

BRIEFING PAPERS
: ZIMBABWE :

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The Hon. Alexander Downer
Minister of Foreign Affairs.

The situation in Zimbabwe is deteriorating to such an extent that these briefing papers are intended to give you as far as is possible, a balanced overview which is more detailed than you may be able to access in normal circumstances.

To assist you in clarifying issues, the papers are grouped into topics followed by headline updates on the current situation in each of those areas. Should you require further information, each headline will point to the page on which the full text of articles or newspaper reports can be read.

INTRODUCTION:

The government of Zimbabwe has banned all external journalists in the country and is persecuting those who present an opposition picture.

Some innovative steps have therefore been taken. It is largely through e-mail that events in Zimbabwe are covered in any detail.

In addition, a media monitoring group based in the United Kingdom, is able again through e-mail to compile a daily report of news stories and personal experience articles from within and outside the country in order to get more accurate information to the media and others who can be influential outside what is now a closed country.

On the eve of my meeting with you Minister, I received an email from this source, with this very emotive header to its collection of articles for the day.

You will have read of the appalling events - which continue as you read this - around the town of Chinhoyi in northern Zimbabwe.

*Dozens of farms have been attacked and ransacked, forcing many times that number to be abandoned, **with the result that in excess of eight thousand people have lost their livelihood and shelter** - in the depths of winter, within a few days.*

This has been portrayed by government as the wresting of farmland from white farmers. The reality is, that it is the cordoning-off of huge swathes of countryside, allowing gangs - some several hundred strong - to sweep these areas for people and animals with impunity. Nobody is allowed into the area and they are out of the sight of anyone who can report what is going on, and out of the reach of anyone who could help.

Those who have not been able to flee face the immediate prospect of murder, rape, beating and intimidation at the hands of gangs of government-directed thugs. It is the same set of circumstances which led to the gukurahunde during which it has now been confirmed, between 25,000 and 30,000 Matabele people were 'eliminated' by government forces and their bodies thrown down mine shafts in the area. The Matabele people say the number was closer to 80,000 killed.

We ask those of you who live outside Zimbabwe to contact - as soon as possible - your Member of Parliament, Congressman, Senator, or Deputy. Contact them by phone, letter, e-mail, or fax - and urge them to ask their governments to convey outrage in the strongest possible terms to the Zimbabwe government about this brutal treatment of its own citizens.

We also ask you to directly contact your Ministry or Department of Foreign Affairs (in the United States, the US State Department) urging the same course of action. Please ask anyone you know to do the same.

Please help us – please save Zimbabwe.

LAND FACTS

Area of country:	39,000,000 hectares
Situation:	between the Equator and the Tropic of Capricorn.
Population:	about 12½ million, majority Mashona people, with approximately 2,000,000 Matabele approximately 100,000 European, Coloured and Asian
History:	<p>Inhabited by the Bushmen for 20,000 years – hunter/gatherers</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Decimated by southerly push of Bantu due to desertification of the Sahara from 200 BC, now extinct. ◆ Bantu grew cereals herded cattle. ◆ Kingdom of Monomatapa ruled for 150 years until arrival of Portuguese who signed treaties and gained suzerainty for a further 150 years – mining and agriculture established ◆ Driven out by the Rosvi, who were in turn decimated by ◆ 1830 the Matabele - a branch of the Zulus ◆ 1890 Pioneer column arrived following a treaty signed by Chief Lobengula and negotiated by Cecil John Rhodes ◆ population of half a million - density of approx 200 acres per person ◆ Settlers received 6,000 acre farms and in the most densely populated areas, reserves were created for the indigenous people and Europeans were not allowed to use this. Land available to Africans to purchase, not many could afford to do so - by 1925 only 19 farms amounting to 47 000 acres had been sold to Africans. ◆ Rapid population growth due to preventive medicine and education as well as cessation of tribal wars ◆ 1923 the colony paid Britain for unalienated land and was given self-government ◆ 1931 – Land Apportionment Act introduced – Europeans 49 000 000 acres; Native reserves 21 600 000 acres; Native purchase areas 7 465 000 acres; unassigned land 18 000 000 acres; forest areas 600 000 acres; undetermined areas 88 000 acres. ◆ 1980 - European owned land reduced - 45% of available land communal or set aside for African farmers and 39% was commercial farming under freehold tenure. ◆ Government acquired 3,500,000 hectares of commercial farm land for resettlement through help from the British Government. Acquisition slowed due to lack of finance, no evidence of suitable land management and inadequate infrastructure. ◆ most land given to party faithful and ceased to be effectively used for farming purposes. ◆ 1992 - Land Acquisition Act was promulgated enabling Government to designate farms for resettlement without compensation. ◆ 1997 - a list of 1471 properties declared subject to a preliminary notice of acquisition. ◆ 2000 - 30% of the country held under freehold tenure; 41% communal lands; 4% small scale commercial farming, 9% resettlement. The remaining 16% National Parks and State forests. ◆ Government prepared a new Constitution to remove requirement for compensation had to be paid, declaring that compensation payable should be paid by Britain. ◆ February 2000 - referendum held to approve the new Constitution was rejected by the majority of voters in Zimbabwe. ◆ August 2001 Government states it will take 95% of all commercial farms for resettlement

(See articles : The History of land ownership – pp 14 Author unknown, but facts are accurate also Mugabe's Mess – Wall Street Journal – pp 20 ; CFU Update – pp 34)

LAND : expropriation

June 2000

804 farms to be taken

The Economic folly of President Mugabe's decision to expropriate no fewer than 804 of Zimbabwe's white owned commercial farms, is matched only by its political dishonesty ...
(see article *The Times : Up for Grabs – pp Zim facts*)

August 2001

7,132 farms listed

(The Director of the Commercial Farmers Union) ... said government had listed 7 132 farms and of that total, 2 335 were repeats or duplications which meant that 4 797 farms measuring 9 183 069 hectares had been listed under Section 5 of the Land Acquisition Act.
(See report : *35 000 people settled : CFU :pp 132*)

August 13th, 2001

95% of farms to be taken

On Saturday, Mugabe announced new plans to increase the amount of land targeted for seizure still further - to 9.5m hectares (24m acres) or 95% of that in white hands.

And he issued a warning: "We have seen of late some of those who have not repented who are organising them selves to attack the landless people who have been resettled on some farms. But we warn them to desist immediately continuing in these kinds of organised attacks, they will of course ricochet."

(See article : *The Guardian : Mugabe leaves farmers to grim fate pp 22*)

July 2000

SIXTY war veterans and landless villagers occupying Sandown North Farm have threatened farm owner Max Rosenfels with death if he does not sign away the farm to them.
(see article : *Land grabbers become more belligerent ... pp _*) horror continues

August 2000

Gen Shiri's name appears on a list of 28 senior government and military figures given farms seized from white farmers. These were supposed to be handed to landless people...
(see article *Toppie Mugabe, Mandela Urges – pp 26*)

November 10th, 2000

LATE ON THE AFTERNOON OF FRIDAY 10TH NOVEMBER THE FULL SUPREME COURT BENCH SIGNED AN ORDER BY CONSENT WHICH EFFECTIVELY NULLIFIES ALL ASPECTS OF THE FAST TRACK RESETTLEMENT PROGRAMME. THIS IS IN RESPONSE TO A SUPPLEMENTARY ... (See document : *High Court judgement – pp 64*)

December 16th 2000

AFTER telling his central committee on Wednesday that Zanu PF was at war with the country's white commercial farmers, an embattled President Mugabe yesterday intensified his racial rhetoric to whip up nationalist indignation against a growing list of enemies — at home and abroad — in his battle for political survival.

Two days after war veterans murdered former MP Henry Elsworth in Kwekwe, he said his party should "strike fear into the heart of the white man, our real enemy".
(see article *Mugabe declares race war – pp 80*)

July 2001

A CABINET minister and governor are orchestrating the acquisition of Macheke-based Sariview farm, threatening the production of maize, export grass seed, tobacco and cattle breeding worth \$55 million in annual turnover.
(See article : *Minister incites farm seizure pp 126*)

July 2001

As I write I am close to the phone because a family in my province, in the district of Macheke, has been under seige. So called war-vets broke down their security fence last evening and converged on the homestead chanting blood curdling threats, built fires around the house, on the lawns and verandah, fired shots randomly, and the neighbours stood-by all night in case things got really out of hand ... (See *Letter from a farmer – pp 23*)

August 2001

Despite government assurances that the Gonarezhou National Park will not be occupied under the fast-track land reform programme, resettlement in the park continues unabated ... (See *article : The Independent : Gonarezhou still occupied : pp129*)

August 7th 2001

More than 15 white farmers are reported to have been arrested in Zimbabwe after a confrontation with militant government supporters ... (See *article : BBC : White farmers held in Zimbabwe PP 107/123*)

August 9th 2001

Twenty-three white farmers were charged in a Zimbabwe court on Wednesday with inciting public violence following clashes ... (See *article : White farmers charged in Zimbabwean court PP 108*)

August 2001

Government's fast-track land resettlement programme will only achieve its full productive potential in 15 years, a World Bank-sponsored study on land reform says. (See *article : Fast track to take 15 years – pp 128*)

August 10th 2001

TIM Henwood, the outgoing president of the Commercial Farmers Union (CFU), said yesterday the agriculture sector, with its recent drastic drop in major crop yields, will never be the same again ... (See *article: The Daily News : CFU boss breaks down over food*)

August 2001

THE Commercial Farmers Union (CFU) says only about 35 000 people have so far been resettled under President Robert Mugabe's contentious fasttrack land reform programme, contrary to his claim that more than 100 000 families have been resettled ... (See *report : 35 000 people settled : CFU : pp 132*)

August 2001

This time Mugabe has gone too far! Since April 2000, following the defeat of the Zanu proposed new constitution, Mugabe has pursued a land policy that has said "land is the key to our prosperity as a people, it is our heritage. (See *article : Ngwenya pp83*)

August 11th, 2001

HARARE, Zimbabwe (Reuters) -- Zimbabwe President Robert Mugabe said on Saturday the threat of sanctions would not deter his controversial land reform drive and warned white farmers against attacking militants illegally occupying their properties. (See *article : Fast track to take 15 years – pp 128*)

August 13th, 2001

ABOUT 300 white Zimbabwean women and children were evacuated yesterday from a besieged farming district by convoy and airlift as looting and violence reached new heights (See *article : 300 whites flee violence : pp 118*)

ARMS BUILD-UP

... reported that the Armed Forces had imported a big Russian arms shipment, including 21,000 AK47 assault rifles to distribute among the squatters
(see article *Topple Mugabe, Mandela Urges* – pp 26)

August 2001

THE Ministry of Home Affairs this week sought authority from Treasury to make a down payment of \$105 million to an Israeli company recently contracted to supply nearly \$1 billion worth of special vehicles and water cannons
(see article : *Police buy \$1b riot gear* – pp 103)

DISRUPTION OF BUSINESS/STRUCTURES

April 24, 2001

This could have been the worst day in my life, however I came out of it alive and unscathed physically. I pray that is not speaking too soon.
(See article : *invasion of the Avenues clinic* – pp 29)

July 2000

In the latest case of state-sanctioned extortion, a number of companies in the Ruwa industrial area have been raided by officials from the ZFTU. The official said that a ZFTU official threatened to beat up management if the employees were not reinstated or paid money.

“We don’t need to follow the law in Zimbabwe. We are going to fix you in another way if you fail to honour our demands,” the ZFTU official told the director of one of the affected companies.
(see report : *Chinotimba in new raids ... pp 125*)

August 2000

When I arrived in Zimbabwe prior to the June election, I was absolutely appalled at what I saw. Clearly, a once great agricultural country was now rapidly disintegrating and in the advanced stage of economic ruin.
(See letter to the editor : *E Mpahlwa* : pp 74)

EMPLOYMENT

In 1954, 21% of Zimbabwe’s total population was employed in the formal sector, and by 1998 the percentage had fallen to 11,2%.
Economist : John Robertson : May 2000

See article : Robertson Economic report – pp 92)

May 2001

In the past four years, about 1 400 000 young people have left school and the estimate is that formal sector job opportunities were offered to perhaps 100 000 of them. Under less damaged investment conditions, perhaps another 200 000 of them would have found openings.

The wages and salaries paid to the hundreds of thousands of people who used to work on the commercial farms will cease, as will the flow of earnings to the hundreds of thousands of employees of upstream and downstream businesses...

See article : Robertson Economic report – pp 86)

June 2001

THERE is a land crisis in Zimbabwe. Not the artificial one created by Zanu PF in recent months but one that is about to overwhelm us. Over half the two million people who live on commercial farms could soon be dispossessed.

(See Independent Editorial Comment : pp 72)

ECONOMY

Quick facts

	1980	June 2000
Zimbabwe dollar	US\$1.58	2.6 US cents.
Government debt	US\$1.1 billion	US\$7 billion.
GDP per head	US\$740	US\$575 (estimated)
average lending rate	7.5%	65% to 80%
annual inflation rate	6.9%	70%
employment	13.5% in formal economy	10.5% in formal economy
income tax	20%	29.8%

June 2000

Power Corrupts. The prospect of losing it corrupts completely

After 20 years of Zanu (PF) rule, half the population is unemployed and the country is bankrupt.

There is no longer enough money to provide specialist medical care;

(see article: *the Times* : *Up for Grabs* – pp *Zim facts*)

July 2000

ONE week after Zimbabwe's parliamentary election, President Mugabe was interviewed on CNN by Charlayne Hunter-Gault. When she commenced a question with: "Given that Zimbabwe is about to go bankrupt . . ." the president interrupted her with an almost hysterical laugh and said: "Zimbabwe is not going bankrupt; countries don't go bankrupt; Zimbabwe will never go bankrupt; that's just what our enemies say about us."

Quick facts

National Debt	May 31, 2000 =	\$263 billion
external debt		\$171 billion (more than US\$4,5 billion)
domestic debt		\$92 billion (comprising \$72,8 billion in Treasury
government stock		\$8,7 billion
Reserve Bank overdrafts		exceeding \$10,3 billion).
External debt	(TODAY)	82% of gross domestic product (GDP)
	(1991)	36% of GDP

For the first quarter of the current fiscal year, government's expenditure amounted to \$33,7 billion, while its revenues totalled \$19,7 billion, yielding a deficit of \$14 billion for the three-month period!

The most positive of the assets which can drive Zimbabwe's withdrawal from the abyss of bankruptcy is that it has a large, able and willing labour force which desperately craves for employment and, if that craving is catered for, will work with motivation and drive.

(see article : *Eric Bloch column* – pp 27)

August 2001

... on average, monthly foreign exchange requirements exceed foreign exchange inflows by approximately US\$90 million. Therefore, it must be anticipated that by the end of the year the deficit of foreign exchange will have amounted to more than US\$1 billion

(see article : *Eric Bloch column* – pp 50)

August 2001

The Zimbabwean worker seems to be the biggest loser. According to the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions' economics department the minimum wage for the industrial sector, which is \$2 500 was only 22% of the poverty datum line in March which stood at \$11 597.52. By May, the poverty datum line had shot up to \$15 242.33. The cost of transport has gone up 60% since then...

(See *Guardian article* : *Economy* : *August 7th* : pp 69)

ELECTIONS

One man who had just left the main polling station said explicitly that he was too afraid to tell me who he voted for. Then, eager to please, he looked around nervously before saying: "Shall I tell you how I voted?" I paused, and shook my head. He didn't need to say.
(see article : *BBC's Grant Ferrett reports* : page 61 ...)

Morgan Tsvangirai, leader of the opposition Movement for Democratic Change, was arrested after a campaign rally at Chiredzi
(see article : *Topple Mugabe, Mandela urges* – pp 26)

June 2000

(Leader of the Opposition, Morgan Tsvangirai) ... said he would run for president in 2002. Tsvangirai's party won 57 of the 120 contested seats -- giving it the power to block amendments to the constitution in the 150-seat house -- against 62 for President Robert Mugabe's ruling Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (Zanu-PF) and one for the small ZANU-Donga party. The president appoints the other 30 members.

"Without the subversion we would easily have won," Tsvangirai told a press conference.

EU observer team head Pierre Schori condemned "high levels of violence, intimidation and coercion" during the campaign. "The term free and fair is not applicable in these elections," said Schori, a Swedish former aid minister. In London, British Foreign Secretary Robin Cook told the BBC: "The voters' rolls were rigged, the boundaries were rigged and there was systematic brutality intended to deter people from voting for change."
(See article *Tsvangirai accepts result* – pp 52)

June 2000

The people of Zimbabwe have voted in large numbers in this weekend's parliamentary elections. Despite a high level of violence and intimidation during the campaign, and serious flaws and irregularities in the electoral process, they have shown a clear determination to influence the future of their country - both individually and through the structures of civil society.
(See document : **Zimbabwe Elections 2000 INTERIM STATEMENT** by Pierre Schori : pp53)
Head of EU Election Observation Mission)

INTOLERANCE OF THE OPPOSITION

September 2000

The detailed background to the recent grenade attack on the MDC office in Harare makes interesting reading.

The plan was to bomb the MDC office in Harare and then conduct searches at the targeted homes in Harare ...

(See article : *Eddie Cross 240900* – pp 58)

I arrived home after 5.00pm last night having fetched Jessica from school, to find a police vehicle parked out side and nine policemen waiting outside my gate to receive me. Our dogs were faithfully looking very vicious on the other side of the gate.

(see article : *Jenny Coltart* – pp 48)

March 2001

Ever since its disputed victory in last June's parliamentary elections President Robert Mugabe's Zanu-PF party has waged a low-intensity war aimed at destroying the opposition MDC.

(See article : *On a knife edge* – pp 79)

27 April 2000

The High Court has nullified the election results in two rural constituencies won by ZANU PF in June last year, saying they were won through intimidation. High Court Judge Justice James Devittie cited massive violence and intimidation in the two constituencies.
(See *Chronology of atrocities* – pp 37)

July 2001

Police who try to uphold the law, as most were trained to do when they joined the force, are singled out for transfer to remote stations, or to administrative jobs at H.Q. In Beatrice we have just lost our very good ...
(See *Letter from a farmer* – pp 23)

August 2001

The offices of the Norwegian Directorate of Development in Zimbabwe is reported to be under surveillance by the country's authorities, according to The Financial Gazette. The reason is supposedly
(see article : *Norway's mission to Zimbabwe under surveillance* – pp 128)

August 2001

HARARE, Zimbabwe (AP) -- President Robert Mugabe lashed out Saturday at the United States and other Western nations he said were planning racist and punitive sanctions against his government because of its seizures of white-owned farms.
"What is our crime? Our crime is that we are black and in America blacks are a condemned race,"
(See article : *Zimbabwe's president accuses United States, other countries of racism*)

WHAT hope is left for a country whose judges are now the target for attack by their own Minister of Justice? This newly appointed dignitary, who gave early signals of his politically subservient tendencies ... (See article : *Diana Mitchell* pp 82)

RACE RELATIONS**July 2000**

(see article : *We are told to hate whites even if some are beautiful friends.* – pp 33 *Captives*)

February 2, 2001

Independence Day, 18 April 1980, was a proud day for Zimbabwe. Many openly wept as the Union Jack was lowered and the new Republic of Zimbabwe flag hoisted in its place.

Today there is a rising vocal crescendo of "Pasi ne Zanu PF, Chinja! (Down with Zanu PF, Change!)" What went wrong? Everything has gone wrong, it seems. Our much-loved government has turned against its own people and has become our oppressor.
(see article : *Pius Wakatama on Saturday* – pp 125)

June 2001

After Hunzvi was let loose, he liked to be called Hitler. "Do you know why they call me Hitler?" he spat at a white farm manager last year. "It is because I am the biggest terrorist in Zimbabwe. I am the most dangerous man in this country. And you must do what I tell you."
(See article : *"Why should we observe the law? This is our country and we can do what we like."* – pp 71)

VIOLENCE

See *Chronology of atrocities : pp 37 : Torture – Who was responsible : pp 132*)

The gukurahunde, (murder of the Matabele) killed an estimated 25,000 to 30,000 people

- . more than 3,000 extra-judicial executions
 - . hundreds of "disappearances"
 - . more than 7,000 beatings or cases of torture
 - . more than 10,000 arbitrary detentions
 - . thousands of rapes
 - . property burnings
 - . forbidding burial of the dead
 - . forbidding mourning
 - . refusal to grant death certificates to families of murder victims
- (see extract *Catholic Justice and Peace Commission – pp 63*)

THE man who commanded the notorious Fifth Brigade massacres in Matabeleland in the Eighties is masterminding Zimbabwe's violent farm invasions ...

Tens of thousands of people died in massacres carried out by General Shiri's North Korean-trained Fifth Brigade, and mass graves have been uncovered in recent years.

(see article : *Daily Telegraph : Topple Mugabe, Mandela urges – pp 26*)

July 2000

2,000 impalas, 365 other antelopes, 20 zebras, two cheetahs, two elephants and one wild dog snared. 'The animals die in absolute agony.' SWARMING with flies, the rotting carcass was barely recognisable as an elephant...

(see article : *Daily Telegraph Zimbabwe squatters slaughter wildlife : pp 21*)

August 2001

At least seven other people are believed to have been severely assaulted - six of them women. Chinoyi police have now advised all white residents of the town to leave.

(See report : *Zanu thugs on rampage in Chinoyi : pp 122*)

August 2001

On the evening of Sunday 6 August, a group of around 60 Zanu PF militants - provided with food and ferried in on government vehicles - gathered on a farm in Nyathi in northern Matabeleland. They camped overnight on the farm, and on Monday morning abducted 13 people from a nearby mine. They then laid ... (See report : *Ambush, in Nyathi : pp 122*)

August 10th, 2001

Five farmsteads in the Mhangura/Doma farming area in northern Zimbabwe have been attacked and ransacked in the last 24 hours. Gangs of Zanu PF thugs are reported to be roaming the area assaulting and robbing passersby. Some farmers are reported to have left the area to avoid confrontation with the... (See report : *Orchestrated violence spreading*)

August 10th, 2001

THE government has told war veterans to target and harass individual commercial farmers into abandoning their land instead of waiting for the arduous legal process of land acquisition before they get settled ... (See report : *Force them off the farms: govt : pp 113*)

August 12th, 2001

DIDYMUS Mutasa, a senior Zanu PF official, and former Speaker of the House of Assembly, has warned civil servants in Chimanimani they risk being shot dead if they continue supporting the opposition Movement for Democratic Change.

(See article : *Mutasa threatens MDC supporters with death : pp 114*)

August 10th, 2001

... and some would say that the prominence given to Zimbabwe in the last two days is purely because white Zimbabweans have been the prime victims. There is probably some truth to this.

It's just that the majority of the voters whose support he must coerce in order to survive live out of the glare of the media, in remote areas which are easy to seal off from intruders - areas in which his gangs of marauding thugs can roam at will - raping, pillaging, burning, and murdering with impunity. We have received a report

(See report : Life with Zanu comes to town

REPRESSION OF THE MEDIA**July 2001**

THE government's decision not to renew the work permit of Daily Telegraph correspondent David Blair should be seen against a background of curbs on the media in general and intensified lawlessness across the country. Very simply the government hopes to get away with
(See Zimbabwe Independent – Editorial Comment – pp 128)

July 2001

Geoff Nyarota's newspaper has been bombed twice so far this year. The marble and concrete entrance ...

Three months earlier, an armed commando-style team held a guard at gunpoint and blew up the newspaper's presses with four well-placed bombs.

(See article : from the Wichita Eagle – pp 78)

THE FUTURE

"Zimbabwe's strength lies in racial and ethnic diversity - we will overcome attempts to divide us"
(Morgan Tsvangirai)

July 2001

THE Zimbabwean crisis was the subject of a Congressional hearing in the United States yesterday after South African President Thabo Mbeki this week took his diplomatic initiative to Washington.

The Zimbabwean problem, as it has come to be known here, featured prominently in the talks between Mbeki and US president George W Bush at the White House on Tuesday. Washington is pinning its hopes on the Commonwealth ministerial team in which Mbeki will play a key role ...

(see article Zim crisis looms large in US Bush/Mbeki talks – pp 127)

July 2001

PRINCE Zwedekalanga Khumalo, the great grandson of King Lobengula, has distanced himself from the current government-sponsored land redistribution programme which he says is a political issue he cannot be associated with.

Khumalo (47), who traces his ancestry to King Mzilikazi who is credited with the founding of the Ndebele state,

(See report : Prince Khumalo denies claims on land – pp 77)

August 2001

Retired General Solomon Mujuru this week questioned the war credentials of Harare province war veterans' chairman Joseph Chinotimba, following complaints from Zanu PF politburo members that ...

(see report : Chinotimba's credentials questioned – pp 103) various 060801

August 2001

New Cherokee jeeps donated by Libyan leader Colonel Muammar Al-Gaddafi for Zanu PF to use in the presidential election set for next year, may have helped the party win the crucial, bitterly contested election for a parliamentary seat in the north-eastern rural constituency of Bindura last weekend. According to the Zimbabwe Independent newspaper, the cars have ...

Al-Gaddafi has reportedly pledged some US\$900,000 to the party to aid in Mugabe's presidential campaign ...

(see report: Zanu PF Electoral Machine Oiled by Libyan Cash : pp 60)

August 2001

Harare - Plans by Zimbabwe's President Mugabe to rig next year's presidential election have been exposed, just as his beleaguered nation begins gearing up for the crunch ballot which he is expected to lose. His plot hinges on the **multiple registration** of ruling-party supporters in different constituencies to allow them to vote several times; the second part of the strategy involves **relocating more than 500,000 unemployed urban dwellers** to commercial farms now being confiscated

(see article : Mugabe plot to rig election exposed – pp 101)

August 2001

PRESIDENT Robert Mugabe and officials of his government could be subjected to sanctions and other punitive measures if a European Union (EU) general council meeting

(see article : Mugabe could face personal EU ban – pp 102) Various 060801

August 2001

A SERIOUS humanitarian disaster looms in Zimbabwe because of an absence of a national strategy and funds to deal with thousands of people who are likely to become internal refugees ...

Affected communities include commercial farm workers displaced by the occupation of farms, opposition party supporters or those perceived to be against the ruling ZANU PF party, school teachers, health workers and other civil servants targeted in rural areas.

(See report Presidential poll set to displace over 200 000 – pp 106)

August 2001

South African President Thabo Mbeki has, for the first time, admitted failure in his efforts to avoid a crisis in neighbouring Zimbabwe.

Mr Mbeki told the BBC's Hardtalk programme that time was running out for Zimbabwe and admitted that so far President Robert Mugabe had not listened to him during their repeated meetings in the past 18 months.

(See comment : BBC August 7th : pp 122)

August 2001

As pressure continues to mount on President Mugabe because of the prevailing anarchy in the country, it has emerged that the Commonwealth intends to act strongly against him at the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting (CHOGM) to be held in Brisbane, Australia, in October. High level sources within ...

(See report : Commonwealth gives Mugabe ultimatum : pp 109)

August 10th, 2001

Security has been stepped in Blantyre, Malawi where African heads of state will converge this weekend for a Southern Africa Development Community (SADC) summit.

(See report : Threats to kill Mugabe at SADC summit : pp 110)

August 11, 2001

PRESIDENT Robert Mugabe's Cabinet is considering declaring a state of emergency if the international community goes ahead to impose sanctions against him ...

(See article : *Martial law looms pp 111*)

August 12, 2001

ROBERT MUGABE, Zimbabwe's embattled president, believes he is haunted by the ghost of a former rival who berates him for mismanaging the country, aides have said. For six months, Mugabe has been "seeing" Josiah Tongogara, a former guerrilla leader who was expected to become president in 1980, but died in a car crash. Mugabe is said to be tormented

(See article : *Mugabe eats supper with spirit of dead rival*)

August 12th, 2001

The respected *Financial Gazette* reported that Mugabe's Cabinet intends to use the looming passage of the Zimbabwe Democracy Bill in the United States Congress as a pretext for declaring a state of emergency that would allow the president to suspend Parliament, delay elections and rule by decree.

(See article : *Mugabe prepares for State of emergency .. pp 116*)

August 13th, 2001

..... a man of Mr Straw's moral integrity should see at once the imperative for intervention in Zimbabwe. What is happening is on nothing like the scale of the Nazi persecution he so rightly wishes should never be forgotten. However, when one reads of the anti-white pogrom by Mr Mugabe's thugs, one sees at once that the loathsome principle is the same.

The Commonwealth, which even before this inglorious episode had already marked itself out as a footling, hypocritical and pointless organisation, continues to tolerate Mr Mugabe's depravities...

See article : *Sunday Times : We will not tolerate racism, except in Zimbabwe : pp 116*)

August 13th, 2001

How is Mr Mugabe able to get away with it? His government survives not just because it flouts the rule of law and uses violence to intimidate or remove opposition, but also because it manages to maintain a facade of legitimacy. That facade appears to be enough to ensure that neither other African states nor the countries of the Western world are prepared to take the steps required to end Mr Mugabe's violent ...

That is why he was perfectly happy for coverage of Zimbabwe in Western newspapers to centre last week on the patently unjust detention of some 20 white farmers If all the world sees is his attacks on whites, that makes him look like a "liberator", the leader in a struggle against colonialism ...

Mr Mugabe desperately needs a few white farmers to lose their tempers and gun down several "war veterans". Miraculously, not a single "war veteran" has been intentionally killed by a white since those actions began 17 months ago. So Mr Mugabe has stepped up his campaign to provoke them.

Mr Mugabe desperately needs a few white farmers to lose their tempers and gun down several "war veterans". Miraculously, not a single "war veteran" has been intentionally killed by a white since those actions began 17 months ago. So Mr Mugabe has stepped up his campaign to provoke them.

(See article : ***The whites are not the main target of the thugs : pp 119***)

(See also *US Congress : Zimbabwe Democracy Bill : pp 98*
Commonwealth gives Mugabe ultimatum pp 109)

ZIMBABWE - THE HISTORY OF LAND OWNERSHIP

Thursday 27 April, 2000

Author unknown

GEOGRAPHY

Zimbabwe is an independent country with an area of 390 580 sq kilometres or 150 803 sq miles, situated in Africa between the Equator and the Tropic of Capricorn. It currently has a population estimated to be about 12½ million of which approximately 100 000 are European, Coloured and Asian and the remainder are Bantu speaking blacks. These are predominantly Shona speaking people but about 20% of them include Matabele, Batonka, Shangaan and other sub groups. Zimbabwe consists mostly of a plateau called the high veld, averaging about 4500 feet above sea level. Lower areas, the lowveld, include the Zambezi trough in the north and the Sabi Limpopo lowlands in the south. The tropical climate is moderated by the altitude. Most areas have between 25 and 35 inches of rain a year, although the Eastern Highlands are much wetter. On the plateau the average temperatures are winter 57°F and summer 70°F. In the lowveld the temperatures are much warmer.

Zimbabwe has a wide variety of minerals including gold, platinum, chrome, nickel, copper, asbestos and coal. Despite this wide range of minerals, poor world mineral prices have made the country more dependant upon agricultural products. Tobacco is the chief cash crop and maize the main food crop. Other products include citrus fruits, sugar cane and tea. Flowers and vegetables are being sold in increasing quantities in Europe and cattle ranching is also important.

HISTORY

The earliest identifiable inhabitants were the Bushmen or San people, small groups of hunter gatherers who lived in Zimbabwe for about 20 000 years and left behind them a delightful legacy of painted caves. They were not cultivators and would have had no concept of land ownership. After the Bantu people arrived they reduced in number and are now virtually extinct in Zimbabwe.

The Bantu who are a people classified as such not by reference to physical characteristics or to geographical occupation but simply by the language they speak, started to occupy Zimbabwe from about 200 BC. They are believed to have originated from the area of Cameroon and were pushed into a slow southward migration down Africa by population pressures created originally by the desertification of the Sahara. In the course of their slow journey southwards they developed the skills of cereal production and the keeping of cattle and it was these skills which made the position of land assume greater importance and permanence. In the area of southern Zimbabwe and the Northern Transvaal they developed what has been called the "Central Cattle Pattern" and between the 7th and 13th Centuries the people of this region kept very large herds of cattle. It was their successors who built Great Zimbabwe in the south east of the country over a period of about 400 years from about 1000 AD.

By 1400 AD the environment around Great Zimbabwe was feeling the strains of over-population and over-grazing and the Zimbabwe Kingdom began to break up and groups of people from it spread northwards and westwards and established new centres built in stone in the Zimbabwe style at various locations dotted around the Mashonaland plateau. From this diaspora there developed the Monomatapa Dynasty, an empire centred at the bottom of the escarpment north of Centenary which spread eastwards until it encompassed most of the Mashonaland plateau and across the low country which is now Mozambique, towards the Indian Ocean. The Monomatapa Dynasty flourished for almost 150 years.

Enter the Portuguese who, following the efforts of Henry the Navigator, Bartholomew Diaz and Vasco da Gama, rounded the Cape and in 1505 built a fortress at Sofala, south of Beira, and thereafter attempted, not all that successfully, to edge the Arabs out of the Zimbabwe gold trade. Antonio Fernandes, a convict based at Sofala, made three journeys into the hinterland of Zimbabwe between 1511 and 1514 and it was he who revealed to his ruler the first detailed information about the Monomatapa Kingdom. Trading between the Portuguese and Shona commenced and was followed by religion in the form of Father Silveira who visited the Monomatapa and in fact baptised him. He was martyred for this enterprise and thereafter avenged by the invading forces of Barretto and Homen. A treaty was concluded between the Monomatapa and the Portuguese whereby the latter obtained some form of suzerainty over northern Zimbabwe which it held in a not very convincing or energetic

fashion for about 150 years. During this period the Portuguese established trading centres over much of Zimbabwe and these were eventually over-run by the Rosvi, a Shona speaking elite group headed by Changamire. Thereafter, the Rosvi ruled Zimbabwe without threat from external sources for about 130 years until 1830 when large areas of the country were invaded by three "Zulu" invasions from the south. These invasions were caused by the Mfecane (the crushing) or the Difiqane (forced migration) created by Chaka's reign of terror in Natal. A group led by Zwangendaba eventually crossed the Limpopo and descended upon the Rosvi with their short stabbing spears and after 5 years of devastating thuggery they crossed the Zambezi and settled in Malawi as the Angoni.

They were followed by another Zulu group led by Shoshangane who occupied the eastern portion of Zimbabwe, creating havoc and devastation and eventually settled down in the area of Chipinge as the Shangaans.

A third Zulu group, led by Mzilikazi, followed on through the Transvaal into the south west and settled in the area of Bulawayo where they established themselves as the Matabele nation. This was a formidable power and in the period between 1838 and 1893 Mzilikazi and his successor, Lobengula, ruled absolutely in what is now Matabeleland and with a disciplined army of some 20 000 men subjugated the surrounding Shona. These three invasions shattered the Shona nation and they were subjected to constant harassment and pillage and had a miserable existence hiding in imperfect defences on the granite hills that characterise much of Mashonaland.

What the white men found when they settled in Zimbabwe in 1890 is well described by Frederick Courtney Selous in his book "Travel and Adventure in South East Africa" published in 1893:

"As far as we can learn, the country we now call Mashonaland was in the early part of the present century ruled over by the ancestors of the petty chiefs Makoni, Mangwende, Motoko, Sosi, Umtasa etc, who were the rulers of large and prosperous tribes living in huts, the foundations of which, where they still exist, show them to have been at least three times the size of the miserable tenements which satisfy their degenerate descendants and whose towns were, in the most part, surrounded by well built and loop-holed stone walls, many of which still remain in perfect preservation today, especially in the country of Makoni, the chief of the Ma-ongwi. Hundreds of thousands of acres that now lie fallow must then have been under cultivation, as is proved by the traces of rice and maize fields which can still be discerned in almost every valley, whilst the sights of ancient villages, long ago crumbled to decay, and now only marked by a few deeper pits, from which the natives obtained the clay used by them in plastering their huts, are very numerous all over the open downs, where no stones were procurable with which to build walls around the towns. On almost every hill traces of the stone walls will be found which once encircled and protected ancient villages. At that time the inhabitants of this part of Africa must have been rich and prosperous, possessing large flocks of sheep and goats and numerous herds of the small but beautiful breed of cattle.

This state of things was not, however, destined to continue, for some 12 or 15 years after the Cape of Good Hope became a British Colony, in 1806, some of the outlying Zulu clans broke away from the harsh and cruel rule of Chaka and commenced their migrations northwards; and wherever these ferocious warriors went their track was marked by the flight of the vultures which feasted upon the corpses of the men, women and children they had slain, and the flames of the villages they had set fire to. ... Thus the high plateau of Mashonaland, which at no very distant date must have supported a large native population, once more became an almost uninhabited wilderness, as the remnants of the Aboriginal tribes who escaped destruction at the hands of the Zulu invaders retreated into the broken country which encircles the plateau to the south and east."

WHITE OCCUPATION

The instigator for the white occupation of the country was Cecil John Rhodes. He was born in England and came out to South Africa at the age of 17. He was attracted to the diamond fields of Kimberley and by 1887, when he was only 34, he had the near monopoly on Kimberley's diamond industry and also very substantial interests in the goldfields of the Rand. Rhodes believed that the English had a duty to control and civilize Africa and his ambition was to ensure British domination from the Cape to Cairo. He used his financial resources to further this ambition. He secured from King Lobengula a concession, the Rudd

Concession, which gave the grantees complete and exclusive charge over all metals and minerals situated in Lobengula's Kingdom, together with full power to do such things as might be deemed necessary to win and procure the same.

Armed with this concession Rhodes obtained from Britain the Royal Charter of the British South Africa Company, duly sealed under letters patent signed by Queen Victoria in October, 1889 "to acquire by any concession, agreement, grant or treaty, all or any rights, interests, authorities, jurisdictions and powers of any kind or nature whatever, including powers necessary for the purposes of government, and the preservation of public order in or for the protection of territories, lands or property comprised or referred to in the concessions and agreements made as aforesaid or affecting other territories, lands, or property in Africa, or the inhabitants thereof, to hold, use and exercise such territories, lands, property, rights, interests, authorities, jurisdictions and powers respectively for the purposes of the Company and on the terms of this our Charter".

These powers were subject to the approval of the Colonial Secretary in Britain, who had a right of veto on most of the actions of the chartered company.

The Charter gave the company other useful powers. It could raise its own police force and fly its own flag. It could make roads, railways, telegraphs and harbours. It could establish banks and conduct mining operations. It could settle territories that it acquired and it could irrigate and clear land.

Having obtained the Charter, Rhodes' next move was to organise the occupation of Mashonaland by the Pioneer Column, consisting of about 200 pioneers and settlers escorted by 350 mounted police and followed by approximately 400 black and coloured auxiliaries. The Pioneer Column crossed into Zimbabwe on 5th July, 1890 and raised the Union Jack on a patch of ground now called Africa Unity Square in Harare on 13th September, 1890.

What did the pioneers come to? A country which in its final definition was 39 million hectares or 97 million acres in size, containing a native population of about half a million people i.e. a population density of approximately 200 acres for every man, woman and child in the country. The climate was in the main neither too hot nor too cold and the rainfall enabled the successful production of crops in most areas. Of course agriculture was not the first priority of the pioneers. Most of them had joined the venture in the hope of making their fortunes by gold mining. Zimbabwe does have gold over a widely scattered area but the huge deposits of the Rand were not found and very few of the pioneers made their fortune in this way. As the country developed, however, numerous other minerals were found such as platinum, nickel, chrome, copper and coal. All of these have had a substantial part in the subsequent development of Zimbabwe. Two weeks after the pioneers arrived at Harare they were demobilised to take up the 15 mining claims promised to each of them as well as a farm and so it was that having received three months rations and being allowed to retain his rifle and 100 rounds of ammunition, each pioneer dispersed to stake his claims and find his farm. Farming did not play an important part in the country's economic life at first. There was little or no market for the crops that could be produced and most of the pioneers settled down to gold prospecting, trading and to transport riding. Hardly any of them managed to make any money and in fact most of them later left the country. In his book "The Pioneers of Mashonaland" Darter investigates the fortunes of 184 pioneers in 1914. Of these only 25 were still living in the country, 24 were known to have been killed and 45 had died a natural death. This illustrates how few, if any, of the present day white farmers of Zimbabwe are descendants of the original pioneers and inherited farms given to their pioneer forefathers as pioneer grants. During the first years of the occupation of Mashonaland the number of farms settled by whites were so small in relation to the size of the country that Africans at first suffered very little pressure from the newcomers. Most of the early settlers selected their land on the heavy red and black loams that are to be found on the plateau surrounding Harare. The Mashona tribes sometimes worked red soils. On the whole, however, they stuck to light coloured granite country sandy soils situated in rugged regions broken by kopjes capable of affording natural defence in times of war. Their women, with hoes, could scratch sand soils with less effort than heavy loams. These light soils were not sought after by pioneers intent on growing maize and only acquired commercial value when tobacco farming became important.

It was only after the conquest of Matabeleland in 1893 that the land issue came into focus. Settlers received farms of 6000 acres in extent, double the size of those in Mashonaland as

the rainfall was lower and the defeated Matabele were moved away out of the areas surrounding Bulawayo into two large blocks of land comprising 6500 square miles, known as the Shangani and Gwaai Reserves.

Under the Southern Rhodesia Order in Council of 1898 the Imperial Government, while retaining the right of Africans to buy land anywhere in the colony on the same terms as Europeans, placed a statutory obligation upon the Charter Company to provide sufficient land holdings with sufficient water for Africans living under the tribal system. Native Commissioners were charged with the duty of demarcating the reserves and in general attempted to leave the indigenous people, as far as possible, undisturbed. Thus it was that reserves were created where the population was most dense, the crescent of population described by David Beech extending from Mount Darwin in the north in a half moon through Mutoko, Mrewa, Hwedza, Buhera, Gutu, Bikita and Zaka through to the Masvingo Province in the south. Reserves were also created in various other parts of the country to cater adequately for the population at that time. In 1913 at the suggestion of the Colonial Office a Commission was established to investigate the reserves question and a report was submitted at the end of 1915. The Commission's recommendation was that the total area of the reserves should be just under 20 million acres, about 1/5th of the country's total extent, an area equivalent to more than four times the size of Wales. The Commission believed that the reserve system was a transitional arrangement to assist those Africans who could not at once become assimilated into the new society and to act as a protection for the backward. The amount of land in the country was limited. It was appreciated that the African population would go on increasing but the Commission felt that no one could expect that every African as yet unborn must retain an indefeasible right to land sufficient for all his traditional needs. If once this idea was accepted the whole of the country would ultimately have to be turned into one gigantic reserve. The Commissioners found that the allocation was sufficient to provide for an increasing tribal population in the foreseeable future. In 1915 the best available statistics projected a doubling of the African population in 80 years i.e. in 1995. In fact the population doubled in the first 30 years and is now 25 times the size of the population of 1890. This massive population increase is a tribute, not only to the favourable natural environment of Zimbabwe, but also to the care and concern given to the native interests by the Colonial Government now so often criticised for its allegedly harsh practices. The true position is that it was the introduction of medical services, improved methods of agriculture and the establishment of law and order which created the conditions which resulted in this massive population growth. The Colonial Government's treatment of the indigenous population compares very favourably with the treatment meted out to the indigenous people of Australia, New Zealand, the United States of America and Canada and the white settlers of Zimbabwe have very little to be ashamed of in this connection.

