman, cronies and loyal supporters to serve their interests and not those of the people or the nation. Meritocracy and the administrative capacity varnish and in comes homeboy, (mwana wekumusha), (Bhebhe, 2002, Ndlovu, 2003). Eventually, however, the vampire state implodes, sucking the country into a vortex of savage carnage and heinous destruction. This has been the fate so far of Liberia, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Somalia, The Democratic Republic of Congo, Ivory Coast, the Sudan etc, (Ayittey, 1988,

Hitchcock, 1992). Zimbabwe could get there if we do not work hard as Zimbabweans to stop this from happening. This needs patriotic Zimbabweans.

This one word – **POWER** – explains why Africa is in the grip of a never ending cycle of wanton chaos, horrific carnage, senseless civil wars and collapsing economies. It is the struggle for power, its monopolisation by one individual or group, and the subsequent refusal to relinquish or share it that causes so much destruction and misery, (Ayittey, 1988, Bhebhe, 2002, Ndlovu 2003). The adamant refusal of African despots and the ruling vampire elites to relinquish or share political power regardless of the professed ideology of its government, always begins with some disputes over the electoral process. Unwilling to relinquish or share political power, the ruling vampire elite's block, sabotage or manipulate the electoral process to keep themselves in power. The blockage of the democratic process or the refusal to hold elections are what plunged Angola, Chad, Ethiopia, Mozambique, Somalia, the Sudan and Ivory Coast into civil war, (Ayittey, 1988). The manipulation of the electoral process by the hardliners destroyed Rwanda, (1993) and Sierra Leone, (1992). The subversion of the electoral process in Liberia, (1985), eventually set off a civil war in 1989 and instigated civil strife in Cameroon in 1991, Congo, (1992), Kenya, (1992), and (2008) and Ivory Coast, (2000) and (2011). Finally, the annulment of the electoral results by the military started Algeria's civil war, (1992) and plunged Nigeria into political turmoil, (1993). For the latest instance of such shenanigans, witness the current constitutional crisis in Zimbabwe. The country is at the brink of a civil war, unless the current constitutional talks and deadlock come out with an acceptable solution and the deadlock is resolved.

Rediscovering Lost Values

The thing that we need as Zimbabweans today is a group of men and women who will stand up for right and be opposed to wrong, wherever it is and whoever does it. A group of people who have come to see that some things are wrong, whether nobody sees you doing them or not. All I'm saying to you is that our country hinges on moral foundations. God has made it so! God has made the universe to be based on moral law... This universe hinges on moral foundations.

There is something in this universe that justifies Carlyle saying: 'no lie can live forever'. There is something in this universe that justifies William Cullen Bryant in saying; 'Truth, crushed to earth, will rise again'.

There is something in this universe that justifies the biblical writer in saying; 'You shall reap what you sow'.

As a young man with most of my life ahead of me, I decided early to give my life to something eternal and absolute. Not to those little gods that are here today and gone tomorrow. But to God who is the same yesterday, today and forever. I am not going to put my ultimate faith in the little gods that can be destroyed in an atomic age, but the God who has been our help in ages past, and our hope for years to come, and our shelter in the time of the storm and our eternal home. That is the God that I am putting my ultimate faith in... The God that I am talking about today is the God of the universe and the God that will last through the ages. If we are to go forward today, we have got to go back and find that God. That is the God that demands and commands our ultimate allegiance. If we are to go forward, we must go back and rediscover these precious values – that all reality hinges on moral foundations and that all reality has spiritual control.

A Genuine Leader is Not a Searcher for Consensus

People have said to me, 'since violence is the new cry, is there no danger that you will lose touch with the people in the country and be out of step with times if you do not change your views on non violence?' My answer is always the same. While I am convinced that the vast majority of people in Zimbabwe reject violence, even if they did not I would not be interested in being a consensus leader. I refuse to determine what is right by taking an 'opinion' poll of the trends of the time. I imagine that there were leaders in Germany who sincerely opposed what Hitler was doing to the Jews, (see Martin Luther Jr). But they took their poll and discovered that anti-Semitism was the prevailing trend. In order to 'keep in touch', they yielded to one of the most ignominious evils that history has ever known. No Zimbabwean should be part of this.

Ultimately, a genuine leader is not a searcher for consensus but a moulder of consensus. If every person in Zimbabwe turns to violence, I will choose to be that lone voice preaching that this was the wrong way. Maybe this sounds like arrogance. But it is not intended that way. It is simply my way of saying that I would rather be a man of conviction than a man of conformity. Occasionally in life one develops a conviction so precious and meaningful that one will stand on it till the end. This is what I have found in non-violence.

I cannot make myself believe that God wanted me or any Zimbabwean to hate. Many Zimbabweans including myself are tired of violence. We have seen such hate on the faces of too many people in this country including our President. And Zimbabweans are not going to let their oppressors dictate to them what method they must use. Their oppressors have used violence, rifles and guns. We should not stoop

down to their level and no Zimbabwean should. We need as Zimbabweans to rise to a higher level. We have power that cannot be found in our oppressors' cocktails.