The country's economy was adversely affected by the Boer War and the death of its founder, Cecil Rhodes, and the white settlers began to criticise the administration of the country by the BSA Company. Their most serious grievance was the extent of the mining royalties payable to the Company and whether it was right that the Company should continue to demand payment for unalienated land. The question was raised whether the Company owned the unalienated land in a commercial or merely an administrative capacity. The Company sought to appease the settlers by reducing the mining levy and by increasing the number of elected members to the Legislative Assembly. These palliative measures did not help the Company and the settlers continued to complain about the Company's government. The Company was in a deficit position but the settlers opposed any suggestion that they should be responsible for the deficit. The settlers wanted the country to raise loans for development but the Company was not prepared to sanction this. The general mood was to get rid of the Company's administration but there was division as to whether the country should become a crown colony or amalgamate with the Union of South Africa. The British Government decided to submit the question as to who owned the unalienated land to the Privy Council and this was done in 1914. The case was bedeviled by delays and became a four cornered contest. Originally the fight for ownership was between the Company and the settlers but the parties were joined by the Colonial Office who, having made no hint of a claim to the land for 25 years, suddenly claimed that ownership of the land vest in the Crown. A claim that the land belonged to the Matabele was also put up by one of Lobengula's sons. Eventually the judgment of the judicial committee of the Council came out and it was to the effect (i) that those who had been given title by the Company were entitled to keep their land; (ii) that the indigenous population had lost by conquest whatever title they had previously possessed ; (iii) that the Company were not the owners of the unalienated land and (iv) that this land belonged to the Crown. The effect of this decision was that when the colony eventually obtained responsible government in 1923 it was obliged to pay the British Government for the unalienated land.

SELF GOVERNMENT

In 1922 a referendum was held to decide whether the country should amalgamate with South Africa or become a Crown Colony and the vote for a Crown Colony with responsible government was won by 8 774 votes to 5 989, and legislation was enacted to make the country a self governing colony of the Crown. The Chartered Company thus ceased to rule Rhodesia but its contribution towards the country was a notable one. It continued to be a very important commercial concern, even when its rights to minerals had been bought out in 1933 and it lost control over the railway system. It was eventually taken over on a friendly basis by the Anglo American Corporation of South Africa which continues to be a force in the land, concentrating now on its mining interests.

The country was formerly annexed to the Crown as a colony and the new administration was headed by

a Governor who represented the Sovereign and acted as the country's formal, constitutional and ceremonial head. The country was given responsible self-government with certain safeguards for the protection of African interests being reserved to the British Government.

The new administration took steps to encourage land settlement and this created concern for protection of the land demarcated as reserves on the one hand and a demand for a type of segregation on the other. The British Government agreed that it would consider changing the existing law if a full and impartial enquiry should pronounce in favour of territorial segregation. In 1925 a Commission headed by an Imperial Chairman, Sir Maurice Carter, previously Chief Justice of Uganda, was set up, and thereafter produced its findings. The Commission's report approved of a form of territorial segregation after finding that Europeans and Africans both preferred things that way. The Commission recommended that separate areas should be set aside where Africans alone might buy holdings on individual tenure but they also recommended that Africans would lose the right to buy land elsewhere in the colony. The relevant legislation was thereafter passed and approved not only by the Rhodesian Government but also by the British Government as the Land Apportionment Act. At the time of its passing the inequity of its provisions does not appear to have been fully appreciated. The vast majority of the African population did not have the financial resources to consider the purchase of farms. Indeed, by 1925 only 19 farms amounting to 47 000 acres had been sold to Africans. In the circumstances in addition to the reserves the 7 million acres reserved for purchase by Africans would then have seemed reasonable to deal with the foreseeable future. The prohibition against Africans purchasing farms in the areas reserved for white occupation and the prohibition against Africans purchasing urban properties is in retrospect morally indefensible. In mitigation it should be realised that it was a product of its time and of its environment. It was approved by the British Parliament and it should be judged in the light of the apartheid policies of the country's big neighbour to the south.

The effect of the Land Apportionment Act was to divide the country in 1931 as follows: European areas 49 149 000 acres; Native reserves 21 600 000 acres; Native purchase areas 7 465 000 acres; unassigned land 17 793 000 acres; forest areas 591 000 acres; undetermined areas 88 000 acres.

Over the next 50 years, the amounts allocated for European occupation slowly reduced and the amount allocated for African occupation slowly increased so that by 1980 45% of the available land was communal land or land set aside for African commercial farmers and 39% was commercial farming area.

INDEPENDENCE

In 1980 Zimbabwe obtained Independence from Britain and President Mugabe came into power. Since that time Government has acquired some 3,5 million hectares of commercial farm land for resettlement. This has been facilitated by considerable financial support from the British Government. The land settlement programme slowed down by the mid-1980's and the reasons for this included the cost of land, the decreasing ability of Government to finance the programme, inadequate restructuring capacity and inconclusive evidence of successful farming. In reality, large portions of land that had been taken over ceased to be effectively used for farming purposes. Anyone wishing to test this statement need only drive out from Harare to Mutoko – some 90 miles away. He will go through a large area which had previously been occupied by productive European farmers and will find acres lying idle and homesteads decaying, with the only agricultural activity being patches of mealies close to the homestead. A list recently produced by a political opponent of President Mugabe, secured from Government sources, shows that many of the acquired farms were allocated to political cronies of the ruling Government who do not appear to have the will or the skills to farm effectively.

By the year 2000 the division of land was as follows: 30% of the country was held under freehold tenure; 41% comprised the communal lands; small scale commercial farming took up 4% and the resettlement areas comprised 9% of the country. The remaining 16% are National Parks and State forests.

The productivity of the resettlement areas is low. In fact it is no greater than the traditional communal areas. If resettlement continues without an adequate infrastructure, insufficient finance and skills, the detrimental effect upon the economy of the country will be massive.

Zimbabwe's economy has traditionally been agricultural based and because of its broad base in producing a multitude of crops and commodities it has been able to contribute considerably to the export earnings of the country, providing about 40% of the export revenue earned. Commercial agriculture currently employs over one-quarter of the total labour force of the country. If the commercial farming area is further depleted this will have a knock-on effect upon industry as its relationship between local industry and agriculture in Zimbabwe is very close. About 60% of industry is agro-based and the agricultural sector in turn consumes about 20% of the total output of industry.

In its efforts to facilitate the acquisition of further land, the Government has made several amendments to the Constitution, inter alia to remove the requirement that land had to be under-utilised before it could be acquired for resettlement and that compensation had to be paid promptly and to remove the power of the High Courts to consider whether the compensation provided was fair.

In 1992 the Land Acquisition Act was promulgated and this enabled the Government to designate farms for resettlement. No compensation is payable to a farmer whose farm is designated and the effect of

designation is to severely restrict the ability of the farmer to raise finance and to continue to develop his farm.

Despite these increased powers the Government seemed incapable of acquiring further properties in an orderly or lawful manner. In November, 1997 a list of 1471 properties was published in the Government Gazette and declared subject to a preliminary notice of acquisition. Although Government had stated its policy to be that farms to be targeted for acquisition would fall under the following criteria i.e. derelict farms, under-utilised farms, farms belonging to absentee landlords, farms adjacent to communal areas and farms owned by persons with other farms, it did not seem that these criteria were used in compiling this list.

In the result Government failed to comply with its own legislation and apart from 50 odd farmers who had not opposed the process, none of the farmers on the list lost their farms.

The recent history is, of course, that Government prepared a new Constitution which removed the requirement that compensation had to be paid and declared that any compensation payable should be paid by Britain. A referendum was held to approve the new Constitution and the new Constitution was rejected by the majority of voters in Zimbabwe. Undeterred, Government has proceeded to amend the Constitution so that unless compensation is paid by Britain, farmers will not receive payment. With elections looming it now appears that even these new provisions do not satisfy the ruling party's desire to be seen as the acquirer of land for the people. An orchestrated programme of land invasions has taken place and in recent days this has resulted in farmers being abducted, beaten up and killed. Court Orders declaring the invasions illegal have been ignored by the President who openly says that the police are not to enforce such orders.

The effect of this behaviour is terrible to contemplate. The very heart of the economic system that has made the development of Zimbabwe possible will be destroyed. The principle of secure, bankable ownership rights will die; the poverty typical of the communal areas where individual land ownership rights do not exist will spread across the country; thousands of farm workers will lose their jobs and their homes; farming companies are bound to fail as will banks who have lent to farmers; investment and tax revenues will shrink and export revenue flows will die away. The justification claimed by the President, his Government and his party that the land is being taken from the descendants of pioneers who stole the land from the indigenous people lacks any credibility when one realises that about 70% of the commercial farmers in Zimbabwe acquired title to their farms since independence through a system of land registration run by the present Government who received transfer duty for such transactions. For most of the independence period Government has enjoyed a right of pre-emption in respect of all farms sold and has consistently issued a certificate to the effect that it is not interested in purchasing such farms. Although some of the current farm owners inherited their farms from their parents, the great majority paid the market value of the same when purchasing them.

There is no doubt that land reform is required in Zimbabwe and indeed the Commercial Farmers Union accepts this. If, however, land held under free title is transferred into State or communal ownership it will lose value and productivity. If it is unlawfully seized Zimbabwe will no longer be regarded as a country worthy of acceptance by the Community of Nations.

Mugabe's Mess

George B.N. Ayittey, Friday 28 April, 2000
Wall Street Journal

Robert Mugabe has followed the pattern of post-colonial African leaders: hailed as a national hero and swept to power with a huge parliamentary majority, the adulation goes to his head and he bans opposition parties, declaring himself president-for-life. He plunders the treasury, wrecks the economy and gags the press.

- Having lost a February referendum to approve the extension of his 20-year rule by 10 years (despite appeals to nationalism and the promise of free land), Mugabe postponed elections. Members of his own party called for him to step down.

- Mugabe vowed retribution. He sent "war veterans" to occupy hundreds of white-owned farms. He has refused to instruct the police to evict them despite court orders. The squatters threatened civil war should Mugabe lose the elections.

- Disregarding the referendum result, Zimbabwe's rubber-stamp parliament passed legislation allowing the seizure of white-owned land without compensation.

- It is true that 4,500 white farmers continue to own nearly a third of the most fertile farmland. But when the government has distributed land, the economic consequences have been terrible:

- More than 1 million acres bought from white farmers under compulsion have been handed to 400 wealthy Zimbabweans, mostly Mugabe cronies. In 1994, 20 farms seized from white farmers were grabbed by government officials. In 1998, 24 farms covering 300 square miles in Matabeleland were divided among 47 officials, while 40,000 poor Zimbabweans remained crammed into the neighbouring Semukwe Communal Area.

- The Lancaster House conference which negotiated Zimbabwe's constitution in 1980 also established a land reform programme: land would be purchased from farmers for redistribution to landless peasants. The programme was so grotesquely mismanaged that Britain withdrew financial support for it in 1992. The current crisis has prompted donors to suspend about \$10 million in land reform aid.

- Mugabe would not live by the Lancaster Accords. He concentrated power in his own hands and abolished the Senate, the upper chamber of parliament. In the July 1995 elections Mugabe vowed to establish a one-party Marxist-Leninist state and referred to the constitution as "that dirty piece of paper" while Zanu thugs beat and terrorised opposition supporters. Intimidation and violence recurred in the 1990 elections.

- Mugabe has nationalised the media and presided over the swelling of the state bureaucracy. In the early 1990s he appeared to embrace the free market to impress the World Bank, but reform failed to happen and in 1994 he declared: "Socialism remains our sworn ideology."

- The results are water cuts, power cuts, food shortages, fuel shortages, inflation at 60%, fleeing foreign investors and a crashing Zimbabwe dollar. Per capita income has fallen below pre-independence levels. Mugabe blames the IMF, greedy Western powers, the Asian financial crisis and the drought.

- Donors are pulling back as western public opinion questions why aid should be extended to a country with so little respect for the rule of law, and will spend it all on a foreign war: Mugabe's decision to send 11,000 troops to the Congo is costing \$1.2 million a day.

- The solution to Zimbabwe's problems is the peaceful transfer of power through a democratic election. President Diouf of Senegal stepped down peacefully after 19 years following free and fair elections in February and saved his country. There are currently few reasons to believe that Mugabe will show similar wisdom.

Adapted from 'Mugabe's Mess - Zimbabwe's Story Is All Too Familiar' by George B.N. Ayittey, Wall Street Journal, 10th April 2000

Zimbabwe squatters slaughter wildlife

David Blair, Daily Telegraph , Thursday 13 July, 2000

2,000 impalas, 365 other antelopes, 20 zebras, two cheetahs, two elephants and one wild dog snared. 'The animals die in absolute agony.'

SWARMING with flies, the rotting carcass was barely recognisable as an elephant. For Roger Whittall, it was more grim evidence of the wave of poaching that has engulfed his ranch since hundreds of squatters invaded the Save Valley Conservancy in south-eastern Zimbabwe.

Black rhinos and wild dogs, two of Africa's most endangered species, are threatened by the occupiers who have imposed "no-go areas", assaulted dozens of game scouts and laid thousands of wire snares. Save was singled out for occupation because 21 white farmers, who merged their land to form the world's largest private game reserve in 1990, own its 2,200 square miles of rugged bush and scrub.

Mr Whittall, whose Humani ranch forms part of Save, is appalled by the carnage. Near the dead elephant, groves of acacia and mopane trees that once teemed with antelope are now devoid of game. "This is nothing to do with land, it's a mass slaughter and it goes on every minute of every day," he said.

On Humani ranch alone, covering barely 10 per cent of Save, squatters have snared 2,000 impalas, 365 other antelopes, 20 zebras, two cheetahs, two elephants and one wild dog since April

Mr Whittall said: "The animals die in absolute agony. You can slaughter unbelievable amounts of game with these things." More than 1,600 snares have been removed on his ranch. During a five-hour sweep through an area occupied by squatters, game scouts from the neighbouring Senuko lodge found a further 1,500, many of them with trapped victims.

The squatters turned to poaching initially to feed themselves as growing crops is impossible in Save's rugged bush country. But evidence has emerged that meat is being sold and commercial poaching has begun. The tusks on the dead elephant had been removed and scouts fear that the next step will be the targeting of rhinos for their horns.

Scouts Edward Mashamba and Webster Bhangeni ventured into the no-go region last month and paid a heavy price. A gang of 100 squatters captured them and beat them with sticks and clubs.

Mr Bhangeni said: "They shouted, 'You are a traitor, you are working for the whites. We don't want to see the whites in Zimbabwe.' Then they beat us everywhere, just everywhere. On the back, the feet, the buttocks."

Because President Robert Mugabe has repeatedly backed the squatters, police are reluctant to act and the atmosphere of lawlessness encourages anyone to kill animals on occupied white land with impunity. In Save, scouts can no longer carry rifles for fear of provoking the squatters. If they arrest a poacher, even outside the "liberated areas", his comrades will demand his release with threats of violence.

Mr Bhangeni said: "If we try to arrest poachers, they will kill us. There is nothing we can do. But we must try to carry on. It hurts me to see all these animals dying, it's terrible."

Mugabe leaves white farmers to grim fate

Exodus from the north grows as mob attacks go unchecked

Chris McGreal in Johannesburg

Monday August 13, 2001

The Guardian

More white farming families joined the exodus from northern Zimbabwe yesterday as President Robert Mugabe's supporters looted and burned homes. Farmers' leaders in the Chinhoyi area said women and children have left about 130 farms, and dozens of men were grouping on several properties to be ready to return to their farms if the situation stabilised.

"The men are torn," said one of the affected farmers. "They have sent their families away because before long there are going to be more people killed, the way this is going on. But they don't just want to run away themselves. They are not cowards. They are seeking safety in numbers and will try to defend the farms where they can."

Some of the families were flown out in light aircraft using farm landing strips. Others joined small convoys of trucks loaded down with people and belongings. Some of those who fled their farms on Friday evening spent the night in the bush because the police prevented them from driving to Harare. Most of those who have fled are from the Doma area, about 60 miles north of Chinhoyi town. Whites began to abandon their farms on Wednesday as the attacks began after 21 farmers were arrested on charges of public violence.

On August 6 they had gone to the defence of one of their number who was besieged in his home by men from Zimbabwe's "war veterans" movement and others, who had seized his land. The farmers claimed they acted in self-defence but the government accused them of attacking defenceless blacks - the ruling Zanu-PF unleashed militants against farms in the area.

Colin Cloete, the president of the almost exclusively white Commercial Farmers Union (CFU), said yesterday that "marauding bands" were now wreaking havoc.

"Farms are being pillaged and looted openly and blatantly by lawless elements in marauding bands of up to 300 [but] little action has been taken to recover stolen property. Farmers and their families are vulnerable and unprotected as police turn a blind eye to assaults that have taken place on their doorstep," he said. "It is apparent that the state of lawlessness has reached a height that can only be contained by swift action at the highest level."

One retired farmer who fled to Harare said his house was looted on Thursday by men who smashed their way in with sledge hammers. His family escaped with a few belongings of sentimental value.

"We are in a state of shock but we are alive," he said. His son had stayed in the district. "I don't know what he's going to do. Our lives are in ruin." If it became safe to go back "we'll have to go and assess the damage and that's going to be absolutely heartbreaking," he said.

Farmers' leaders say that while there is no evidence yet that the violence will spread to other areas, the situation is so volatile that they fear attacks to the 4,000 other white-owned farms across the country. If any farmers thought the government would act, President Mugabe disabused them. On Saturday, he announced new plans to increase the amount of land targeted for seizure still further - to 9.5m hectares (24m acres) or 95% of that in white hands. And he issued a warning:

"We have seen of late some of those who have not repented who are organising themselves to attack the landless people who have been resettled on some farms. But we warn them to desist immediately continuing in these kinds of organised attacks, they will of course ricochet."

The Zanu-PF member of parliament for Chinhoyi, Philip Chiyangwa, claimed that whites were fleeing their farms to discredit the government and to provoke a "worldwide protest". He said the attacks were regrettable but the victims had brought it on themselves.

"The resultant attacks were out of anger after the farmers assaulted blacks who had approached them for dialogue over a misunderstanding," he said.

Further evidence that the government intends to deal harshly with whites came with the suspension of three police officers accused of "coddling" the 21 farmers whose arrest last week for coming to the aid of one of their number under attack from squatters provoked the latest crisis.

A superintendent, an inspector and an assistant inspector were penalised for making the white farmers more comfortable by giving them additional prison clothing. Regional leaders holding a summit in Malawi said they did not intend to discuss the crisis in Zimbabwe because they wanted to focus on "more positive issues".

Letter From A Zimbabwean Farmer

Two years ago I was elected Commercial Farmers Union Chairman for Mashonaland East Province (for my sins). It covers nine districts and embraces 800 of the country's 3500 remaining commercial farmers.

As I write I am close to the phone because a family in my province, in the district of Macheke, has been under seige all night. So called war-vets and their followers broke down their security fence last evening and converged on the homestead chanting blood curdling threats, built fires around the house, on the lawns and verandah, fired shots randomly, and the neighbours stood-by all night in case things got really out of hand.

The police declined to react throughout, and I was only able to get the officer commanding the province on her cell phone early this morning. Under extreme pressure the police sent two details there who reported everything to be in order, and left. The family are still in the house surrounded. 40 farmers went to the police station to demand an explanation and a reaction from the member in charge, accompanied by a BBC film crew who were threatened by the officer if they continued to film. The provincial head of police is now on her way there to "talk to the farmers", and they and the BBC and other press have retired a couple of kilometers away to the local sports club for some breakfast and to await further developments. We have a lawyer on standby in case any of our farmers are arrested, which is likely as that has become the pattern in recent weeks - charges are trumped up and later withdrawn, but not before the farmers concerned and the community in general have had a rather unpleasant experience. (We have exercised a policy of not encouraging press involvement for many months now - to try to keep the temperature down, and to try to resolve issues by negotiation and without publicity - but I think it is generally accepted now that we have been wasting our time as there is no goodwill to draw on, and our approach is now to let the press report all that they can, as there is nothing to lose by them doing so.)

(That was Saturday - it's now Friday. The seige ended on Tuesday afternoon when we managed to get the heirarchy of the Party involved, after they had begun to panic about the publicity both overseas and in the local press. The couple were not able to leave the house, and nobody was allowed in, even with provisions so things became a bit desparate - especially as they ran out of cigarettes! The dogs were not allowed out of the hose for the four days, so soiled carpets etc., trees were cut down in the garden, and across the drive so that no vehicle could easily approach, and fires were burned all day and night upwind of the house so that smoke constantly permeated the home. The filth and rubbish, and empty beer containers were all over the garden. Anyway, that one is over.)

I am afraid it was not an isolated incident.

Last Sunday, during lunch, a farmer in the same area had a group of about 100 individuals rush into his tobacco seedbed site and set light to 300 beds. These are the seedling production units, for the early plantings of the irrigated crop, to be planted out into the fields from 1st September, grown and reaped during our summer, and sold in 2002. After sowing they are covered with a dry grass mulch, and a synthetic 'nappy liner' material for protection against frost - a very combustible combination. Direct loss there was in the order of Z\$1 000 000, but the crop that would have been produced from the 120 Ha those seedbeds were to cater for, US\$850 000 in foreign currency earnings for our country. (For a year we have been suffering fuel shortages with endless queues at the few filling stations that have anything to sell, and food shortages are looming, both due to a lack of foreign exchange to pay for imports. There are zero reserves.) The farmer concerned has been ordered to get off his farm, and no arrests have been made although the perpetrators are on the farm. The farmer and his family are refusing to leave, are resowing their seedbeds with a lot of help and support from the community, who are also putting in extra beds in case he is unable to produce them in time for planting, or is interfered with further.

Two Saturdays ago our local Beatrice cricket team had a match against Featherstone at our Beatrice Sports Club. It was planned in order to coincide with the International being played in Bulawayo between Zim. and India, so that those who don't have satelite television could watch it at the club, and support our locals while they were at it. A very good day was enjoyed by many,

and it went on late into the night. On Sunday morning our local war-vet contingent with a raggedy band of followers invaded and took over the club on the pretext that we had been "celebrating the death of Hitler Hunzvi" their brutal leader who had been buried at our National Heroes Acre, with pomp and ceremony and fanfare, on Friday. They drank the beer, and ate the food from the freezers, took down our photographs and memorabilia, and across our lovely faced brick arches, redone a year ago, have written in foot-high black bitumen paint the new name of the club! "HITLER CLUB - VIVA THE 3RD CHIMURENGA". (Chimurenga is a revolution).

I had meetings with the club committee, the provincial war vet leadership, and the district head of police, at the club with the invaders, in an attempt to get them out. They simply sent us away with a list of demands about free membership to war vets, and war vet participation on the committee. The position of the committee is that membership is open to all on payment of subscriptions, the actions of the invaders are absolutely illegal, and purely for the purpose of extortion and theft, and it is the job of the police to arrest the perpetrators, and prosecute them. No arrests have been made, the club remains occupied and vandalised after 13 days, and is now being used as a base not only to accomodate them, but also for such things as 'disciplinary hearings' and kangaroo courts. Our farmers and their families meanwhile are finding alternative venues at which to wind down, relax, and at times let their hair down.

At the same time, in Harare South, a farm workforce decided that they had taken enough abuse from the war vets and followers on the farm, including the rape of a teenager, and chased them. One war vet follower had a finger chopped off, another got an axe in the head, and others were beaten. The farmer who was not even on the farm at the time was arrested the next morning for "inciting violence", and it took his lawyer 36 hours to get him out on bail, but not before the police had beaten him in his cell with a hose pipe in an effort to get a confession. The rapist, and all the others involved have not been arrested. Three farmers have spent similar periods in jail in the last few weeks, on fabricated charges.

A farmer in the Marondera district in my province had \$800 000 worth of maize reaped and loaded onto trucks and trailers in front of his eyes, and carried away, with the police looking on and refusing to act. It was not 'theft' they said, it was 'political', and therefore they would not help him. The same occurred a few days later on a farm in Beatrice. No arrests in either case.

Police who try to uphold the law, as most were trained to do when they joined the force, are singled out for transfer to remote stations, or to administrative jobs at H.Q. In Beatrice we have just lost our very good member in charge for that reason - gone to Matabeleland. He has been replaced with a war- vet / war-vet-sympathiser / yes-man. It's a very sad process which is taking place on a widespread and systematic basis, around the country.

Economically the situation is no better. The price of fuel went up by 70% overnight last week and serious social unrest is predicted in the weeks ahead. Inflation is at 60% before the knock-on effect of the fuel price increase. Unemployment is at 60% and rising. Corruption at all levels is endemic and paralysing and goes largely unprosecuted. Production is plummeting in agriculture, mining, manufacturing. Tourism is dying. Our Z\$ is pegged at 55:1 against the US\$ and has been for a year, although the parallel (black) market is running at up to 150:1. The few airlines still accepting payment for flights in Z\$ now are openly doing their calculations at 133:1. All of our inputs such as fertilizers and crop and veterinary chemicals are being bought with currency sourced on the parallel market. And yet we are being paid at the official rate of 55:1 for export products (tobacco, beef, horticultural produce etc.). Businesses including farms are closing daily for reasons of viability, but we understand that govt. policy is that the exchange rate will remain fixed. It is seen as a political imperative because the risk of a backlash from the poorest classes in the event of devaluation, from the effect on the basic cost of living, is too great for them to contemplate. And yet the country is being killed to keep the current leadership in power!! It is not sustainable, but we can not see what will change or when. Only that it will.

I could go on and on. There is absolute anarchy, but the world is told that there is the rule of law and stable governance! It is pleasing that Mbeki and others in Africa are beginning to take a harder line with Mugabe, because their soft approach has been interpreted by our leaders and government controlled press as tacit approval of the awful things that they have done in order to

cling to power, in the name of correcting injustices of the past!

On the positive side, the population at large is patient and peaceful (with the exception of the 20 000 or so government hired thugs or so called war vets, who even most real veterans of the liberation war disown.) Our's is one of the most educated populations in Africa, and capable of, and willing to rebuild rapidly as soon as the conditions exist to allow it to happen. The infrastructure largely remains intact in what really was the "tiger" of Africa only a few short years ago, and I believe that the international community has not abandoned the Zimbabwean people, only our government, and that is as it should be. Many of our young people, both black and white, are outside the country, but most will return when conditions improve bringing with them a wealth of experience from around the globe

There is land enough for every farmer, large or small, to farm productively, and a real determination on the part of most of the parties involved in land in this country to solve it equitably once and for all, so that it is never again used as a political weapon. Ordinary Zimbabweans are sick to death of hearing about the twin pillars of the ruling party - being race hatred and land. There are fully implementable offers on the table right now, accepted by the international community in 1998, and reworked and re-presented this year in a format appropriate to the current political environment. (The Zimbabwe Joint Resettlement Initiative, presented by the CFU and the Private Sector, is before Cabinet now, and awaits their approval). The land question can and will be settled to everyone's satisfaction, and there need not be any further loss of production - it is only a question of our government allowing it. If they do not, I am quite sure that a future government will.

I will attach a short document that I produced earlier this month which is a 'snapshot' of our province on the 7th June. It was presented to our Governor, party Chairman, and the Minister of Finance, Simba Makoni, among others. The situation has deteriorated since I wrote it.

It is so important to us that people outside the country know a little of what is going on here. You get the big picture and the politics, but not the day to day goings on I don't think.

As I finish this I am looking out of the office window (which some of you will be able to visualise) and at the bottom of our garden, a herd of giraffe have joined the herd of eland that have been there all afternoon, feeding on the cubes that we put out for them each day during winter. It is beautiful. That bull is so tall - one doesn't realize just how tall until they are close. Vicky, Sherry and all the children are sitting outside having tea as the shadows lengthen. It's a lovely evening and I am off for a run.

(Sherry's husband was murdered in May last year, in the violence that ran up to the General Election)

Topple Mugabe, Mandela urges

THE man who commanded the notorious Fifth Brigade massacres in Matabeleland in the Eighties is masterminding Zimbabwe's violent farm invasions, senior officials of the ruling Zanu-PF party have conceded.

Gen Perence Shiri, who now heads Zimbabwe's air force, is said to be co-ordinating the land seizures and organising food and transport for the so-called war veterans who have invaded more than 1,000 white-owned farms. Gen Shiri's name also appears on a list of 28 senior government and military figures given farms seized from white farmers. These were supposed to be handed to landless people.

The government and military have always denied involvement in the wave of occupations which started 10 weeks ago and have resulted in the deaths of two white farmers and 15 labourers and opposition workers. But some Zanu-PF officials, worried that the situation is getting out of control, have now given a different version of events to The Telegraph. They say the invasions were ordered by President Robert Mugabe after he lost the referendum on a new constitution in February, and have been meticulously planned by the military. Gen Shiri, they add, has deployed more than 1,000 troops in civilian clothes to lead the operations, and recruited others on a daily allowance plus free food.

The Zimbabwe Independent newspaper reported that the armed forces had not only been directing the occupations but had also imported a big Russian arms shipment, including 21,000 AK47 assault rifles to distribute among the squatters. The paper cited farming areas such as Beatrice, 30 miles from Harare, where army officers were on the ground running operations.

The army's involvement explains the squatters' surprising logistical capability, quickly moving large groups of men to invade new farms. Chenjerai "Hitler" Hunzvi, the war veterans' leader, travels between farms in a helicopter provided by Gen Shiri's air force. The military link also explains why there are so many young people among veterans of a war which finished 20 years ago and why they are so well equipped.

Last week, Britain's Foreign Secretary, Robin Cook, announced the suspension of Land Rover sales to the Zimbabwean army after claims by white farmers that these were being used to transport the squatters. Gen Shiri's name strikes fear into the hearts of many Zimbabweans who remember his ruthless crushing of the rebellion in Matabeleland between 1982 and 1987.

Tens of thousands of people died in massacres carried out by his North Korean-trained Fifth Brigade, and mass graves have been uncovered in recent years. Gen Shiri is one of 28 close allies of President Mugabe named on a list obtained by The Telegraph as having received farms, compulsorily purchased from white owners in the land redistribution programme, which were supposed to go to landless peasants. The list includes government ministers, permanent secretaries, provincial governors, army generals and judges. Those named include Cyril Ndebele, Speaker of Parliament; George Charamba, the president's spokesman; Patrick Chinamasa, the Attorney General; General Vitalis Zvinavashe, Commander-in-Chief of the Zimbabwe defence forces, who oversees Harare's military involvement in the Congo; Border Gezi, Governor of Mashonaland; Welshman Mabhena, Governor of Matabeleland North; and Zenzo Nsimbi, deputy minister of transport.

Francis Maude, Mr Cook's Tory shadow, said: "This list is evidence of Mr Mugabe's bad faith and proof that he has abused his land-reform programme to enrich himself and a small circle of kleptocrats around him." He called for Mr Mugabe's assets to be seized and for Zimbabwe to be suspended from the Commonwealth. Neighbours of Gen Shiri's 1,500-hectare Ruia Falls Farm in Bindura pointed out yesterday that his is the only one in the area not to have been invaded.

Elsewhere, farmers reported fresh violence and intimidation yesterday in the deepening land crisis. Meanwhile, repression of the political opposition appears to be growing in the run-up to parliamentary elections, expected in June. On Friday night, Morgan Tsvangirai, leader of the opposition Movement for Democratic Change, was arrested after a campaign rally at Chiredzi. He was released early yesterday after four hours in detention, but several of his aides remained in police custody. An MDC official said: "Arrests late at night are deliberate harassment of senior members of an opposition political party."

Eric Bloch Column

ONE week after Zimbabwe's parliamentary election, President Mugabe was interviewed on CNN by Charlayne Hunter-Gault. When she commenced a question with: "Given that Zimbabwe is about to go bankrupt . . ." the president interrupted her with an almost hysterical laugh and said: "Zimbabwe is not going bankrupt; countries don't go bankrupt; Zimbabwe will never go bankrupt; that's just what our enemies say about us."

Clearly, therefore, either the president does not know the meaning of the word "bankrupt", or he is unaware of the true Zimbabwean circumstances, or he has deluded and deceived himself into non-recognition of the realities.

Mr President, the hard fact is that Zimbabwe is bankrupt, Zimbabwe is insolvent. The Concise Oxford Dictionary defines a "bankrupt" as being an "insolvent debtor", and defines the latter as being one that is "unable to pay debts". And, as Zimbabwe is unable to pay its debts, it is bankrupt.

The president may be under the impression that Zimbabwe can pay its debts, but, if he does labour under that impression, he is misleading himself, for such an impression is grossly erroneous. Zimbabwe has been in default of repayments due by it to the World Bank.

Such repayments having been due months ago, the World Bank having given prescribed notice of breach of agreed loan repayments 30 days after repayment became due, again 15 days later and, once more when the arrears were 60 days overdue.

World Bank regulations preclude any further support to the debtor nation until all arrears have been made good. Despite receiving the obligatory notices of breach, and despite Zimbabwe desperately needing continuance of World Bank programmes, as well as new and additional ones, it has failed to honour its commitments.

Obviously, it has not made payment because it cannot. In other words, it is insolvent; it is bankrupt!

The extent of the bankruptcy is loud and clear. The national debt continues to soar. As at May 31, it amounted to \$263 billion, with external debt amounting to over \$171 billion (more than US\$4,5 billion), and domestic debt approximating \$92 billion (comprising \$72,8 billion in Treasury Bills, government stock of \$8,7 billion, and Reserve Bank overdrafts exceeding \$10,3 billion). External debt equated to 82% of gross domestic product (GDP), with domestic debt approximating 192% of GDP. Overall, Zimbabwe's national debt is now considerably more than five times greater than GDP. Zimbabwe would have to apply all its GDP for more than five years to the settlement of debt if it was to become debt free! Emphasising the extent to which Zimbabwe has been accumulating burdensome debt is that in 1991 the external debt was 36% of GDP. Another indicator of Zimbabwe's insolvency is the ever-increasing state deficit. For the first quarter of the current fiscal year, government's expenditure amounted to \$33,7 billion, while its revenues totalled \$19,7 billion, yielding a deficit of \$14 billion for the three-month period! Undoubtedly an equal or even greater deficit will have been incurred in the second quarter of the year and, as the deficits are necessarily funded out of borrowings, the debt-service burden in the months ahead will be greater still.

It is further of consequence that these deficits are before accounting for those incurred by parastatals, whose debts are substantially guaranteed by government. In the month of May alone, borrowings of parastatals increased by \$2,4 billion.

The severity of Zimbabwe's circumstances is demonstrated by the extent to which all sectors of society are being adversely affected and are suffering severely. Recent reports indicate that the Ministry of Health is carrying stocks of essential drugs, medicines and medications of less than a half of those considered to be strategically required to assure that the needs of the populace requiring health care can be addressed.

Admittedly, the ministry recorded that its holdings are supplemented by those of hospitals and clinics, but most of them are also under-stocked.

In Bulawayo, Mpilo Hospital's vitally necessary equipment for cancer treatment has been out of commission for months due to an absence of foreign exchange for essential spares. Patients are, at the least, suffering major distress, and possibly their very survival is at risk. Only a bankrupt state would fail to meet such a critical need.

The scarcity of foreign exchange is far greater than only an insufficiency for machine spares for the health sector. For six months Zimbabwe has suffered immense shortages of fuel. Although the president and his henchmen have, from time to time, ascribed a diverse range of reasons for the shortages, the facts are that Zimbabwe has not had sufficient funds to buy the petroleum, diesel, aviation fuel and paraffin that it needs, and has such poor credit repute that it could not borrow sufficient funding.

The forex shortages are such that government is recurrently late in paying foreign allowances to its troops in the DRC (albeit Zimbabwe should not be militarily engaged there).

Zimbabwe is so short of foreign exchange that its embassies around the world are frequently unable to pay salaries when due, and repeatedly cannot pay their suppliers timeously. So strained is the foreign currency resource that aircraft have to be withdrawn from service until monies can be raised to pay for prescribed services and checks.

And so limited is Zimbabwe's foreign exchange wherewithal that it cannot remit dividends to investors (although it still expects those investors to invest!), and it cannot provide its residents with their entitlement to business, holiday and medical travel allowances.

Mr President, are these not all indicative of the desolate state of the economy — a desolation so great that it can only be insolvent? Zimbabwe is bankrupt, and not even recurrent denial can conceal that fact!

Fortunately, Zimbabwe can be rehabilitated. Zimbabwe can be redeemed from its depths of penury. Assets still exist and can be productively applied to restoring fiscal well-being. Those assets can lift Zimbabwe from its destitution and poverty.

The tangible assets include its very great agricultural potential, its mineral wealth and capacity to be a world-leading tourist destination. They also include an economic infrastructure which, although small by comparison with that of South Africa, and although lacking in much, is nevertheless one of the most developed in sub-Saharan Africa.

A key element of that infrastructure is an established manufacturing sector, weakened by the mismanagement of the economy during the last three years, but poised for recovery if an economically conducive environment were to be recreated.

The most positive of the assets which can drive Zimbabwe's withdrawal from the abyss of bankruptcy is that it has a large, able and willing labour force which desperately craves for employment and, if that craving is catered for, will work with motivation and drive.

The capability of the very considerable labour pool is reinforced by Zimbabwe having one of the highest literacy rates in Africa, with a significant portion of the population having undergone secondary education, and many having advanced through Zimbabwe's tertiary education institutions.

The intangible assets available to Zimbabwe are of equal importance, including its geographic prominence as a potentially key supplier of goods, services and technology to the region.

However, the most important intangible asset, because it can transform into the tangible, is that the world at large remains disposed to support Zimbabwe and aid its recovery provided that Zimbabwe recognises the need for responsible economic management, accountability, good governance, co-operation and collaboration, instead of confrontation, corruption, economic incompetence and bad governance, lawlessness and anarchy.

But first and foremost Zimbabwe needs to recognise and acknowledge harsh facts and realities. It must accept that, throughout the last three years, if there was anything economic which it could possibly do wrong, it did so and, as a direct consequence, it is now bankrupt.

No matter how much the president may protest to the contrary, Zimbabwe is insolvent. If that can be recognised, then Zimbabwe can reverse those conditions.

If that cannot be acknowledged, Zimbabwe's impoverishment will continue, and deprivation will be the pronounced characteristic of the country for all time.

The account of the invasion of the Avenues Clinic by its director

Dear Friends and Relatives

The purpose of our e-mail is to say "We are OK". We are not so confident, so I must add "We hope and pray". Those of you who have read articles in the press last week and then this week, especially, will have been worried. We thank you for the telephone calls and e-mails. I am appreciative also of those who have contacted my mother to offer support. We thank you for your prayers. We need all the support we can get.

Some of you have parts of the tale, some other versions, so please forgive repetition. We would like all our friends to know. We have a belief and hope that the more that know the safer we may be. Even that some influence may be brought to change the course of history here. I am hoping that by writing our story that some of it will be put to rest and some perspective achieved in a troubled mind. If you do not have the time or the inclination to read further that is fine by me. The important thing for you to know is that although we have been in a period of danger, today we are OK. We have been close to running for the hills and across the border. We shall see what next week brings. As a compromise we may sleep in a different place each night.

I have agreed to be interviewed by press and TV. Each time it has felt right to do so, a good idea to speak out, speak the truth; however we experience anguish each time, fearing any backlash. Somehow that terror was huge last week, but we have learnt to get used to that one and it is not so bad this week. We hope it may be some protection as the press outside a "detention centre" could aid the release. Perhaps we are being naive, but there are not many straws to clutch at these days.

Since last year, Maureen and I have discussed the inevitability of what has happened in the rural areas and to the farmers will come to town. It has ... and with a vengeance. It is very much on our doorstep. It is minor in comparison to many of the horrors we know about; however it has been pretty major on our personal Richter scale. The following is my version of what has happened in the last two weeks of our lives:

Tuesday 24th April 2001

This could have been the worst day in my life, however I came out of it alive and unscathed physically. I pray that is not speaking too soon.

We had read in the papers about the War Vets invading the boardrooms of companies. Well, it was our turn, at the Avenues Clinic, commencing with a mob surging into my office at 9.30. Reception warned my secretary and I just had time to give instructions for "May day" calls to be made [Police, President's Office, Min of Health and British High Commission]. Then we had twenty men burst into the office and I was surrounded by yelling men in ugly mood. We had been in a Management Team meeting one minute and in terror the next. Some were definitely high on something. All aggressive and insolent to different degrees. All impatient. Demanding and very deliberately rude. Their leader introduced them as "ZANU PF, War Veterans Association, Harare".

I managed to get the War Vets out of the hospital into the Boardroom, away from the patients, in a separate building but on site, on the basis that we could sit down and talk in a larger room. It has paid dividends, as on each of their return trips they have headed for the Boardroom automatically. We made the painful decision as to who to go with them, if we had a choice. My Principal Matron bravely volunteered. I hoped as a senior nurse she would have a stabilizing influence [wrong], as did my Financial Director. We had a very real risk that whoever talked to them would be dragged off to their offices, as had happened already to too many other directors and managers. I needed Shona speakers with me.

We were harangued and threatened. "We will march you to ZANU PF office and put you in a room with no doors. You know what will happen to you there". A room so described apparently means a cell [one of their interrogation rooms] or a coffin. "Why are we wasting time talking here? Let's take them away to the office and deal with them." Nice after-breakfast conversation. When my Matron spoke, she was accused of "joining the oppressor". Both were accused of being at the Clinic at the time of the illegal strike in 1995, which was the excuse for the "assault upon us". To me, one screamed "I know you. You know me. I know where you are. I will get

you". I felt he meant it. I have worried where I have seen him before, ever since. I made note to get a message home if and when I could break free. "This is not Rhodesia" and so on and on. It became obvious that the two other members of my team could not talk as each fuelled increased hostility, so it was down to me. They resorted to prayer that I would be guided to "negotiate" a safe path. Terrifying, yet one manages to keep an objective eye and ear. Negotiation skills were tested in full. Whatever one does, one has to hide the fear, mask the anger and the contempt. Control the retorts to outrageous demands. I regret to say that we settled. It has cost the company \$6.3m, but no patients or staff were hurt, the former especially had to be my paramount concern. There was already an agreement between the strikers of 1995 and the Clinic that they should receive a settlement, but not one as generous as extorted.

We had no back up whatsoever. The Police were called, but did not come. On Wednesday, I eventually tracked down a Deputy Commissioner who told me that he had ordered the men to be hunted down and arrested. I have since heard thru' sources that he was countermanded from sources higher up. In the Financial Gazette on Friday, the police spokesman said that there had to be a formal complaint before the police would act. How do you issue a formal complaint when the WV have you locked up? The President's Office was called and said they might send an observer. They did not. Two attended the next day and said they never received the message! They asked plenty of questions and told me that they were there only because the President was concerned. The Deputy Minister of Health said that it was "not a Government matter" but I persuaded him it was on the basis that the government was still in control of the country. He agreed to speak to people in the Party. He did, reportedly to the Speaker of the House, but the people in the party were still considering the matter after we had been forced to settle.

Our deadline from the WV was 2.30 Tuesday or we would have to take the consequences. Iron bars to the head and beating up the PA seem to be the current trend. Still today the thought process of the party has not been declared as to the need to defend health care institutions. The British High Commission declined to send anyone but, at my request, undertook to look after Maureen and the children, if something happened to me. I managed to contact Maureen and send her into hiding with the children, taking two dogs and one cat, the other hid. The domestic staff were sent off the property, instructed that they should not admit to knowing us. So we left our beautiful home to an uncertain fate. A favourite War Vet tactic is to visit your home and destroy as much as possible.

Exhausted and under pressured criticism for settling and not being beaten up, we said good bye to the war vets at 3.30. They have been returning ever since to supervise the issuing of the cheques to the 30 ex-workers, who lost their jobs after an illegal strike in 1995. I had managed to negotiate the payment down to 30 and not 35 and limited the settlement to salaries and increases, from July 95 to April 200, but nothing else [or so I thought]. The main partner in our law firm repeatedly suggested that I bounce the cheques and go on holiday to Cape Town. I cannot believe the man. Obviously he has no regard for the lives of my staff who would meet the wrath of the War Vets in full vengeance.

We returned home on Tuesday late afternoon. No staff on site, but otherwise normal. We joined friends for dinner out. Glad to be alive. Such is the dichotomy of life here. Scared and working out problems in a lawless land and then out to a restaurant for dinner in a context that could be a civilized country.

Wednesday 25th April 2001

The War Vets demanded to see me again. They were "requesting" the re-instatement of the workers. I found a way of saying no to mob re-instatement without being lynched. I felt my grip on sanity slip as I was given a round of applause for our generous settlement the day before. That was my second round of applause in two days. It seems crazy that one minute you are being threatened and harassed and next you get a round of applause. Another two and a half hours of living on my nerves and constantly "dancing" and changing tack to ensure the mood did not swing the wrong way.

Thursday 26th April 2001

If War Vets were not enough, I had staff problems with old grievances rising to the surface. The 200 plus workers who returned to work after the strike were docked two weeks pay for two days away as a punishment. I found there were rumours of money to be paid to our staff and rumours of our staff talking to the War Vets. "Thank you" for the support and concern for the safety of the Management Team. I called a meeting. Someone was stirring up our workforce. I was in the middle of describing the horrors of the days before to a hundred plus staff when the war vets, no 1 and 2, "good guy and bad guy" walked in to the Boardroom. They apologized for interrupting the meeting! I got up and greeted him exchanged pleasantries, shook hands and sent them to another room for the supervision of the handing out of cheques to our ex-employees. I was trying to divert my workers from calling in the War Vets to gain their two weeks wages from 1995. I told them about the new relationship with management and asked them for a week to consider the information new to me about the two week penalty. They agreed or did some?

I went away and decided that it was expedient to pay out the two weeks. The deduction had not been legal and was very ill advised. It has been a cancer burning in the sole of many for five years.

Friday 27th April 2001

We are told by the War Vet leaders that the members of our staff have asked them to intervene. "Great". Do those responsible really know the consequences? Do they care? I agreed that we would repay the two weeks pay from 1995 in the next pay packet and without interest. The deduction had been illegal and disastrous HR practice. I have much to "thank" my predecessors for ! I stressed to this group the potential horrors of inviting the War Vets in. Next they will want to run the hospital.

Saturday 28th April

Friends invited us to share a cottage in the hills to rest and recover. Blissful fresh air and walks. Wretched dreams, but the mind has to clear out the rubbish somehow.

Wednesday 2nd May

Horror of horrors, the War Vets announce they are coming back to demand reinstatement and more. Again the round of phone calls. The police passed me from one officer to another. They were far more helpful and offered to send plainclothes police, but would they come? [No] An officer advised me that a member of the Committee in the Party, which was set up last week to control the company actions [yes, there is such a thing], had advised that our file was closed. Good news that it was closed because we had paid up. Horrendous news that the official committee had a hospital on the list in the first place. Question why the war vets were coming again? Bad news that although the file was closed we were still on someone's hit list. The commissioner to whom I spoke told me to be careful and not trust my staff particularly my Chief Security Officer. That gave me a sinking feeling.

The Security Company were far more useful. I spoke with them direct. They sent a man so that I would not go alone to the Police Station. I went to make a formal report, so that no one could say that they could not act without such report. I had sent my Chief Security Officer to make the report on Friday but he had come back stating that he could not do so as he was not the aggrieved person. I am very suspicious. The security company offered me a "minder", which I gladly accepted. We trebled the guards on site. At all doors and at each ward and department. The Deputy Minister of Health was horrified and annoyed that we were to be hit again. He promised to speak on our behalf.

Thursday 3rd May

After a night of dread, the next day came. The extra guards were on duty. My minder was there, all 160 kg of him and my height. His hobbies are judo and juditso. He looks like something out of the men in black. Dark glasses and all. The War Vets arrived. All the phone calls to the police were in vain. The cell phones seemed to be switched off. Surprise, surprise. The High Commission were told and thanked me for the information and wished me luck. The man at the President's Office was at the airport and said he could do nothing. I suggested firmly that as the President was concerned he ought to use his cell phone and get a colleague to attend. Amazingly he did.

The demands were aggressively made for re-instatement plus bonuses for six years!! Two and

half hours later, we finished. I explained repeatedly we had acted in good faith and were making payments to staff on the understanding that the "agreement" the previous week was in full and final settlement, as signed by each recipient. I threatened to stop payments to the outstanding eight ex-employees. They signed a fresh agreement to abide by the last one and it was witnessed by the Office of the President's representative. Who knows if any piece of paper is more than that!

Friday 4th May

The real misery starts when whilst I am in an emergency Board meeting discussing the War Vet situation, my secretary advises me that she has received a call summoning me to the ZANU PF HQ and for me to be there by 4.30 without fail, caller identifies himself as Mr Savanhu. The Board's initial view is that I should go. I advise I expect damages if I go and am beaten up, which I would expect. I know I should not go on my own, so I ask for volunteers. That drew a blank response and then the only Board member not to have said that I should go, says of course I should not go. There is collective relief and they all change their mind and leave it to my discretion.

My earlier calls trying to find someone to stop this madness are continued in real earnest. I find a senior Party member who tells me the call must be by a group meaning no good as Mr Savanhu would never have made such a call. A feeling of dread. I speak to the supposed caller, who denies he would have made such a call. The firm advice of both senior party members is not to go and not to make myself available. I ring Maureen and tell her to stay with the friends with whom she and the children were having tea. Maureen rings the BHC and the advice is that I am now the target and time to go into hiding. The best tactic is to go public.

Maureen rings the BBC and the Daily Telegraph. I have rung the police and the security company. The BBC, the Security Company, the Police Inspector, the Telegraph, the Times, my PR lady, our friend with whom Maureen is in hiding, other press all arrive within half an hour. Chaos! Me trying to balance priorities and arrange things. The BBC interview [but do not use]. The Telegraph overlap and interview further and do use in Saturday's paper. He incidentally finds time to ring Maureen to tell I am safely out of the hospital. The policeman starts organizing cover for the Hospital, which I tell him is my priority. The promise is to arrest.

Time is out and it is time to be whisked away. I leave in a friend's car with a tail to make sure that no one is following. Nothing feels real any more. The Security Team ensures I am at the safe house, after what seems like a lifetime, and I am with Maureen and the children. Is this real? Was this an over reaction? The cell phone never stops ringing. Not one person tells me it's a dream. No one says "wake up". The consensus is that to go into hiding was essential. We came back home the next day, against some advice, but we cannot hide forever. The Security guys think if the rogue element reacts to my failure to return to work it will be at the Avenues Clinic next week.

Friday night I was numb. I have slowly recovered. Some advise us to go away a while. We will, if there is further sign of trouble tomorrow. Maureen is to see the school heads tomorrow to ensure extra security for the children and teacher control to ensure only we pick up. The papers at the weekend have indicated a back down on company invasions and even published cell numbers for Hunzvi and Chinotombo, prominent War Vet leaders, so that we can ring to check the credentials of War Vets if they come to the companies! I hope that to be the case and we will follow up on Monday. Who knows? Who is really in charge anyway?

Tomorrow I will go into work. Security is doubled and my minder will be there for the week. Fingers crossed. I'll tell you more next time I write.

May you all have a peaceful week.
Malcolm

Zimbabweans are in captivity. The government they elected are the captors
Zimbabwe Daily News , Monday 29 May, 2000

We are told to hate whites even if some of them are beautiful friends

IF a man sets out to burn his own house, onlookers try to stop him. The general consensus is that something has gone wrong with the man's head. This is the situation in Zimbabwe at the moment.

The government was elected by the voters. They have a mandate. The so-called war veterans were not elected by anyone in this country except by their own ranks numbering not more than 50,000 .

Chenjerai Hitler Hunzvi, an avowed anarchist, claims to be the one distributing the land in our country. A hate war has started. We are being told to hate whites even if some of them have become beautiful friends.

The elected president of the republic has reduced himself to a spare president. The unelected one, Chenjerai Hitler Hunzvi, runs the sponsored show, a political circus. Since when has an unelected leader been given the power to distribute land in a country with a president who took the oath of office in order to uphold the laws of the land? We are refugees in our own country, prisoners without uniforms!

Zimbabweans are in captivity, and the government they elected are the captors, behaving like rebels in a country which does not need chaos, a country whose landscape, vegetation, flowers and wildlife tell stories of the love that resides in the hearts and minds of the people who inhabit the land.

Zimbabweans have no time to admire the beauty of their landscape, those gifts from God and the ancestors which no human being can make. They are busy staring death in the face, violent death at the hands of youths who have been taught never to respect human life, any life.

First it was the white farmers, then came the honest rural schoolteachers, then came the blacks who moved out of townships, and today it is Zimbabweans of Asian origin whose under-utilised properties must be "peacefully invaded".

The police look on and gaze at it, powerless in the face of instructions from The Leader not to intervene. We might as well be aliens temporarily living in this small space which itches our nerves because of the possibility of death by torture.

Those who claim to have liberated us have now changed their minds. Instead, they have put new chains of slavery and imprisonment round our necks and legs. But still the people laugh, in pubs, at bus stops, in churches, in the annoying expensive supermarkets, at funerals of those murdered, everywhere.

Even the many refugees scattered all over the land, they laugh and dream that one day this madness will end. We laugh in order not to cry.

Daily News, Zimbabwe

COMMERCIAL FARMERS' UNION

SITUATION UPDATE : 1ST MARCH, 2000.

On Tuesday 29th February, 2000 I, in the company of the Vice-President (Commodities) of the Commercial Farmers' Union, Colin Cloete, met the Commissioner of the Zimbabwe Republic Police, Augustine Chihuri and two Deputy Commissioners at Police Head Quarters at 2.30pm

The purpose of the meeting was to deal with the proliferation of land invasions on commercial farms around Zimbabwe that had occurred over the previous four days and to review the disaster relief operations being conducted in Manicaland, Masvingo and Matabeleland South, in the wake of the cyclone Eline.

By way of introduction on the subject of farm invasions I informed the Commissioner that the Commercial Farmers' Union and its members are extremely concerned at the level of escalation of farm invasions over the week-end. I stated that on Monday morning we were aware of twelve invasions on properties in Masvingo and Mashonaland (Central). By 8.00am on Tuesday when I prepared a schedule of the properties and their owners for presentation to Cabinet by the Honourable Minister of Lands and Agriculture, Kumbirai Kangai, the number of invasions had increased to twenty-six in Mashonaland East, Mashonaland West, Midlands, Masvingo and Manicaland

I informed the Commissioner that it was the opinion of the Commercial Farmers' Union that his support for the statements of various politicians that farm invasions were a political issue and, therefore, not a matter for the police was perceived by farmers whose properties are being invaded, and their operations suspended through intimidations, as unacceptable and that the police had an independent duty to uphold law and order in Zimbabwe to enable citizens, and farmers in particular, to go about their business in an unhindered and peaceful manner

Vice-President Colin Cloete informed the Commissioner that he was concerned that in Kwekwe, where two farms had been invaded, and in Mashonaland Central and in particular the properties Mavuradona farm, owned by Mr Chris Pole and McClaire farm owned by Mr Louis Malzer, substantial losses were being incurred as the war veterans were not allowing the labour to work, tobacco was going unripe and the curing of tobacco was being interfered with

In the case of Maywood Farm, Kwekwe, occupied by Mr and Mrs Buchanan, war veterans had pushed down the security fence taken Mrs and Mrs Buchanan into custody for five hours, broken down the house door and trashed the house. Mr and Mrs Buchanan were only released into police custody for protection at 6.30pm. From these incidents it was clear that the war veterans invasions were going beyond a peaceful demonstration

Commissioner Chihuri responded that it was government policy that war veterans should not be allowed to disrupt farming operations, or cause any damage to property and that he had briefed his Minister of Home Affairs, Dumiso Dabengwa of this position prior to his attendance at Cabinet that morning

Commissioner Chihuri said that farm invasions are a political matter and that the politicians were going to deal with it. He said that he hoped that the politicians would put a stop to it and that His Excellency Vice-President Msika was responsible for co-ordination this action on behalf of government

Commissioner Chihuri said that he was pleased with the way the Commercial Farmers' Union and farmers were handling the invasions, by adopting a non-confrontational approach in order to attempt to avoid any nasty incidents. In the meantime the Zimbabwe Republic Police were keeping a low profile and waiting for the political issue of land invasions to be resolved. He said that it required a peaceful solution and that he and his fellow commanders were not at all convinced that the farm invaders, who were war veterans, required land. He reiterated that disruption of farm work and damage to property would not be tolerated by the Zimbabwe Republic Police

I explained to the Commissioner that it appeared that members of his force were not upholding law and order by preventing disruption to farming operations and damage to property by war veterans at that time

I then raised the matter of the Zimbabwe Republic Police refusing to accompany the Deputy Sheriff of Masvingo in effecting the service of a Court order to evict specified persons from two properties in Masvingo East, being Vredenberg farm owned by Mr McMurdon and Yettam/Mara farms owned by Mr Stockil. The Commissioner responded by saying that he was not aware that the Zimbabwe Republic Police had refused to assist the Deputy Sheriff in the execution of his duties and that this was not his policy. I handed the Commissioner a copy of the Deputy Sheriffs memorandum, addressed to the Provincial Magistrate in Masvingo stating that he was unable to effect his duties, as required by the Court, due to the lack of police protection and co-operation

I then said to the Commissioner that the reasons given by the war veterans for invading farms was in reaction to the no vote in the referendum, and that farmers had voted no was hardly credible. Firstly, because there were only 4 0000 commercial farmers in Zimbabwe who could not influence a national referendum and, secondly, in an analysis of the referendum result it was the urban areas that voted no, rather than the rural areas, so it was not possible to apportion blame for the no vote on commercial farmers

Furthermore, white farmers were being used as a scapegoat and unfairly persecuted by land invasions when in fact commercial farmers had always supported the government of the day and were substantial contributors to the economy, which should surely result in politicians regarding farmers as allies rather than those who should be persecuted

Commissioner Chihuri then received a telephone call from the Minister of Home Affairs, Dumiso Dabengwa and took a twenty minute brief from him as a result of the Cabinet meeting and discussions pertaining to farm invasions. The Commissioner briefed us that the Minister said that the politicians were to deal with the issue of farm invasions headed up by Vice-President Msika, with Minister Dabengwa and two other Ministers. He had briefed his Minister on farmer's desire to obtain Court Orders to evict the farm invaders which he did not favour because the Minister believed this to be confrontational. Minister Dabengwa had said that a peaceful solution was being sought A meeting was to be held, to discuss the issue with Chenjerai Hunzwi, Chairman of the War Veteran's Association., on a strategy to calm the situation down and have the war veterans withdraw from invading farms

Minister Dabengwa had requested the Commissioner to inform farmers that they should

Ø "Remain calm and be patient as government was doing all possible to resolve the issue

Ø Farmers should never use Court Orders as this was provocative

Ø In the event that Court orders were used the Minister said – we are also going for elections and if you go to Court we will fold our arms and watch these invasions continue

Commissioner Chihuri said that Cabinet had endorsed his recommendations that war veterans invading farms should be stopped from interfering with farm operations and damaging property. In the event that this occurred police were to act immediately and arrest the perpetrators

To conclude there was a brief discussion on the disaster relief operations and their co-ordination in the East of the country with the Commissioner stating that from his on site tour of the affected areas with His Excellency President Mugabe, there had been substantial infrastructure damage. Many places remained isolated and people's needs included food/shelter and drinking water

On Monday there were 12 invasions, by Tuesday 30 and today the number is 48. The President met with the Army Commander this morning (1st March, 2000.) and I have again spoken to Commissioner Chihuri on the deteriorating situation. We will be meeting with a government delegation of Ministers this afternoon at their request to hear their plan of action to arrest this situation and ensure farmers can go about their business unhindered

David W Hasluck

Director Commercial Farmers' Union

ZIMBABWE : CHRONOLOGY OF ATROCITIES FROM MARCH 2000

27 March: Edwin Gomo dies after being hit on the head by a stone thrown by Zanu PF supporters in Bindura.

28 March: Robert Musoni is killed by Zanu PF supporters in Bindura.

1 April: The National Constitutional Assembly march through Harare is attacked by ZANU-PF supporters and so-called War Veterans whilst the ZRP watches. The ZRP prevents demonstrators assembling and later takes steps to break up the protest. White passers-by attacked at random.

2 April: Doreen Marufu, 6 months pregnant, dies after an assault by Zanu PF supporters in Mvurwi.

4 April: Const. Finashe Chikwenya of the ZRP is shot dead while carrying out his duty to arrest war veterans accused of assault in Marondera.

14 April: David Stevens is shot dead after systematic beatings by war veterans at Arizona Farm.

15 April: ZANU PF activists attack and burn alive Morgan Tsvangirai's driver, Tichaona Chiminya and bodyguard Talent Mabika. The ZRP take no action. James and Fainous Zhou attacked by ZANU PF in Mberengwa, forced to watch the maiming and rape of MDC supporters then tortured and beaten, Fainos later died.

17 April: An unnamed farmworker is found hanged and handcuffed in Kwekwe.

18 April: A large force of gunmen attack and murder Martin Olds on his farm near Bulawayo. ZRP (Zimbabwe Republic Police) roadblocks prevent other farmers going to his aid.

20 April: An unnamed farmworker is hanged in front of the workforce at Arizona Farm.

22 April: A bomb is set off under the offices of the Daily News independent newspaper.

24 April: A Mr Banda and Peter Karidza are murdered in Shamva.

25 April: Lucky Kanyurira is murdered and his mutilated body displayed at a shopping centre in Kariba. Nicholas Chatitama, a security guard, is killed in the same incident.

May 2000

Rogers Murirawanhu is murdered in Karoi - date uncertain. An unnamed MDC organiser is shot dead - date uncertain. An unnamed man is beaten to death for wearing an MDC T-shirt in Mhangura - date uncertain. An unnamed person is beaten to death for failing to produce a Zanu PF card - date uncertain.

3 May: Matthew Pfebve, the brother of MDC candidate beaten to death in front of his relatives in Bindura.

7 May: Attackers beat to death farmer and MDC official Alan Dunn on his farm. Laban Chirwa is murdered in Rugare.

11 May: John Weeks is shot dead at his home by war veterans in Beatrice.

13 May: Sgt. Alex Chisasa of the ZRP is beaten to death with an iron bar for criticizing Zanu PF policies in Chipinge.

16 May: Takundwa Chapunza is murdered outside Chenjerai Hunzvi's "torture" surgery in Harare.

17 May: Mationa Mashaya is beaten to death by Zanu PF supporters for being a UP supporter in Mudzi. Onias Mashaya, his son, is beaten to death in the same incident.

26 May: Messiah Kufandaedza, the campaign manager of Zanu PF candidate, is shot dead by a rival faction at Gwanzura.

30 May: Mr Simudananhu, a farm worker, is killed in clashes with war veterans in Shurugwi.

31 May: Attackers shoot and kill Tony Oates on his farm in Trelawney. Thadeus Runkuni, a prospective MDC candidate, is beaten to death in Bikita.

June 2000:

Mr Chinyere, a senior MDC official, is pulled off a bus and beaten to death - date uncertain. Mandishona Mutyanda, a 60 year old MDC ward chairperson, dies after a beating by 30 Zanu PF supporters in Kwekwe - date uncertain.

9 June: Finos Zhou is abducted and beaten to death in Mberengwa.

10 June: An unnamed schoolteacher is beaten to death for pulling down Chenjerai Hunzvi's election posters in school grounds in Chikomba.

<19 June: Four days before the elections, MDC parliamentary polling agent Patrick Nabanyama is abducted from his house in Bulawayo. He has never been seen again. A Mr Ndebele dies after beatings in Bulawayo.

20 June: Tichaono Tadyanemhandu went missing in Hurungwe East. His body was discovered in Harare morgue in late December, 2000.

22 June: Zeke Chigagwa is beaten to death with iron bars by 20 Zanu PF supporters in Gokwe.

July 2000

23 July: Wilhelm Botha is killed by unknown assailants at a farm in Beatrice.

28 July: An unnamed MDC supporter dies after beatings in Bulawayo.

August 2000

9 August: Samson Mbewe, a farmworker, is beaten to death by farm invaders while moving irrigation equipment in Ruwa.

November 2000

10 November: The Supreme Court orders the Government of Zimbabwe to halt its seizure of farms and orders the ZRP to remove squatters from land. The Supreme Court declares that the

Fast Track programme contravenes basic human rights. President Mugabe says 'Whatever the courts might say the land is ours and we will take it.'

11 November: So-called war veterans and ZANU PF supporters invade fifty more farms including that of CFU president Tim Henwood.

The Zimbabwean Police (ZRP) use batons and tear gas against a crowd in Mutare after a policeman shot and killed an eight months old baby.

Harlem: Four plaintiffs sue President Mugabe in the United States for tortures, assaults and murders during the 2000 election campaign. President Mugabe's lawyers will later claim immunity.

18 November: ZANU PF supporters and so-called war veterans erect road blocks to prevent MDC supporters attending an election rally in Marondera West: fighting breaks out.

22 November: Government of Zimbabwe media attacks Denmark for cutting aid to Zimbabwe.

23 November: Rimon Size is shot dead at a MDC rally in Marondera West.

24 November: ZANU-PF supporters and so called war veterans invade the Supreme Court when and attack lawyers and CFU officials. Once the invaders are expelled the Supreme Court overturns a High Court ruling that forbade the Government to evict invaders from farms.

30 November: Speaking in Gaborone Zimbabwean Minister of Security Goche said that the Government of Zimbabwe would abide by the agreements made at the 1998 donors' conference and would only seek to acquire farms that were poorly used or were on the borders of communal areas. SADC ministers welcomed this undertaking.

December 2000

2 December: President Mugabe warns that farmers who fight land acquisition in the courts will make Zimbabweans angry. He condemned the MDC for 'dining with the white man.'

2 December: The Zimbabwean Ministry of Defence says that the security forces have an 'enormous responsibility' to maintain public order and discipline and to ensure that 'peace-loving citizens are not molested by unruly mobs.'

3 December: War Veterans Association secretary-general Eddy Mhlanga says the forthcoming ZANU PF Congress will resolve most of the problems facing Zimbabwe.

4 December: Karin Junker, Vice-President of the EU Africa, Caribbean and Pacific joint assembly accuses President Mugabe of supporting lawlessness and the illegal seizure of farms. She says 'Zimbabwe would be better off without him.' A presidential spokesman retaliates that Junker has come 'under a spell of the British anti-land redistribution element.'

8 December: President Mugabe bans any challenge to election results, such challenges being categorised as 'frivolous and vexatious.'

14 December: President Mugabe tells the ZANU PF congress that the commercial farmers have 'declared war' on the people of Zimbabwe. He says that the white man is 'not indigenous' to Africa and is part of an 'evil alliance.' He tells his audience 'we must continue to strike fear into the heart of the white man, our real enemy.' His audience reply with chants of 'hondo' (war). Chenjerai Hitler Hunzvi says: 'whosoever is killed , it's tough luck.'

12 December: Attackers shoot and murder Henry Elsworth – a 70 year old white farmer. His son received nine bullet wounds but survived; he ascribed the attack to so-called war veterans. The ZRP have taken no action.

20 December: In his annual address to Parliament President Mugabe says that 2000 elections

were free and peaceful.

21 December: The Supreme Court rules that land invasions are illegal and that the Ministry of Lands should cease all land acquisitions until it had a workable plan to use.

21 December: President Mugabe appoints Charles Hungwe, War Veterans Association official, and Rita Makarau, formerly one of ZANU PF's MPs, as High Court judges.

30 December: Bernard Gara, a Zanu PF supporter, is stabbed after a Zanu PF rally near Bikita.

January 2001

So-called War Veterans led by Stanley Mapfumo assault David Wheeler on Calgary Farm. Wheeler is hospitalised and later leaves Zimbabwe. The ZRP had already failed to enforce a High Court order expelling Mapfumo. Mapfumo later occupies a house on the farm which now stands idle.

8 January: Chief Justice Gubbay condemns the personal attacks made on the Supreme Court by so-called war veterans. The Supreme Court rules that the ZRP acted unlawfully in raiding the offices of the MDC and detaining MDC officials.

9 January: mdc vehicles petro-bombed in bikita East. Provincial governor hungwe criticizes the police for not shooting MDC supporters.

15 January: ZANU-PF win the Bikita East by-election after wholesale intimidation of electorate and community leaders.

16 January: Ropafadzo Manyame dies of injuries sustained in an attack by war veterans during the by-election campaign in Bikita West.

23 January: Singer Thomas Mapfumo leaves Zimbabwe to live in the USA. He says that there is only 'disaster' in Zimbabwe: 'The government has done nothing good for the people.'

26 January: Minister of Information Jonathan Moyo says the Daily News is a threat to national security. ZRP arrest Davison Maruziva, Deputy Editor and two senior reporters and interrogate them.

27 January: Chenjerai Hitler Hunzvi says that he will ban the Daily News. His supporters protest outside the Daily News and assault passers-by who will not chant their slogans.

27 January: President Mugabe says that the courts have no role to play in the land resettlement process.

28 January: The Daily News printing presses are destroyed by five bombs, probably land-mines. The ZRP take no action.

28 January: Vice President Msika says that there will be war if the MDC ever wins an election.

30 January: The Supreme Court rules that the Government of Zimbabwe's recently passed change to the Electoral Act forbidding legal challenge to parliamentary elections is illegal. MDC actions about fixed election results can now proceed.

February 2001

2 February: Minister of Justice Patrick Chinamasa tells Chief Justice Gubbay that he cannot protect him or other judges from the so-called war veterans. Gubbay resigns.

3 February: 250 ZRP officers armed with batons and tear gas break up a planned demonstration by 100 journalists who wished to protest against the bombing of the Daily News.

4 February: ZANU-PF supporters and soldiers beat Job Sikhala, an MDC MP, and his pregnant wife with sticks and chains having broken into their house. The ZRP takes no action.

5 February: The Government of Zimbabwe arrests three MDC members of parliament for 'inciting violence.'

7 February: High Court Judge Rita Makarau orders the Police to evict farm invaders in the Hwedza area. Vice President Msika announces that the ZRP will take no action against farm invaders.

8 February: So-called war veterans attack Chirobi Farm near Glendale, attack an 87 year old woman, rob drink and supplies and invade houses.

9 February: Minister of Justice Patrick Chinamasa tells white Supreme Court judge Nick McNally 'The President does not wish to see you come to any harm.'

11 February: The Government of Zimbabwe tries to appropriate all foreign exchange revenues in Zimbabwe but later rescinds the order.

14 February: ZESA (Zimbabwe's electricity company) announces national blackouts.

15 February: The Government of Zimbabwe indicts MDC leader Morgan Tsvangirai and charges him with inciting violence.

16 February: A Government of Zimbabwe spokesman says that anybody lobbying for sanctions against Zimbabwe will lose their Zimbabwean passport.

16 February: Harare War Veterans Association official Mike Moyo says that the war veterans will occupy the homes of white judges and of 'those black judges who sympathize with whites.'

18 February: ZRP officers raid the house of Joseph Winter, BBC correspondent having first tried to break down the door. Information Minister Jonathan Moyo says 'all I know is that this person should be out of the country.' High Court Judge Ishmael Chatikobo orders the authorities to leave Winter alone but Moyo says that this rule does not apply to the Government of Zimbabwe. Winter later leaves Zimbabwe with his wife and small child. Government media says that Winter's work permit has 'a number of irregularities.'

19 February: The Ford Foundation charity sues Minister of Information Jonathan Moyo accusing him of embezzling \$80,000.

21 February: Home Affairs Minister John Nkomo announces that he is seeking a way to confiscate the Zimbabwean passports of people who campaign for sanctions against Zimbabwe.

21 February: The Catholic Church's Commission for Justice and Peace condemns military and police attacks on civilians in Chitungwiza and describes the Government of Zimbabwe's campaign against High Court Judges as 'racist.'

22 February: So-called war veterans attack and beat farm workers in the Nkayi area.

22 February: Journalist Mercedes Sayagues expelled from Zimbabwe.

22 February: A gang of ZANU PF supporters attack Raymond Maganwe in Kambuzuma and wreck his home.

23 February: So-called war veterans assault and stab George Walls in Harare.

23 February: The ZRP round up MDC supporters in Victoria Falls in preparation for President Mugabe's birthday celebrations there. MDC MP Peter Nyoni and three MDC officials are charged with inciting violence

23 February: So-called war veterans, armed with rifles, abduct and beat workers at the Gourlays game conservancy in Inyathi.

23 February: Government of Zimbabwe media reports that Minister of Justice Patrick Chinamasa has told parliament that journalists Mercedes Sayagues and Joseph Winter were expelled for distorting the situation in Zimbabwe.

25 February: Minister of Information Jonathan Moyo accuses the judiciary of favouring 'racist colonial elements'

25 February: Minister of Finance Simba Makoni says that 'Zimbabwe society and its government overall operate within the law.' Says that Zimbabwe is 'in a crisis right now.'

25 February: President Thabo Mbeki of South Africa says that things that have happened recently in Zimbabwe are of 'serious concern': the judges, the press, land redistribution.

26 February: Peter Wagner, Archdeacon in Masvingo, murdered in his church after being tied up and beaten. .

27 February: Chief Justice Gubbay says that government attempts to appoint a new Chief Justice are unlawful. Minister of Justice Patrick Chinamasa says that Chief Justice Gubbay's behaviour is 'disgraceful and despicable.' ZANU PF MP Christopher Mushowe says that the Gubbay is 'an institution erected by Whitehall to overthrow Robert Mugabe' that Gubbay 'has links to powerful Jewish financial interests' and that his judgements were 'corrupt, perverse, biased, malicious, racial and wrong.' Minister of Justice Jonathen Moyo calls Chief Justice Gubbay 'a liar.'

27 February: The Parliamentary Agricultural Committee recommend that land reform be conducted in a transparent manner, for the removal of informal settlers and for the restoration of law and order.

March 2001

Throughout March so-called war veterans, ZANU-PF supporters and ZRP officers carry out attacks on MDC supporters in Mbare and Chitungwiza. Bulldozers destroy homes in Mbare. Police beat bystanders awaiting an MDC address. Eleven MDC supporters disappear.

2 March: So-called war veterans attack Eric Rosen, chairman of Motor Action Football Team, make him salute and dance in front of portrait of President Mugabe attack his wife and son, smash the clubhouse and demand that he no longer pursue a claim for non-payment against a ZANU-PF supporter.

2 March: So-called war veterans arrive at the Supreme Court led by Joseph Chinotimba who says that has ordered Chief Justice Gubbay to depart. Chinotimba is on bail accused of attempted murder at the time. He later threatens to declare war on Chief Justice Gubbay. Gubbay agrees, at last, to step down after further discussions with the Minister of Justice.

3 March: Chenjeria Hitler Hunzvi says that all white judges must leave. 'If they want us to use violence we are going to use that.'

4 March: Two gunmen murder Gloria Olds, a 68 year old widow and mother of Martin Olds, murdered on 18 April 2001. They are waved through a police roadblock on departure. Her son claimed that the attackers fired 18 bullets into her body.

5 March: Guy Verhofstadt, Belgian Prime Minister, welcomes President Mugabe to his house. MEPs protest. President Mugabe later accuses the European Union of funding opposition parties in Zimbabwe.

5 March: Activist Peter Tatchell tries to arrest President Mugabe for torture in Belgium. He is beaten by Mugabe's bodyguards who threaten to find him and kill him. Belgian Police do

nothing.

5 March: So-called war veterans and ZANU-PF officials take over the Binga rural council offices and demand that workers cease work.

5 March: Justice Minister Patrick Chinamasa condemns the visit to Zimbabwe of South African Democratic Alliance leader Tony Leon saying that it was 'interference' and was 'treacherous.'

5 March: Vice President Msika tells a ZANU PF rally that whites are unnecessarily closing businesses as a political manoeuvre against the government.

5 March: ZANU PF calls MDC leader Morgan Tsvangirai a 'sellout' who is working with 'American and British imperialists.' The ZANU website says that to claim that 'whites are our cousins is totally nonsensical thought...the worst form a normal black human being...whites can never be our cousins.' It notes that the MDC and the National Constitutional Assembly are forces of white imperialists.

6 March: President Mugabe is welcomed to the Elysees Place by President Chirac of France.

6 March: So called war veterans invade Robbins Farm beating up the workers. A ZRP inspector who tries to intervene is stripped and humiliated.

7 March Government of Zimbabwe media claim that President Chirac reassured President Mugabe that France would not presume to interfere in Zimbabwe's internal affairs.

7 March: Parliamentary Legal Committee announces that proposed Broadcasting Regulations are illegal. Minister of Justice Patrick Chinamasa asks Parliament to authorise him to hold the Financial Gazette in contempt of court for reporting that the regulations were illegal.

8 March: Justice Minister Chinamasa announces that the next Chief Justice is to be Godfrey Chidyausika, a former ZANU PF MP.

10 March: The Government of Zimbabwe controlled Herald says that Peter Tatchell should be thankful that the 'President's men did not shoot him down like a dog.....The severe beating meted out on Tatchell is a good signal that restores national pride...'

10 March: The Government of Zimbabwe orders the expulsion of the Revd Paul Andrianatos, a priest in Matabeleland who had described President Mugabe as a murderer after the murder of Martin Olds in 2,000. On 9 March Andrianatos had officiated at the funeral of Gloria Olds, Martin's mother, murdered on 4 March.

11 March: So-called war veterans leader Abel Mahlangu tells Gazette journalist Njabulo Ncube that he is to be murdered.

11 March: ZANU-PF supporters murder Robson Tinarwo, an MDC youth leader in Shamva when he refuses to renounce the MDC. The ZRP take no action.

16 March: International Bar Association delegation (including delegates from South Africa and Windhoek) publicly attacked by Minister of Information Jonathen Moyo who shouted at them outside State House.

18 March: The Zimbabwean Conference of Religious Superiors condemns the Government of Zimbabwe saying that 'people live in abject fear of violence, crime and threats.' They are 'deeply offended' that their bishops make no stand against the Government of Zimbabwe.

20 March: The Commonwealth Action Group announces that it wishes to send an urgent mission to Zimbabwe comprising the Foreign Ministers of Barbados, Nigeria and Australia. It expresses concern about the intimidation of journalists and the judiciary. The Government of Zimbabwe rejects the mission.

20 March: Home Affairs Minister John Nkomo grants permanent residence in Zimbabwe to former Ethiopian dictator Mengistu.

21 March: The Government of Zimbabwe response to the UNDP makes no reference to the need to restore the rule of law and order, seeking only financial support for the Fast Track programme instead.

21 March: The Commercial Farmers' Union (CFU) restates its willingness to work with the Government of Zimbabwe to resolve the land issue.

21 March: The International Monetary Fund refuses further financial assistance to the Government of Zimbabwe.

22 March: Foreign Minister Mudenge tells diplomats that plans for the Commonwealth mission to Zimbabwe were 'racist.'

22 March: The Media Institute of Southern Africa criticizes the dismissal of the chairman of Zimbabwe Newspapers, and of the editors of the Herald and the Sunday Mail and their replacement with ZANU PF supporters Pikirayi Deketeke, William Chikoto and Enock Kasmushinda.

22 March: So-called war veterans attack the Harare Children's Home and threaten the children living there.

23 March: Peter Mataruse, an MDC supporter, is chased by 80 Zanu PF Youth into a swollen river and drowns near Muzarabani. Robson Tinarwo Chirima, an MDC supporter, has his eyes gouged out by Zanu PF Youth and subsequently dies in Muzarabani.

25 March: Jabulani Ndlovu, Secretary General of the Liberty Party of Zimbabwe, tells the press that 'Mugabe has failed this nation..... and brought pain and suffering to Zimbabwe.'

29 March: Government-controlled media demands the boycott of the National Constitutional Assembly.

29 March: 23 year old George Potgieter charged with 'making a lewd remark about President Mugabe.'

30 March: Zimbabwe Lawyers for Human Rights recommend that the appointment of judges be freed from political meddling.

30 March: Ndogo Mupesa, an MDC supporter, is killed by Zanu PF Youth in Muzarabani.

31 March: Government of Zimbabwe announces the arrest of Albert Ncube for the murder of Gloria Olds.

31 March: The National Constitutional Assembly announces that it will only support Presidential candidates whose agendas embrace political reform.

Late March: Chenjerai Hitler Hunzvi says that ZANU-PF will establish 'mobilisation bases' in Zimbabwe's cities as part of 'an aggressive plan.'
Political analyst Masipula Sithole describes this as 'a recipe for fomenting anarchy' and warns of urban guerrilla warfare.'

President Mugabe says in a speech that 'there will never come a day when the MDC will rule this country – never, ever.'

So-called War Veterans invade the Matobo International Crop Research Institute and begin to sell the land to local residents.

April 2001

Early April: Zimbabwe Lawyers for Human Right Chairman Tawanda Hondora assaulted by ZANU PF and by ZRP officers whilst investigating the intimidation of witnesses in the Sadze area. He is whipped, hit with a stone, made to chant ZANU-PF slogans and marched to the Police Station where further assaults followed. His jaw is broken. He had seen ZANU PF supporters beating a witness, Nelson Chivanga, who was scheduled to testify against the victory of Chenjerai Hitler Hunzvi in the 2,000 elections.

So-called War Veterans led by Chenjerai Hitler Hunzvi invade Design Incorporated in Harare and ordered the workers to assault their management. Danisa Mandoa is kicked, punched, spat at and pelted with stones. The company is part-owned by its workforce.

So-called War Veterans invade Merspin, a company in Bulawayo, attack economist Eric Bloch and a businessman and then assault company managers and take them to the local ZANU-PF offices.

ZANU-PF supporters invade Lobels Bread Ltd assisted by the ZRP who arrested Ian Mel after finding MDC e mails in his possession. ZANU-PF supporters tell workers that if they do not support ZANU-PF they will be beaten to death. They say says that all whites are to be driven from Zimbabwe .

Speaking in the Namibian Parliament Katuutie Kaura asks the Minister of Finance not to subsidise a property that President Mugabe is alleged to be buying in Windhoek and comments that President Mugabe influences the Namibian Government 'by remote control.'

2 April: Joseph Chinotimba, a self styled commander in chief of farm invasions, has threatened to send more war veterans to occupy Munenga Farm in Goromonzi. War veterans have continued occupying farms throughout the country.

2 April: Luka Sigobole, the MDC candidate for Kariba, has withdrawn his petition challenging ZANU PF's Isaac Mackenzie's victory in the June 2000 elections because he feared for his life after receiving death threats. Members of Sigobole's family were receiving death threats from people he could not disclose.

4 April: Teachers in Mashonaland East province are being forced to contribute towards the Independence Day celebration, and to the ZANU PF Women's League. In some schools, teachers are being forced to contribute towards the President's birthday party. Teachers at Mutoko Government School, Mutoko High School and Kotwa Secondary School said they were forced to pay \$100 each towards the President's birthday party. The ZANU Pf branch chairpersons and war veterans are responsible for collecting the levies.

5 April: An MDC supporter, Ndogo Mupesa of Chiweshe, was allegedly killed by ZANU PF militas and war veterans for supporting the opposition party. The victim was beaten to death, then hanged so that it would appear as if he had committed suicide.

5 April: MDC supporters in Muzarabani are reported to be fleeing from their homes after receiving death threats from ZANU Pf supporters.

5 April: Kenneth Mwinga of Chiredzi has been beaten up and windows of his house broken by ZANU PF supporters, accusing him of testifying against their party in an MDC petition hearing in the High Court. Mwinga's leg was broken by Mutemachani, a war veteran, and it was in plaster when he gave evidence in court. Mwinga took off his shirt to show Justice Ziyambi the wounds he sustained during the assault.

5 April: A commercial farmer in Figtree, Max Rosenfels, is living in fear after war veterans gave him an ultimatum to remove his cattle from his Sundown North Farm.

5 April: Victims of political violence are reported to be living in shacks after their homes were destroyed by ZANU PF militas in Honde Valley.

6 April: The government is threatening to declare a state of emergency if Western countries and donor organisations impose sanctions on the country.

6 April: War veteran Joseph Chinotimba has allegedly seized equipment worth more than Z\$4 million from Resource Drilling (Pvt) Ltd and allegedly left it at ZANU PF headquarters. The move followed a disagreement between workers and management over salaries and a shorter week.

9 April: War veterans have ramped through the garage and home of company director Imran Chaudhry after a pay dispute with his employees. The director has gone into hiding. The war veterans allegedly beat up the workers at his house and confiscated 34 motor vehicles.

10 April: Riot Police allegedly assaulted and killed Batani Hadzazi, a first year student at the University of Zimbabwe. The police were called in to quell a demonstration over student payout increments. Hadzazi was working on an assignment in his room when seven riot police allegedly beat him with baton sticks, kicked and punched him until he fell unconscious. Many students were injured during the riots.

10 April: A reporter with Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation, Freedom Moyo, has been granted a peace order against ZANU PF member of Parliament for Gwanda South, Abednico Ncube, who has threatened to beat him up on numerous occasions. The MP has accused the reporter of refusing to give him television coverage during his constituency meetings.

12 April: Joseph Chinotimba, the notorious war veteran has declared himself the new leader of the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions. Chinotimba has invaded companies to solve labour disputes.

12 April: War veterans and State security agents have unleashed a reign of terror in Kezi district after a visit to the area, by MDC president Morgan Tsvangirai. Hundreds of villagers fled to the mountains while others fled to Bulawayo, to escape from CIO operatives and war veterans who harassed them for attending Tsvangirai's rally. The state agents and ZANU PF militias visited various homes at night demanding to know why individuals had attended the MDC rally.

16 April: Several students from Nust University in Bulawayo were injured when riot police beat them up for demonstrating against Police Brutality. The demonstration followed allegations of murder of a student by police at the University of Zimbabwe campus.

16 April: Army, police and CIO are said to be involved in resettling people on listed and non-listed farms in the Mwenezi area ahead of Independence Day. Farm workers at Merrivale Farm were chased away from the farm.

17 April: An MDC activist, Ndogo Mupesa, was allegedly killed in cold blood by suspected ZANU PF militias and war veterans for supporting the MDC. ZANU PF militias reportedly led by Chief Chiweshe disrupted his burial.

17 April: Chief Chiweshe, a member of ZANU PF's central committee, was severely beaten up by unknown assailants in Muzarabani.

17 April: The home of George Mujajati, a writer and lecturer, was raided by riot police who accused him of taking part in skirmishes between police and MDC supporters at a rally.

18 April: The Minister of Information in the President's Office, Professor Jonathan Moyo, has threatened to deal with individual journalists from the Daily News after the paper had published an unfavourable story about the minister.

18 April: Several MDC supporters in Glen Norah are nursing injuries after clashes with riot police. The police beat them up at a rally and fired tear gas.

20 April: The President, R.G. Mugabe, has threatened unspecified action against people who beat up Chief Chiweshe on the 15th of April. The attack is being blamed on MDC supporters.

20 April: War veterans occupying Joyce Farm in Beatrice are reported to have destroyed huts belonging to other war veterans and peasants who had been resettled on another farm.

23 April: Gweru businessman Patrick Kombayi foiled a second assassination attempt on his life, when he disarmed a policeman who allegedly threatened to shoot him because of his recent call for President Mugabe's arrest. The policeman in question is Assistant Inspector Alphas George of the Criminal Investigation Department, believed to be a war veteran. Kombayi is disabled following an assassination attempt during the 1990 general election, when he stood for the Zimbabwe Unity Movement against Vice President Simon Muzenda. Elias Kanengoni, a CIO, and Kizito Chivamba, a ZANU PF leader, were convicted of attempted murder, but pardoned by President Mugabe.

23 April: In Harare, Mervin Senior and his wife Barbara, owners of Mbizi game park near Harare International Airport, were abducted from their lodge and beaten up by ZANU PF members following a labour dispute with their workers. They were held for four hours at ZANU PF's headquarters in Harare.

23 April: Tinofara Hove, a Harare lawyer and businessman; and four police officers providing him with an escort service, were assaulted by about 30 suspected war veterans and ZANU PF supporters. Hove whose two commuter buses were impounded by war veterans; was struck with an iron bar on the forehead. One of the policemen escorting Hove was dragged out of a police vehicle and assaulted for protecting the lawyer.