One of the greatest paradoxes of the opposition parties was that they talked unceasingly about not imitating the values of the ruling party, but in advocating violence, they were imitating the worst, the most brutal, and the most uncivilised value of Zimbabwean life. Opposition members have never been mass murderers. They have never murdered children in Sunday school, nor have they hung the ruling party perpetrators of violence, lynching human beings at will and drowning them at whim. Why start now, I ask?

I am concerned about the status of opposition members in the country. But I am also concerned about our moral uprightness and health of our souls. Therefore I must oppose any attempt to gain our freedom by the methods of malice, hate and violence that have characterised our oppressors. Hate is just as injurious to the hater as it is to the hated. Like an unchecked cancer, hate corrodes the personality and eats away its vital unity. Many of our inner conflicts are rooted in hate. This is why the Psychiatrists say 'love or perish'. Hate is too great a burden to bear, (Maren, 1997).

Zimbabweans are waiting for something other than wind imitation of the past. If we want truly to advance a step further, if we want to turn over a new leaf and really set a new man afoot, we must begin to turn mankind away from the long and desolate night of violence. May it not be that the new man the world needs is the non violent man? Longfellow said; 'In this world a man must either be an anvil or a hammer.' We must be hammers shaping a new society rather than anvils moulded by the old. This not only will make us new men, but will give us a new kind of power. It will not be Lord Acton's image of power that tends to corrupt or absolute power that corrupts absolutely. It will be power infused with love and justice, that will change dark yesterdays into bright tomorrows, and lift us from the fatigue of despair to the buoyancy of hope. A dark, desperate, confused, and sin-sick world awaits for this new kind of man and this new kind of power. We can only ignore this as a country to our own peril, (Whitaker, 1988). How can Africa Survive? Harper and Row, New York.

CONCLUSION

A true revolution of values will soon cause us to question the fairness and justice of many of our past and present policies. On the one hand we are called to play the Good Samaritan on life's roadside, but that will only be an initial act. One day we must come to see that the whole Jericho road must be transformed

so that men and women will not be constantly beaten and robbed as they make their journey on life's highway. True compassion is more than flinging a coin to a beggar. It comes to see that edifice which produces beggars needs restructuring. Obviously this means that Africa's vampire states must be reformed. Power needs to be taken out of the hands of the elite and given to the people where it belongs. This entails both political and economic reform: democratisation, market liberalisation, decentralisation and diffusion of power, and the adoption of power sharing arrangements. The politics of exclusion must be replaced by the politics of inclusion. The senseless civil wars in Africa must end. In addition, state institutions must be reformed so that transparency, accountability and professionalism prevail. These reforms, in turn, will help establish in Africa an environment conducive to investment and economic activity. Both domestic and foreign investment are the ways out of Africa's miasma. These are keys to economic growth and poverty reduction. But Africa's environment of chaos, famine, diseases, civil wars, coups, dictatorships, social disorder, corruption and collapsed infrastructure repel foreign investment, (Aiyithey, 1988). All this needs immediate correction.

When political parties had their campaign rallies for the March, (2008), elections some supporters of the MDC fearful of their lives cried out in horror and dismay; 'You are creating hatred and hostility in the ZANU PF strongholds. You are only developing a ZANU PF backlash.' They failed to see and realise that the hatred and hostilities were already latently or subconsciously present. MDC rallies merely brought them to the surface. Many opposition supporters were beaten for voting wrongly. What insane logic it is to condemn the robbed man because his possession of money precipitated the evil act of robbery. Society must learn to condemn the robber and never the robbed. What insane logic it is to condemn Socrates because his philosophical delving precipitated the evil act of making him drink the hemlock. What an insane logic it is to condemn Jesus Christ because his love for God and truth precipitated the evil act of his crucifixion. What an insane logic it is to condemn the MDC for winning the March 29 (2008) elections because it led to violence by ZANU PF thugs. Society must learn to condemn those who are perpetuating the violence, and not those individuals who engage in the pursuit of their constitutional rights. May it be remembered that genuine peace is not the absence of tension, but the presence of justice, (Stiff, 2000). Justice demands equitable access to resources by the people of Zimbabwe and the return of capital siphoned out of the country into northern banks. The capital is needed for investment in the country so that it fulfils the development task for which it was intended, (Otim, 1992). Indigenous land rights should also be respected through comprehensive formulation and

effective implementation of programmes of land tenure reform. Democracy means allowing people to become active participants in planning, decision making and implementation of projects that affect their lives. In a nutshell, this means people must become the controllers and not the victims of the development process. For all this to happen, we as Zimbabweans must demonstrate to the world that we have come of age as a nation and that we can solve our differences peacefully. Violence shall, however, remain alive in Zimbabwe as long as politicians and the media continue to fan it through insults, hate speeches and derision, (The Economist, 1999).

We have the capacity to be Zimbabweans, to understand each other, respect their differences and to celebrate their diversity. Let us start doing so now as tomorrow might be too late.

This land, this Zimbabwe, does not belong to either the Ndebeles or Shonas, nor does it belong to one political party. Rather we are compatriots who belong to the land and to each other. If we cannot live together, we surely will be buried here together. We must choose life rather than death. The choice is now or never. We can only claim the 21st century if we reform, (World Bank, 2001).

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