23 April: Company director Mr Shouket and two employees were abducted and assaulted by war veterans in Harare. Mr Shouket's company recently had a labour dispute with some employees resulting in war veterans impounding the company's commuter buses. Mr. Shouket sustained a broken arm and ribs. The commuter buses that the war veterans seized were parked at ZANU PF head quarters. The day's earnings were also taken by the war veterans.

23 April: A commuter omnibus driver was beaten up by ZANU PF supporters in Glendale, about 66 km northeast of Harare, in apparent revenge for the assault on Chief Chiweshe by suspected MDC supporters. The truck he was driving had its tyres deflated, and he was repeatedly punched, slapped and kicked. The case was reported to Glendale Police who refused to open a docket, preferring instead to give him a Request for Medical Report form to take to any hospital. Police refused to give an explanation as to why no docket was opened.

23 April: Wally Hammond, the security manager of Clan Holdings in Harare, was assaulted by ZANU PF provincial officers and war veterans. No reasons for the beating are available.

23 April: Mr Davie Kandini was beaten by about seven war veterans at ZANU PF provincial offices in Harare. The reason he was beaten up is that he refused to lie about his former employer whom the war veterans are apparently targeting.

24 April: Cecil Carver, the owner of a steel company in Msasa in Harare, was taken prisoner by suspected war veterans. He was allegedly picked up with his foreman and driven to an unknown destination. Their whereabouts are unknown.

24 April: War veterans stormed into a Dental Clinic in Harare, forced the 23 employees to stop work and ordered them to report to ZANU PF Harare head office.

24 April: Fire gutted a house belonging to the MDC parliamentary candidate for Chegutu, destroying household goods, after a gang of ZANU PF supporters stormed a compound at the farm where he resides. The MDC member was away from his home when the attack took place.

24 April: The policeman who allegedly threatened to shoot Gweru businessman Patrick Kombayi failed to appear in court. The Police were yet to record statements from witnesses.

24 April: Crispin Musoni, MDC candidate for Gutu North in last June's parliamentary election, withdrew his petition in the High Court in which he was challenging the victory of Vice President Simon Muzenda of ZANU PF. Musoni did not give reasons for the withdrawal.

24 April: War veterans abducted two sons of a late High Court Judge and their friend, accusing them of stealing household property from a top ZANU PF official's wife. The two brothers, James and George Chirengudu, were illegally detained for three days in Harare. They were

packed up at 3am in the morning and threatened with beating. They were later dumped at a Police Station in Highlands.

25 April: War veterans have become self-appointed arbitrators in labour disputes. The latest targets are the Avenues Clinic, Meikles, the Forestry Commission and Macsteel Zimbabwe where the war veterans are said to be demanding the re-instatement of retrenched employees, some having been retrenched as far back as 1995.

25 April: Police fired tear gas to disperse ZANU PF supporters and war veterans attempting to disrupt an MDC provincial meeting in Bindura. The MDC president was part of the meeting.

25 April: 20 war veterans forced a German non-governmental organisation to pay \$600 000 to two former employees whose case is pending in the labour tribunal court. The executive gave in for fear of being assaulted.

27 April: The High Court has nullified the election results in two rural constituencies won by ZANU PF in June last year, saying they were won through intimidation. High Court Judge Justice James Devittie cited massive violence and intimidation in the two constituencies.

27 April: Suspected war veterans abducted and assaulted a student at Harare International School. The student is the son of the director of the International Red Cross. The war veterans were apparently contracted by a driver who had been fired by the Red Cross.

27 April: Foreign diplomats met in Harare to assess and review their personal security following threats by war veterans and ZANU PF. ZANU PF MP Chenjerai Hunzvi threatened to target embassies and non governmental organisations which are alleged to be funding and supporting the opposition.

27 April: Armed police raided the MDC president's offices and arrested four members of his close security team. The raid came after Mr. Tsvangirai had won a High Court election petition. The reasons for their arrest were not disclosed but police said they would charge them under section 30 of the Law and Order Maintenance Act.

28 April: War veterans and ZANU PF militias disrupted an MDC rally in Tsholotsho and severely assault hundreds of villagers waiting to be addressed by Gibson Sibanda, the MDC Vice President.

28 April: The Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Willard Chiwewe, says government will not guarantee the security of foreign embassies and donor agencies that flout their terms of registration. He was reacting to a statement by war veterans leader Chenjerai Hunzvi that war veterans would move to non governmental organisations and embassies suspected of supporting the MDC.

28 April: war veterans severely assaulted a business man together with his son and took them to the ZANU PF provincial headquarters in Harare. Reason for the assault was that he is an MDC supporter

Letter from Jenny Coltart – Wife of the MDC MP David Coltart

I decided to write because we have had a bit of excitement. I arrived home after 5.00pm last night having fetched Jessica from school, to find a police vehicle parked outside and nine policemen waiting outside my gate to receive me. Our dogs were faithfully looking very vicious on the other side of the gate. They said that they needed to see me so would I lock up my dogs.

I asked them to move well away from my gate so I could drive in without the dogs getting them and would come out to speak to them once the dogs were locked up. I found Amai and the boys locked up in the house very anxious, especially Scott who was asking if we could all go and lock ourselves in the strong room. I learned from Amai that they had been there an hour or more and when she and the gate guard met them on arrival they had been very aggressive and had demanded she lock up the dogs because they were coming to search the house.

Amai had told them that Mummy was not here and only she knows how to lock up the dogs. She marched back to the house, gathered the boys in, instructed Douglas to phone Mark, locked up the house and made sure the dogs would stay outside, her heart pounding inside her body. I later learned that at the gate, the guard said he refused to allow any one in who had not been invited in and they should not stay parked outside the house he was guarding. He proceeded to try to take down their number plate!

He said they were verbally aggressive and that he was no deterrent because they could go over the wall. But he held his ground. Ordinary Zimbabweans like Amai and the guard are becoming assertive in the face of intimidation and we are so proud of them. It goes against the history and culture of this country but things are changing. Guqula Isenzo !! Isenzo guqula!! (slogan meaning Change your deeds. Your deeds change)

Before going outside to learn the reason for this unscheduled visit I was able to make a few phone calls. Though I wasn't able to reach Dave as he was still in the air on his way home, I was able to reach Simon who was fetching him from the airport. Mark phoned in to say that he was on his way and that Rita was coming to collect the kids. So within seconds Rita was at the door to take the children for a swim and supper and Mark there as my back up. Tlou had also arrived on the scene and had on his NCA tee-shirt to show whose side he was on!

They were relatively polite with me and presented me with a search warrant for our home. I realise that I must be gaining experience in these things because my first thought was that this warrant was likely to be faulty. It did not take long to see that it was not only a photocopy but a very poor photocopy where half the signature was left off. I boldly told them that this document was unlawful and that I had no obligation to comply by this document. They then became verbally aggressive and said that they did not require my permission because they had shown me their documentation.

Remembering the state's attempted detention of Dave a decade before, I repeated Dave's then spiel about how they knew that their document was unlawful and that by entering my home they would be acting unlawfully and that we would sue them personally and their own possessions would be attached when they were convicted in a law court. (Amai heard one policeman say under his breath admiringly "she speaks like Coltart himself")

The detective inspector sneered at me and assured me that it would have to be the state we sued. Interesting answer. Very close to an admission. I then asked them for their IDs to keep them on the defensive and to kill time till more knowledgeable help arrived. They of course are obliged to show me their IDs which I then proceeded to take down. I managed to take down five before there were strong objections and refusals for me to handle their IDs. Again they tried bullying me into saying that the taking down of IDs was tantamount to consent to allow them in and they were physically pressing in on me. I told them that the IDs were so that I knew who I would be suing. Amid jeers I told them I would have to consult my lawyer and would need to go in to phone.

They wrongfully insisted that I should only phone him in their presence. As I did not want anyone following me inside (as I had locked the dogs up) I said I would phone him outside and sent Tlou to fetch the mobile phone. Dave's and Josophats phones were on voice mail and I couldn't think of any other lawyer. Managed to get Kenyan who was very supportive, although

not a criminal lawyer but assured me I was in the right not to let them in. They wouldn't accept his word and said that he must come and they would proceed with the search. In the meantime, others in the group were questioning Mark, Tlou and the guard. They told Mark to leave as it was not his house. He politely stood his ground and said he was staying as an observer. I walked a little away with Mark to try to have a private strategy conversation with Mark. I had wanted to tell Mark that I was going to slip through the gate and would he give the sliding gate a shove so I could quickly lock it. If they were going to go ahead with the search I wanted them to have to break in so that there would be no dispute about my agreement to allow them in.

But the inspector followed us and wrongfully told us, close to my face that we were not allowed to speak in private. We really did not know if he was right or not but we told him he was talking nonsense. I smelt alcohol on his breath then and as my adrenaline was pumping a bit too much I went on attack saying I could smell alcohol and how could I deal with a drunk man. I realised almost immediately that it was a provocative statement that would only heat their mood. Before they gathered momentum for a reaction to my statement I quickly slipped away and through the gate, slide the gate and miraculously locked it in 2 seconds. Every night I struggle with that gate for at least 30 secs and often need to enlist the help of someone to get the lock in. But last night it slid and locked like a zip.

I was on my way back to the house to make some more private phone calls when another police van arrived with a further 2 policemen (their seniors). They produced the original fax they had received with the full signature. At the same time other friends started arriving. Judith Todd was the first. She quietly made some reference to the fact that this was familiar to her from the Rhodesian days. Now behind the locked gate, feeling more on top, I said that I would need to consult my lawyer regarding the validity of the second search warrant and they would have to wait. Evidently the more senior policeman was secretly sympathetic and confirmed that it was my right to do so and that they would wait until my lawyer was present.

At this stage Dave phoned and I was able to speak to him in private. The cell phone brigade had been working and more friends, lawyers and reporters were arriving. The 11 policemen outside were now outnumbered and were very uncomfortable with the press especially the photographic press. I had been able to read the detail of the search warrant to Dave over the phone and he had had time to sum up the situation and piece it together with this week's ranting and ravings of Jonathan Moyo, ZPF's chief propagandist. He also had time to establish that the same exercise was taking place at several venues country-wide.

So Dave arrived eventually with a beaming smile, to a crowd of supporters and 11 relatively subdued policemen. By now he was fully aware of the unlawfulness of the whole exercise but also conscious of how damaging it would be for them to now go ahead with the search with all the witnesses and press. He castigated them for not showing the same diligence in finding Patrick Nabanyama, our poing agent who was abducted months ago and is still missing. Dave and some of the lawyers took them through the various arguments to show that the whole exercise was unlawful. While this was going on, Amai and I, under instruction, were dishing out endless cups of tea through the gate fence. Our hospitality was shunned by the state officials but much enjoyed by everyone else.

Dave even offered to sip their tea first to show that it wasn't poisoned but they were not persuaded. Eventually Dave allowed 2 policemen to carry out the search with all the press following. this was partly so we could all go home and partly so they could pull the trigger of the gun that was aimed at their foot. The background to the visit dates back to 1996 when motion was set to challenge the broadcasting act giving first RBC and then ZBCa monopoly of the radio waves for decades. Simultaneously he worked to facilitate the setting up of an independent radio station in the ready. The challenge eventually reached the Supreme Court after a long battle and the courts ruled in our favour. Last Thursday "Capitol Radio" our first independent radio station began broadcasting from a hotel room in Harare.

You can imagine how incensed our opponents were. They wrongly used some point of law to obtain search warrants to any one connected to Capitol Radio in a desperate bid to find the broadcasting station and shut it up. They did find the station (not in our home) and confiscated all the equipment which is another battle we will eventually win. In the meantime our hardly known Capitol Radio will be having nationwide publicity at the expense of the state.

Eric Bloch Column

EVER-INCREASING chaos prevails in Zimbabwe's foreign exchange markets. It has been estimated that the accumulated demand for foreign exchange (for payment of government and parastatal debt service commitments and the due and overdue commitments of parastatals and the private sector in respect of imports, royalties and franchise fees, interest and dividends, and the like) is in excess of US\$600 million. It is similarly estimated that, on average, monthly foreign exchange requirements exceed foreign exchange inflows by approximately US\$90 million. Therefore, it must be anticipated that by the end of the year the deficit of foreign exchange will have amounted to more than US\$1 billion.

The greater the scarcity of any commodity is, the higher the price that those who have a desperate need for that commodity are prepared to pay for it. In that respect, foreign exchange is no different to any other commodity. And, as Zimbabwe's insufficiency of foreign exchange to meet the demands of those dependant upon it increased, so the sense of desperation intensified, and the willingness to pay ever higher prices for the critically-needed forex became greater and greater.

The higher the prices rise, so some offer even more, with the perceptions of many being that their foreign exchange requirements must be sourced at whatsoever may be the cost, before none can be obtained at any price. More and more become convinced that forex is about to become an extinct species and, in making that conviction known to almost whomsoever they interact with, spread such a belief and thereby increase demand still further, undoubtedly hastening extinction and causing yet further price escalation before extinction occurs.

To a great extent, government and, on occasion, the Reserve Bank has, through ill-considered and counter-productive monetary policies and regulations, been a major contributor to the fast growing shortage of foreign exchange and, therefore, to the panic-driven heightening of costs of foreign currencies. Initially the key factor was government's obdurate refusal to devalue the Zimbabwe dollar, which refusal still endures.

It heeded the vociferous contentions of the opponents to devaluation (being mainly importers and the economically ill-informed or misguided), for those opponents misled evaluation of the merits of devaluation by focusing upon the admittedly great degree to which previous exchange rate adjustments had not yielded improved export performance and earnings, but had fuelled inflation and would exacerbate the servicing of government debt.

But those opponents do not give cognisance to the extent that those devaluations had achieved retention and continuance of the prevailing export performance, which would have been lost in the absence of devaluation. And they do not suggest, constructively or otherwise, how Zimbabwe can obtain foreign exchange in substitution for lost export earnings in order to assure its ongoing imports and servicing of commitments.

Moreover, they ignore the fact that reduced availability of foreign exchange stimulates inflation (as does devaluation). Diminished imports result in reduced economic productivity, and therefore cause higher operational costs which must, if business viability is to be protected, be recouped through higher prices. They also ignore the fact that any reduction in economic activity results in markedly lower revenue inflows to the fiscus and upon its ability to service debt. Thus they do government and the economy a great disservice by advocating rigid adherence to the long-fixed exchange rates, and government does the whole country and the economy an equally great disservice by yielding to that advocacy, which continues repeatedly to be offered and to be heeded.

The consequences of the prolonged adherence to an exchange rate without any adjustment to compensate for the impacts of inflation are many, but foremost has been a sharp and continuing fall in exports and, therefore, in the amount of foreign exchange being generated to meet Zimbabwe's needs. Mines have closed down, tobacco growers cannot afford to sell their crops for prices which would effectively not suffice to fund a crop in the next season and others in agriculture and horticulture similarly can no longer achieve profits upon exports sufficient to maintain continuing operations. Within the manufacturing sector, many engaged in the clothing,

textile and furniture industries, as well as numerous manufacturers of other products, have had to abandon their export markets (many of which took many years, great endeavours and considerable expense to establish), for the fixed exchange rate in a highly inflationary environment means unavoidable losses. As foreign exchange earnings fell, so the price that those needing forex were prepared to pay became progressively greater.

Because government could not obtain enough foreign exchange to fund fuel and energy imports and other commitments of the state, it prescribed that exporters had to release 25% of earnings into the money market immediately upon receipt. The balance could be used for the exporter's own forex needs, and these soon came to include making the foreign exchange available to others at a premium, thereby restoring some profitability and viability to the exporters' operations. This became known as the parallel market, officially frowned upon by the authorities but not only lawful if operated within legislative and regulatory constraints, but often patronised by parastatals and the authorities themselves.

As available foreign exchange became shorter and shorter, the mandatory release of export earnings into the money market was raised to 40%, and this not only reduced inflows into the parallel market, but also incited fears that progressively the mandatory release levels would be further increased, continuously worsening availability to almost all but government. This caused many hastily to intensify their efforts to source foreign exchange, at whatsoever cost, which increased demand has exacerbated the shortages and driven prices even higher. Those higher prices have caused hyperinflation, whereas government's allegedly main reason for resisting devaluation is to curb inflation!

Some argue, vehemently and strenuously, that government should peremptorily close down the parallel market, either by legislation or by forcing the sale of all export earnings into the money market within a curtailed period after receipt. However, such an action would have devastating repercussions and would cause economic collapse, the principal characteristics of which would be many more business failures, numerous additional unemployed, three-digit inflation, a much greater fiscal deficit due to sharply reduced revenue inflows from both direct and indirect taxation, unavoidable further massive government recourse to borrowings, and nation-wide hardship.

This dismal scenario must materialise in the event that the parallel market were to be terminated, unless government concurrently effected a devaluation of Zimbabwe's currency to levels consistent with current parallel market rates, and thereafter regularly effected further devaluations related to inflation and purchasing power parities.

An authoritarian liquidation of the parallel market, without a simultaneous, requisite devaluation, would destroy all residual profitability of exporters, and in desperate efforts to survive, the exporters who may be able to survive thereby would delay receipt of export proceeds for as long as legitimately possible, in the hopes of intervening devaluation.

At the same time, the intensified scarcity of foreign currency would motivate more to resort to the black market, despite its unlawfulness, through a determined wish to survive by any means. With ever greater rapidity Zimbabwe will descend to the ranks of Africa's most impoverished nations.

Government's unwillingness to act responsibly by progressive exchange rate adjustment until the fixed, official market rate converges with the parallel market rate is the catalyst of the chaos reigning in the country's foreign exchange markets. Its frequent revisions of monetary policies provoke loss of confidence and security for the private sector in general, and exporters and investors in particular, and especially so as those policy revisions are in disregard for economic and private sector needs.

That loss of confidence and security motivates spiralling demands for foreign exchange and, therefore, greater shortages, higher costs and even greater inflation. Government must reverse the chaos that it has stimulated, with reasoned, effective exchange rate policies targeted at eventual total deregulation, concurrently with facilitating and incentivising greater foreign exchange earnings and inflows. The parallel market must cease to exist, but that cessation must be by evolution, not by regulation or by economic destruction.

Tsvangirai accepts result

Zimbabwe Independent

ZIMBABWE opposition leader Morgan Tsvangirai accepted the results of weekend parliamentary elections -- subject to challenge in some 20 constituencies -- but said his Movement for Democratic Change would have won were it not for months of brutal intimidation of his supporters.

He said he would run for president in 2002. Tsvangirai's party won 57 of the 120 contested seats -- giving it the power to block amendments to the constitution in the 150-seat house -- against 62 for President Robert Mugabe's ruling Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (Zanu-PF) and one for the small ZANU-Donga party. The president appoints the other 30 members.

"Without the subversion we would easily have won this election," Tsvangirai told a press conference.

The more than four months of violence, which human rights monitors described as a "terror campaign" designed to crush the opposition, left at least 32 people dead, with hundreds beaten up, women raped and houses torched. Tens of thousands of people fled their homes, mostly in rural areas. It was condemned by the EU observer team in Zimbabwe which described the voting as neither free nor fair as a result, as did British Foreign Secretary Robin Cook.

EU observer team head Pierre Schori condemned "high levels of violence, intimidation and coercion" during the campaign. "The term free and fair is not applicable in these elections," said Schori, a Swedish former aid minister.

In London, British Foreign Secretary Robin Cook told the BBC: "The voters' rolls were rigged, the boundaries were rigged and there was systematic brutality intended to deter people from voting for change."

Tsvangirai, who lost his own bid to capture a seat in the ruling party's rural heartland, also declared the voting had not been free or fair, but concluded that "they (Zanu-PF) can claim legitimacy," while adding that the Zanu-PF government could never be considered "credible." Tsvangirai, in answer to a question, declared he would not accept nomination to parliament if it were offered by the president, and said he had not been in touch with Mugabe recently.

Zimbabwe Elections 2000**INTERIM STATEMENT****Pierre Schori****Head of EU Election Observation Mission****Introduction**

The people of Zimbabwe have voted in large numbers in this weekend's parliamentary elections. Despite a high level of violence and intimidation during the campaign, and serious flaws and irregularities in the electoral process, they have shown a clear determination to influence the future of their country - both individually and through the structures of civil society.

The European Union and its member states have co-operated with Zimbabwe politically and financially since independence in 1980. The EU is the largest contributor of development assistance. As an act of commitment to the people of Zimbabwe, the EU deployed some 190 experienced EU observers throughout the country, the largest international observer mission, with the aim of contributing to a more favourable climate for the elections. We see our presence here as a natural consequence of our support for the struggle for independence; and we wish to build a strong partnership with a peaceful and democratic Zimbabwe.

EU observers were in general warmly welcomed. They established contacts with political parties, local authorities and civil society. They attended some one hundred political rallies. The EU mission also benefited from co-operation with the monitors and other international observer missions.

The EU Election Observation Mission's assessment of the electoral process falls into three phases: the election preparations and campaign; voting and the count; and the post-election period. A final report will be presented on 3 July 2000.

The Pre-Election Period & the Campaign

It is clear from the daily reports and weekly assessments made by EU observers in every part of the country that there were serious flaws and failures in the electoral process.

Electoral Management and Administration

The body effectively running the elections, the Office of the Registrar-General, did not operate in an open and transparent manner, and as a result failed to secure the confidence of both the political parties and of the institutions of civil society in the electoral process.

The Electoral Supervisory Commission, which is constitutionally responsible for overseeing the electoral process, was systematically rendered ineffective by both legal and administrative means.

Changes made to the electoral regulations only days before the vote, together with a series of deliberate administrative obstructions, severely undermined the ability of domestic monitors to carry out their work. The EU Election Observation Mission reached the conclusion that this was not due to administrative incompetence but to a deliberate attempt to reduce the effectiveness of independent monitoring of the election. Similar obstructions were placed in the way of international observers.

Violence and intimidation

High levels of violence, intimidation and coercion marred the election campaign. An assessment of violence and intimidation since February 2000 made by the EU Election Observation Mission, together with reports from EU observers operating throughout the country since early June, indicate that Zanu PF was responsible for the bulk of political violence.

Zanu PF leaders seemed to sanction the use of violence and intimidation against political opponents and contributed significantly to the climate of fear so evident during the election campaign. Calls for peaceful campaigning and efforts to restrain party supporters, including the

war veterans, were often ambiguous. Overall, the conduct of the government has failed to uphold the rule of law and compromised law enforcement agencies.

MDC supporters were also engaged in violence and intimidation, but the degree of their responsibility for such activities was far less. Moreover, MDC leaders were clearer in their condemnation of violence.

The levels of violence and intimidation, and the ability to campaign in relative peace, varied considerably from one part of the country to another. EU observers monitored scores of political rallies in all provinces of the country organised both by Zanu PF and MDC.

In the major cities, although intimidation was far from absent, the campaign was robust. In many rural areas, however, the levels of intimidation by Zanu PF were so intense as to make it virtually impossible for the opposition to campaign.

Media coverage

During the campaign the government-controlled media did not provide equal access to the political parties contesting the election. Both the public broadcaster, the ZBC, and government-controlled newspapers were used as publicity vehicles for Zanu PF. The ZBC failed to ensure informed political debate. Propaganda crowded out the real issues of the campaign. Opposition parties have had to rely on commercial media only.

Voting & the Count

Generally speaking the voting was calm and well organised. The EU Observer teams, working in co-ordination with other international observers, and with the support of civic organisations, visited some 1,700 polling stations over the two-days of voting, more than 40 percent of the total.

Their overall assessment of the polling is highly positive. Presiding officers and their staff on the whole were competent and efficient. There were, however, serious problems concerning the voters' roll and the number of intending voters who were unable to cast their ballots. Moreover, as a result of the obstructions placed in the way of domestic monitors, their effectiveness was seriously compromised. Our verdict on the counting process will be made clear at a later stage.

Interim Assessment

In summary, the violence and intimidation during the pre-election period must be condemned. The courts should deal with all cases of human rights abuses associated with the electoral process. This will be essential in helping to re-establish respect for the rule of law in Zimbabwe.

The serious defects in the electoral process, particularly in regard to the voters' roll and the lack of transparency of the electoral authorities should be addressed as a matter of urgency. We believe that the presence of international observers had a calming and stabilising effect. We commend the impressive manner in which the people of Zimbabwe have shown their determination to influence their own destiny.

The Post-Election Period

Our final assessment will cover the whole process including the immediate post-election period. The report will be presented to European Union Members, to the European Parliament and to the European Commission, as well as to the European Development Fund (EDF) which will meet on 5 July 2000.

The issues to be addressed will include:

- the extent to which the new dispensation in Zimbabwe respects the will of the people;
- how the general environment within the country accommodates the new political realities;
- the manner in which the political forces within the country work together to address the problems confronting Zimbabwe;
- the extent to which respect for the rule of law and the protection of human rights is promoted by the new government; and
- what efforts are being made to ensure that politically-motivated crimes and electoral malpractice are pursued.

With high authority comes high responsibility. The President of Zimbabwe will have to play a crucial role in the post election phase.

REGIONAL REPORTS

MASHONALAND CENTRAL

Polling boxes were transported this morning without incident and the region has been relatively peaceful, with no reports for most areas as at midday.

Centenary - Senior war vet leaders from Centenary East requested transport to Mt Darwin to hear the results and to attend a meeting regarding their "way forward". A non-politically motivated armed robbery took place at Aronbira Farm and a water pump was stolen. One arrest has been made in connection with this case and it was found that the weapon carried was a fake.

Victory Block - Numerous requests for transport and food have been refused today without incident so far.

MASVINGO

Chiredzi - Quiet. The EU observers calculate that only 30% of voters in the 2 constituencies cast their votes over the weekend. The mobile polling unit did not arrive at the venue as indicated, so farmers had to move their labour to a fixed station.

Mwenezi - The District Administrator has been threatened for "not being on sides". He is not adhering to the war vets' demands, and they now want to hold a tribunal hearing to get the District Administrator fired.

MIDLANDS

Quiet.

MASHONALAND WEST NORTH

Generally some intimidation took place in the province over the weekend. However, most polling stations reported calm and orderly voting. On Saturday morning a monitor was abducted at Yomba for just over 2 hours, and in Raffingora monitors were prevented from leaving the area. Two farmers received death threats over the weekend.

A fake landmine found on the Chenanga Road and had a political sticker on it.

There were many problems with the collection of ballot boxes in Mhangura, Lions Den and Raffingora. The Karoi ZRP backup force will be on standby until Friday.

MASHONALAND WEST SOUTH

Norton - Shots have been fired most nights for the last week or ten days on Parklands, evidently to intimidate people there. On another property there was a death threat to a farmer and on a further property a couple of pensioners were assaulted due to them not having voted.

Selous - There was a report on Saturday night of a lorry being petrol bombed. Quite a lot of damage was done with a lot of the timber it was carrying being burnt. We are unsure of the motive behind this attack.

Chegutu/ Suri Suri /Chakari - A number of properties have been vacated of War Vets in these areas in the last 24 hours or so.

Kadoma - There are still around 300 people on Milverton Estates and there was a bit of new pegging yesterday. On Lidford/Coryton Peggers left after about an hour.

MASHONALAND EAST

Marondera South - Youths from Monte Christo were instructed by war vet Marimo to sleep at the base that the war vets have set up. Whether this need to bolster their numbers is because of fear on their part, or that some mischief is planned, is not clear.

A group of war vets arrived at Lendy Farm late this morning reiterating their intention to take Elmswood and making demands and threats. Their mood was aggressive. This particular group are a serious nuisance to a number of farmers in the area. Lydiasdale has also been visited, and other farms are expecting a visit from the same group. Whether this is an isolated independent group or not is unclear. Now that the voting is behind us we may be seeing the beginning of a shift in emphasis away from intimidation and back to pressurizing for land

Wedza - The owner of Markwe was told by drunk war to vacate the farm when the election results are out. At Chakadenga on Sunday, a party of about twenty people was caught on a thieving binge in the maize land. Guards arrested two people. On Skoonveld fences on the farm were cut and a large number of communal land cattle were driven onto the farm. Serious stocktheft problem in the area. On Poltimore a beast was shot and carried away, and on Shaka again a beast was slaughtered and taken away in a 4x4. This vehicle was chased, but escaped.

MATABELELAND

Nyamandhlovu - Threats have been made of violence against farmers.

Bulawayo - There has been a buildup of numbers on Boomerang. 30 war vets are demanding to move onto Springs Farm. There are already some 300 from a different group occupying the property. The company's warehouse in Bulawayo was burnt down on Friday, destroying timber and machinery to the value of \$4 million.

MANICALAND Quiet.

ZIMBABWE ITSVA

The people of Zimbabwe have spoken and expressed their choices for parliament. We are conscious of the extraordinary obstacles they faced to vote, and the exceptional performance of the MDC, will ensure healthy debate in parliament.

Our primary aim is to restore confidence in the country. This is not the time for partisanship. We have to focus on rebuilding this nation and moving forward. I know there will be people who are disappointed but we need to remain focussed on the fact that people have given us a mandate for democratic change.

There can be no defeat, no misery for a party that believes in the right of a people to express their will in the manner they wish. Everyone must congratulate themselves for the incredible determination people displayed in their desire to vote. Destiny sometimes requires that we follow a circuitous path to achieve greater glory, other leaders have said there is no easy road to freedom and that is true. Freedom is treasured because it is so difficult to obtain. So precious and often so tenuous.

The message the people of Zimbabwe have given is an important one for politicians: Zimbabweans have to learn to work together.

Zimbabweans are perhaps showing greater political maturity than they have been given credit for, they are saying that they are entitled to have their own minds, their own belief systems and freedom of choice.

Having said that we need to take a closer look at the election results. The MDC repeatedly said there could be no free and fair elections in the violent times we have faced - international observers have reiterated this.

We are closely scrutinising election results at present. We believe that there are at least 20 seats that we will either ask for a recount or that we will take legal action about. In any area where we lost by a margin of 500 or less we will ask for a recount. And in some areas we will take additional legal action. As an example, in Marondera East as an example, we lost that seat by 63 votes. We will ask for a recount. But more than that we will file charge under Section 105 of the Constitution against Sidney Sekeramayi, Minister of State Security and the ZanuPF candidate in Marondera East for a process of intimidation including his widely reported statements that he would track down those who did not vote for ZanuPF.

The intense coercion, intimidation and violence some of our people experienced shines through in the results. If we take a look at Mashonaland East, as an example, that entire area was terrorised by war veterans and ZanuPF thugs over the past three months. Eight of the 31 MDC supporters murdered during ZanuPF's campaign of terror died in the normally quiet farming areas of Mashonaland East. The third casualty in the post-referendum violence was inashe Chakwenya who was shot dead in Marondera on April 4; 10 days later farmer Dave Stevens and two unnamed MDC supporters were beaten to death at Macheke, six days after that Stevens foreman was murdered. On May 7, farmer Allan Dunn was pulled out of his farmhouse and bludgeoned to death, four days later another farmer John Weeks was murdered.

In the final three weeks before people went to vote Mashonaland East reported endless barricades, farmworkers and villagers being beaten or forced to march through lines of ZanuPF, farmers being threatened, crops being burnt, the farms of small communal farmers being

destroyed, shops looted and houses burned to the ground.

In the immediate weeks before the election Mashonaland East saw ZanuPF and war veterans destroying the identity discs of people - all detailed in our daily violence and intimidation reports. And the fact that these reports were issued on a daily basis speaks for itself.

On June 16, a week before the election we reported that 15 war veterans arrived at the home of MDC co-ordinator Andrew Mapande in Mutoko North. They began beating him and demanding lists of polling agents - which they seized and destroyed; Mapande fled and his home was destroyed.

The candidate in Hwedza, Pearson Tachiveyi was hounded out of the country by threats from a senior military officer. He only returned to the country on the first day of voting. It did not help too, that many of the electoral officers in many of the stations were notorious war veterans in many areas, or that in areas like Chegutu, ZanuPF were allowed to place posters on polling booths or distribute t-shirts and pay voters.

For the past two weeks we have repeatedly talked about a process of progressive disenfranchisement and problems with voters rolls, and those problems not only persisted but were enhanced over the two day voting period.

In Makonde, as an example, voting at polling stations began very late. Although voting was supposed to begin at 7am, at most polling stations it had still not begin by 9.30am, and many opened only at noon and at 1pm. Makonde experienced the late delivery of voters rolls, paper, ink and other necessities.

We need to highlight the significant achievements of our women candidates.

ZanuPF has only two women candidates in parliament, whereas eight of the 10

MDC women candidates we put forward have been elected to parliament. All of our women candidates - and indeed all of our candidates put in remarkable performances. To note but one, Eve Masaiti of Mutasa saw her house burnt down and that of dozens of her supporters. 100 of them have been living in a single tent for close to a month; they have been subject to ongoing raids, assaults and threats from ZanuPF supporters. Her bravery and that of her supporters has been an example to us all. In her constituency she polled 9 258 votes while ZanuPF was only able to achieve 5 281.

It is important to note the following, these election results mean that neither ZanuPF nor President Mugabe:

- * Can amend the constitution without our consent.
- * Mugabe will not be able to reintroduce a Senate because he needs a two-thirds majority to amend the constitution.
- * Chiefs will be elected on June 29 - they will not go against the will of their people.
- * We believe there are enough in ZanuPF who are concerned about the declining economy and the shocking living standards of most Zimbabweans to ensure that we will be able to form informal coalitions within parliament to push through more progressive legislation.

The people of Zimbabwe have begun the process of reclaiming power and the institution of true democratic change.

Keep up the momentum!

Guqula Izenzo/Maitiro Chinja

"Zimbabwe's strength lies in racial and ethnic diversity - we will overcome attempts to divide us"
(Morgan Tsvangirai)

A day is a long time in politics. We are certainly learning the truth behind that adage. Living in Zimbabwe is like riding a huge roller coaster; we only realize the pace at which we are moving when we look down or at the rails under the car. The ups and downs we can only take by closing our eyes and holding on with all our strength, sometimes its scary, sometimes its exhilarating, its never boring.

The detailed background to the recent grenade attack on the MDC office in Harare makes interesting reading. It all started some months ago when a young police officer working in the Police Protection Unit (provides close protection to dignitaries and is a top unit) by the name of Nkomo (no relation to the late vice President) was given leave from his duties by the Police Commissioner. He was instructed to join the MDC youth organisation and to feed information back to the Police. He was also given a list of 12 MDC officials at whose homes he was instructed to plant weapons the latter were drawn from the Police ordinance stores in Harare and issued to him for this purpose.

At the same time that this exercise was under way in Harare, a similar exercise was launched in Bulawayo this time it was arms caches on farms with documents linking them to the MDC. The people responsible for the operation handed information on this exercise to us and this information was made known to the press about 10 days ago. We can only assume that this exercise (which seems to have been abandoned when it was made public) can only be linked to the similar exercise then taking place in Harare.

The plan was to bomb the MDC office in Harare and then conduct searches at the targeted homes in Harare where Nkomo had planted the weapons. The grenade attack was carried out with the assistance of a Police land rover and the following night the homes of all the targeted MDC officials were raided by Police/CIO. The only things they found was a hand held radio used in convoys carrying MDC leaders to meetings and an air gun that you can buy across the counter in a store. What happened to the arms Nkomo was supposed to plant is not known, it may be that Nkomo got cold feet in the same way as the CIO people who were supposed to assassinate the editor of the Daily News in Harare.

The home raids were followed by raids on the MDC offices to get access to documents and computer records as well as "arms of war". What they expected in respect to the latter is not known but they only obtained a pile of waste paper and no sensitive documents or computer files. The presence of the media, our lawyers and officials from MDC during this raid was critical, as we are quite sure they would have "found" all sorts of stuff if they had not had the world watching. So now the Minister (who was expecting all sorts of juicy stuff) ends up making a statement in the House about "subversive documents" and "arms of war" and military communications equipment. He also went on to say that the attack was carried out by a member of the MDC (true) and was an inside job (not true). In fact we have documentary proof that Nkomo is a serving member of the Police and we have all the evidence we need to support the above story which is now part of a civil action against the government together with a claim for damages.

What would have followed the "discovery" of the arms caches and the MDC documents we can only speculate, but we would have expected the Police to detain MDC people and members of the national leadership and perhaps try to ban the MDC itself. It would have also provided the government with valuable propaganda, which they would have used on a global scale to discredit the opposition. All they ended up with was a dirty damp squib and a very discredited Minister of Home Affairs whose name is also Nkomo.

At the same as this was going on, Zanu PF again had to go through a three-week period of discomfort in Parliament. where the battle of wits goes on. And its turned out to be a daily nightmare for the government. At every turn they are attacked by well-informed and briefed opposition members of Parliament. In one incident on Tuesday last all 57 MDC Members wore red handkerchiefs to symbolize the "Red Card" campaign that is so hated here. When the Speaker addressed one Member who wanted to speak as "the Hon member with a red handkerchief" all sitting opposition Members stood up and waved their red banners. Its not without humour but that was lost on the Speaker who is aging by the minute.

To compound their problems the land program is in all kinds of trouble throughout the country.

Its difficult to maintain an exercise of intimidation on such a scale for months on end and the people they have been using are running out of steam. Ordinary Zimbabweans are not taking up the offers of "free" land and are deeply suspicious of these offers of resettlement. In one case peasants were offered all sorts of inducements to take up resettlement opportunities on commercial farms. They were promised cattle, fertilizer and seed and other assistance. They replied give us those things now and we will consider moving. Peasants may be poor but they are not dumb!

Then there is the law and the Courts. Our Justice system did us proud this week and in one hearing in Chambers the Judges invalidated the eviction notices served on farmers who were refusing to leave their land this knocks down all the legal notices issued in the past year and puts the government back to square one. If in the next few months the Presidential Powers Act is declared ultra vires the constitution, then that completes the circle, they are back at the start on the land issue from a legal point of view.

On Friday, at a hearing in front of the full bench of the Supreme Court, a local company "Capital Radio" was given a license to establish an independent radio station. They expect to be operational in three weeks and this will end the monopoly on radio and TV that the government has held for a century. This has profound implications for us as a nation and for the MDC as it seeks to change the government. Jonathan Moyo is now playing catch up.

On our side we plan a major rally on Saturday at Rufaro Stadium to celebrate MDCs birthday (we are one year old this month) and to launch a campaign to persuade Mugabe to retire immediately and call for fresh presidential elections within 90 days. Nothing else will rescue us from the economic and political collapse that is now imminent.

The country looks magnificent; the knob thorns are in full blossom as are many other exotic and indigenous trees. The new leaves on the msasa and mountain acacia trees are in their full glory reds and greens and burgundy. A new season is promised by Mother Nature, perhaps this time, there is more on offer than just flowers and rain and plantings. Perhaps a new start altogether.

Eddie Cross
24th September 2000

**Zanu PF Electoral Machine Oiled by Libyan Cash
All Africa Press**

Washington, DC -

New Cherokee jeeps donated by Libyan leader Colonel Muammar Al-Gaddafi for Zanu PF to use in the presidential election set for next year, may have helped the party win the crucial, bitterly contested election for a parliamentary seat in the north-eastern rural constituency of Bindura last weekend. According to the Zimbabwe Independent newspaper, the cars have already been distributed to key Zanu PF campaigners, including self-styled war veterans leader, Joseph Chinotimba. Al-Gaddafi has reportedly pledged some US\$900,000 to the party to aid in Mugabe's presidential campaign next year. "He wants our party to win," a senior ZANU-PF official was quoted as saying by the Zimbabwe Independent.

Ironically, note observers and analysts, such financial aid is now illegal thanks to an amendment to the Political Parties (Finance) Act made earlier this year aimed at blocking the flow of external funds to the opposition Movement for Democratic Change (MDC). It says: "No political party or candidate shall accept any foreign donation, whether directly from the donor or indirectly through a third person." But Zanu PF officials claim not to know that Al-Gaddafi has pledged any money to their party. "I am not involved in it," the party's deputy secretary for finance was quoted as saying. "I really don't know about that money."

Libya made a radical turn away from the Middle East and toward Africa in 1998. In the fall of that year, Al-Gaddafi ordered the name of Libya's state radio, which for three decades had been known as the "Voice of the Great Arab Homeland," changed to "Voice of Africa". A year later, he proposed the "African Union" at the first OAU Summit he had attended in fifteen years. The Union has now been ratified by enough African states to officially come into existence - replacing the OAU - in about a year. Last year Libya extended to Zimbabwe a US\$100m line of credit for oil imports.

However says professor Mansour el-Kikhia of the University of Texas - a Libyan himself - much of Libya's money gifts to African leaders and nations "does not go through official channels". Ghana has been promised US\$250m by Al-Gaddafi for investment in small-scale agri-businesses in the country. Nor is cash the only form of significant gift giving. Libya has also agreed to supply Ghana with 30,000 barrels of crude oil per day, beginning this month. Libya has also given Mig 23 aircraft to both Zambia and Zimbabwe. "Libya's bounty runs from direct military involvement against government opponents in the Central African Republic, to buying bananas from South Africa," according to Menas Associates which publishes a monthly "Focus on Libya" newsletter.

Libya reportedly paid ten years worth of back dues owed the OAU for ten African nations on condition that they give support to the African Union idea Al-Gaddafi proposed. Libya also paid almost all of the US\$17m cost of this year's OAU heads-of-State meeting in Lusaka, Zambia. It was after this meeting that Al-Gaddafi is said to have made his pledge of aid to Zanu PF. Most African nations oppose the sanctions that have been placed against Libya by the United States, and Libya has been generally applauded for pushing the idea of African unity. However, in parts of West Africa, in particular, resentment runs deep, aggravated by assaults and rioting directed against citizens of sub-Saharan Africa living in Libya. Not everyone in Africa is entirely happy with Libya's cash largesse. Nigeria's President Olusegun Obasanjo is said to have warned Al-Gaddafi not to interfere in the affairs of other African nations. A Menas Associates report claims that Obasanjo had information of Libyan financial involvement in at least twelve "recent insurrections" in African nations

By the BBC's Grant Ferrett in Harare

Now that the armies of visiting journalists have packed up and gone home, Zimbabwe is returning to its own special version of normality. The lobby of the five-star Meikles Hotel, the scene of much media gossip, is once again almost deserted. Hundreds of white-owned farms are still illegally occupied by government supporters, who make daily demands on the farmers for food, fuel, vehicles and shelter.

The homes of opposition sympathisers continue to be attacked and burnt down, although not in the same numbers as during the election campaign. Fuel queues and power cuts are commonplace. Inflation is expected to surge ahead of the current annual rate of about 70%. An estimated 200 people continue to die every day as a result of HIV and Aids.

Little wonder that many of those who could bear to watch President Mugabe's televised address to the nation on Tuesday, shortly after the election results were announced, gasped with incredulity when he declared: "Well done Zimbabweans! Keep it up!"

The war veterans' leader, Chenjerai Hunzvi, made similarly bizarre comments after winning a seat in parliament, urging Zimbabweans to work together for a brighter future. He seemed to be suggesting that he had been misunderstood during the election campaign when he made remarks such as: "If Zanu-PF loses, we will not accept the results. We fought and died for this country and you cannot expect us to hand the country on a silver plate to some new party backed by the white man."

'Vote for the baboon'

There was no misunderstanding the comments of the Vice-President, Simon Muzenda, though. At a campaign rally he complained about splits within the ruling party and told the small, hapless gathering: "If Zanu-PF puts up a baboon as a candidate, you vote for the baboon."

Thinking that perhaps the vice-president had been wildly misquoted, I asked one of his senior colleagues to comment. "I think Comrade Muzenda was using the word 'baboon' figuratively," he explained. "What he'd probably intended to say was: "If Zanu-PF puts up a fool, you should vote for the fool."

Identical He went on to point out that there were, of course, no fools in the party.

It would be funny were it not for the fact that the lives of millions of Zimbabweans are being ruined by a government which, 20 years after it came to office following independence, has completely run out of any ideas or sense of direction, beyond a desire to stay in power. Those in office seem certain that the interests of the party are identical to those of the country. The election results show that Zanu-PF has little or nothing to offer urban voters. It failed to win a single constituency in the capital. Senior ministers lost in other towns and cities.

The ruling party has returned to its peasant origins of the 1960s, when it styled itself on, and gained support from, the Chinese Communist Party.

Energetic

Many of those who retained their seats did so only after a campaign in which everything, including lives, were sacrificed in the scramble to retain power. The government's most energetic campaigner, the

provincial governor for Mashonaland Central, Border Gezi, just held on in Bindura.

The brother of the main opposition candidate was among those murdered in the run-up to the election.

The Security Minister, Sydney Sekeramayi, scraped home in Marondera by a winning margin of fewer than 70 votes, even though the opposition candidate and his supporters faced such intimidation that they were reduced to the farcical situation of campaigning in secret.

On polling day the fear among voters in Marondera was palpable. Those who were brave enough to speak to journalists would whisper only that they had voted for change. It was apparently too dangerous to say the letters, MDC.

One man who had just left the main polling station said explicitly that he was too afraid to tell me who he voted for. Then, eager to please, he looked around nervously before saying: "Shall I tell you how I voted?"

I paused, and shook my head. He didn't need to say.

President Mugabe and his party now have to decide what they plan to do with power.

Hostile rhetoric

Foreign governments, international investors and non-governmental organisations have retreated in the face of the barrage of hostile rhetoric from Mr Mugabe and his party, and the selective enforcement of the law.

The fact that land will be seized without compensation has helped to destroy any last vestiges of confidence among the business community. With no reserves of hard currency, fuel is expected to completely run out again within weeks. The sizeable opposition presence in the new parliament will, if anything, make efforts to resolve the country's economic problems even more complicated.

The government's election campaign manager has spent much of the past few months in a deeply unhappy mood with the media in general, and the BBC in particular. He believes it to be part of a white conspiracy to undermine Robert Mugabe.

Shortly after the election results were announced, he made a telling comment to a BBC colleague: "Your morality is not necessarily my morality."

For once, I was happy to agree with him.

Mugabe's Matabeleland Massacre

The Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace and the Legal Resources Foundation,
Friday 28 April, 2000

President Mugabe's ruthless treatment of anyone who opposes his authority is nothing new.

Soon after Zimbabwe achieved independence in 1980, antagonism developed between the ZANLA army of Mugabe's ZANU party and the ZIPRA army of the ZAPU party led by Joshua Nkomo. The tension centred on the southern province of Matabeleland.

For eight years, Mugabe's army brutally suppressed the population of Matabeleland, who mainly supported the ZAPU party.

A painstaking report, based on careful research and eyewitness accounts, found that Mugabe's forces had been responsible for carrying out a deliberate programme of sickening violence. The report estimates that Mugabe's crimes in Matabeleland included:

- more than 3,000 extra-judicial executions*
- hundreds of "disappearances"*
- more than 7,000 beatings or cases of torture*
- more than 10,000 arbitrary detentions*
- thousands of rapes*
- property burnings*
- forbidding burial of the dead*
- forbidding mourning*
- refusal to grant death certificates to families of murder victims*

In response to a UN investigation, the Zimbabwe government promised in January 1996 to compensate the victims of violence in the Matabeleland conflict. It has not done so.

Source: *Breaking the Silence, Building True Peace - A Report on the Disturbances in Matabeleland and the Midlands, 1980 to 1988, published by The Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace and the Legal Resources Foundation, March 1997*

NATIONAL REPORT IN BRIEF:

LATE ON THE AFTERNOON OF FRIDAY 10TH NOVEMBER THE FULL SUPREME COURT BENCH SIGNED AN ORDER BY CONSENT WHICH EFFECTIVELY NULLIFIES ALL ASPECTS OF THE FAST TRACK RESETTLEMENT PROGRAMME. THIS IS IN RESPONSE TO A SUPPLEMENTARY URGENT APPLICATION TO THE SUPREME COURT, IT IS NOT THE JUDGEJEMENT OF THE MAIN CASE WHICH WAS HEARD EARLIER THIS WEEK. JUDGEMENT IN RESPECT OF THIS CASE IS EXPECTED WITHIN FOUR WEEKS.

CASE NO: S.C.314/2000

IN THE SUPREME COURT OF ZIMBABWE HELD AT HARARE

In the matter between :-

COMMERCIAL FARMERS' UNION - Applicant
and
MINISTER OF LANDS, AGRICULTURE & RURAL RESETTLEMENT - 1st Respondent
and
MINISTER OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT, PUBLIC WORKS AND NATIONAL HOUSING
- 2nd
Respondent
and
MINISTER OF RURAL RESOURCES AND WATER DEVELOPMENT - 3rd
Respondent
and
MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS - 4th Respondent
and
COMMISSIONER OF POLICE - 5th Respondent
and
PROVINCIAL GOVERNOR OF MASHONALAND EAST - 6th Respondent
and
PROVINCIAL GOVERNOR OF MASHONALAND CENTRAL - 7th Respondent
and
PROVINCIAL GOVERNOR OF MASHONALAND WEST - 8th Respondent
and
PROVINCIAL GOVERNOR OF MASVINGO - 9th Respondent
and
PROVINCIAL GOVERNOR OF MIDLANDS - 10th Respondent
and
PROVINCIAL GOVERNOR OF MANICALAND - 11th Respondent
and
PROVINCIAL GOVERNOR OF MATABELELEND NORTH - 12th Respondent
and
PROVINCIAL GOVERNOR OF MATABELELEND SOUTH - 13th Respondent

In the urgent application heard in chambers

Before the Honourable Mr Justice Gubbay, Chief Justice
the Honourable Mr Justice McNally, Judge of Appeal
the Honourable Mr Justice Ebrahim, Judge of Appeal
the Honourable Mr Justice Muchechetetere, Judge of Appeal
and the Honourable Mr Justice Sandura, Judge of Appeal

J B Colegrave Esq. for the Applicant

Mr C Zvobgo Esq. for the Respondents

WHEREUPON, after reading documents filed of record and hearing Counsel

BY CONSENT THE FOLLOWING DECLARATION AND ORDERS ARE MADE :-

1. It is declared that resettlement of commercial farming lands implemented by the First, Second and Third Respondents and the Sixth to the Thirteen Respondents inclusive, in so far as it has involved the entry of persons who are not the invitees of the owners or lessees of properties, before all requirements set out in paragraph 4 of this Order have been fulfilled, has contravened the fundamental rights, contained in section 17 (1) and section 16 (1) of the Constitution of Zimbabwe, of the owners and the lessees in occupation of those properties.

2. Each of the Respondents, and every officer or employee of the State responsible to him or acting on his behalf, is hereby interdicted from in any way or form:

- (a) causing;
- (b) facilitating;
- (c) participating in; or
- (d) giving sanction to:

the entry or continued occupation of any property owned or occupied by a member of the Commercial Farmers Union until all the requirements set out in paragraph 4 of this Order have been fulfilled, by any person or persons engaging in, publicising or promoting any activity related to resettlement or the laying out of any housing or plots on that property.

3. This Order shall not prevent:

- (a) a policemen entering upon the property in the course of carrying out his police duties, in a way which does not involve his acting in a manner which is in contravention of the Order made in paragraph 2 above;
- (b) any person or persons entering upon the property with the consent, freely given before the entry is made, of the owner of the property which is the subject of the entry; or
- (c) any officer, employee or agent of the First, Second or Third Respondent, named and duly authorised under written notice given by or on behalf of the First Respondent to the owner or occupier of the property, entering the property at reasonable times, with necessary equipment and personnel to assist him, in the course of carrying out necessary investigation as to the suitability of the land for acquisition by the First Respondent or its value or extent, under sections 11 or 29B of the Land Acquisition Act Cap 20:10; or
- (d) any officer, employee or agent of the First, Second or Third Respondent, named and duly authorised under written notice given by or on behalf of the First Respondent to the owner or occupier of the property, entering upon the property to survey and demarcate the lands in order to enable allocation of the same for resettlement purposes, PROVIDED in relation to the property concerned all the requirements set out in paragraphs 4 (a) (i) (ii) and (iii) and also 4 (b) of this Order have first been fulfilled and PROVIDED FURTHER:
 - (i) such activities shall not interfere with the operations of the owner or occupier of that property or his employees; and
 - (ii) until all the requirements set out in paragraph 4 of this Order have been fulfilled in relation to the property, nothing contained in this Order shall permit any person claiming to have been allocated land or seeking the allocation of land thereon to enter upon, take up or remain in occupation of any part of the property by virtue of its survey and demarcation as aforesaid.

4. The Order made in paragraph 2 above shall apply to each property owned or occupied by a member of the Commercial Farmers Union until each of the following requirements have been complied with in relation to such property:

- (a) (i) a preliminary notice of acquisition of the property by a competent acquiring authority has been given to the owner and other persons required in terms of section 5(1)(b) of the Land Acquisition Act; and
- (ii) an order of acquisition of the property in terms of section 8(1) of the Land Acquisition Act has been served upon the owner by the acquiring authority; and
- (iii) the owner or occupier has been given written notice to vacate by the acquiring authority, occurring after the date of notice as aforesaid of the order of acquisition; and
- (iii) at least three months have expired from the giving of notice as aforesaid to vacate to the

owner or, if some other person is in occupation under a lease agreement with the owner, such lesser period has expired, equivalent to the period of notice provided in the lease agreement: and

(v) if the owner or occupier fails to vacate the property upon expiry of the said notice to vacate given to him, a Court of competent jurisdiction has issued an eviction order against him, having the effect of a final order; and

(b) if in terms of the Land Acquisition Act Cap 20:10 the owner or occupier has within 30 days after publication of the preliminary notice of acquisition served upon the First Respondent or any officer in his employ the owner's objection to compulsory acquisition of the property, an order of Court of competent jurisdiction, having the effect of a final order, has been made confirming the compulsory acquisition of the property, or the objection filed to the compulsory acquisition has been withdrawn by the owner or occupier who filed such objection.

5. The Fifth Respondent and every Police Officer, whose geographical area of duties covers any property referred to in paragraph 2 of this Order, is hereby ordered to use all means and authority available to him, upon complaint to him or his becoming aware of the occurrence of any unlawful entry upon any of the said properties or the likelihood of such occurring, to ensure that no breach of the peace shall occur upon any such property covered by this Order, and that all persons found to have unlawfully entered or conducted themselves upon any such property be removed therefrom.

6. Service of this Order upon the Officer Commanding the Province, within which Police Officers referred to in paragraph 5 above carry on their duties, shall constitute valid and effectual service, 48 hours after the first mentioned service, upon all Police Officers who from time to time carry on their duties within that Province.

7. The Second Respondent is hereby ordered:

(a) to cause the terms of this Order and the Second Respondent's instructions that they be complied with to be communicated to each Provincial Administrator and each District Administrator within Zimbabwe, within 48 hours of service of this Order upon him; and

(b) within the following period of 48 hours to confirm in writing to the Registrar of this Honourable Court that such communications have been made.

8. The First, Second, Third and Fourth Respondents, jointly and severally, are hereby ordered to pay the Applicant's costs of suit.

BY THE COURT
P NYEPERAYI
ASSISTANT REGISTRAR

COMMERCIAL FARMERS' UNION

Supreme Court Order, by CONSENT, in case number S.C.314/2000

Friday 10th November 2000

The following is a statement by CFU Director, David Hasluck, directed to members of the Commercial Farmers' Union:

CFU APPLICATIONS BEFORE SUPREME COURT

INTRODUCTION

During the course of this week the Supreme Court has considered two different cases that the Union has brought before it in opposition to the manner in which Government has been setting about its land acquisition and resettlement "Fast Track Approach". The Commercial Farmers' Union supports planned and orderly resettlement that follows the due process of the

Constitution.

THE LAW

The first case, S.C. 262/00 was opposed by Government. It was argued before the full bench comprised of the Chief Justice and four Judges of Appeal of the Supreme Court on Monday and Tuesday and it is an attack on the Constitutional validity of the Land Acquisition Act as amended and the manner in which it is being used. The judges have said that they will give their decision later. It is anticipated that this will be in about 4 weeks time.

The second case, S.C. 314/00 was brought after the first case had been filed and because Government had set about putting people on the land as fast as they could before a decision was given in the first case. In this second matter an Order has been obtained by Consent to the effect that what Government has been doing is in fact unlawful even if the laws are valid. This is because the Fast Track resettlements contravene the Constitutional rights of farmers in Sections 16 and 17 of the Constitution. In effect the three Ministers responsible for this exercise and all the Provincial Governors have been ordered not to cause, facilitate, participate in or give sanction to the entry upon any farm or its continued occupation until certain requirements of the law have been fulfilled.

These requirements are-

- (i) You must have received a Preliminary Notice of Intention to Acquire; (ii) If you objected and have not withdrawn your objection or done some other deal with Government, Government must obtain an order from the Administrative Court confirming their right to proceed with the acquisition of your property;
- (iii) A section 8 Acquisition Order must be issued and served upon you; [If the acquisition order is served upon you before the Court Confirmation they must still get confirmation and institute those proceedings within 30 days];
- (iv) You must have been given written notice to vacate your farm within a period of not less than 3 months unless you are a tenant in which case the period may be reduced to the notice period provided for in your lease agreement;
- (v) At least 3 months must have expired since you were given notice to vacate [unless you were a tenant in which case the notice period applies];
- (vi) If you have failed to vacate the property upon the expiry of the above notice period a Court must have issued an eviction order against you.

The Commissioner of Police and every police officer has been ordered to use all means and authority available to him upon complaint to him by you or upon becoming aware of the occurrence of any unlawful entry upon your farm to ensure that no breach of the peace occurs and to ensure that all persons who have unlawfully entered your property are removed therefrom.

BE CAREFUL

We are demanding and expecting the authorities to comply with the Order of the Supreme Court particularly when the Ministers responsible have in fact consented to this Order. Both Ministers Chombo and Made were specifically consulted by the Deputy Attorney General and are fully aware of the Order which was granted with their consent. BUT you must still be prepared to have to face lawlessness. The Union can only do some things for you and you must each look after yourselves, your families and your farming operations on the ground as best you can. This is not the time for confrontation against forces that you cannot deal with.

IN THE MEANTIME

1. If you have been resettled contrary to any of the above provisions at any time in circumstances to which you have not consented you should reinforce and repeat your calls upon the Police to intervene on your behalf.
2. You must realise that even the most willing police force will be faced with short term problems. Allow for them.
3. Make sure that you have a proper record of the condition of your farm now and take as much photographic evidence as you can of the state of your improvements and of your lands, fences,

dip tanks, boreholes etc. as well as the nature and extent of your plant and machinery. There may still be problems and you will need proof to establish a data base for any claims that you may subsequently have to bring.

4. Make every effort to obtain identification particulars of all Government officials who have put people on your land or who continue to do so. This includes army and police personnel. Police personnel in uniform should have their force numbers on them and security force personnel, particularly the airforce often have their names on their uniforms. Insofar as you can get names and photos of the war veterans or other people put on your land do so.

5. If you are prevented from planting, take photographs of the land to show that it is ready for planting using the front page of a daily news paper to date your photos. If you have your crops pulled out take photographs, if your cattle are killed take photographs of whatever you can.

CONCLUSION

If Government treats people so vindictively by denying them their fundamental rights to freedom of association, political choice, use of their property, protection through the rule of law and, more crucially, as dishonestly, then Government must expect people to protest. We have done so legitimately - in court.

It has been a bad time for the Union as Government has used all means to terrorise and divide our members. This should be of concern to everybody, not just farmers. Ever since the Constitutional referendum, the Government has deliberately undermined the CFU, yet despite extreme provocation we have remained united and determined to act within the Law so maintaining both the moral and legal highground.

We are all being subjected to an intense campaign of intimidation. It is most unlikely that Government has money to pay anybody any compensation. If you leave your farm you make it very much more difficult for you, your friends and the Union to get you back on the farm. We must keep farming.

NEVER, NEVER, NEVER GIVE UP. You may have to absent yourself temporarily but get back as soon as you can. The longer you keep farming the better your chances of retaining your rights and collectively of overcoming this current state of anarchy.

DAILY Mail and GUARDIAN

August 7th, 2001-08-07

The Zimbabwean worker seems to be the biggest loser. According to the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions' economics department the minimum wage for the industrial sector, which is \$2 500 was only 22% of the poverty datum line in March which stood at \$11 597.52. The poverty datum line is for a family of six: a father, mother and four children. By May, according to the Council of Zimbabwe, the poverty datum line had shot up to \$15 242.33. The cost of transport has gone up by close to 60% since then.

According to the consumer council families spend at least \$4 655.64 on food. The basket consists of 2kg of margarine, 40 kg of mealie meal, 6 kg of sugar, 500gms of tea leaves, 31 packets of fresh milk, 2.1 litres of cooking oil, 31 loaves of bread (Only four slices per person per day), 2 kg of flour, 4 kg of rice, vegetables every day, 2 kg of salt and 8 kg of meat. Forget about bacon and eggs or breakfast cereals. These basics alone cost almost double the minimum wage. In addition, health and education cost \$2 556 a month, transport \$1 980, rent \$2 500. Besides, some of the workers have to use two buses to get to work, which almost doubles their transport cost.

While the ZCTU says wages have declined by 22% since 1990, a simple calculation shows that the situation is much worse. According to ZCTU figures, domestic workers have been the hardest hit. They are only getting 8.4% of what they were earning at independence. Under the colonial regime, domestic workers were earning as little as \$5 a month. The government raised the minimum wage for domestic workers to \$30 from July 1980, less than half the \$70 it set for industrial workers.

At today's prices, taking into consideration that the Zimbabwe dollar was stronger than the US dollar in 1980 and traded at \$1.59, and the fact that during the 20 year period to today the US dollar of 1980 is now worth US\$2.00, the domestic worker who was earning \$5 a month would be earning \$2 544, more than double what the worker has been earning. At \$30 a month, the same worker would be earning \$15 264, more than the minimum wage the labour movement is seeking for the industrial worker. The industrial worker whose minimum wage was \$70 a month in 1980 would be earning \$35 616 today, and this is after working for 20 years without an increment. Even if converted at the official but highly misleading rate, the domestic worker at \$30 a month would be earning \$5 247, a far cry from what he or she is earning today. The industrial worker would be earning \$12 243 a month, slightly below the current poverty datum line, but about five times the current minimum wage.

The ZCTU figures indicate that by 1999, workers in the agricultural sector were earning 72.5% of what they were earning at independence. They enjoyed higher real wages in 1982 when they shot up by 63.6% with the drought year of 1992 being the worst when the wages were down to 69.8%. Mining seems to have fared fairly well with 1994 being the worst year. They earned 89.5% but they have generally enjoyed better wages than at independence with the figure for 1999 standing at 6.2% above that of 1980.

Manufacturing started its decline in 1984. It has never recovered with the figure for 1999 dropping to a low of 68.1%. The electricity sector was in doldrums for almost a decade from 1984 to 1994 with 1992 being the worst year when wages were down to 78.7% of their 1980 level, but they have since shot up reaching a peak of 82.2% above the independence level in 1998 before declining by 43.6% the following year.

Construction had its worst year in 1994 when wages declined to 46.2%. They had somewhat recovered to 53.8% by 1999. Finance was better at 73.4% in 1999 but sadly this was its lowest level. The only real gain was in 1982, a mere 3.3%. Distribution stood at 61.5% having fallen to a low of 57.9% in 1994. Transport and Communication also hovered around the 60s with 63.7% in 1999 and a low of 60.7% in 1994.

Public administration is perhaps the worst performer as there has never been a real increment since 1980. Its worst year was 1994 when wages were 35.1% of those at independence. It had recovered to 66.7% in 1999. The same applies to education. It has never had any real increment either with 1994 being its worst year at 48.5%. In 1999, it had risen to 74.1%. Health did a little better with a real increase in 1982. After that it was on a slide, hitting a low of 55.7%

TALK BACK

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in 1994 before recovering to 87.5% in 1999. After realising real increases of 14.6% by 1982, private domestic workers have seen their fortunes tumbling since, hitting a low of 8.4% in 1999. The ZCTU says the major reasons for the decline in real consumption wages are principally exchange rate depreciation and high levels of inflation. Inflation averaged 11.6% between 1985-90. It more than doubled to an average of 27.6% between 1991-95, the economic reform period during which it was supposed to be reduced to 5%. It averaged 32.6% between 1996 and 1999 and has averaged around 55% in the past 18 months.

The exchange rate, on the other hand, has been playing yoyo, especially in the last three years. According to the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe the Zimbabwe dollar was worth US\$1.59 cents in 1980. It went down to USD\$1.39 the following year and further down to US\$1.09 in 1982 after a devaluation of 20% in December. It only became weaker than the greenback towards the end of 1983 and has continued to decline.

By the end of 1990 a Zimbabwe dollar was worth only US38cents. In 1991 with tables now reversed a USD was now worth \$5.05 . It went down to \$5.48 the following year, then to \$6.94 in 1993 and \$8.39 in 1994. The slide continued with the dollar ending at \$9.31 in 1995 and \$10.83 the following year. But the biggest slide was in 1997 after the government listed more than 1 500 white-owned farms for compulsory acquisition and awarded war veterans an unbudgeted \$4 billion in payouts.

The rate, which stood at \$10.96 at the beginning of the year and was at \$12.64 in October, suddenly plunged to \$18.61 in December. By the end of 1998 it was down to \$37.37. After hitting \$39.25 in January 1999, the government decided to intervene and fixed it at \$38, the rate at which it operated for the next 17 months before it was devalued first to \$50 and then finally to \$55.

But unlike in the previous years when the spread between the official and the black market rate was narrow, it has now gone wild with some reports saying the dollar is changing hands at \$255, almost five times the official rate. The decline in the exchange rate alone, bearing in mind that the US dollar has also been losing value, means the worker has lost considerably while those with access to foreign currency are finding things cheaper in Zimbabwe.

According to the Columbia Journalism Review inflation calculator, the US dollar of 1980 is now worth US\$2 but that for 1990 is still worth US\$1. The Zimbabwe dollar of 1980, on the other hand, is now worth US\$3.18, while the Zimbabwe dollar of 1990 was worth only US38 cents, that of today is worth 1.8US cents at the unrealistic official exchange rate, and only 0.6 cents at the most conservative black market rate.

"Why should we observe the law? This is our country and we can do what we like."

Mugabe loses key ally as leader of war veterans and scourge of white farmers dies

Andrew Meldrum in Harare and Chris McGreal in Johannesburg

Few will mourn the death yesterday of Chenjerai "Hitler" Hunzvi, the "war veterans" leader who, as much as Robert Mugabe, spearheaded the invasion of hundreds of white farms in Zimbabwe and led his supporters to murder with impunity. Drivers in Harare made clear their feelings about the death of the man who never actually fought in the liberation struggle against the white Rhodesian government as they honked their horns in celebration. But outside the hospital ward where Hunzvi died yesterday, his supporters stood vigil and vowed revenge on the celebrants.

Almost everyone was left wondering what it will mean for Zimbabwe to lose a man who was more widely loathed than Mr Mugabe, yet also wildly popular among his supporters. The war veterans' leader was one of the very few who dared to threaten and cajole the president, and he arguably posed as much a potential threat to Mr Mugabe's power as any political opponent. But so long as Hunzvi was on the president's side, he was also Mr Mugabe's greatest asset as the leader of the shock troops in the assault on the political threat to Zanu-PF's rule.

Hunzvi, 51, collapsed a fortnight ago and was confined to a heavily guarded hospital room. The official diagnosis was malaria but his battle with Aids was well known and evident from the occasional infections that afflicted his face. Hunzvi, a qualified doctor, first reared his head in the public consciousness five years ago when he was accused of ripping off a government fund to pay compensation to veterans of the liberation war. He allegedly greatly exaggerated the extent of their injuries, and invented a few for himself even though he never took up a gun against Ian Smith's white regime.

In 1997 he was elected head of the war veterans. He proved a dynamic leader, transforming a do-nothing organisation of has-beens into the most threatening and powerful group in the country. Initially the group turned against Mr Mugabe when Hunzvi forcefully demanded hefty pensions and "gratuities" for the 40,000 war veterans. Zimbabwe's president was unused to threats and, realising that the potential power of the war veterans could be used against him or by him, reached a swift compromise. The old soldiers got their money - although Hunzvi stood accused of embezzling about £500,000 of it - and Mr Mugabe got a private army. He was to need it, because the hefty, unbudgeted cost of buying the war veterans off triggered Zimbabwe's economic crisis and helped turned public opinion even more against the president.

After Hunzvi was let loose, he liked to be called Hitler. "Do you know why they call me Hitler?" he spat at a white farm manager last year. "It is because I am the biggest terrorist in Zimbabwe. I am the most dangerous man in this country. And you must do what I tell you." There were not many in Zimbabwe - friend or foe - who disagreed with that description. Hunzvi spearheaded the violent invasions of 1,800 white-owned farms. Nineteen people were murdered - 12 black labourers and seven white farmers - in the process. Countless others were beaten. Some were raped. After the assault on the farms was under way, Hunzvi turned his attention to last June's parliamentary election campaign. The war veterans were let loose on the opposition MDC and its supporters, killing 40 people and brutalising thousands more. The violence and a good bit of rigging helped Mr Mugabe retain control of parliament by a slender margin.

When the election results were challenged in the courts, witnesses prepared to testify against Hunzvi were singled out and beaten. Hunzvi's reward was a seat in parliament

for the Chikomba constituency. In the last two months Hunzvi sent his veterans to invade more than 100 factories, beat up managers - black and white - and extort large sums of money. Inevitably, the favoured targets were companies thought to fund the opposition. The war veterans' leader was no respecter of diplomatic protection either. He bluntly threatened foreign diplomats and last month his war veterans assaulted the Canadian high commissioner to Zimbabwe, prompting the Ottawa government to halt all financial aid and impose other diplomatic sanctions.

Neither was Hunzvi reluctant to set an example to his men. He publicly beat opposition supporters with an iron bar and human rights groups accused him of personally torturing Mr Mugabe's opponents in his medical rooms during the parliamentary campaign. Earlier this year Hunzvi threw a petrol bomb at four opposition members of parliament and ordered 60 of his followers to beat them. "Why should we observe the law? This is our country and we can do what we like," Hunzvi said. In case there was any doubt, Mr Mugabe settled the issue by effectively decreeing the war veterans above the law with an amnesty for political crimes.

Hunzvi claimed that "Hitler" was his nom de guerre during the war against white rule in Rhodesia, but he spent most of the conflict in eastern Europe, in Poland, where he qualified as a doctor. He returned to Zimbabwe when it gained independence in 1980. The man who later said he hated all whites brought with him a Polish wife with whom he had a son. But the wife was spirited back to Poland by friends after accusing Hunzvi of beating her badly. She has since written an exceedingly unflattering book about her husband.

Hunzvi's death is the latest in a series of setbacks for Mr Mugabe. In the space of two months, he has lost four high-level supporters, including his firebrand employment minister, Border Gezi, who died in a car accident. Gezi worked closely with Hunzvi and the war veterans. In May, Mr Mugabe's trusted defence minister, Moven Mahachi, also died in a car accident. It is widely suspected that their deaths were not accidents but the result of score settling within Zanu-PF. A third cabinet member, trade minister Nkosana Moyo, resigned in early May to protest the factory invasions. Mr Moyo moved his family out of the country and faxed his resignation to Mr Mugabe, apparently fearful of retribution.

The cabal with which Mr Mugabe maintained his rule now appears in disarray, but the opposition is cowed and in no position to take advantage. Still, he will find it difficult to replace Chenjerai Hunzvi, who brought a frightening flair to his threats and thuggery. Hunzvi's war veterans are already squabbling over who will succeed him and a violent contest is expected. Likewise, the many rival groups within Mr Mugabe's Zanu-PF party will be scrambling to fill the newly vacant cabinet posts. The bad luck that has befallen Mr Mugabe and his party has led to some surprisingly high level speculation, including from the speaker of the house, Emmerson Mnangagwa, that it is down to witchcraft. So potent is the rumour that Hunzvi refused to see several of his followers in his last days because he said he was afraid they would cast a spell on him. As it is, he has left a curse on Zimbabwe.

Editorial Comment

THERE is a land crisis in Zimbabwe. Not the artificial one created by Zanu PF in recent months but one that is about to overwhelm us. Over half the two million people who live on commercial farms could soon be dispossessed.

No thought for their welfare has been given in the fast-track resettlement “programme”. They will almost overnight become destitute in the country of their birth.

Despite the fact that many farm labourers are descended from migrant workers, their roots are in this country and on the land. Of the two million, between 350 000 and 500 000 are employed as farm workers. The rest are dependants. Their future is bleak as the government rushes to propitiate what it sees as its main constituency by seizing farms and dumping people on them with no regard to the key ingredients of successful agriculture — capital, skills, and commitment.

On Page 5 this week we carry a report on how people resettled in the early 1980s at Masasa-Ringa are coping with their situation. This is by any standard a successful scheme, largely because with British funds a whole range of inputs and infrastructure were provided for. Still, it has its shortcomings, the most notable being a shortage of loan capital, the availability of which has been markedly reduced in recent years. People are not producing as much as they could .

Under the current fast-track approach there is no supporting investment. The resettled farmers will be abandoned to their fate while those currently using the land productively will leave.

This is a recipe for disaster which must be evident to all but the most myopic of ruling-party faithful. The pattern to date has been instructive. More people have been displaced on farms than resettled.

Despite repeated assurances that it sought to acquire five million hectares, or half the commercial farm land available, government has now moved to seize 60%. This is likely to make over 300 000 people redundant at a time when the economy is only able to create 30 000 jobs a year.

A human tragedy will result with thousands squatting on rural land or drifting into the towns. The government is apparently indifferent to the social and economic costs of its breakneck rush to satisfy its followers.

There has been no planning, no attempt to anticipate the consequences of resettling 500 000 families on farms that are often very far removed from their home areas with no resources to actually undertake farming.

The fuel and power shortages the country is currently experiencing are the most visible consequence of diminishing foreign exchange returns from sectors such as tobacco and horticulture that have been hit by farm invasions.

The consequences of the removal of over 3 000 farms from commercial production — many of them tobacco farms — will see even more severe consequences as foreign currency earnings slow to a trickle — particularly to downstream businesses whose survival is related agriculture.

Commercial agriculture is the country’s largest single employer. But what of employment in related sectors? We could see unemployment on a monumental scale with attendant problems in terms of destitution and crime.

There is no question of donors or investors putting their money in a country that confiscates land to punish political opponents or proceeds to sabotage its own economy in such a determined way. Why should they be expected to contribute to suicidal policies?

What is so scandalous about this is that it didn’t have to be this way. A properly planned, phased and donor-funded land resettlement programme was always on the table. But it got in the way of President Mugabe’s posturing, not to mention his thirst for revenge. And worse still, he has ignored the verdict of voters who in two democratic tests of opinion expressly repudiated the politics of land-grabbing.

Letter to the editor : E Mpahlwa

I AM a South African student who has been studying Agriculture at a top British university with the intention of returning to my home country and devoting my life and work to this most important aspect of any African country's economy and well-being.

I have chosen to do a thesis on the Zimbabwe land problem, redistribution and resettlement, a subject that is applicable and of concern to my own home country and others in southern and central Africa.

Studies in Britain acknowledge certain facts relating to Zimbabwean agriculture: Zimbabwe's commercial farmers had formerly achieved one of the highest standards of agriculture and conservation in the world — illustrated by high standards of soil conservation through contours, rotational grazing, farm planning, the planting of extensive timber plantations in the high rainfall areas, the preservation of natural woodlands, and the creation of game conservancy areas on rough land unsuitable for intensive cultivation, or where wild- life had proved, through tourism, to be more profitable than cattle production in arid areas.

Zimbabwe has been recognised over the last 40 years for its achievements in developing some of the world's highest producing hybrid maize varieties, such as SR52 and others. It is also recognised internationally for its achievements in breeding high-producing wheat, sorghum, soya and cotton varieties. Zimbabwe also has an impressive record in breeding up its national cattle herd. I understand that in 1980, at the time of Independence, 1,2 million breeding cows were the foundation of the national herd. Five Cold Storage Commission works handled a total of 750 000 head per year.

Much of this was exported and added substantially to Zimbabwe's export earnings. Under the Lomé Convention this beef was acknowledged as the finest from the African continent.

These are indeed proud achievements that earned Zimbabwe the reputation of "Bread basket of Africa." Agriculture accounted for about 40% of the country's foreign currency earnings, and I believe provided work for about 30% of the people in formal employment.

The other problem to be studied for my thesis was the fact that Zimbabwe's majority population was confined to a reduced percentage of the land on which they were unable to sustain themselves.

This made land redistribution and settlement necessary. At the same time, one had to recognise that Zimbabwe had a population growth of 3,8%, one of the highest in the world. Land, as a finite resource, could not be available indefinitely for an exploding population, and this highlighted how important it was to ensure high levels and standards of food production from the country's agro-based economy to feed a growing population.

All these facts listed above would obviously make an interesting and important thesis, so I decided to spend three months studying these problems first-hand.

When I arrived in Zimbabwe prior to the June election, I was absolutely appalled at what I saw. Clearly, a once great agricultural country was now rapidly disintegrating and in the advanced stage of economic ruin.

I saw farms invaded and tobacco barns burnt, often with cured tobacco inside them.

Associated with this were other problems: 50% unemployment, 76% of the people living below the poverty datum line, 70% inflation, crime and car-jacking at an all-time high, 300 000 rural people fleeing from thuggery and intimidation to the urban areas, becoming refugees in their own country.

A once great and lucrative tourist industry had now collapsed. The world was sickened by the slaughter of Zimbabwe's priceless wildlife, amongst which was the nearly extinct Black Rhino.

After three months, this sickening slaughter has in fact increased. It soon became apparent that this was politically-inspired by one man to ensure his party was returned in the coming election.

Was the unexpected political turmoil and the breakdown of law and order to be part of my thesis, which was supposed to deal with land redistribution and resettlement policies that the rest of Africa might hopefully benefit from?

It soon became apparent from talking to many hundreds of urban people that not only were they deeply concerned about the sequence of events but they were also concerned about the effect this would have on future food production and the inevitable price increases that would result from food shortages.

The president and the vice presidents have repeatedly assured the people that peasant production would easily out-produce the highly developed commercial agriculture. The people I questioned did not accept this fictitious statement.

Events have already shown alarming increases in food prices, with beef up 25%, bread and meal etc now at levels that many people cannot afford. Still greater price increases are on the way — this destruction of a once great and internationally recognised agriculture industry to meet the political desires of one man.

Interviews with many commercial farmers at this time clearly indicated that all supported the land redistribution and resettlement proposals but they had to lead to a better life for the people. On this basis, a conference was held in 1998 for international donors willing to assist in land redistribution and resettlement.

The way forward was to ensure the continuation of the high standards of agriculture that Zimbabwe was known for. Great support was received at the conference, with the understandable provisions that land resettlement would be planned; infrastructure would be provided for, roads, boreholes, dams, schools and clinics where necessary; adequate start-up capital would be provided, land to be purchased at market values, and general transparency in all the dealings.

This well planned and thought-out road ahead would certainly have led to Zimbabwe regaining its position as the bread basket of Africa, and would have been a shining example to the rest of Africa on how to solve the land problem.

All these planned high ideals changed after the February referendum when government, for its own political ends, encouraged and financed the illegal settlement and take-over of white commercial farms by so-called war vets, squatters and thugs.

Farmers were branded by the president as “enemies of the state” and communal people were promised all the land they would require. The picture now unfolding was nothing short of alarming for progressive agriculture and the effects on the now ruined economy were obvious for anyone to see.

I was absolutely appalled by what I saw on my frequent visits I made to farms during my three months in Zimbabwe. On one farm I saw 400 acres of natural woodland cut down, leaving stumps of two to three feet high. No progressive crop production could ever be possible on this destroyed woodland.

When speaking to those responsible, they said they had no capital or ploughs, no fertiliser and no money for seed.

I witnessed cases of now displaced farm workers going into neighbouring farms and illegally pegging out lands. I witnessed the terrible effects of snaring, the killing and theft of cattle, and some farmers in despair selling off part or all their herds because it was no longer possible to manage them properly.

The once great national cattle herd has now been reduced from 1,2 million breeding cows in 1980 to 360 000 today. Are these figures indicative of what the future holds?

The sight of a dead Rhino with several bullet holes in its side, a Zebra lying dead in a snare. The sight of destroyed game fences which had once been put up at great cost for the benefit of

tourists and to prevent the spread of foot and mouth into what remains of the country's cattle herds, and the effect of this on the beef export market to Europe.

The sight of burnt-out barns, some that were filled with cured tobacco, the sight of burnt-out farm workers homes, workshops, a farmhouse, all this indicates vandalism and ignorance at its worst, and these memories cannot be easily forgotten.

Now on my departure from Zimbabwe I leave some thoughts for government to consider seriously. Dumping people, as government is now doing, on land with no infrastructure such as bore-holes, roads, no support services such as clinics and schools, and no working capital is a recipe for disaster.

As the land remains unsurveyed, the new settlers will have no title and, therefore, no collateral for future development.

The combination of the above facts can only lead to total collapse. Zimbabwe will certainly become a food importer, if it has any money to buy food. Unemployment will continue to rise from the 50% unemployed today, as will inflation and general poverty.

Today agriculture is a highly technical vocation and success depends on high standards of training. Recent United Nations statistics show there were 276 million environmental refugees on the continent of Africa, that is people who have been forced from their traditional home areas due to the breakdown and destruction of the environment.

If government persists in its present land redistribution policies Zimbabwe will surely add to these numbers in five years time.

Zimbabwe can now choose whether to become a shining example in Africa of progressive land redistribution and resettlement, as agreed at the donors conference in 1998; or it can join the ranks of environmental refugees in five years, living on food handouts from the rest of the world.

I Mpahlwa is an agricultural doctoral student based in South Africa.

Prince Khumalo denies claims on land Busani Bafana

PRINCE Zwidekalanga Khumalo, the great grandson of King Lobengula, has distanced himself from the current government-sponsored land redistribution programme which he says is a political issue he cannot be associated with.

Khumalo (47), who traces his ancestry to King Mzilikazi who is credited with the founding of the Ndebele state, was reported by the state media as endorsing the fast-track land resettlement programme. But in an interview yesterday, Khumalo said any political links in his personal capacity would jeopardise his cultural responsibilities and dilute the work done in promoting culture and the envisaged restoration of the Ndebele monarchy.

He said politicking would further compromise any future dialogue planned with government when the time came for discussions on bringing back the monarchy in Matabeleland.

The Bulawayo-based government weekly, the Sunday News, carried a story last week claiming Khumalo supported the government on the land issue. Khumalo maintains the article was fabricated and portrayed him in a negative light.

"There is nothing that I said that gave a slant of support to the land reform programme as it is being carried out now," said Khumalo.

"I remain mute about the current exercise. I stress that this is for politicians and not my business. I am apolitical and very cultural," he said.

As a representative of the Khumalo clan on various committees working to promote culture and the history of the Ndebele people and their way of life, he said the issue of land was political because it was linked to the economy of the country. Because of his mandate of cultural revival he would be compromised if he got entangled in politics, he said.

"Due to the success of cultural programmes I have initiated in Matabeleland and the realisation of some opportunist quarters of the community, somebody somewhere is trying through such manipulative statements to use me to get a following in Matabeleland," said Khumalo, who is currently working on the memorial programme for the 133th anniversary of King Mzilikazi's death.

The commemorative events starting on September 14 will culminate in a public event on September 15. Khumalo is also involved in the preparation for the 75th anniversary of Highlanders Football Club to be held at Old Bulawayo, the site of Mzilikazi's royal homestead just outside the city.

"I do not want to be used," he said. "I remain a cultural person and I intend to hurt nobody that has a right to own property in Zimbabwe. I refuse to be associated with politics at this moment."

Meanwhile, former Rhodesian prime minister Sir Garfield Todd is livid about reports that he supported the 1987 unity accord between President Mugabe and Joshua Nkomo. Todd, regretting the constant abuse of Nkomo's name, said he could not be associated with the ruling party which had turned a blind eye to violence and lawlessness.

"No reasonable Zimbabwean could urge his fellow citizens to unite behind a party which uses violence and lawlessness to maintain its power," said Todd in a statement this week.

"No reasonable person could want any continued association with a party which has undermined Zimbabwe's constitution, harmed our judiciary, emasculated our police force, distorted all other organs of State, devastated our ravaged land, employed dreadful brutality against fellow humans black and white, young and old who are brave enough to stand against the current tides of terror," he said.

From the Wichita Eagle Newspaper July 21, 2001 - This story from HARARE,

Geoff Nyarota's newspaper has been bombed twice so far this year. The marble and concrete entrance to the 10-story building that houses it on a busy downtown Harare street still bears scars from the April 22 banger, a homemade device tossed from a passing car.

Three months earlier, an armed commando-style team held a guard at gunpoint and blew up the newspaper's presses with four well-placed bombs.

This is a country where reporters and photographers for newspapers that don't toe the government's line have been beaten, detained, harassed and threatened.

Still, Nyarota's Daily News, Zimbabwe's only independent daily, stays on, the case. Along with some independent weeklies, it provides Zimbabwe's only alternative voice since President Robert Mugabe shut down independent radio and television late last year.

"In the U.S., newspapers are taken for granted, but not here," Nyarota said. "Here the journalist must justify his quest for information (from the government), and even then the information may not be provided."

And the quest might get you killed or tortured. Just ask two other independent Zimbabwean journalists, Ray Chato, chief reporter for the weekly Standard, and his editor Mark Chavunduka. They were arrested in late 1999 and tortured with clubs, water and electric prods by soldiers seeking to know the sources of a story about an attempted coup.

Zimbabwe's story is particularly sad, because the country has had so much going for it. A decade before apartheid fell, Zimbabwe's strong courts and high literacy rate were making it an encouraging model to South Africa for how a racially segregated, neocolonial society could transform itself to majority rule.

"It would be a gross understatement to say that President Mugabe has deeply disappointed those of us who hoped he would stick to democratic principles. After two decades in office, Mugabe and his ruling ZANU-PF party appear to have lost majority support, especially in urban areas: Now he faces a real chance of losing next year's elections.

As a result, Mugabe is behaving the way politicians in trouble typically do: He blames the media. Unlike most, he's using a big hammer of censorship and intimidation.

Under his minister of information, Jonathan Moyo, a scholar and former Mugabe critic, independent radio and television have been shut down and the independent press has been harassed by both officials and the same "war vets" (including more than a few paid, non-veteran thugs) who have become famous by attacking and killing white farmers.

Government spokesmen announce press conferences without telling anyone but the state-run media, just to guarantee a friendly audience. Chi June 6, a new weekly TV talk show was banned after only one broadcast because some callers criticized "The Headmaster," one of Mugabe's growing list of nicknames.

Most foreign correspondents have been expelled, and it is increasingly hard for new ones to get media visas or accreditation.

As a way of distracting world attention, Mugabe's media crackdown has a diabolical cleverness to it. In today's post-Cold War world, television pictures drive foreign policy. Americans, in particular, do not respond to crises in remote places these days unless they see it on television. Famine in Somalia, where TV was allowed, gets a big response. Slave markets in the war-torn Sudan, where TV is not allowed, does not.

Zimbabwe's best resource, as in any democracy, is its people. Besides its feisty newspapers, the country has strong legal institutions and one of the highest literacy rates on the continent. It also has many courageous people. Some of them are journalists. They make me proud to be in the same profession.

On a knife-edge: Mugabe supporters are intensifying their intimidation of the MDC

Ever since its disputed victory in last June's parliamentary elections in Zimbabwe, President Robert Mugabe's Zanu-PF party has waged a low-intensity war aimed at destroying the opposition MDC. The Harare townships that supported the MDC have been subjected to assaults by the army and police. A similar campaign is now under way in the countryside. Particularly ferocious have been attempts to root the MDC out of the three Mashonaland provinces of northern Zimbabwe that have been Zanu-PF's traditional heartland.

Every night last week MDC officials were paraded on television to renounce their party. They now understood, they explained, that the MDC was a party for whites, backed by the British, and that "like lost sheep we are returning to the fold" - that is, rejoining Zanu-PF. Tendai Gagwa (a pseudonym) was one of those who went on television to renounce the MDC. He used to be one of the party's branch officials in Muzarabani, in Mashonaland central province. "We have had floods in Muzarabani and many roads are impassable, but the Zanu-PF youth were flown in by army helicopter," he said. "They started to beat me with canes and knobkerries [short sticks with knobbed heads], saying, 'You are MDC, you must die.' "They said they would burn down my house and beat my family too."

Tendai had heard how Robson Tinarwo, an MDC youth leader in nearby Shamva, had been attacked last Sunday by Zanu-PF activists and had refused to renounce his party. They had beaten him to death with metal rods. Witnesses reported the case to the police, but no action was taken. Shamva is the constituency of Nicholas Goche, Zanu-PF minister for internal security and boss of the secret police. Goche has sworn to "clear" his area of MDC supporters. "I felt I must protect my family. My wife was crying and my daughter was screaming," Tendai said. "They were beating them and tearing their clothes. I knew they were going to rape them and make me watch. So I said, 'All right, I will leave MDC.' I felt terrible. "They said, 'You must give us your party card and T-shirt.' They said I must spit at the picture of Morgan Tsvangirai [the MDC leader] on the T-shirt. I did it. 'Now you must join Zanu-PF and sing party songs with us,' they said. While I sang, they kept beating me."

Next morning the tormentors returned and demanded that he tell them the names of all the other MDC officials in the district, he said. "They made me point out their houses. Then they gave me a whip and said, 'Now you must lead the beating.' I was hoping that my comrades were away. But some were home. "I will never forget their faces. It must have been how Jesus looked at Judas. In most cases they renounced the MDC but one was very brave and refused. I whipped him and whipped him and I was crying to him, 'Please give up.' In the end, one of them hit him unconscious with a knobkerrie."

That evening Tendai was flown by helicopter to Harare to make his renunciation on television. He has secretly made contact with MDC officials again since, but they are loath to trust him. There have been more than 100 public renunciations of the MDC in Muzarabani. There have been similar scenes - often involving hut-burning and rape - in other rural areas. In Shamva alone last week there were 18 serious assaults and seven houses were burned.

Even this may be dwarfed by the retribution the Mugabe government seems to be planning for the MDC-voting masses of the Harare townships. It announced last week that it would demolish the estimated 145,000 shacks that provide accommodation for 1m people. The idea seems to be to force people into the countryside, making them rely on the farm plots that Zanu-PF will offer them on land taken from white farmers. Commentators are wondering whether any violent protest might allow the government to decree a state of emergency, so it could ban the MDC and detain its leaders without trial. Robin Cook, the foreign secretary, will seek an expression of disapproval over the crisis in Zimbabwe at this week's meeting in London of the Commonwealth ministerial action group, set up to look at human rights among member states.

Mugabe declares race war

Dumisani Muleya

AFTER telling his central committee on Wednesday that Zanu PF was at war with the country's white commercial farmers, an embattled President Mugabe yesterday intensified his racial rhetoric to whip up nationalist indignation against a growing list of enemies — at home and abroad — in his battle for political survival.

Two days after war veterans murdered former MP Henry Elsworth in Kwekwe, he said his party should “strike fear into the heart of the white man, our real enemy”.

Opening the three-day Zanu PF special congress in Harare, Muga-be also stepped up attacks on the opposition Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) whom he accused of teaming up with whites to overthrow his government.

A thread of crude racist rhetoric ran through Mugabe's rancorous address in which he tried to stoke-up racial emotions and garner support as the party's candidate in the 2002 presidential poll.

The president admitted his party's poor performance in the June election saying it was because “we were sleeping”.

“Our party must continue to strike fear in the heart of the white man, our real enemy,” said Mugabe as a receptive audience bussed in for the occasion bellowed Zanu PF slogans and anti-MDC denunciations.

In a combative and paranoid mood, Mugabe — who of late has been trading on warlike demagoguery to frighten critics — threatened to fight back in defence of his troubled stewardship. He repeated his mantra that the MDC would never rule this country.

“The intellectual level of this country will not allow the MDC ignoramuses to rule this country,” Mugabe declared amid applause from his party faithful.

“Whites have formed an alliance and are regrouping across borders to defend their interests ... We have also started regrouping to defend the gains of the revolution,” he said.

Mugabe then launched into a stinging attack on whites accusing them of trying to rule the whole world. He said they should “think afresh” on their alleged hegemonic tendencies because “Africa is for Africans” in as much as “Zimbabwe is for Zimbabweans”.

Mugabe lamented the collapse of the Soviet Union saying it spawned a Western-controlled global economic system which had impoverished the Third World. He said the current economic reforms had reversed the social gains of the first decade of Independence.

“The far-reaching changes that took place from 1989 and beyond, largely triggered by the collapse of the Soviet Union and the concomitant unchecked rise of the West and its market-based global systems, did not create a helpful global environment for the transformative vision we had at Independence,” said Mugabe.

“Instead, the new unipolar environment simply legitimised and deepened the racially skewed structures we have had here.”

Mugabe, hankering after the command economy and price controls, charged that the economy was currently in the hands of a “racist” minority and foreigners.

“We have an economy which largely excludes and exiles our people, while reposing all the power and control into the hands of a tiny racial minority of colonial origins,” Mugabe said.

“We do not have a national economy; what we have are our nationals in a foreign-owned and controlled economy...of course we participate as wage earners, as mortgaged and circumscribed legislators and governors.

A “small racial group”, he said, determined how the economy functioned and that had caused hardships. Recycling rancid explanations, Mugabe said various factors, excluding economic

mismanagement, were responsible for the economic implosion.

“We have had droughts, we have had cyclones, we have had depressed international markets which knocked out practically all our leading exportables, starting with tobacco and ending with base metals,” he explained.

“This is our objective situation, quite structural indeed and cannot be described in any way as bad management of the economy by government,” he said.

The president, locked in denial, said land redistribution should be the beginning of genuine economic structural adjustment.

“Real structural adjustment of the economy therefore starts with the land which must change hands in favour of our people. With that vital resource at their disposal, our people should be able to create employment for themselves, fend for themselves, and get over the poverty and misery that afflict them presently,” he said.

Mugabe claimed those economic reforms since 1991 had caused poverty and were destabilising third world countries. He said former Ghanaian President Jerry Rawlings was “defeated” (he did not contest the presidential poll because he had served his two constitutional terms of office) because of problems caused by Western-backed economic reforms.

The president said even if the MDC was to come into power it would not resolve the economic problems because it comprised ignorant politicians.

“Where will he (MDC leader Morgan Tsvangirai) get ideas to resolve economic problems?” Mugabe asked.

“Does Tsvangirai even understand how an economy functions?” he asked amid cheers from the ecstatic crowd.

Mugabe reiterated that he would defy court orders in pursuit of his arbitrary land reforms. He said he would continue with his land programme as he pleases.

“Our fast-track land reform programme is underway and phenomenal progress has been registered since its inception hardly six months ago,” Mugabe announced.

“There is no going back, there is no hesitancy on this one. The attacks and pressures we have endured can only encourage us to be more resolute,” he said.

Mugabe, appealing for local and regional solidarity, persisted with the official claim that the international community was beginning to understand his land reform policy while Britain, the former colonial master, was increasingly isolated.

“I want to thank the many African presidents who have stood by us on this matter of supreme principle (land). Indeed, support for us continues to grow on the continent and within the Third World, while that commanded by the British regime continues to dwindle, even within Europe,” Mugabe said.

Yesterday Tsvangirai responded to the killing of Elsworth by saying that in Zimbabwe today, nobody was safe.

“No one can confidently feel safe. The law enforcers are now involved in lawlessness themselves with the tacit approval of the president himself. Everyone must be very careful,” he said following Mugabe’s latest threats.

Cutting Edge

Diana Mitchell

WHAT hope is left for a country whose judges are now the target for attack by their own Minister of Justice? This newly appointed dignitary, who gave early signals of his politically subservient tendencies towards the end of his important role as Attorney-General, has been deftly positioned to administer the coup de grace to what remains of Zimbabwe's precious rule of law.

As if we had not seen enough of politically 'approved' lawlessness, dangerously encouraged by ruling party apparat-chiks whose boss's hold on power is seriously threatened, we are now faced with the appalling prospect of watching these latest attempts, orchestrated by cynical men who are neither ashamed of their actions, nor fearful of the consequences, working systematically to bring certain of our judges, and in particular our Chief Justice, into disrepute.

The law-mens' latest failure, in the trumped up or imagined submission of their accusers, is that white judges have been racially biased in their rulings on the ongoing land wrangles. What a gross insult has been implied in this and other cases to the "non-white" judges and others who far outnumber "whites" in Zimbabwe's judiciary, this most vital pillar of democracy. Our political masters are living in the wrong time and place. This is not the former apartheid South Africa. They are shouting against thunder.

Political cynicism has reached new depths in the deliberate misinterpretation of one judge's expression, "so-called war veterans". Justice Smith need give no apology when 10 000 witnesses can testify to the fact that real war vets who have a genuine cause in appealing for land reform have been far outnumbered by young, unemployed men and women, desperate to earn a few dollars as a Zanu PF private militia who have been given licence to invade whatever land-holdings they please — even an army firing range!

Villagers of all ages, not all of whom participated directly in the liberation struggle (certainly almost everyone in rural areas was affected, indirectly) cannot automatically assume the mantle, the hard won accolade, the salutation of "war vets". Justice Smith knows this, we all know it. He speaks the truth.

The chairman of the Law Society, Sternford Moyo, has given an expert's account, mercifully couched in layman's language, of what is amiss when a Minister of Justice attacks his judges; of what goes on vis-a-vis the Supreme Court's latest ruling on farm occupations, or rather on the need to obey not the judges, but the law.

It cannot be said too often that it is the laws made by parliament and enacted under the constitution, that they are sworn to abide by. If you need further clarification of this, go along to the Media Institute of Southern Africa office, take a magnetic tape, pay your dollars and get a copy of ZBC's debate between Patrick China-masa and Sternford Moyo aired on Patu Manala's famous phone-in programme. Listen carefully to the voices, the language of people who call in.

Without exception, the callers, black Africans, challenged the minister. They disagreed with him. One or two went so far as to insult him. His point of view, making it seem somehow that Zimbabweans in their culture and value systems are a primitive lot, certainly irritated a lot of people. That our legal institutions, so vital to the social, economic and political health of our country, should be pulled down in the name of injustices of the past, injustices undenied (by even the whitest of judges), is a travesty of truth and justice.

But before I go on, please let us drop this nonsense of whiteness being of any great importance in this particular argument. Remember always that it was the president himself who, after taking recommendations from the Judicial Service Commission (not an all-white outfit) appointed the judges of the High Court, of the Supreme Court and, ultimately, the Chief Justice.

I am ready to bet that Chief Justice Gubbay has no large landholding and even if he had, would not let this stand in the way of his judgements. I know for certain that Justice Nick McNally has no farm and is devoted to his arduous work on the bench in the Supreme Court. Maliciously, or mendaciously perhaps, the new Minister of Justice omits to remind the public that McNally was a leading light in the political opposition for all of the years of the Rhodesian Front's rule. ('Pick Nick!' was the exhortation of one of our campaign posters!)

He was my mentor, among many white lawyers who gave countless hours of their time, freely, guiding and advising legal ignoramuses in the Centre Party and then the Rhodesia Party and the NUF on legal aspects of the fight for justice for all Zimbabweans before 1980.

And a final word on colour, this artificial additive here, so liberally poured on troubled waters, How come one of the best judges ever to preside in our respected courts, our former Chief Justice, Enoch Dumbutshena, as Zimbabwean as the great bird on the Masvingo acropolis, was prematurely retired? He could not be relied upon to be compliant in matters which were patently politically loaded.

There is plenty of documentary evidence of this. And further, Hon minister, sir, his friend Justice Gubbay celebrated with his black predecessor and Enoch's devoted family and friends, this esteemed and uncorrupted former nationalist leader's 80th birthday not long ago.

What a tragedy that a man like Patrick Chinamasa, so highly respected before he fell into the murky waters of political turpitude, should join the defenders of the indefensible. Africanness, African culture and values are one thing. Chaos and lawlessness, disrespect for the law — these are not intrinsic to any African culture that I have studied. Landlessness is real and deserves the attention of the best brains in the country, or out of it for that matter.

Lawlessness is a new invention. It is demeaning of the minister's dignity to call him names, but he will be deserving of no such dignity if he merely uses his office as a stick to beat our excellent judges into submission to the will of the ruling party. It is clear to any citizen of Zimbabwe who cares to face the facts that the ruling party is acting ultra vires the law in its long delayed approach to solving the land question. Only the judges stand firmly as guardians of the law. They can be relied upon to make judgements according to the law and not according to the whims of leaders and spokespersons of a thoroughly discredited Zanu PF.

There are court cases pending in which lawless elements from that party will, if the law is allowed to take its course, be brought before the judges and given the opportunity to present their defences.

There are cases pending on the questionable outcomes of dozens of parliamentary seats. The current judiciary, with only one possible and well-known exception, can be relied upon to uphold the letter of the law and to abide with sagacity and empathy, with its spirit.

If amendments in tune with the times are needed, it is a new constitution agreed by the majority that can bring these about. If, before this should be achieved, all respect for the custodians of the law is abandoned, junked by shortsighted politicians, then even the best constitution in the world could not be upheld. The law and the people will be consigned to jungle politics and to the law of the jungle.

I doubt that Zimbabweans are willing to allow that to happen, and the evidence of the last general election proving that is so, is there for all the world to see.

This time Mugabe has gone too far! Since April 2000, following the defeat of the Zanu proposed new constitution, Mugabe has pursued a land policy that has said "land is the key to our prosperity as a people, it is our heritage.

The continued occupation by a small clique of commercial farmers of the best land is not acceptable, the fast track land reform exercise is our response to this situation". Africa took him at his word and his statements at face value. A lot of people in the rest of the world said it was OK - but do it legally. He went on to say, "this is not a racist agenda, we only want to redress the imbalance. All we ask for is vacant and under-utilised land, land that is surplus and if a farmer only has only one farm, he will be offered another, if we decide that we need his farm for settlement for technical reasons". Sounds OK?

Now, 18 months later, the government has brushed aside all the niceties, designated for compulsory acquisition, without compensation, 10,7 million hectares of land out of 12 million under commercial occupation at this time.

He has further unleashed on these hapless farmers a programme of violent occupation and has instructed the forces of law and order to ignore the law and to prosecute only those who resist or show sympathy for, the plight of those involved.

Now 8 farmers and some 40 others have been killed, hundreds injured and raped, homes burnt, possessions stolen and tens of thousands have been displaced. Farm activities have been totally disrupted; food production has fallen by 50 per cent and key export industries face total collapse. Up to 3 million people face starvation and we are now linked with the Sudan and Somalia as food crisis countries. The Courts, responding to the appeals of those affected have ordered the government to stop this nonsense, draw up a proper land reform programme and then start again - their opinions have been ignored and the Judges making these legal judgements have been threatened and their courts and homes invaded.

Now to complete the scenario, Mugabe and his henchmen have hatched a plan that calls for 3 million people to be moved in the next 6 months. 1,5 million from the cities onto commercial farmland now forcibly empty and idle and as a consequence 1,5 million people - all of them former dependants on commercial agriculture, now homeless and destitute, to squatter camps outside the cities.

This Stalin-like, Khymer Rouge exercise is to be undertaken by the Army and the Police. The new commercial farm "settlers" will be registered to vote on transfer to their new "homes" and will be paid a per deum and given other support while they wait until the time comes to vote. Then they will be told to vote for Mugabe or be displaced – like the farm workers and their families. The farm workers and their families will be unable to vote because they are not in their constituencies and as "internally displaced refugees" they will be disenfranchised. Zanu PF hopes by these draconian means to shift 1 million votes in favour of Mugabe in the presidential election in March 2002.

This plan was revealed in a story covered by the Financial Gazette and has not been denied. It must therefore be true and what a horrifying story it makes. It's Thabo Mbeki's worst nightmare because, in all probability, South Africa will find itself subjected to a new wave of illegal immigrants who will join the millions of other people in the shanty towns of South Africa.

If nothing is done to stop this madness - and to stop it now, Zimbabwe will slide inevitably into anarchy and chaos. Its economy, already teetering on the brink of the abyss will slide into oblivion. Its people totally dependent on foreign aid to feed themselves and to provide some form of health and education for their children. I am not the only one who is thinking in these terms - the exchange rate for foreign exchange is now 250 to 1 for the US dollar indicating total panic amongst those who have any resources. Capital flight at these premiums means that people are dumping their assets at any cost. If you compute our GDP at these rates, we are suffering from a 70 per cent decline in the GDP in real terms at this moment.

As for the farmers - there are close to 10 000 white men on commercial farms, owners, managers and assistants. These are generally tough individuals with a very determined outlook on life. Used to making decisions they are mostly very individualistic and used to giving orders.

Controlling large labour forces is a major part of their responsibilities. These men and their families have been subjected to insults, physical threats and worse for the past 18 months. They have had no support from any quarter – no international organisation has stood up for their rights and no government has offered any assistance whatsoever. Banks have demanded repayment of loans and withheld funding for normal activities and theft of crops and livestock has been commonplace. They have been stripped of their rights as citizens and as human beings, they have been denied the protection of the law. They have not been allowed to protect their families, their staff or their assets.

During this 18-month period not a single "war veteran" has been killed in anger, very few incidents of violence perpetrated by these white men against their tormentors have been recorded. Not a single person who has been responsible for various forms of violence against these farm families and their staff and their families has been prosecuted or convicted. It represents a totally one-sided application of the laws of this country and makes a complete mockery of all that Mugabe has been saying for the past 18 months.

Now in a small town called Chinhoyi, Zanu PF thugs are beating up ordinary citizens - among them 20 white women simply going about their ordinary business in a small farming town. The objective - to try and so enrage these courageous people that they will retaliate. It's a sure sign of complete desperation. Like having a prisoner whom you are beating and torturing to secure some information and all he does is smile at you - eventually you haul in his wife and say - what will you do if we meet out to her, what we are doing to you?

No matter what you might think of these white farming families, there are principles at stake here which are universal and every person who stands for decency and the rule of law in society, has to stand by these people and say to Mugabe and his thugs, enough is enough!

Failure to do so will not only make all of us poorer in spirit and in human values but will condemn yet another potentially prosperous state in Africa to mayhem and abject poverty. It also justifies all the racial innuendoes that racists have used over the years to denigrate and undermine black consciousness.

It flies in the face of all that people like Steve Biko and Nelson Mandela have stood for in life. It's time for black Americans and Europeans to stand up for justice in this part of the world and to say to Mugabe that his behaviour is totally unacceptable.

Its time for those "smart sanctions" against the Zimbabwe leadership. Deny Mugabe food for his bloated ego; take away their ill-gotten gains from corruption. Exclude them from the gatherings of international leaders and insist that if they continue on this course of action, they will be fully excluded from the international community.

At Durban - label the Mugabe land grab as racist and at CHOGM, tell Mugabe that he is no longer acceptable in that community of nations because he has violated its principles.

M.Ngwenya
August 4, 2001

Seldom has the world seen such a dramatic example of economic failure stem from political expediency.

Zimbabwe is a country blessed with a well-educated population, a good climate, exceptional agricultural productivity, a well-developed and diverse mining industry, an excellent infrastructure and an extensive manufacturing base. Yet its population has only one twentieth or less wealth per person than many smaller and less well-endowed countries -- and it is getting poorer. This crisis has been brought about by Zimbabwe's own government, which has been savagely attacking any and all who might present a threat to its re-election. Seldom has the world seen such a dramatic example of economic failure stem from political expediency.

An increasing number of Zimbabweans have suffered terrible consequences as a result of the current political policies. Whether because of land acquisitions or the ruling party's hostile reaction to the emergence of a political opposition, many people have been dispossessed of property or have had to endure severe physical abuse. Thousands of livelihoods have been destroyed and the welfare of tens of thousands of dependants has been badly affected. Dozens of people have actually lost their lives.

Deaths and severe injuries have devastated families, usually leaving them without a breadwinner. The welfare of these families presents a challenge that some of the more generous and caring members of society have accepted without hesitation. Vitaly important efforts are being made to marshal much more support for all these victims of injustice, as many of them are now relying totally on assistance.

However, events are proving that these efforts must be doubled and redoubled to keep pace with the growing number of innocent victims. Already the need of support funding is testing the limits of local resources, and help from abroad is becoming essential and urgent.

Rapid deterioration

Unfortunately, the present situation in Zimbabwe shows every sign of deteriorating further, and at an even more rapid rate than before, making the number of people requiring assistance completely unmanageable. In fact, the prospect of Zimbabwe's socio-economic collapse calls to mind the horrors of similar tragedies elsewhere in Africa, such as the Sudan, Ethiopia and Somalia. In each of these, the aid agencies and other fund-raising efforts simply could not cope.

Zimbabwe's crisis is the result of political policy decisions and has not stemmed from some natural disaster. For this reason, the crisis can be overcome only if the political issues can be resolved, but by design, Zimbabwean citizens have very limited leverage in their own political arena. Urgent and decisive action from as many influential countries and agencies as possible is essential to prevent the casualties of this calamitous process from increasing from thousands to millions.

Having been launched from the springboard of commercial farmland invasions, the latest assaults on individual rights in Zimbabwe are being carried out by practised and emboldened attackers. Their invasions of urban businesses are proving even more dangerous and sinister than the actions taken against commercial farmers.

A progression towards civil conflict

The traumas being inflicted on civil society could all too readily become very much more violent simply because the progression of events towards open conflict might by now be impossible to stop. To wrest compliance and subservience from as many people as it takes to achieve their purposes, the ruling party has empowered the "war veterans" movement to extract that compliance by whatever means it considers necessary.

By claiming the status of war veterans, various individuals and groups -- whose ages often make that claim patently false -- are given the clearance they need to break the law with impunity.

In publicly witnessed operations reminiscent of the behaviour of the Red Guard under Chairman Mao in the late 1960s, the Zimbabwean war veterans have been dispensing punishment and public humiliation on any whose political affiliations are suspected to lie in other directions. Victims of this "re-education process" have been denied recourse to law as the perpetrators have been given immunity from the law.

Zimbabwe faces the growing prospect of violence from the oppressed public as it reacts to the increasingly resented abuses, and also from the inevitable and overdue contest between the state-empowered uniformed forces and the party-empowered war veterans. As they relentlessly test the limits of what they can get away with, the war veterans have already encroached on the jurisdiction of the recognised authorities and have more recently broken into the territory of the trades union movement as well as that of the Ministry of Labour.

Power without accountability

The war veterans have also assumed the powers of company directors and claimed the right to decide on company personnel and financial matters. They have interfered in local government affairs and displaced the authority of the police. They have claimed the right to sit in judgement in labour disputes and to decide on cash settlements, always claiming a significant share of the payments as their "commission". In numerous situations that have led to individuals and businesses seeking the protection of the law, that protection has been denied because of the involvement of the war veterans.

However, the war veterans do not accept accountability for their actions. Despite their growing lists of criminal activities, all the way through to murder, none of the war veterans has been prosecuted. They have not been held accountable for funds extracted with menaces from employers, nor for goods such as firearms and vehicles illegally confiscated from targeted farmers and businesses.

On its present course, the decline of Zimbabwe's economy is becoming steeper by the day. Victims range from those who have been retrenched as their employers have downsized through to those whose jobs have disappeared because their employers have been forced to close down. Among the employers themselves, the unfortunate range from those who have had to suspend operations for lack of customers or suppliers to those who have been driven to bankruptcy by extortionate payments to war veterans.

In the service sectors as well as the productive sectors, many of those who did have work are now joining the unemployed. Market demand is shrinking, as are supplies of materials and components as a direct result of the country's declining foreign earnings. The only other sources of foreign exchange, direct investment and foreign assistance, have also dried up as the ruling party's behaviour has destroyed investor confidence and has led to the country's disqualification from IMF and World Bank support and from every developed country's list of worthy recipients of aid.

Destruction of job opportunities

Hundreds of thousands of other casualties have been accumulating over a period of years. They include the young people who have not found paid employment since leaving school. In the past four years, about 1 400 000 young people have left school and the estimate is that formal sector job opportunities were offered to perhaps 100 000 of them. That leaves 1 300 000 who have yet to find formal jobs. Under less damaged investment conditions, perhaps another 200 000 of them would have found openings.

Our population size and birth rate produces a yearly school-leaver rate that would be a severe challenge even to a well-run economy, but in our badly-run economy, the school-leavers' prospects of a formal sector career are almost non-existent.

The ruling party would have its supporters believe that the only people at risk in Zimbabwe are multi-national companies with Zimbabwean assets, the "white colonisers" and the supporters of parties that are in opposition to Zanu (PF). In fact, the consequences of the process are already seriously affecting nearly everybody. If it is allowed to continue, it could soon engulf and impoverish the whole population. Only the political manipulators and a handful of the best-

placed opportunists will profit from the experience or come through it with their assets intact.

Capturing wealth

Just what the ruling party's purposes are has become clearer with each new policy decision. It is to capture ownership of the country's economic resources. Gaining ownership of the country's political machinery did not automatically bring about the desired transfers of wealth. The capture of the existing economic high-ground is now seen to be the overwhelming priority.

However, Zimbabwe's options in more constructive directions are immense. The country has remarkable people and remarkable resources, which in any normal situation would add up to remarkable potential. As a measure of how much potential, Zimbabwe's human and natural resource base greatly exceeds that of many other countries, but when its performance is compared to that of the less well-endowed countries, all too often it is Zimbabwe that is found wanting.

As an example, the gross domestic product of every European country is between fifteen times and thirty five times larger than Zimbabwe's. Some have smaller populations than Zimbabwe's, and the gross domestic product per head of the least wealthy, which is Portugal, works out at twenty times ours. Yet Portugal has less than one quarter of the land mass, very few of the mineral resources, and very much less agricultural potential. In other words, Zimbabwe is only 5% as rich as the least wealthy country in Western Europe, even though Zimbabwe has everything needed to close that gap. Everything, that is, other than the quality of political stewardship needed to make the best of our economic opportunities.

It seems that the enormously more appropriate option of generating additional economic high-ground that would be owned by its creators is not considered an option at all by the ruling party. From its political perspective, this process has so far proved to be too slow and uncertain for the party's purposes, and no means have been devised to guarantee that the process would put the new wealth into the hands of only the indigenous people. Moreover, those indigenous people who have enjoyed unusual success have found themselves in conflict with the party if they resisted pressures to relinquish a significant proportion of their business to the party machine.

Distribution by the party

In terms of their plan, the ruling party also insists that this process of capturing economic territory has to be accomplished specifically by themselves. This is so that the reallocation of the prizes, the captured assets, will fall entirely within the party's gift. Dressed up as socialism and Marxist-Leninist thinking on the redistribution of wealth, and energised by disingenuous righteous indignation, the policy is actually designed to enrich and firmly entrench a tiny, powerful and morally bankrupt minority.

If the ruling party's objectives are realised, ordinary citizens will end up with no individual rights at all and will become totally dependent on the patronage of the party. The price to be paid in claiming their now collectivised rights will be their total and unquestioning loyalty to the party. In effect, this outcome will be a restoration of the feudal pre-colonial tribal society in which individual rights did not exist and the chief wielded absolute authority.

Past inadequacies are mainly to blame for Zanu PF's decision to follow this course. Having failed to generate conditions that would have led to reasonable levels of economic growth during most of the years since independence, the ruling party's politicians have come under increasing pressure to find ways to appear to be trying to uplift the masses.

Sustained economic growth, had it been achieved, would have been accompanied by extensive social improvements. This growth would have had to be supported by high levels of investment, which in turn would have generated significant employment growth and delivered growing opportunities to Zimbabwe's well-educated and extremely resourceful population.

Increasing numbers of people qualifying for ever-more demanding jobs would have seen far more people successfully moving up the economic and social ladders. They would have been able to earn regular wages and salaries, open bank accounts and credit accounts, qualify for mortgage bonds and buy houses. Their good schooling would have become the springboard

into respectable positions in an increasingly complex technological world and they would have been able to claim ownership of their own futures.

Instead, their futures are now likely to be the property of an intensely limiting feudal system that will keep all but the small ruling class in a state of perpetual poverty. For the ordinary individuals, the process of capital formation will be impossible. Their education and inborn capabilities will be handicaps, best kept suppressed to prevent friction between themselves and their totalitarian masters.

Half the economy at risk

All of the moral indignation being expressed by Zanu PF in its passionate claims for the recovery of "land for the landless" is missing, not just one vital point, but a whole raft of points. As commercial agriculture is crucial to the continued survival of about half the paid employment in the country, brings in about half the foreign exchange earnings and generates about half the taxes collected by government, closing it down could cut the size of the economy by half. And the half that is left would inevitably shrink.

The country's gross domestic product per head could fall by half to less than the equivalent of US\$250 a year, and it could then continue falling to a figure that could place Zimbabwe among the poorest countries in the world. The ruling party's display of total indifference to the welfare of the vast majority of the population shows through in its response to this possibility. This is borne out by its resolute determination not to listen to, or even acknowledge the public debates on the issues. This virtually ensures that the ideas will remain dangerous and destructive.

The claimed inevitability that the newly-resettled farmers on former commercial farm land will not produce nearly as much as the former commercial farmers is often dismissed as nothing more than a racial insult. That response misses perhaps the most important point, which is that the different farming systems under which the distinct groups function makes wide disparities between results a certainty. As the less effective and less sustainable of the systems is being extended over the previously highly successful parts of the country, production will certainly decline. Land reform is necessary, but the wrong land is being reformed.

Two different systems

The issue of the two distinctly different systems is vitally important. If forced to live under the traditional system's constraints, the best of Zimbabwe's commercial farmers would also have performed very poorly. With no ownership rights over the piece of land allocated to them, no collateral that could support an application for bank finance, no security of tenure to encourage the making of long term plans for the farm's development and no prospect of leaving the land to a family member, none of the means or motivations that have stimulated farming successes in the commercial areas are at work under the communal system.

So whether or not the resettled farmers have the ability to farm is not the question. Of total relevance is that the system of communal ownership greatly limits the farmers' access to the needed resources as well as to all the other essentials of success in a very demanding industry.

Working against the constraints that are imposed on their activities by these limitations, the resettlement farmers will not generate the volumes of saleable agricultural commodities that have sustained dozens of other businesses. As customers of the farmers, or as suppliers to the farmers, these other companies have come to make up a considerable proportion of the producers, exporters, employers and taxpayers in the economy. They are all now at risk.

The plan to dismantle the country's principal industry and replace it with a collective peasant or subsistence farming system appears to make the assumption that, because this style of cultivation served the population before colonisation, it will do so again. However, the population growth of the past century simply disqualifies this idea, quite apart from the fact that subsistence farming output has been shown the world over to fall a very long way behind the performance of large-scale commercial farming. The importance of this truth is all the more pertinent for populations that have rapidly burgeoning aspirations as well as capabilities.

Zimbabwe's indigenous population today is at least 25 times the size it was 110 years ago,

when the country was colonised. This population growth was itself made sustainable because of the growth achieved in agricultural output. Today, the welfare of the total population depends upon this output being maintained and the whole of the government's tax base depends upon economic activities that did not exist in the traditional economy just over a century ago.

Employment shrinkage

Only the mining sector and a very limited number of firms in the manufacturing and commercial sectors stand a chance of surviving the transition now taking place, if it stays on track. Even these companies will perform very poorly in an economy that has lost most of its foreign earnings and most of its paid employment.

The wages and salaries paid to the hundreds of thousands of people who used to work on the commercial farms will cease, as will the flow of earnings to the hundreds of thousands of employees of upstream and downstream businesses. In turn, this shrinkage in buying power will destroy yet more jobs as it brings to an end the viability of thousands of suppliers of consumer goods and services.

The traditional system depended upon patronage. So will this one. Newly-resettled farmers will discover that, as they cannot get title deeds to their new land, the banks will not be able to lend to them. To make this situation worse, they will also lack the security of tenure needed to risk investing their own savings in a plot of land that has been merely allocated to them. They will be conscious that, when the political climate changes, it will be just as easy for new players to take the land from them. And if that happens, they will have no recourse to law, the concept and sanctity of property ownership rights having been effectively destroyed.

Different systems

Newly resettled farmers, therefore, will not be able to do on their land what the commercial farmer did before them, not because of any inherent shortcoming of the farmers, but because of the shortcomings of the system under which they farm. The land is being given to them free of charge and they will have only to show loyalty to the ruling party to keep it. Had they been required to pay for the land, they might well have been able to claim ownership in a more formal sense, and would certainly have been better motivated to make very good use of it.

Every developed and newly-industrialising country expects to see a fall in the proportion of the population that depends on farming. Here in Zimbabwe, the policy is to increase that proportion. This is apparently because industrial growth generates personal empowerment and independence, and this is seen to be a threat to the ruling party's power base. The fact that urbanised industrial growth would provide the majority of the people with better earnings and better avenues for putting to use their rising educational achievements appears to be far less important to the ruling party than its wish to keep the majority of the population in a state of subjugation.

The "landless" actually want employment and security. It is the politicians that have translated that into the want of farmland. The vast majority of all populations of all developed countries do not own farmland. Most of them have a job in urban areas and earn enough to buy a property in which to live. Completing their payments on their properties during their working lives provides them with the longer-term security they need, and most Zimbabweans would choose this option if it were presented to them.

Staying in power

Zanu PF's biggest failure has been its unwillingness to do everything possible to generate conditions that could have led to the creation of very much more employment in modern industries. Their policy on land is driven entirely by their wish to stay in power by preventing the growth of independent thinking and the freedom of choice and action that comes with successful industrial growth. And to pursue this objective, they are capitalising on the greed of people who have been persuaded that they will get valuable assets for nothing.

It is these policy choices that are driving Zimbabwe down the road to poverty. If a decision were to be made now to change course and the necessary action were taken, the damage done so far would be relatively easily repaired. But a few more months in the same direction will add years to the recovery period.

The full realisation of Zanu PF's current ambitions to break the country's links to its industrialising past will plunge the population into a form of feudalism that will, without doubt, impoverish the vast majority. If the recent histories of countries that have followed similar patterns are any guide, the country will be lucky to start a genuine recovery in less than 25 years. Countries like Uganda, Tanzania, Mozambique and Zambia come to mind in the African context, and others such as Albania, Burma and Cambodia would be good examples from further afield.

The time left before Zimbabwe plunges into a possibly decades-long twilight is rapidly running out. Most importantly, the majority of Zimbabweans do not deserve this fate. The task of finding ways to avoid it certainly lies squarely on the shoulders of the Zimbabweans themselves, but their prospects of meeting that challenge without help from abroad are growing more remote by the day.

The help we need is not just the financial and material assistance for the present victims, although that help is most welcome and more would be warmly appreciated. We also need strong and relentless pressure from every quarter and from every possible agency to force the present architects of destruction to change their plans.

John Robertson
Robertson Economic Information Services
May 21, 2001

Land grabs could lead to economic disaster

John Robertson , Friday 12 May, 2000

People who are hoping to see the Constitutional amendment permitting widespread land confiscation put into action should realise that the action will attack and possibly destroy the very heart of the economic system that has made any development possible. The principle of secure, bankable ownership rights is the issue at risk. If this principle dies in the cross-fire, so too will Zimbabwe's prospects of economic recovery. The poverty typical of the communal areas, where individual land ownership rights do not exist, will spread right across the country.

Genuine property rights that cannot be swept aside by politicians do not merely stimulate investment, they actually enable it. Such rights empower individuals to deliver extraordinary amounts of initiative and resourcefulness into the development process. The introduction of those rights in certain areas when the country was colonised 110 years ago led directly to the progress made since then – in those same areas.

Perhaps the supporters of the land grab are prompted by their hopes of a free farm, and perhaps they believe that, once they have their farms, they will be immune from the economic consequences of disengaging this engine of growth. They won't, and this article covers some of the reasons why they won't.

Neither will they be immune from a future repeat of the land grabbing process. Having destroyed the principle of security of tenure, and having allowed such an arbitrary means of redistribution to be built into the Constitution, they will never know when the process will be used against them too.

Constant allegations that indigenous people of Zimbabwe were dispossessed of their land without compensation by colonisers about a century ago leave out at least one vital fact: no form of individual ownership of land existed at the time in any of the traditional societies that were encountered by the colonisers.

Not one of the individuals at the time would have felt he had a right to claim compensation for himself, particularly as the settlers were mostly moving onto unoccupied land and, even more importantly, as only the chiefs would have claimed any form of land rights at the time.

Even the rights that chiefs might have claimed would not have been recognised as rights of formal ownership, had the question been asked. When the colonisers arrived and laid claim to land, it is mainly for these reasons that they did not encounter serious opposition. Today, most people would readily accept that colonisation should not have happened in the first place. But that is a very academic point. Very few events stand out in the history of this country as more inevitable than the fact that the country was going to be colonised by somebody.

The British were in a race to get here ahead of the Boer Republic to the south, and they also wanted to get in ahead of the Portuguese and the Germans. Neither King Lobengula nor any of the Shona Chiefs were given an opportunity to choose between these colonial powers, or the option not to choose any, but that was not the way things happened then, or in the thousands of years of recorded history since the Greeks and Romans. And giving indigenous populations options of any kind was certainly not even thought about once the exploration and conquest of the world started in earnest in the late 15th Century. Only in the second half of the 20th Century was the question asked and the possible answers taken seriously.

Modern politicians seem to hope that everybody will believe without question that ordinary people in this country felt badly abused by the colonisation process, if only because the feeling today is that they should have felt abused by the process and were badly abused in many other countries. But the history of events here does not bear out this hypothesis.

In effect, what today's politicians insist was here at the time – an outraged population of individual land owners determined to protect their own individual land holdings – would have been an impenetrable and decisive line of defence against colonialism, if only it had been here. But it did not exist, and that is because the tribesmen, as individuals, all had extremely limited rights, and they certainly had no outright ownership rights over identifiable pieces of land.

Nor were land ownership rights needed. Relative to the extent of the land, the population was small, and the level of technology employed in cultivating it meant that individuals had no wish or need to push out the boundaries of their allotments beyond the limits of their manpower or draught power.

They were also subject populations. As ordinary people, they were considered to be the property of their Chiefs, or ultimately of King Lobengula, who claimed sovereignty over all the tribal groups by right of conquest. As individuals, their freedoms of choice were very narrowly defined, and each individual's initial perception of the colonisation process would have been that their former leaders had been supplanted.

The de facto position at the time was that the authority of a new centralised system of administration had replaced the separate authorities of the many former traditional tribal leaders. Even then, the former tribal leaders were left in place to carry on almost as before and individuals therefore would not have felt that they had been dispossessed.

However, for the ordinary people of those days, important changes for the better were felt almost immediately. Raiding and looting between different tribal groups was brought to an end, new crop varieties were introduced, centuries of advances in western medicine became general practice and infant mortality dropped to dramatically lower figures. That is what happened within the first few years, whatever interpretation is offered now to account for the events of the time.

In subsequent years, the developments were increasingly dramatic, and some are not as obvious as the towns and cities, the schools and hospitals and the roads and bridges. Food supplies increased as knowledge about cultivation techniques was shared, as locust invasions were brought to an end and as crop and livestock diseases were brought under better control. Areas of the country that add up to much more than today's targeted commercial farming areas were liberated from the tsetse fly.

When independence was achieved in 1980, a new government ceremoniously took over from the colonial power, represented at the time by the Prince of Wales. The country did not revert to its traditional political structure under multiple chiefdoms. The new government displaced the old government and in taking over completely the non-traditional reins of power, it kept in place the newer concept of a single centralised authority.

Power to individuals could not be "restored" in 1980 because, in truth, individuals never had political rights of any kind before 1890. But their political and civil rights improved immeasurably over the following century. When the new leaders stepped into the shoes of the colonials in 1980, they took over and perpetuated a form of leadership that was no more a part of earlier traditions than was the concept of democracy. This is just one of many ways in which old traditions have given way to new structures or systems.

Before 1890, the population was small and thinly dispersed over the territory. To assert now that the communities of the time were physically swept out of the areas they were cultivating is to seriously distort the facts. This certainly is what happened in many other countries that were colonised, but the claim that it happened here is not true. The very small numbers of white early settlers who followed Cecil Rhodes' Pioneer Column did not need to behave that aggressively.

In all probability they would have been more aggressive if they had found that necessary, and nobody would deny that by today's standards of political correctness they were very far from perfect. But in the context of their own time, their conduct was probably exemplary.

These settlers were able to choose land from vast areas of open and unoccupied space. They paid Rhodes' Charter Company for it and occupied it without experiencing any serious conflict at all in those early stages. How else can one explain how a few hundred people managed to colonise a large country that was populated by half a million people?

When the indigenous populations of certain other countries were treated harshly and driven off their lands, their numbers inevitably declined sharply. Even today, up to five hundred years after the colonisation of the Americas and Australasia, many of these populations are still smaller than they were when their countries were first colonised.

Zimbabwe's experience was very different from those. Rapid population growth started immediately and today these descendants number 25 times the original population. To claim now that 25 times as many people must be given – free – all the land in the country because their forefathers worked some of it might sound like a powerful emotional claim. But they worked only a small proportion of it and were mostly left to carry on working it by the early settlers. It is their own population growth that forced nearly all of the subsequent pressures for change.

All of these issues need to be fully recognised, but they are ignored in the emotive language of the Constitutional amendment. If commercial land does now become the target of confiscation, the step will be an imprudent leap into a minefield of absurdities. The population growth alone should be enough to persuade most people that no more than a tiny fraction of today's thirteen million people can hope to be beneficiaries of a land redistribution policy. This would remain a fact even if every square centimetre of land occupied by non-indigenous people was to be allocated to indigenous people.

To write into a document as important as our Constitution that everyone has a right to free land because land was free in the pre-colonial era is to formalise a promise that cannot be fulfilled. And it is to invite the certainty of conflict, frustration and repeated land-grabbing exercises. These would be inevitable with the ascendance of new contenders who will give themselves the authority under the Constitution to cancel other people's claims to ownership.

The land provisions in the Constitutional amendment also do not provide for the staggering changes that have taken place in this country since 1890. Couched in passionate language rather than in the precise legal declarations of fact that we have a right to expect in our Constitution, the provisions leave the field wide open for divisive and damaging misinterpretations in the years to come.

The reasons why formal individual land ownership rights were not required 110 years ago when the land was so plentiful are fully understandable. But these reasons did not remain valid through the progression of years and events that followed. As the population grew and the formerly abundant land became scarce, the idea that it should remain free should have given way to the ideas that transformed every other country that has become prosperous.

These ideas are that land is a valuable economic resource, that it has a price, that it is put to best use when it is owned by individuals and that transfers of ownership should be through simple procedures. Ideally, market mechanisms should determine the price, formal legal rights and obligations should support both buyers and sellers in every transaction and professional institutions should be empowered to manage, regulate and record every event.

In Zimbabwe, only some of the land enjoys this status and the people on it are mostly prosperous. On the rest of the land, the people are poor and likely to stay poor. Now our Constitution permits the cancellation of individual ownership rights so that the land can be given free to "the people". According to the political claims, all indigenous Zimbabweans have a constitutional right to it.

This claim that it should again be free and everybody has a right to a piece of it is as impractical as it is dangerous. It is also dishonest. As the number of families that could be resettled on it would not even exceed the number of families that would be displaced, it is clear the policy is intended to be highly selective about who is to benefit. It is also clear that it is totally indifferent to the plight of the indigenous people who will be prejudiced. Economically, the process of trying to follow through will be as destructive as the policies championed by Pol Pot in Cambodia, except that they will be played out in slow motion.

While they exercised authority, the colonial power should have had the imagination and foresight to introduce ownership concepts in the 1940s or 1950s, when population pressures were already beginning to cause dissatisfaction in the Tribal Trust Lands of the time. With a population of about two and a half million in 1950, the challenges involved in introducing such an idea would have been considerably more manageable. They would also have made more starkly apparent the need for much more rapid industrial and urban growth. In their course of development, every one of the world's industrialised countries has seen its urban population grow and its rural population shrink, and most of them now have fewer than 5% of their

populations dependent directly on farming. Industrial development provided for the rest, attracting them into the urban centres and generating the growth of affluent towns and cities.

If Zimbabwe's pre-independence governments had been more successful at attracting investment, the process would have offered more people suitable alternative livelihoods to farming. In the first half of the 20th Century, events were distorted by two world wars and several deep global recessions. The country's development was thrown off course in the latter half century by the flawed Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, by the even more flawed Unilateral Declaration of Independence and then by the country's particularly unhelpful flirtation with Marxist-Leninist theories.

Since half-heartedly taking on board IMF structural adjustment policies almost ten years ago, not much has improved. The progression of successive periods of under-achievement has left people even more dependent on agriculture at the end than at the beginning. In 1954, 21% of Zimbabwe's total population was employed in the formal sector, and by 1998 the percentage had fallen to 11,2%. Government has started looking for land to give away to make up for its failure to promote the far more appropriate industrial growth that was and still is needed.

The idea that land should be free is simply not compatible with rapid population growth or even the achievement of a large, but static population. If anything is free, and everyone has an equal right to it, everyone is certain to want his or her share. Government knows full well that the total area that remains under large-scale commercial cultivation is not big enough to offer new farms to the million peasant families to whom it keeps promising new land, but the implication in the Constitution is that the wants of all will be satisfied. Without a shadow of a doubt, most people are going to be disappointed.

As a fundamental truism, no document as important as a country's constitution should carry any objective that will obviously be impossible to fulfil. But other forms of damage also threaten social and economic stability. Confiscations will place seriously at risk every development mechanism that has helped the country to become prosperous over the past century, and with these damaged or destroyed, domestic as well as foreign investment will simply dry up.

Historically, the whites who colonised this country empowered themselves from the start by bringing with them the concepts of individual freehold land ownership by and by transplanting into this country the legal framework that formalised their rights and obligations. Their actions created, for the first time, areas of land that could be owned by individuals.

Market mechanisms built into the same framework provided for changes of ownership and for the use of the land as collateral security for bank loans. This made possible an investment process that could be financed largely from private sector resources, the successes of which provided considerable tax revenues that funded the public sector's investment in the country's exceptional infrastructure. So effective was this synergy, the country never sought or received any form of international aid before 1980.

The prospectors, farmers, manufacturers and traders who spearheaded the start of modern economic development in this country were all working to very clear-cut ideas that were based upon the concept of private ownership of property. Within a few years, this ability to acquire ownership rights had stimulated the very development that helped to make the country one of the most outstanding in the whole of the Third World. To now unravel the security of tenure and property rights concepts will disengage the development response that came automatically from these powerful motivators.

In considering whether to support changes that will place us squarely on a course that will lead to the destruction of these qualities, an important fact is that the direct beneficiaries will be very few in number. Apart from the politicians who hope to regain popularity, at the most basic level, the number of resettlement farmers will fall a long way short of the number of commercial farm workers who will lose their jobs, their housing, their farm schools and their longer-term prospects of security in their old age.

At a deeper level, the knock-on effects of possible bank failures, inevitable company failures, falling confidence, reduced investment, shrinking tax revenues and falling export revenue flows

will spread to every corner of the economy. Quite simply, progress will stop when the land is left with no collateral value, where those who work it have no security of tenure and where rights of transferability that can be recognised by the banks are swept out of existence.

So the question has to be: is the price worth paying? And this generates a second, much bigger question: who will pay it?

The answer to the first has to be no. To the second: everybody in the country. Consumers, producers, tax payers, tax collectors, pensioners and every young person who hopes to find employment will end up paying dearly for it. Even the politicians will find their gains short-lived. Very quickly, they will find themselves reviled and hated for the chaos and suffering they will have caused.

We have huge potential to increase the economic empowerment of all the people in all of the country's areas, and the key to that development is, not to destroy property rights, but to extend individual ownership rights across the whole country. A fundamental first step now would be to ensure that our economic policy choices avoid all provisions that could interfere with our ability to meet the requirements of this infinitely better option.

My opinion is that the population could and should carefully adopt the individual land ownership system. In time the need to make the changes will be keenly felt by the majority, and even though the transition process might take many years, nothing should be introduced into law today that could inhibit the process of change.

On the land issue alone, we very clearly have to resist the destruction of property rights by all means possible. Zimbabweans are in need of essential investment and development, for which respect for property rights is an absolute essential.

John Robertson is a leading economist.

The horror continues on the farms

Zimbabwe Daily News , Tuesday 04 July, 2000

Peace in places - but war vets still hunting down farmers and workers

EXCEPT for a few pockets of resistance, such as Kwekwe, the refreshing atmosphere of reconciliation seems to pervade the air all around Zimbabwe. The violence in little Kwekwe is clearly a hang-over from the stormy election contest between Zanu PF and the MDC, in which the former seems to have received a bloody nose. But revenge is not going to heal the wounds as fast as the nation would wish them to be healed.

Clearly, people are fed up with the violence, in which friends and relatives were killed in four months of intense and violent campaigning which seemed to be touched with insanity. The only dark spots where real lawlessness still prevails, after the results of the election ought to have eased tension all round, are the commercial farms. Nobody really believed that the war veterans invaded the farms on a mission as noble as "reclaiming the land of our ancestors". They went there with the connivance of Zanu PF and, it is now evident, with the tacit approval of President Mugabe.

The purpose was blatantly to campaign for the ruling party among the farm workers. If the purpose was to claim "the land of our forefathers", there would obviously have been no need to subject the farm workers to all-night "re-education" sessions during which some of them were beaten-up and abused. The farm invasions, an offence related to the sanctity of private property, were condemned by the international community and the country lost its reputation as a law-abiding state in which the rule of law is respected, regardless of political expediency.

Yet the horror continues on the farms, according to the Commercial Farmers' Union regular reports. War veterans are on the rampage again, hunting down "traitors", farmers and workers who voted for the party of their choice.

Workers at Roy Bennet's coffee estate in Chimanimani will most likely feel the brunt of the war veterans' wrath. Against all the odds and in the face of naked threats of terror, the voters defiantly decided no power on earth would prevent them from choosing their own MP.

On other farms, the scenario was evidently different. In Mashonaland Central, where we saw that nauseating TV footage of respectable, level-headed farmers being made to dance like circus clowns, Zanu PF won with resounding majorities. The party will argue that the people voted for it because they genuinely believed its platform was the best of the parties in the contest. For many people this will be very hard to swallow.

One opposition candidate's brother was killed in the run-up to the election and he duly lost the contest. It is hard to believe that the murder had no bearing whatsoever on the outcome of the election. Another opposition candidate had to flee his own country to seek safety in a neighbouring country, all because the party of his rival allowed their members to terrorise him until he could feel secure only outside his own country.

Other citizens became refugees in their own country as they fled their villages to seek succour in the cities and towns. For them, the election was a nightmare they would like to forget as quickly as they can. As a result of the trauma they suffered during the invasion of the farms, some of the children of the farmers may have to receive psychiatric help. But it is on the farms that the rule of law remains manifestly elusive.

Ever since the President refused to let the police exercise their authority of protecting citizens from any avoidable harm to their person, the rule of law has not existed on the farms hence in the whole of Zimbabwe. We may chafe at the criticism of the government by the overseas Press, by the British and American governments, by Amnesty International, Article 19 and other human rights institutions. But if we deliberately allow citizens to endure such terror for no other reason than that their torture may pay political dividends for a certain political party, then we deserve the condemnation of the international community.

The result of the election ought to usher in a new dispensation of genuine political pluralism in the country. That dispensation can be legitimate only if the rule of law is upheld everywhere. Otherwise we are back in the jungle of lawlessness.

US APPROVES ZIMBABWE BILL-. Travel restrictions on Mugabe

Staff Writers

CAPITOL HILL, Washington DC-The United States Senate

sub-committee on African Affairs on Thursday night approved the Zimbabwe Democracy and Economic Recovery Act 2001 which slaps travel restrictions on President Mugabe, his ministers, service chiefs and their families.

The bill, which was first introduced into the Senate last year, went through two readings in the Senate before being referred to the foreign relations committee. The committee approved the bill on Thursday, paving way for the proposed law to sail unopposed through the House of Representatives. The bill will restrict President Mugabe, his immediate family, his cabinet ministers, government officials and the Zanu PF henchman implicated in political violence, from travelling to the United States.

The American government and all institutions with American links will also be barred from dealing with the Zimbabwean government. It will also stop aid and bilateral trade worth millions of United States dollars, dealing a body blow to the already ailing Zimbabwean economy.

Pre-requisites for restoring normal relations include: "The restoration of the rule of law, respect for ownership and title to property, freedom of speech and association, an end to lawlessness, violence, and intimidation which is sponsored, condoned, or tolerated by the Government of Zimbabwe, the ruling party and their supporters or entities."

Reads part of the bill: "It is the policy of the United States to support the people of Zimbabwe in their struggle to effect peaceful, democratic change, achieve broad-based and equitable economic growth, and restore the rule of law.

"It is the sense of Congress that the (American) President should begin immediate consultation with the governments of European Union member states, Canada, and other appropriate foreign countries, on ways in which to identify and share information regarding individuals responsible for the deliberate breakdown of the rule of law, politically motivated violence, and intimidation in Zimbabwe; to identify the assets of those individuals which are held outside Zimbabwe; implement travel and economic restrictions against those individuals and their associates and families and provide for the eventual removal or amendment of those sanctions."

United States senator, Bill Frist, who introduced the bill told The Standard in Washington on Friday that the bill sought to restore economic prosperity and good governance in Zimbabwe.

"The crisis in Zimbabwe raises the possibility of a complete collapse of economic and social cohesion in a country which has historically served as a stable and promising anchor on a troubled continent.

"If we allow Zimbabwe to continue down its current path, we risk further instability in Southern Africa. This legislation represents an immediate, positive response that the United States can take to improve stability and economic growth for the entire region," said Frist.

Senator Russ Feingold, who seconded the bill said: "I am pleased to join Senator Frist in offering the Zimbabwe Democracy Act, and I hope that it will win support in the full Senate.

"The senate sub-committee on African Affairs recently held a hearing on the situation in Zimbabwe, and much of the testimony given at that hearing was truly distressing. Over the past year and half, conditions in Zimbabwe have deteriorated dramatically. This downward spiral of lawlessness and economic collapse is tragic as it is occurring in a remarkable country, one that is rich in human capital, had a sophisticated economy and boasts a vibrant civil society.

"This bill imposes no sanctions and cuts off no sources of assistance that have not already been suspended. It does lay out reasonable conditions for the resumption of assistance and authorises meaningful conditions for assistance to Zimbabwe's economic recovery, including support for rule-governed land reform, once conditions have improved."

The bill notes that the Zimbabwean people are suffering because of the government's mismanagement of the economy: "Through economic mismanagement, undemocratic practices, and the costly deployment of troops to the DRC, the Government of Zimbabwe has rendered itself ineligible to participate in International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and International Monetary Fund programmes, which would otherwise be providing substantial resources to assist in the recovery and modernisation of Zimbabwe's economy.

"The people of Zimbabwe have been denied the economic and democratic benefits envisioned by the donors of such programmes, including the United States."

The proposed law sets a number of measures to be taken by the US government should Zimbabwe meet conditions such as the holding of free and fair presidential elections, an equitable, transparent and legal land reform, restoration of the rule of law, a fulfilment of the Lusaka Peace Accord to end the DRC war, and a commitment that the police and army be subordinate to a civilian government.

Once these conditions are met:: The(American) secretary of the treasury shall:

. Undertake a review of the feasibility of restructuring, rescheduling, or eliminating the sovereign debt of Zimbabwe held by any agency of the United States of America.

. Direct the United States director of each international financial institution to which the United States is a member, to propose to undertake financial and technical support for Zimbabwe, especially support that is intended to promote Zimbabwe's economic recovery and development, the stabilisation of the Zimbabwe dollar, and the viability of Zimbabwe's democratic institutions.

. The (American) President should direct the establishment of a Southern Africa Finance Centre located in Zimbabwe that will include regional offices of the Overseas Private Corporation, the Export-Import Bank of the United States and the Trade and Development Agency, for the purpose of facilitating the development of commercial projects in Zimbabwe and the Southern Africa region.

The bill also states the US government's commitment to supporting Zimbabwe's land reform programme in the context of the International Donors' Conference held in Harare in 1998. At the conference, Zimbabwe undertook to carry out land reform in a transparent and legal manner. However, after last year's general election which Zanu PF narrowly won, government reneged on its promise, when it unleashed war veterans onto farms. The invasions set the tone for a chaotic land reform programme which has reduced Zimbabwe to Africa's basket case

**From The Independent on Sunday (UK), 5 August
Mugabe plot to rig election exposed**

President's 'war veterans' to get more than one vote - and weapons training

Harare - Plans by Zimbabwe's President Mugabe to rig next year's presidential election have been exposed, just as his beleaguered nation begins gearing up for the crunch ballot which he is expected to lose. His plot hinges on the multiple registration of ruling-party supporters in different constituencies to allow them to vote several times; the second part of the strategy involves relocating more than 500,000 unemployed urban dwellers to commercial farms now being confiscated from whites without compensation.

Mr Mugabe, 77, who has been in power since independence from Britain was achieved in 1980, announced that he would run for another six-year term next April, despite his government's massive unpopularity. The business and financial newspaper the Financial Gazette described his rigging plans last Thursday. Mr Mugabe aims to outflank the opposition Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) by moving the hundreds of thousands of unemployed and other desperate urban dwellers into farming areas under the controversial fast-track land resettlement exercise.

The relocation of registered voters from urban to rural areas - in exchange for their pledged votes - will bolster the ruling Zanu-PF party's rural support. Mr Mugabe's party traditionally enjoys support in rural areas. The relocated people will get slices of land from the farms the Zimbabwe government has been seizing from whites. They will then be expected to transfer their votes to a rural constituency where they have been resettled. The plan was tailor-made to fit Zanu's overall presidential election strategy. A pilot phase proved successful in the recent parliamentary by-election in Bindura constituency, where 4,000 mainly Zanu supporters and "war veterans" were moved from surrounding towns registered as voters in the constituency. Zanu won the by-election by 5,000 votes.

Government officials admitted that Mr Mugabe was not leaving anything to chance and would do all he could to ensure he won the presidential election. He has vowed never to let the MDC, which he calls a British puppet, rule Zimbabwe. The president is known to have contracted an Israeli company to supply \$20m-worth of riot vehicles and water cannons for the police force, which he has often used to intimidate opposition supporters. The Home Affairs permanent secretary, Mike Matshiya, assured the Israeli arms firm, Beit Alfa Trailer Company, that the Zimbabwe government would strain every nerve to raise the foreign currency needed to purchase the equipment. Zimbabwe is in the midst of a desperate hard-currency shortage. Fuel supplies are exhausted and the price of basic goods is rocketing.

The opposition complains that it is immoral of Mr Mugabe to spend large sums of money on arms purchases at a time when the country cannot feed itself. The Finance Minister, Simba Makoni, has said that Zimbabwe has no money to import food. Information about plans to equip the police coincided with reports that groups of "war veterans" - Mr Mugabe's shock troops in his brutal campaign against white farmers - are undergoing training in gun-handling at the police's Morris Depot in Harare. Sources at the depot say veterans from all over Zimbabwe are undergoing training in batches of 50, in preparation for their deployment in the election campaign.

Mugabe could face personal EU ban

Staff Reporter

8/2/01 9:04:01 PM (GMT +2)

PRESIDENT Robert Mugabe and officials of his government could be subjected to sanctions and other punitive measures if a European Union (EU) general council meeting scheduled for October 8 finds that they have not done enough to end political violence and restore the rule of law in Zimbabwe, it was learnt this week.

Reflecting growing consensus in the international community to directly punish Mugabe and his top officials accused of promoting lawlessness in Zimbabwe, Harare-based European diplomats told the Financial Gazette that the favoured view in Brussels was to apply selective sanctions. The United States government is already working on legislation to impose smart sanctions on Zimbabwe's leaders that will include Mugabe and his officials being barred or restricted from entering America.

A similar regime of targeted sanctions is likely to be imposed on Mugabe and his lieutenants in October if the EU deems that they had not done enough to restore the rule of law and end violence in Zimbabwe, the diplomatic sources said.

"The feeling among many is to try and avoid the Iraq situation," one European diplomat said. "In Iraq, general sanctions ended up hurting Iraqi children. Selective sanctions are the only option if no sufficient progress has been made on the demands put forward by the EU in June," the diplomat said.

Foreign Affairs Minister Stan Mudenge could not be reached for comment on the matter. His office said he was out attending a meeting of the ruling ZANU PF party's supreme Politburo held in Harare yesterday. EU president Belgium's ambassador in Harare Benedicte Frankinet said the powerful 15-nation body had not taken a decision yet to impose sanctions against Zimbabwe or individual members of its government.

But Frankinet repeated warnings made by the EU in June that it would take appropriate measures if Harare did not within two months (from June 26) restore the rule of law, end political violence and publicly commit itself to holding free and fair presidential elections next year.

"There is no elaboration at this stage as to what those appropriate measures will be," Frankinet said. She said the EU was still committed to finding a solution through dialogue and was hopeful that pronouncements by Mudenge that Harare is prepared to engage the international community would lead to fruitful dialogue between Zimbabwe and the EU and rest of the world. Apart from upholding democracy and the rule of law, the EU in June asked the Zimbabwe government to halt the illegal occupation of white-owned farms by its supporters and to respect the judiciary by upholding decisions passed by the courts.

Mugabe, whose government has in the past few months expelled foreign journalists from Zimbabwe while rushing to approve laws which limit media freedom, must also take concrete action to protect the freedom of the Press. The government should also allow the EU to observe and monitor elections in the country, Brussels said, emphasising it wanted rapid and tangible results on the demands.

State-sponsored violence against political opponents, the Press and other dissenting voices and the forcible seizure of properties by ZANU PF supporters has alienated Zimbabwe from international donors and trading partners whose help it badly needs to reverse a biting economic recession now its third year.

The EU, the International Monetary Fund other donors and trading partners have already suspended billions of dollars worth of aid to Zimbabwe until the government improves its human rights and democracy record.

From The Zimbabwe Independent, 3 August

Chinotimba's credentials questioned

Retired General Solomon Mujuru this week questioned the war credentials of Harare province war veterans' chairman Joseph Chinotimba, following complaints from Zanu PF politburo members that Chinotimba was a loose cannon interfering in the internal affairs of other provinces, the Zimbabwe Independent has learnt. The politburo, which met on Wednesday, unanimously agreed that Chinotimba had to be advised to act in consultation with the provincial leadership of respective provinces he intended visiting. Sources said Mujuru, who was a Zanla military commander during the liberation war, told the politburo that he did not know much about Chinotimba's revolutionary history. Mujuru was reportedly concerned about the elevation to senior party positions of people without clear liberation war credentials. "The general was very concerned that Chinotimba was amassing so much power to himself and taking certain initiatives without prior consultation with the party authorities," a source close to the meeting said. Mujuru questioned why Chinotimba had a Cherokee Jeep allocated to him, when other top party officials were using their own resources to campaign for the party. Mujuru told the Independent yesterday that he was not prepared to discuss the matter because the paper was in the habit of writing stories without prior consultation with him. "Go and ask those sources of yours for more information," Mujuru said.

Police buy \$1b riot gear

By Basildon Peta, Special Projects Editor
8/2/01 9:03:14 PM (GMT +2)

THE Ministry of Home Affairs this week sought authority from Treasury to make a down payment of \$105 million to an Israeli company recently contracted to supply nearly \$1 billion worth of special vehicles and water cannons that can be used in riots by the Zimbabwe Republic Police (ZRP) ahead of crunch presidential elections next year.

Official documents show that acting Home Affairs permanent secretary Mike Matshiya last Thursday wrote to Ellie Antebi of Israel's arms manufacturer Beit Alfa Trailer Company (BAT) assuring the firm that Treasury had agreed to give high priority to mobilising foreign currency for the purchase of the equipment.

The equipment being bought is part of a wider government strategy to ensure that the ZRP is adequately equipped to deal with any possible riots ahead of a crucial election which President Robert Mugabe is seen losing. Matshiya said in his correspondence to Antebi that the \$105 million represented a 12.5 percent down payment of the total contract price of about \$840 million.

The money would be used to buy at least 30 specially-made vehicles that are equipped with riot equipment similar to that widely used by Israeli security forces in quelling running battles with Palestinian protesters, as well as water cannons.

Although Finance Minister Simba Makoni could not be reached to comment on the government's latest spending because he is on an overseas trip, authoritative official sources said Treasury is due to release the funds next week.

Information about plans to equip the ZRP coincided with allegations this week that groups of war veterans were undergoing training in gun-handling at the musketry section of the ZRP's Morris Depot in Harare, charges the police quickly denied. The musketry section is charged with training police officers in all gun-handling tactics.

Police spokesman Wayne Bvudzijena said the only people who had been trained by the police in gun-handling outside the police force were bankers and municipal workers. He said no war veteran had been trained at Morris Depot as far as he knew.

The sources at the depot said war veterans from all over Zimbabwe were undergoing gun-handling training in batches of 50 in preparation for their deployment to campaign for the ruling party ahead of the presidential election, which must be held by April.

While Bvudzijena said he was not aware of the plans to equip the police with the latest riot gear, he said the public should be extremely happy if such plans were afoot.

"There is no doubt that we have succeeded in maintaining public order and safety. Any plans to equip the police can only ensure that we keep on excelling in that area," he said, stamping down on opposition claims that the ZRP is discriminating against its members. The sources said the plot to strengthen the Zimbabwean police force was to ensure that it dealt effectively with retaliatory attacks expected to be mounted by the opposition in both urban and rural areas in the run-up to the presidential ballot.

The official documents show that a team of three top ZRP officers and one Home Affairs Ministry official visited firms in Israel, the United States, France and Austria earlier this year to scout for equipment to strengthen the police force.

Although the documents state that the acquisitions were ostensibly meant to enable the police to maintain law and order, the sources said the visit was part of a plan to beef up the arsenal of the police force with the election in mind.

In Israel, the team studied equipment used by Israeli forces in suppressing the Intifada, which has so far claimed hundreds of Palestinian lives.

The documents show that an interim report prepared by the team and forwarded by Deputy Police Commissioner Godwin Matanga to Home Affairs Minister John Nkomo recommended the acquisition of riot vehicles, water cannons and other equipment from Israel against equipment from other countries.

The team said it had been impressed by the equipment used against the Palestinians, particularly riot control vehicles manufactured by Israel's BAT.

"The company presented a riot control vehicle for demonstration which has been in service with Israeli police for 15 years and was in perfect working order," reads one of the documents.

"The committee also considered that the Israeli situation is similar to ours, if not worse, but they have managed to control their situation using the riot control vehicle from Beit Alfa Trailer Company," it added.

BAT, according to one of the documents, is the leading manufacturer of riot control vehicles in the world and has many years of proven experience. It said the Israeli company's prices were also very competitive.

The documents show that the City Bank of Singapore had proposed to help Zimbabwe with a buyer's credit worth US\$5 million to purchase riot-equipped vehicles and components from French manufacturer CAMIVA.

However, the Home Affairs team was not impressed with the CAMIVA vehicles.

"Vehicles offered by CAMIVA are not riot control vehicles but fire-fighting vehicles with minor modifications. The water cannon from CAMIVA does not have pulse modes but a continuous stream only" said the team inspecting the French products.

The sources said despite the team's adverse report on CAMIVA, negotiations with the firm had started and it was likely that purchases would also be made from it in addition to those from BAT. This would see the police pumping more than \$1 billion in strengthening itself for the presidential election.

The documents link a Namibian bank to the ZRP's efforts to raise foreign currency to pay for the equipment. If the plans succeed, the bank would be paid in Zimbabwe dollars which it could use to buy locally available products in exchange for the hard cash given.

Government officials questioned the wisdom of pouring resources into police equipment when Zimbabwe faces possible food shortages, just when it is grappling with its worst economic crisis in two decades.

"It's better to use that money to buy food for the hungry people to stop them from rioting than to invest large sums to buy equipment to use against hungry people," said one senior official who asked not to be named.

Presidential poll set to displace over 200 000

By Nqobile Nyathi, News Editor

8/2/01 7:24:31 PM (GMT +2)

A SERIOUS humanitarian disaster looms in Zimbabwe because of an absence of a national strategy and funds to deal with thousands of people who are likely to become internal refugees in the run-up to next year's presidential election, aid agencies said this week.

They said although it was not possible to determine how many people would be displaced by political violence and the economic crisis in the next eight months, these could exceed the figure of 200 000 believed to have been affected by political violence prior to last year's general elections.

Affected communities will include commercial farm workers displaced by the occupation of farms by so-called war veterans, opposition party supporters or those perceived to be against the ruling ZANU PF party, school teachers, health workers and other civil servants targeted in rural areas.

"It's difficult to estimate how many people will be displaced because so many groups are affected," a director with a Harare-based civic organisation told the Financial Gazette.

"It's estimated that about 200 000 people were affected before the parliamentary elections and it's possible that the numbers could be more than this next year because previous victims will still be needing assistance and the old figures are being rolled over."

The human rights body Forum, which comprises nine non-governmental organisations (NGOs), is already dealing with 50 to 70 new cases of rural residents fleeing violence around the country every month.

Zimbabwe's human rights watchdog ZimRights this week said it had received 73 families and 466 individuals displaced by political violence since March.

Francis Masuka, a ZimRights field officer dealing with political violence, said: "ZANU PF has been beating up people and is now using chiefs and headmen. If you belong to an opposition party, the chiefs tell you that you are no longer welcome in their area and you should take your property and leave.

"If you fail to take your property by the specified time, they will just send youths and war veterans who will come and collect your property and leave it by the road side."

Tony Reeler, chairman of Forum, told the Financial Gazette: "Witnesses in the election petitions are also targets of attacks and the majority of these people are becoming internally displaced as well. This (number of affected witnesses) could come to 1 000 individuals and their families by the end of the year.

"What we have is a situation that causes all humanitarian organisations a lot of concern because we have an unknown number of victims and we are not able to plan assistance for them."

Several civic organisations are already attempting to cope with the influx of internally displaced people, most of whom are fleeing rural areas for the cities, especially Harare.

Internal refugees are offered medical assistance, counselling to deal with the trauma of violence, shelter and food, and attempts are made to negotiate with the police and other authorities in the affected areas to make it possible for some of the victims to return to their homes.

"Yes, people have been displaced and fortunately enough some of them have found refuge in

Harare," said Zimbabwe Civic Education Trust executive director David Chimhini. "Some of them go to relatives if they can."

But Reeler said: "There isn't a national strategy. Things are being done by various groups, including the donor community and NGOs.

"But there is no coordination between the different sector NGOs or between NGOs, donors and the government. What is missing is some kind of mechanism to establish that. The missing ingredient is the government."

Civic groups this week said Zimbabwe needed a government-sanctioned commission of inquiry into the internal displacement of Zimbabweans in the rural areas in a bid to come up with steps to alleviate a serious crisis.

They said it was especially important to establish the number of people affected because of forecast food shortages that will affect millions of people, making food assistance programmes necessary.

But analysts said the government is unlikely to initiate such an investigation because it would put a spotlight on ZANU PF's involvement in political violence and the negative impact of its flawed land reform programme.

"The government is not willing to admit that people are being displaced by violence or the farm occupations and so how can it participate in a national initiative to assist displaced people?" an NGO official in Harare said, preferring not to be named.

Reeler added: "I don't believe the government would be open to a multi-sectoral initiative because that would reveal all its shortcomings and the failure of its agrarian and economic policies.

"The belief of some of us is that the government won't address this problem until after the presidential elections and this massive disaster looms because of that."

The NGOs said insufficient funds to adequately cater for internal refugees would also contribute to a serious humanitarian crisis. NGOs need more than \$1 million each and every month to meet the needs of displaced people.

Zimbabwe's economic crisis has also made it impossible for many families to take in rural and commercial farm relatives fleeing violence.

"We have strategies, but we just don't have the money," Masuka said. "Things are very difficult because of the economy. No one is able to part with a dollar and it has been difficult placing people with extended families. Also no one wants to take in people they don't know right now."

The analysts said the impact of an influx of internal refugees with nowhere to go would be severe, including massive poverty, outbreaks of contagious diseases, a rise in the number of people living on the streets, increased crime and the threat of social unrest.

Reeler said: "The percentage of very poor people has risen from something like 60 percent three years ago to over 70 percent now. These are people who are living below the poverty datum line. What we know for sure is that these people can't limitlessly handle poverty.

"Unless the problem of displaced people is addressed, we are going to have structural poverty, people who are so poor that it becomes difficult to lift them out of their situation. In a sense, we will have the destruction of infrastructure. The only body that can address this problem is the government and if the government doesn't do anything, then it will be responsible for the resulting crisis."

White farmers charged in Zimbabwean court

REUTERS ALERT

Adds lawyer's remarks, paragraph six, CFU paragraphs 19-20)

By Cris Chinaka

CHINHOYI, Zimbabwe, Aug 8 (Reuters) –

Twenty-three white farmers were charged in a Zimbabwe court on Wednesday with inciting public violence following clashes on a white-owned farm occupied by supporters of President Robert Mugabe.

The farmers had been arrested for allegedly assaulting the Mugabe supporters on Monday. Tension was high in this town 120 km (75 miles) north-west of Harare after mobs of pro-Mugabe war veterans staged retaliatory attacks on whites on Tuesday.

As the farmers stood in the dock on Wednesday, one of them, 72-year-old Gert Pretorius, collapsed and was rushed to hospital. A farmer in the public gallery who asked to remain anonymous said Pretorius had a heart problem.

Pretorius was taken in a police truck to a local hospital and was being treated by a private doctor while being guarded by four policemen.

The 23 farmers were all formally charged with inciting public violence and the case was adjourned until Thursday, when proceedings were due to reopen at 0630 GMT.

A leading Harare lawyer told Reuters the charge, which falls under the Common Law Offences Act, could attract a jail term on conviction if the courts deemed the crime to be politically motivated.

In Tuesday's attacks on whites, witnesses said at least one white man had been stabbed and another had his ear slashed. Police said five black settlers had been seriously injured in Monday's violence.

Pro-Mugabe militants say farm invasions that have been carried out with government approval since February 2000 are a show of support for the president's drive to seize 8.3 million hectares (20.5 million acres) of the 12 million hectares owned by white farmers for redistribution to landless blacks.

Nine farmers have died in the violence that has accompanied the occupations, while scores of farm workers have been injured.

TENSION ON FARMS

On Wednesday, about 200 youths chased away about a dozen foreign reporters and local colleagues from the court premises before the hearing, threatening to beat them up.

"We have grievances against the whites. Don't stand here because we will beat you up," one youth told a white journalist.

Witnesses said the farmers had been brought into the court through a back entrance. Richard Lindsay, a first secretary at the British High Commission in Zimbabwe, was at Chinhoyi court to check out reports that some of the arrested farmers had dual British and Zimbabwe citizenship. Local sources said the atmosphere on surrounding farms remained tense on Wednesday. They said two farmers were forced off their properties by suspected war veterans and supporters of the ruling ZANU-PF party.

"There's a bit of trouble going on at the farms. One farmer's wife was chased out of her property by a mob," an official at the local branch of the Commercial Farmers Union (CFU) told Reuters. He said the woman had been rescued by a neighbour driving by as the mob gave chase some 30 metres (yards) behind her.

Staff Reporter

About 22 farmers around Chinhoyi were arrested on Monday and yesterday morning following a clash with at least 60 illegal settlers at Listonshields Farm on Monday morning.

Rupert Goosen, 64, and his wife Anne, said they were attacked by a group of about 60 youths as they walked in the town. Anne was injured on the left arm. They reported the attack to the police, but there were no arrests. The CFU immediately closed its offices in the town.

The farmers' spokesman said: "We were advised by farmers and the police to close and get out of town. Any white person in Chinhoyi is getting seriously trashed. The situation is very volatile indeed."

Yesterday, Yvonne Barkley said their farmhouse was attacked at between 9am and 10am on Monday. The attackers were armed with axes, sticks and other weapons, she said.

Two farmers who were first to arrive at the Barkleys' farm were attacked and severely injured. About 40 more farmers rushed to their assistance and were attacked, resulting in pitched battles.

The situation was diffused by the Police Support Unit.

About 18 farmers were detained when they went to have their statements taken on Monday. The others were arrested when they followed their colleagues yesterday.

Among those arrested were a farmer who tried to give a colleague pills for hypertension. A woman trying to get her car cleared for a holiday in South Africa was attacked by the Zanu PF supporters at the police station.

Among those assaulted in the town centre was an elderly woman shopping in a supermarket opposite the Zanu PF offices in Commercial Street.

According to witnesses, a man was badly beaten at the Zanu PF offices, while another was assaulted by four people who accused him of ill-treating farm workers when he said he was a farm mechanic.

At least two farmers' vehicles had their tyres slashed by the Zanu PF youths at the police station.

From The Zimbabwe Standard, 5 August Commonwealth gives Mugabe ultimatum

As pressure continues to mount on President Mugabe because of the prevailing anarchy in the country, it has emerged that the Commonwealth intends to act strongly against him at the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting (CHOGM) to be held in Brisbane, Australia, in October. High level sources within the Commonwealth, a club of former British colonies, confided to The Standard last week that Mugabe had until October to "sort out the mess" in Zimbabwe or risk topping the meeting's agenda. The sources said the Commonwealth had decided to use this strong approach because of the deepening crisis within Zimbabwe. State-sponsored terrorism has, over the last year, taken its toll on Zimbabwe and reduced the country to a state of lawlessness. Commonwealth countries are concerned that unless they confront Mugabe and take action against him, if necessary, the crisis in Zimbabwe could spill into neighbouring southern Africa countries with disastrous consequences for the region.

"Many southern African countries are suffering because of Mugabe's policies. The message we are trying to get through to Mugabe is that "you are alienating yourself from the Commonwealth and we really want to help you." "We are not on a very productive path right now. Mugabe has totally rejected the United Nations initiative. He has rejected the Nigerian initiative and all this will have to be looked into at Brisbane. If he doesn't sort out his mess, then it will be left for the leaders gathered in Brisbane to see what further action can be taken," said the source.

Diplomatic sources said the Commonwealth was now putting issues of governance high on its agenda and would take a tough stance against Zimbabwe if its record did not improve. Said the source who preferred anonymity: "Issues of governance are very much at the forefront of our work. We are the only international organisation that has set rules which our members are supposed to adhere to and we have the ability to get them to do so. We want to help Zimbabwe rebuild its democratic institutions. It is not only about having democratic elections but having democratic institutions. For example, in Fiji the army and the judiciary remained relatively stable when a coup took place last year. In Zimbabwe, these institutions have been politicised and compromised and this has to stop."

The government has been using the army and the police to ensure effective election campaigning which has included the harassment of opposition parliamentarians and their supporters. The judiciary, on the other hand, has been rocked by resignations following the ruling party's onslaught on judges it sees as sympathetic to the opposition. The source reiterated that the Commonwealth was firmly behind a transparent, legal and orderly form of land reform. The club, he said, would not support Zanu PF's haphazard and chaotic land reform whose purpose was political. "The land issue will remain important. There cannot be peace in Zimbabwe until the land issue is resolved, but it cannot be resolved through violence and electioneering. The process has to be sober. We have tried to engage Mugabe on the way forward on land reform but we are not getting any fruitful results. The problem is also that there are countries which are supporting him publicly and possibly giving him a false sense of security," said the source.

The Commonwealth joins a host of other international organisations and countries, among them the European Union and the United States, who have threatened to act strongly against Zimbabwe if Mugabe's regime continues to sponsor anarchy. Mugabe and his cabinet ministers face personal sanctions from the European Union if an EU general council meeting in October resolves that he has not done enough to stop political violence and ensure the restoration of the rule of law. In June, the EU gave Mugabe a two-month deadline to end political violence and publicly commit himself to the holding of free and fair presidential elections next year.

The Standard was on Thursday vindicated when the United States Senate passed the Zimbabwe Democracy and Economic Recovery Act 2001 which seeks to formalise sanctions against Zimbabwe and place travel restrictions on Mugabe, his cabinet ministers, his service chiefs and their families. Government spin doctors initially made concerted efforts to deny the story following reports that the Act had been approved by the US senate foreign relations committee. Government officials also confidently stated that the Bill would take considerable time to pass through both the Senate and the House of Representatives. However, having been fast tracked through the Senate, the Bill is now set for its final stage, debate and consideration in the House of Representatives, before American President George W Bush signs it into law.

IAFRICA NEWS : NATIONAL**Threats to kill Mugabe at SADC summit**

Posted Fri, 10 Aug 2001

Security has been stepped in Blantyre, Malawi where African heads of state will converge this weekend for a Southern Africa Development Community (SADC) summit.

This follows after a death threat on Zimbabwean leader Robert Mugabe. The SABC reports that a group, reportedly called the Scorpions, threatened to kill Mugabe because they are opposed to his rule that has seen the country deteriorating at a shocking rate over the past 18 months since land invasions have begun.

Meanwhile, Democratic Alliance (DA) leader Tony Leon raised the spectre of a contrived state of emergency in Zimbabwe, and called for strict sanctions against that country's government.

Briefing the media at Parliament, Leon said he had just spoken on the telephone to a farmer in the strife-torn Chinhoyi district, who had described the dire situation farmers there were in.

"It appears that (Zimbabwean) President (Robert) Mugabe, with the assistance of his political hitmen, is trying to raise political tensions on the ground that would then justify his imposing a state of emergency, and therefore suspending any democracy that still remains in Zimbabwe."

The South African government's "quiet diplomacy" policy towards Zimbabwe's government had clearly failed, and it was now time for SADC to take firm action, Leon said.

He had written to President Thabo Mbeki, asking that the South African delegation to the imminent SADC heads of state and government summit in Blantyre, Malawi, raise the issue of violent attacks and intimidation in Zimbabwe for urgent discussion. - *Sapa and SABC*

Martial law looms

By Sydney Masamvu, Political Editor / Financial Gazette
8/9/01 8:46:49 PM (GMT +2)

PRESIDENT Robert Mugabe's Cabinet is actively considering declaring a state of emergency if the international community goes ahead to impose sanctions against him and his senior government officials, authoritative official sources said this week.

They said the approval by the US Senate last week of the Zimbabwe Democracy Bill, which still has to be endorsed by Congress and the White House, had re-ignited intense debate within Cabinet on whether Harare should impose emergency rule. The passage of the Bill, whose sanctions specifically target Mugabe and his senior officials for their alleged promotion of violence and lawlessness in Zimbabwe as opposed to punishing the country, had caused panic within the Cabinet and the ruling ZANU PF leadership, the sources said

In Capitol Hill in Washington DC, legislative officials this week said the Bill had received unanimous support from the Senate and was bound to be passed by the full Congress before the end of the year, setting the stage for a bitter confrontation with a defiant Mugabe.

"The indications are that the Bill will be passed by the Congress, that is increasingly looking pretty obvious because it has garnered overwhelming bi-partisan support," a US official involved in the crafting of the Bill told the Financial Gazette by telephone. "Time permitting and since it has received overwhelming support, we will try to push to get the Bill passed by Congress before it goes on recess. The question of it being passed is no longer an issue, the only issue is when it will be passed," the official said.

Political commentators in Harare said the passage of the Bill by the US legislature was a strong signal from the Bush administration to the rest of the international community, angered by Mugabe's refusal to end lawlessness which has killed nearly 40 people since last year, to impose sanctions on the Zimbabwean leader.

The 15-nation European Union (EU), which has given Harare two months to end political violence and uphold the rule of law with effect from mid-June, is already considering selective sanctions that will target individual Zimbabwean politicians. Officials in both the Harare government and its governing ZANU PF party this week said the "law of survival" would take over if sanctions are imposed on Zimbabwe.

"We will be left with no choice but to declare a state of emergency if we are under sanctions," said a government minister, reflecting the toughening mood in Mugabe's Cabinet. "With the way the situation is developing, that cannot be ruled out. The law of survival will take over," the minister said, preferring not to be named.

Home Affairs Minister John Nkomo, who spoke on the record, did not also rule out the possibility of a state of emergency, telling the Financial Gazette last night that if Zimbabwe came under siege, it would have to devise strategies to survive.

"We hope the situation won't reach the sanctions level, but if we are under siege, we have to employ strategies to survive. We cannot lie and down and mourn," he said. "As for declaring a state of emergency, I cannot say anything at the moment. We will cross that bridge when we reach it."

He however said he hoped current talks between the government and the international community on Zimbabwe's crisis would yield positive results, making sanctions unnecessary. Zimbabwe's efforts to lobby the international community against the sanctions also involve its ambassadors to the United Nations, Washington and the EU — Tichaona Jokonya, Simbi Mubako and Kelebert Nkomani respectively — who are busy talking to US congressmen and the Black Caucus to try to reject the Zimbabwe Bill.

Zimbabwe's representatives in the US have also been lobbying African diplomats based in Washington to oppose the Bill, while former American ambassador to the UN Andrew Young and a public relations firm, Cohen & Woods International, have been enlisted by the government to fight the impending law.

Foreign Minister Stan Mudenge, who has hinted in the past that sanctions could lead to the imposition of martial law, could not be reached for comment yesterday. He is in Malawi attending a meeting of the Southern Africa Development Community.

He is however expected to use a meeting of Commonwealth foreign ministers, who will discuss differences between Zimbabwe and Britain over land reform, to clarify his government's position on major issues of concern to the international community ahead of a Commonwealth summit in Australia in October.

According to diplomatic sources, Zimbabwe's political crisis is likely to top the agenda of the Australian summit, where Mugabe could face heavy censure from other heads of state at the once-in-two-years meeting of Britain and its former colonies.

Force them off the farms: govt

Staff Reporter

8/9/01 8:48:35 PM (GMT +2)

THE government has told war veterans to target and harass individual commercial farmers into abandoning their land instead of waiting for the arduous legal process of land acquisition before they get settled on the properties, it was learnt this week.

Intelligence sources coordinating the war veterans said time was running out for the government to exhaust all relevant legal procedures required to seize the 4 700 farms listed for compulsory acquisition before the onset of the new rainy season in October.

There was also the problem of capacity to make valuations for compensations on all these properties. At the same time the government wanted as many families as possible to be resettled so they could start ploughing their land before the rainy season.

"There is thus a shift in strategy. The government wants the war veterans to harass and scare farmers into abandoning their land and then they get it for ploughing before October. Issues of compensation and others become peripheral once a farmer is no longer on the land," one source said.

"Alternatively, the farmers can be harassed and forced to negotiate with the veterans and allow them to till part of the farmer's land if the farmer remains on the land."

Commercial Farmers' Union (CFU) president Collin Cloete said he was not aware of the strategy, although he said it could not be ruled out as an option because many strategies had been used before against CFU members.

In the past few weeks, he said, the veterans had resorted to barricading individual farmers in their homes and attacking them or detaining them for up to five days.

"In Beatrice, Marondera, Headlands and other places, we have had many individual farmers being targeted and attacked in their homes. It has been a trend in the past two or three weeks. It's a tactic to intimidate farmers to leave their properties," Cloete said.

His remarks seemed to fit directly with the strategy outlined by the sources but still the CFU president said he was not aware whether or not the government had agreed to embark on a systematic harassment of the farmers.

"It hasn't been as obvious as you have stated it," he said.

Cloete said the perception that most people wreaking havoc on commercial farms were landless was not true because most of the illegal settlers were getting instructions to cause problems on the farms.

One of his missions was to re-open dialogue with the government to try to resolve the land question, he said.

"We can still work together with the government to resolve the land dispute in the interests of this country. It's never too late. There are many genuine people out there who need to be resettled and we would want to assist in the whole process," he said.

Cloete said the government had paid compensation for about 20 farms in the past 18 months. Only about 25 farms had also been legally and fully acquired in the same period.

Agriculture Minister Joseph Made could not be reached for comment yesterday.

Mutasa threatens MDC supporters with death

From Our Correspondent in Mutare

DIDYMUS Mutasa, a senior Zanu PF official, has warned civil servants in Chimanimani they risk being shot dead if they continue supporting the opposition Movement for Democratic Change.

He reportedly repeated the warning during several meetings he has held with civil servants in the district. Mutasa's foray into Chimanimani follows pronouncements by Vice-President Joseph Msika, during a recent meeting of rural-district council delegates in Mutare, in which he asked those in attendance to raise their hands if they supported President Mugabe's re-election bid.

Mutasa, accompanied by an entourage of ruling party activists, has virtually been camped in Chimanimani for the past 10 days, a legislative seat won by the MDC in last year's parliamentary election.

A member of the Zanu PF politburo and its secretary for external affairs, Mutasa is in Chimanimani to mobilise support for the ruling party's presidential bid next year and also to weed out civil servants suspected to be MDC supporters or sympathisers. "It's really tense out there in Chimanimani due to the ongoing witch-hunt," a source, who is employed by the government, told The Eastern Star on Wednesday.

Mutasa and his entourage are reportedly targeting teachers, Zimbabwe Electricity Supply Authority and Posts and Telecommunication Corporation employees, nurses and Agritex officials. Those accompanying Mutasa include Munacho Mutezo, the Zanu PF provincial secretary for administration, Misheck Tholana, who chairs the district's co-ordinating committee, and Jane Knight, a district co-ordinator.

Repeated efforts to reach Mutasa and members of his entourage for comment were unsuccessful this week. They were said to be moving from place to place holding "political" meetings. Mutasa reportedly left Chimanimani yesterday.

But Charles Pemhenayi, the Zanu PF provincial secretary for information, dismissed as "malicious" suggestions that Mutasa was moving around threatening people in Chimanimani.

Roy Bennet, the MP for Chimanimani (MDC), said he had been inundated by reports from supporters of his party about the witch-hunt exercise. "Mutasa is holding kangaroo courts all over in Chimanimani," Bennet said by phone from Harare, where he is attending a session of Parliament. "He is telling people that if the MDC wins the presidential election next year the army will take power because it belongs to Zanu PF."

Winnie Chirimamhunga, a Manicaland education official, referred all questions to the Education Ministry's headquarters in Harare. "People are just afraid because at times you can be called an MDC member when you are actually not even involved in politics," said another source. Mutasa and his entourage are said to have "fired" two teachers at Rusitu Mission, allegedly because of the pair's sympathy for the MDC.

At Matendeudze Primary School, Mutasa reportedly told the entire teaching staff that the defence forces would take over the country's leadership in the event the MDC's Morgan Tsvangirai wins the presidency next year. "No soldier will salute the person you want to vote for as president next year," Mutasa reportedly told the teaching staff, apparently referring to Tsvangirai. "He will not rule this country because he will be shot at."

Mutasa is said to have repeated his threats when he visited Nedziwa primary and secondary schools. At Mutambara Mission, a Methodist Church-run institution, he allegedly summoned two teachers and warned them privately against supporting the MDC. Musician Chinx Chingaira, a war veteran, gave an impromptu performance at the school, belting out tunes from the album he co-wrote with lyrics on land reform. The performance was attended mostly by lower and upper six students.

Mutasa's entourage also visited Joseph Harahwa, the chief executive officer of the Chimanimani Rural-District Council. Some Zanu PF councillors are said to have accused Harahwa of supporting the Movement for Democratic Change. The outcome of the meeting could not be established this week.

Mutasa's office referred all questions to Tholana, the Zanu PF district co-ordinating committee chairman. Tholana could not be reached for comment.

"Mutasa is here," a Zesa employee said from Chimanimani.

"He is threatening everyone nurses, Agitex officers, teachers and all those at parastatals such as Zesa and the PTC," said the employee.

THE GUARDIAN

Mugabe prepares for state of emergency

Chris McGreal

Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe is preparing to declare a state of emergency, and possibly martial law

Such steps could be taken in response to American legislation imposing sanctions on Zimbabwe's leaders because of political violence, according to a Harare newspaper.

The report came amid a fresh wave of violence against white farmers and their families on Thursday as mobs attacked at least 15 farms.

The respected *Financial Gazette* reported that Mugabe's Cabinet intends to use the looming passage of the Zimbabwe Democracy Bill in the United States Congress as a pretext for declaring a state of emergency that would allow the president to suspend Parliament, delay elections and rule by decree.

American legislators say their law is aimed at punishing Zimbabwe's leaders with sanctions such as a travel ban for promoting violence and lawlessness rather than the country as a whole. But the Bill is portrayed by the government in Harare as imposing sanctions that will harm all Zimbabweans and threaten the country's security.

The US Senate unanimously approved the law last week and it is thought likely the House of Representatives will follow suit.

The *Financial Gazette* quoted officials in the ruling Zanu-PF party as saying the "law of survival" would take over if sanctions are imposed on Zimbabwe.

Home Affairs Minister John Nkomo confirmed the US law would provoke a response. "We hope the situation won't reach the sanctions level, but if we are under siege, we have to employ strategies to survive. We cannot lie and down and mourn," he said. "As for declaring a state of emergency, I cannot say anything at the moment. We will cross that bridge when we reach it." Foreign Minister Stan Mudenge has previously said that sanctions could lead to the imposition of martial law.

Violence rose again on Thursday as farmers in the Chinhoyi area, where 22 of their number are charged with public violence over clashes with land invaders, said a fresh wave of attacks and violence has driven more than a dozen white families from their homes. Gangs of Zanu-PF militants were also reported to be roaming the area in an orchestrated campaign against farms in the area.

One farm house was burned to the ground and families fled 10 other farms in the Lion's Den, Mhangura and Doma districts around Chinhoyi yesterday. The Commercial Farmers' Union said another five farms were under siege.

Nkomo blamed the farmers for the escalating violence. "It is true the farmers have been attacking properly and legally resettled farmers ... it is the farmers who are unleashing this violence. Measures are being taken to nip it in the bud," he said.

- Jaspreet Kindra reports that officials from the South African High Commission in Harare were on Thursday trying to contact four of the arrested farmers identified by the farmers' union as South African nationals. The officials said they had been experiencing problems as the Zimbabwean authorities are maintaining the farmers are Zimbabwean nationals.

LONDON : SUNDAY TELEGRAPH

We will not tolerate racism, except in Zimbabwe

By Simon Heffer



A JEWISH friend and I had a stimulating dinner with Jack Straw shortly before he became Home Secretary. He was proposing a law to punish nutters who denied that the Nazis had murdered several million Jews. My friend took him to task, pointing out, quite sensibly, that such people inevitably arrange their own punishment, and one far more damning than any law can prescribe. Mr Straw was, however, implacable. He argued that the absence of such a law was an incitement to racism. I did not then, and I do not now, believe he was motivated by a cynical desire to ingratiate himself with an important minority. I think he is a man affronted by the fundamental inhumanity of racial prejudice.

There are few more flagrant examples of such inhumanity now than in Zimbabwe. There, a mob inspired by the Marxist tyrant Robert Mugabe beats, robs and murders people purely because of the colour of their skins. Whites are forced to live outside the protection of a rule of law. As Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, Mr Straw must now shape our country's response to this state-sponsored racist terrorism. He does not yet appear to be doing so in a way that should make him, or any of the rest of us, proud to be British.

There are 50,000 whites in Zimbabwe. Almost all have British passports or are entitled to one by reason of descent. The country is our former colony. It is a member of the Commonwealth, an organisation presided over by the British Head of State. Any one of these reasons ought to be enough to prompt Mr Straw into action about the flagrant abuses of human rights there: but apparently none of them are.

Mr Straw might argue that he is simply continuing the hands-off policy of Robin Cook, the preposterous, posturing poltroon he succeeded in June. That is no excuse. A man of Mr Straw's moral integrity should see at once the imperative for intervention in Zimbabwe. What is happening is on nothing like the scale of the Nazi persecution he so rightly wishes should never be forgotten. However, when one reads of the anti-white pogrom by Mr Mugabe's thugs, one sees at once that the loathsome principle is the same.

The Commonwealth, which even before this inglorious episode had already marked itself out as a footling, hypocritical and pointless organisation, continues to tolerate Mr Mugabe's depravities. The Harare Declaration of 1985 stipulates that nations engaging in the sort of oppressive, anti-democratic behaviour that Mr Mugabe has made routine should be expelled from the club. Expulsion might mean nothing in practice, but would at least show what supposedly civilised people think of this savage. However, Zimbabwe stays in, making continued mockery of the Commonwealth ideal by doing so.

In an exercise of repellent vanity, Mr Cook happily defended the dispatch of crack British troops to another former African colony, Sierra Leone, where nothing like the same level of British interests was at stake. For that matter, the lives of British servicemen were put at risk in Kosovo two years ago where no discernible British interest was at stake. Yet no one would dare suggest that the protection of British subjects, and the upholding of the explicit principles of the very fine and wonderful Commonwealth, ought to merit a disciplinary excursion by the SAS to Harare. Why not?

There seem to be two problems, common to the Foreign Office and the Commonwealth. The first is that the President of South Africa, Thabo Mbeki, has counselled restraint in dealing with Mr Mugabe, and Mr Mbeki cannot be gainsaid. This is dangerous nonsense. Had Mr Mbeki been a more successful head of state himself, his opinions might merit respect. As it is, he would be better advised to concentrate on sorting out his own problems.

The second, and more insidious problem, is of post-imperial guilt. The officials of the Foreign Office and the Commonwealth cannot grasp that some black people are as capable of executing acts of racial prejudice as some white people. Racism by blacks against whites, such as that which is having such murderous consequences in Zimbabwe, therefore cannot, in their

view, exist. Protesting against it or fighting it, even if it could be proved, would bring none of the kudos associated with grandstanding about "real" racism - i.e. a bit of good old-fashioned whites beating up blacks, while white liberals compete with each other for who can take the most Pecksniffian line in sanctimony.

At heart, these people probably believe that the white farmers - and their women and children, for that matter - deserve all they get. Have they not exploited black people for generations? Beat them, starved them, kept them in squalor, denied them opportunities, forced them out of the democratic system? Well, no, actually: that has been Mr Mugabe's prerogative. Zimbabwe is our disgrace. The decolonisation in 1979-1980 was grotesquely badly handled. Mr Mugabe won power by rigging an election and the British, then as now, were too cowardly to argue the toss. It shames a country that claimed to have an "ethical" foreign policy that it tolerates Mr Mugabe's tyranny. Is Mr Straw happy about this?

Apart from some fatuous remarks about Europe Mr Straw has been quiet since assuming his new office. We should take this as a sign of grace, that he is reading himself in to his awesome new portfolio. What is happening in Zimbabwe now, however, means he cannot remain silent much longer if he is to retain his reputation as a defender of humane and democratic principles. He must lead the move to have Zimbabwe expelled from the Commonwealth. And he must warn Mr Mugabe that any further attacks on British subjects will be punished quickly and severely. Only a few in Zimbabwe would be sad to see the back of the wicked, deranged criminal who rules them. The sum of human happiness would be increased. And Mr Straw would establish himself as the Viscount Palmerston of his age. So why are we waiting?

LONDON : TELEGRAPH**300 whites flee violence**

By Philip Sherwell and Brian Latham in Harare

(Filed: 12/08/2001)

ABOUT 300 white Zimbabwean women and children were evacuated yesterday from a besieged farming district by convoy and airlift as looting and violence reached new heights.

Their husbands in Doma on the high veld 100 miles north of Harare decided on the move after armed and drunken government mobs systematically ransacked farms in the district.

The evacuation fuelled fears that the terror offensive will be extended across the country as President Robert Mugabe begins his campaign for re-election. The vote should be held by next April, although Mr Mugabe could postpone the elections by declaring a state of emergency.

From early morning, scores of four-wheel-drive vehicles, pick-up trucks and cars arrived in Chinhoyi, a provincial centre. Most of the vehicles travelled on to the Lomagundi College, a private school close to town, where temporary accommodation was provided for the women and children.

Light aircraft landed on some farms to fly families to Harare after police and Mugabe supporters blocked roads out of Doma and turned back vehicles. White landowners and farm managers have remained behind, although there is little they can do to stop the rampage.

At least 16 homesteads in the Doma area have been looted and a farmer was briefly abducted on Friday. "It is absolute anarchy - there is no law at all," said one farmer. "All the wives and children have been evacuated until sanity returns, if it ever will."

The president used a Heroes' Day rally honouring guerrillas who died during Zimbabwe's independence bush war to accuse white farmers of organised attacks against squatters.

However, Colin Cloete, the newly-elected farmers' union president, said the violence was a deliberate attempt to provoke landowners.

Roy Bennett, a senior opposition MP, said the campaign of violence and intimidation was spreading across the country. "This is a ploy to destabilise the white minority and undermine their confidence in Zimbabwe," he said.

From The Sunday Telegraph (UK), 12 August The whites are not the main target of the thugs

By David Coltart, a Zimbabwe opposition leader, reveals Mugabe's plan Zimbabwe is dangerous for everyone, but particularly for anyone who dares to criticise Robert Mugabe's reign of terror. Like thousands of Zimbabweans, I know from personal experience what those dangers are. Just before the election here in June last year, I published an article which pointed out some of the horrific abuses of power committed by Mugabe's government. Within two weeks of the article being published, my polling agent Patrick Nabanyama was abducted. He has never been seen again. The men responsible are employed by Mr Mugabe's Zanu PF. Fourteen months later, they walk freely on the streets of Bulawayo. They continue to assist Mr Mugabe in his campaign of brutal violence and intimidation.

How is Mr Mugabe able to get away with it? His government survives not just because it flouts the rule of law and uses violence to intimidate or remove opposition, but also because it manages to maintain a facade of legitimacy. That facade appears to be enough to ensure that neither other African states nor the countries of the Western world are prepared to take the steps required to end Mr Mugabe's violent dictatorship. The necessary action is of course not criticism for human rights violations from the American government or European Union governments. Mr Mugabe not only cares nothing for such criticism: he actually believes it helps him. He is after the support of black Africans, not Western whites. The more he can portray his regime as the "victims" of white racism and colonialism, the more likely he believes he is to get that support.

That is why he was perfectly happy for coverage of Zimbabwe in Western newspapers to centre last week on the patently unjust detention of some 20 white farmers and the random beatings of white women in Chinhoyi. Those shocking events were deliberately designed by Mr Mugabe to capture headlines in the way that they have. It suits him to have the violence his thugs continuously commit against thousands of black Zimbabweans pass unnoticed. If all the world sees is his attacks on whites, that makes him look like a "liberator", the leader in a struggle against colonialism.

Presidential elections have to be held in just over six months and the Constitution does not permit any extension. Mr Mugabe knows that despite Zanu PF's by-election "victory" two weeks ago, he does not have sufficient support to win the Presidential election. He also knows he does not have the ability to manipulate the electoral process throughout the country in the way he can in by-elections. What Mr Mugabe needs is a pretext to impose a State of Emergency, which would enable him to crush the democratic opposition. That is why Gloria Olds, a grandmother, was gratuitously murdered earlier this year, and why her body had an entire AK47 magazine of bullets pumped into it as she lay dead. It is also why farmers have been under siege for days, have had their homes ransacked and the law applied selectively against them. That is why white women were assaulted last week. All those acts have been coldly and cynically calculated to provoke a violent white reaction.

Mr Mugabe desperately needs a few white farmers to lose their tempers and gun down several "war veterans". Miraculously, not a single "war veteran" has been intentionally killed by a white since those actions began 17 months ago. So Mr Mugabe has stepped up his campaign to provoke them. All his attempts to silence the opposition this year have failed - if anything the opposition is gathering momentum. Mr Mugabe and his cronies now recognise that without the imposition of a State of Emergency, they will not be able to stem this momentum. If whites can be provoked into fighting back and shedding blood in the process then Mr Mugabe believes he will have what he needs: the pretext to crush, not the whites, but the Movement for Democratic Change and its leader, Morgan Tsvangirai.

What can outside politicians do to stop Mr Mugabe destroying his own country? Whilst the West has cut off aid to Zimbabwe, that has not hurt the super rich Zanu PF hierarchy. Mr Mugabe is quite prepared to sacrifice the Zimbabwean economy to stay in power. He takes great trouble, however, to ensure that his ruling clique does not suffer. His political allies earn rich dividends from the extortionately high-priced fuel and their access to foreign exchange. They have their

hands on the Treasury, so a large portion of taxes end up in their private bank accounts. More than that, they have all been bribed with proceeds from the war in the Congo.

Without the support of the majority of his cabinet Mr Mugabe will not survive. What will make these people move against him? Not the imposition of blanket sanctions, and not the cancellation of cricket tours or sports links. The only thing which will hurt is sanctions targeted at the people who order its violence. The dictatorship will persist only so long as relative moderates - men such as Finance Minister Simba Makoni and Health Minister Timothy Stamps - believe that they can remain in a cabinet responsible for atrocities without risking any of the privileges Mr Mugabe hands them. If travel bans were imposed by Western countries on these ministers, and their children, many of whom study and work in Europe and America, then they would consider whether it is worth their while to buttress Mr Mugabe. If the foreign assets of the entire ruling corrupt elite were identified and threatened with seizure, then that would also give them some pause for thought. Finally, if Europe started investigations in terms of the International Convention against Torture against those responsible for torture, as defined in the Convention, those planning more of it might reconsider.

Mr Mugabe desperately needs a few white farmers to lose their tempers and gun down several "war veterans". Miraculously, not a single "war veteran" has been intentionally killed by a white since those actions began 17 months ago. So Mr Mugabe has stepped up his campaign to provoke them.

BBC WORLD : 13.08.01

Farmers in Zimbabwe say widespread looting and destruction of white-owned property have been continuing without respite around the northern town of Chinhoyi. The head of the Commercial Farmers' Union, Colin Cloete, told the BBC marauding bands of government supporters were wreaking havoc on the town, and more and more farms were being blatantly pillaged. He issued an impassioned appeal to the government to act to restore law and order.

On Saturday, President Mugabe repeated his government's determination to press ahead with the expropriation of white farmland despite the threat of sanctions from the United States and other Western countries.

Lawlessness

BBC correspondent Rageh Omaar says the Chinhoyi region has become so volatile and dangerous over the past week that independent Zimbabweans and foreign journalists are finding it virtually impossible to gain access. Colin Cloete said the state of lawlessness had reached a height that could only be contained by swift action, making a direct appeal to President Mugabe.

"I make a heartfelt plea to the ministers and police chiefs who took an oath of allegiance to protect all the citizens of Zimbabwe, to swiftly and decisively avoid further destruction," he said. On Friday, 21 whites were denied bail after being charged with violence and assault following clashes with a group of squatters in Chinhoyi.

But on Saturday Mr Mugabe warned white farmers against organising attacks on black squatters. "We will proceed with land reform with or without their cooperation, with or without sanctions. Let that be known here and abroad," he said.

Mr Mugabe also accused white farmers of lobbying the United States and Europe to impose sanctions. Last week, the US Senate approved and passed on to Congress a bill that threatens sanctions unless the Zimbabwean Government respects democratic rule and law and order, and carries out a legalised land reform programme.

Racist

President Mugabe denounced the sanctions threat as racist and aimed at thwarting his efforts to "correct colonial imbalances".

"What is our crime? Our crime is that we are black and in America blacks are a condemned race. We are a black government with a European community, the whites," a visibly angry Mr Mugabe told several thousand supporters.

But the BBC correspondent says black farm workers often face an even worse fate than the whites, and there are reports of many of them being beaten up and chased by government militants. Zimbabwe has been plunged into political and economic crisis for the past 18 months after a government-backed campaign of land seizures began. Many occupations have been carried out by self-styled war veterans. The government has targeted about

95% of the land owned by whites - some 4,600 farms - for confiscation.

Zimbabwe police suspended for favouring whites

Police in Zimbabwe say they have suspended three officers for allegedly giving preferential treatment to a group of white farmers in custody. A senior officer Commissioner Assistant Wayne Bvudzijena told a French news agency AFP the three officers had given extra prison clothing for the detainees to make them feel comfortable. He said this was a violation of rules.

Yesterday, Saturday President Robert Mugabe warned white farmers against organising attacks on black squatters. His warning came as more white farmers and their families fled widespread looting and violence by government supporters in northern Zimbabwe. One farmer told the BBC there had been no attempt by the police to come to the aid of whites.

From BBC News, 7 August
White farmers held in Zimbabwe

More than 15 white farmers are reported to have been arrested in Zimbabwe after a confrontation with militant government supporters. Friends of the farmers, speaking from the town of Chinoyi, about 100 kilometres (60 miles) north-west of the capital Harare, told the BBC their colleagues were now in jail but had not yet been charged. The Zimbabwean police were not available for comment.

The white farmers' friends said their colleagues were arrested by the police after a fight broke out on one of the white-owned farms in the area. A group of white farmers had apparently gone to protect a friend after about 50 militant government supporters invaded his land and attempted to break into his house. At least two of the farmers were hurt during the subsequent fight. One is reported to be suffering from broken ribs. The farmers said the Zimbabwean police did not arrest any of the militants involved.

Supporters of the Zimbabwean President, Robert Mugabe, have forcibly occupied thousands of white-owned farms during the past 18 months. President Mugabe has said the occupations are a spontaneous expression of anger at the unequal distribution of fertile land between the black majority and the tiny white minority. But his critics, both at home and abroad, accuse him of using the land issue to bolster his support at a time of worsening economic crisis. Eight farmers have been killed and many farm workers injured during the violence. Another white farmer, Ralph Corbett, was seriously ill after being attacked last Friday. According to the Associated Press, the farmer's daughter said doctors gave him only a 5% chance of recovery after he was attacked with an axe.

From ZWNEWS, 7 August Zanu thugs on rampage in Chinoyi

6 August At 9:00 am on 6 August, farmers in the Chinoyi district received a distress call over the local radio network from a local farmer, who reported that his house was being attacked by a group of 40 Zanu PF thugs. The police were informed - their response was that they would send a constable on a bicycle the 24 kilometres from the police station to the farm. Realising the police were not going to react in anything like a timely fashion, 11 farmers travelled to assist the besieged farmer. En route, they lost radio contact with the farmer, and began to fear the worst. On arrival at the farm, they found the farmstead surrounded, and they forced their way through the mob in an effort to reach the inhabitants. In the process several of the besieging crowd - and four or five farmers - were injured, one seriously enough to be hospitalised. The besieged farmer was eventually found barricaded inside the house, out of reach of his radio.

The police eventually arrived and requested that the eleven farmers report to Chinoyi police station to give statements. On arrival at the station, all the farmers were arrested. In addition, a 72-year old man who arrived later to bring blankets for those who had been arrested was also detained. No Zanu PF supporters were arrested.

7 August A group of farmers and local residents arrived this morning at the police station in an effort to mediate. Amongst them was Mr Mark Shaw - previously a police officer in the Zimbabwe Republic Police. He too was arrested - his offence being talking to a lawyer on a mobile phone. A number of other people were also arrested, bringing the total of those in detention in Chinoyi to 20. Zanu PF thugs have since gone on the rampage in the town of Chinoyi, and white residents are being beaten at random. A Mr Hendrick Streeth was stabbed at the police station, in view of the police. A Mrs Carol Anne Steyn, who went to the police station to change her vehicle registration document, was also beaten in full view of the police. Mr Christen Erlank, a Chinoyi resident, was picked up on the street by the mob and severely beaten. At least seven other people are believed to have been severely assaulted - six of them women. Chinoyi police have now advised all white residents of the town to leave.

From ZWNEWS, 7 August Ambush, abductions in Nyathi

On the evening of Sunday 6 August, a group of around 60 Zanu PF militants - provided with food and ferried in on government vehicles - gathered on a farm in Nyathi in northern Matabeleland. They camped overnight on the farm, and on Monday morning abducted 13 people from a nearby mine. They then laid an ambush for the game scouts employed on the farm, who were armed with shotguns. The ambush was sprung, and in the melee three of the mob, and some of the abductees from the mine who were being used as human shields, sustained minor birdshot injuries. The game scouts managed to escape, but the mob then went on the rampage in the farm compound, burning down three of the staff quarters, valued at Z\$500 000. The incident was reported to the police, who initially reacted in a professional manner, but who have subsequently refused to become involved after pressure was applied by the governor of Matabeleland North, Obert Mpofu.

Contacted for comment, David Coltart MP, legal affairs spokesman for the opposition MDC, said, "We believe that these incidents are not coincidental. Think back to April last year, when David Stevens was murdered in the north of the country, and Martin Olds in Matabeleland. Think also of the extreme violence after the by-election in the Bikita West constituency. We believe all three of those past incidents were a reaction to Zanu PF realising just how much trouble they were in politically. Although they won the Bikita West by-election, we believe there was substantial electoral fraud in that election. Zanu PF knew the true ballot figures, and hence unleashed the violence even though they had 'won' the election. Similarly, the murders of Martin Olds and David Stevens were a reaction by Zanu PF to just how much support they realised they had lost." He added, "What is happening today in Chinoyi and yesterday in Nyathi is exactly the same kind of thing - Mugabe and Zanu PF are trying to beat the population into supporting them, and if that doesn't work - as it increasingly isn't - they are trying to provoke a reaction so they can declare a state of emergency. Zanu PF know the true figures for the Bindura by-election, and this is what they do in response. Why else should they react so violently in Mashonaland - their heartland - when their candidate in Bindura apparently won with such a majority?"

Our liberators have privatised the revolution

Pius Wakatama On Saturday

Independence Day, 18 April 1980, was a proud day for Zimbabwe. Many openly wept as the Union Jack was lowered and the new Republic of Zimbabwe flag hoisted in its place. We were free at last. Our joy knew no bounds as we looked to a future of freedom, equality and prosperity for ourselves and our children. "Pamberi ne Zanu! (Forward with Zanu!)" was the cry on almost everyone's lips.

At that time I was an active supporter of the Zimbabwe Democratic Party (ZDP) led by the veteran nationalist, James Chikerema and the late Enoch Dumbutshena. When Zanu PF overwhelmingly won the 1980 election, the party decided to disband in the interest of unity. Freedom had been achieved and that is what mattered to most of us. Chikerema encouraged us to join Zanu PF. He was not going to join or continue in politics. We were so excited about being free that we did not bother to ask him why he would not actively support Zanu PF and participate in the new government. After the results had been announced, he had, however, gone to congratulate Prime Minister-elect Robert Mugabe.

Today there is a rising vocal crescendo of "Pasi ne Zanu PF, Chinja! (Down with Zanu PF, Change!)" What went wrong? Everything has gone wrong, it seems. Our much-loved government has turned against its own people and has become our oppressor. Recently the Conference of Religious Superiors of the Catholic Church in Zimbabwe came out with the truth about our situation. They said: "This is no longer a free country. People live in abject fear of violence, crime and threats. The rule of law is no longer respected, terror and intimidation go unpunished."

Zimbabwe's dreams have been shattered. Her people have again become "the wretched of the earth". The former liberators, who were themselves oppressed by the old order and directly or indirectly participated in its overthrow, now see the struggle as their own private revolution. They have replaced the previous oppressive regime to the extent of keeping and using the nefarious Law and Order (Maintenance) Act, which they had vowed to abolish. Even the architect of previous undemocratic laws, Eddison Zvobgo, recently lashed at his own colleagues, pointing out that their new laws violated the Constitution of Zimbabwe. Because of their lust for power and wealth, they have corrupted their God-given responsibility to protect the weak, to empower the poor and to maintain justice for all.

In describing what was happening in the city of Jerusalem, the prophet Ezekiel might as well be speaking about Zimbabwe today. He says: "The people of the city have taken to extortion and banditry, they have oppressed the poor and needy and ill-treated the settler for no reason. I have been looking for someone to man the breach in front of Me, to defend the city and prevent Me from destroying it, but I have not found anyone." (Ezekiel 22:30).

Today Zimbabwe stands as a defiant but lonely pariah among nations. Even countries like Australia which supported us in our struggle for independence are now calling upon the Commonwealth to take action against us because of our terrible human rights record. Ezekiel describes our pariah status thus: "You have become an object of scorn to the nations and a laughing stock to every country. Near and far, they will scoff at you, the turbulent city with a tarnished name." (Ezekiel 2:4-5)

Speaking through Ezekiel, the Lord said He was looking for someone to stand up for righteousness, so that He would not destroy Jerusalem, but could not find anyone. He would not have much luck in Zimbabwe either. Our religious leaders glibly say Zimbabwe is a Christian nation as they wine and dine at the sumptuous tables of the oppressors. They willingly serve on countless committees which are drafting more strategies to further oppress the people. They will certainly have to answer for their actions before the Almighty God.

As I thought about the sorry state of our country, I decided to visit Chikerema. I asked him what he thought about Zimbabwe's political and economic situation. He said: "If I had known that this is how it would turn out, I would not have given a greater part of my life to the struggle. This is definitely not what Joshua Nkomo, George Nyandoro and I suffered for. Nkomo died a sad man. Nyandoro died a sad man. Dumbutshena died a sad man. I will probably also die a sad man if a miracle does not happen to rid us of this corrupt government."

I asked him why he did not join Zanu PF at independence in the interest of national unity. Chikerema said: "I could not bring myself to join Zanu PF **because I knew the personalities and character of its leadership**. In the first place, there was no need for them to break away from Zapu. Whatever difference we had could have been settled through dialogue. The only reason they broke away was because they were greedy for power. "Vaitandanisa tsuro ne munyu muhomwe (They were chasing the hare with the seasoning in their pockets). They were vying for positions in a non-existent future government. Because of their lust for power, they created disunity and set our independence back by at least 15 years. I could not join them because I knew of their propensity for violence and intolerance of dissent. In fact, they proudly proclaim: "Zanu ndeye ropa (Zanu PF is bloody)." This is no idle boast. If the true history of Zanu PF could be written, as it will be one day, people will be horrified at how Zanu leaders killed each other in power struggles here, in Zambia and Mozambique."

Chinotimba in new raids

Forward Maisokwadzo

SENIOR executive members of the Zimbabwe Federation of Trade Unions (ZFTU), an offshoot of President Mugabe's ruling Zanu PF party, this week stepped up attacks on private businesses under the guise of intervening in labour disputes, it has been gathered.

The ZFTU, which was officially resurrected last month under the guidance of Joseph Chinotimba, was designed as a vehicle for Zanu PF supporters to win over urban voters to the ruling party through intervention in labour disputes.

In the latest case of state-sanctioned extortion, a number of companies in the Ruwa industrial area have been raided by officials from the ZFTU. Club Construction, Hy-Veld Seed Company, Budget Foods, Maize for Africa, Tuffman, and Aurex — a Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe subsidiary — were among the 15 companies affected by the recent raids.

On Tuesday a ZFTU official, Makopa, in the company of four retrenched workers, visited Hy-Veld Seed Company where he told the director that they wanted to resolve their long-standing labour dispute with the former employees. Hy-Veld Seed Company is an important player in the export sector and employs over 400 workers. A senior official who asked for anonymity, confirmed the visit by the ZFTU officials.

"They visited our offices this week but I referred them to my lawyers. They just wanted money from us which I disputed," said the official. "I am still to know which Statutory Instrument they are using."

The official said that a ZFTU official threatened to beat up management if the employees were not reinstated or paid money. "We don't need to follow the law in Zimbabwe. We are going to fix you in another way if you fail to honour our demands," the ZFTU official told the director of one of the affected companies. "There is no need of going through the courts about this case," the ZFTU representative told the director.

Senior managers with companies in the Ruwa industrial area confirmed the threats from the ZFTU officials which they said were made through telephone calls or visits.

"We have received telephone threats and several visits from people who claim to be executive officials of ZFTU," said one manager with an ice cream manufacturing company. "About three quarters of the companies operating in Ruwa have been experiencing problems with ZFTU members."

Asked how they had handled the visits, he said they told them to deal with the police, courts and the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions. Chinotimba, a war veterans leader and Zanu PF Harare province official, assured delegates during the re-launch of the ZFTU that he would intervene in labour disputes. Police confirmed that some companies in Ruwa had reported cases of threats and unusual visits by ZFTU officials, but said investigations were still underway.

"We assured company officials that the police would deal with people who want to extort money on the excuse of trying to solve labour disputes," said a police spokesman in Ruwa. An executive of the National Employment of Food and Allied Workers also confirmed the reports of the recent visits by ZFTU.

"I can confirm that we have received some complaints but there are others who bypass us and go directly to deal with their former employers after seeking assistance from ZFTU, which we are not affiliated to," the official said.

"We deal with cases brought directed to us, not through ZFTU." The latest attacks on businesses by ZFTU officials contradicted Labour minister John Nkomo's announcement in May that labour disputes were best handled by unions and the Ministry of Labour.

Despite the government's call to end company raids, Chinotimba appeared on state television vehemently insisting that private business raids would continue unabated.

Minister incites farm seizure

Forward Maisokwadzo

A CABINET minister and governor are orchestrating the acquisition of Macheke-based Sariview farm, threatening the production of maize, export grass seed, tobacco and cattle breeding worth \$55 million in annual turnover.

The latest siege by hordes of war veterans who this week blocked the farmer from carrying two of his sick workers for treatment at Macheke Clinic, came after they took over parts of the farm in December and destroyed tobacco worth \$1,5 million and export grass worth \$300 000 by ploughing it into the ground.

The squatters also cut down thousands of trees and poached wild animals and fish from the farmer's dam. The 1 400-hectare farm, which last year produced 400 tonnes of maize, could now only manage a harvest of 10 tonnes from one hectare, an outcome which the farmer attributed to the work disruptions by the Zanu PF supporters.

In a telephone interview this week farm owner George Botha said his single productive farm was listed in October last year but was later delisted after government realised that it had made a mistake in acquiring the farm.

"A district administrator in Murewa misinformed the land committee that I own various farms, but it was discovered that I only had one productive farm. Government said it was prepared to compensate me for the legal costs," said Botha. "However, I have not yet received anything from the government but the farm was delisted." It now appears to have attracted the attention of well-connected predators including a cabinet minister whose constituency is in the area.

Botha said despite his farm having been delisted, hordes of war veterans were now camped at his farm threatening his workers who at one time spent almost three days sleeping outside in fear of the squatters.

He said they prevented his workers' children from going to school and contaminated the water supplies by putting condoms in the reservoir which supply drinking water to the workers.

"The squatters admitted that they have contaminated the water in front of governor David Karimanzira,"

On Monday this week, they blocked Botha's wife from ferrying the two sick workers to the hospital when they set up a fire barricade at the gate. Botha says his workers were threatened with firearms and axes.

"We informed the police who paid us a visit but refused to take the sick people to the hospital. The police told me that they were not an ambulance service," he said. He also said police told him that it was not their duty to remove the squatters.

Botha said the hostile squatters became calm after being addressed by Zanu PF Mashonaland East provincial chairman, Ray Kaukonde.

"As of yesterday the situation became a little bit okay after Kaukonde addressed the squatters," he said.

It is believed that of the 30 squatters only two of them are war veterans. He said in an unprecedented move, the former Murewa district administrator, Mbetsa, allocated a Murewa-based businessman, Ndorochena, a plot of about 100 hectares on Botha's farm.

"My irrigation complex with four boreholes, underground piping, a big reservoir, electrical wire cables and underground cables all worth about \$8 million have been allocated to Ndorochena,"

He said Ndorochena, who also owned a farm in Chitova, and another businessman, Manhungire, and Garwe whose family owns a farm in Chitova, were among the 53 people resettled on his farm by Karimanzira.

Zim crisis looms large in US Bush/Mbeki talks

Vincent Kahiya in Washington

THE Zimbabwean crisis was the subject of a Congressional hearing in the United States yesterday after South African President Thabo Mbeki this week took his diplomatic initiative to Washington.

The Zimbabwean problem, as it has come to be known here, featured prominently in the talks between Mbeki and US president George W Bush at the White House on Tuesday. Washington is now pinning its hopes on the Commonwealth ministerial team in which Mbeki will play a key role.

Senator Russell Feingold, chairman of the African Affairs sub-committee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, on Tuesday told the Independent that there would be a congressional hearing to discuss the land crisis, the intimidation of the judiciary and the media, and the breakdown of the rule of law in Zimbabwe.

Feingold is the author and sponsor of the Zimbabwe Democracy and Economic Recovery Bill which he said he believed Congress would pass. Feingold said he had managed to convince African American members to support the Bill.

"We have since come together with the African American caucus because the situation in Zimbabwe is troubling," said Feingold. He said he was disappointed by the lack of real pressure from Zimbabwe's neighbours to get Mugabe to restore the rule of law.

The Congressional hearing this week is expected to revive the debate on the Bill, which Harare regards as designed to punish Mugabe for his stance on land reform. The general sentiment in the United States is hostile to Mugabe as he is seen as the epicentre of discord in the region.

White House officials said after the meeting on Tuesday that the two leaders had discussed the Commonwealth inter-ministerial initiative to engage Mugabe in serious dialogue, the need for organised land reform in Zimbabwe, the restoration of the rule of law and economic recovery.

Asked if Washington had asked Mbeki to engage Mugabe on the issues at stake, the officials said the talks centred more on how to strengthen the Commonwealth team which has now taken the initiative.

"Let me put it this way, the talks did not develop in that direction but on the need to strengthen and build capacity for the inter-ministerial team," an official said.

Kenyan President Daniel Arap Moi, who met Mugabe in Nairobi two weeks ago, was in Washington this week where he met with Vice-President Dick Cheney.

THE government's decision not to renew the work permit of Daily Telegraph correspondent David Blair should be seen against a background of curbs on the media in general and intensified lawlessness across the country. Very simply the government hopes to get away with its campaign of violent farm invasions and political repression without the rest of the world knowing the shocking details.

This week we report on the pressure brought to bear by Joseph Chinotimba's state-sponsored Zimbabwe Federation of Trade Unions on a business in Ruwa. On farms in the Virginia and Macheke districts farmers and their families are being held hostage and subjected to threats, theft, poaching and vandalism while the police look on.

The expulsion — and let's not pretend it is anything else — of foreign correspondents — is designed to limit the flow of information to the outside world.

The BBC's Joseph Winter and the Mail & Guardian's Mercedes Sayagues were declared prohibited immigrants earlier this year because they had the temerity to legally challenge the arbitrary termination of their work permits. They were then abused by President Mugabe and his ministers who suggested they were not really journalists but spies. Winter's home was broken into by state agents.

At 6am on Tuesday last week state officials woke up members of a BBC film crew who were in the country to cover the eclipse and took them from their hotel to Harare airport where they were put on a plane out - victims of the Information department's new accreditation rules.

In recent months we have seen a Broadcasting Act that has imposed the most draconian regulations in the region and which actually tightens the government's grip on broadcasting instead of opening it up to other players. We have been promised a Freedom of Information Bill which will seek to license journalists and impose penalties on critics of the regime. The "reputations" of politicians will be specifically protected while Mugabe and his ministers will be free to make defamatory remarks about people working in the media — as they frequently have.

This week the government threatened to bar churches and NGOs from undertaking voter education, an egregious violation of guarantees of free expression laid down in the constitution.

What does all this tell us? Blair is being expelled because his widely-read reports have proved embarrassing to Mugabe's authoritarian regime. The same was true of Winter and Sayagues. The government cannot stomach the truth — including its persistent abuse of power — being reported.

The crackdown on the media a pattern of repression that includes attacks on the judiciary which have led to the resignation of three judges whose rulings proved unpalatable to government. It is also related to renewed farm invasions, abductions and beatings of opposition MPs, promotion of Zanu PF loyalists in the police and transfer of officers viewed as politically independent, and the removal of teachers, nurses and local government officials seen as opposition supporters.

The government is aware that its claims to be acting lawfully and in accordance with constitutional provisions are contradicted by evidence on the ground. The new rules on accreditation of journalists are an express violation of terms agreed in Cotonou recently by Zimbabwe, as part of the Africa/Caribbean/Pacific group of countries, and the EU.

Keenly aware that its own actions are at the source of the negative publicity Zimbabwe has been receiving abroad, the government wants as little as possible of the grizzly details to get out ahead of a fact-finding mission by Commonwealth ministers. The mission will prove as futile as all the other attempts to resolve the Zimbabwe crisis because Mugabe and his henchmen have no intention of allowing a democratic dispensation or restoration of the rule of law. Nor do they appear to want a national solution to the land question. But they should not think that in a world of rapidly proliferating communications a policy of censorship and repression can work. Over the past year Zimbabweans have demonstrated a thirst for news unadulterated by the state's clumsy and widely disbelieved propaganda machine. That public demand will increase as the state seeks to muzzle views it cannot challenge openly or fairly.

From The Norway Post, 5 August
Norway's mission to Zimbabwe under surveillance

The offices of the Norwegian Directorate of Development in Zimbabwe is reported to be under surveillance by the country's authorities, according to The Financial Gazette. The reason is supposedly President Robert Mugabe's fear that the nation's political opposition will be given foreign assistance.

According to the newspaper, the homes of some of the personnel of the embassies and foreign aid missions to Zimbabwe are also under surveillance. Norway's Charge d'affaires, Tom Eriksen at the embassy in Harare has sent a report on the matter to the Department of Foreign Affairs in Oslo, Dagsavisen writes. President Robert Mugabe and his ruling Zanu PF party, in May pushed through a bill in Parliament, making it illegal to support Zimbabwe's biggest opposition party, MDC. Embassies and aid missions which break this ban risk being expelled from the country, The Financial Gazette writes.

From The Zimbabwe Independent, 3 August
Fast track to take 15 years

Government's fast-track land resettlement programme will only achieve its full productive potential in 15 years, a World Bank-sponsored study on land reform says. The study sought to examine the impact of re-allocating five million hectares of commercial farmland to the peasantry. The report acknowledged that the land reform programme was economically viable if carried out in a manner that allowed resettled farmers to make the investment necessary to achieve productive potential. The analysis shows that the viability of the land reform exercise depends on support from government during the first five years of resettlement. The report said: "Results seem to be equally promising in terms of production and employment, assuming that the farmers throughout these periods would belong to the high-performance group."

According to Roger van den Brink, the World Bank resident representative in Zimbabwe, the report is the first in a series, and only looks at the effects of land reform on the beneficiaries. In subsequent reports an economic model will be developed to capture the effects of land reform on key economic variables such as production and employment in the entire agricultural sector, as well as other sectors of the economy. The study comes at a time when hordes of war veterans and ruling party supporters have intensified their commercial farm invasions. In some cases they have burnt crops such as tobacco, wheat and export grass. Critics blame government for a skewed resettlement programme where people are being dumped on farms without proper infrastructure.

"Government administration costs include all types of costs necessary to smooth the process of resettlement," the report said. The researchers estimated that the administration costs include both costs specific to the resettlement (US\$200 per farmer in the first year) and farmer support costs of US\$50 a year. It said the infrastructure costs covered electricity, water, sanitation, farm road construction, building schools, clinics and animal health facilities. Economists and agricultural experts have pointed out that none of the inputs or support network vital to the success of the scheme have been put in place and the World Bank-sponsored study therefore remains academic.

From The Zimbabwe Independent, 3 August Gonarezhou still occupied

Despite government assurances that the Gonarezhou National Park will not be occupied under the fast-track land reform programme, resettlement in the park continues unabated, the Zimbabwe Independent has been told. The latest invasions have resulted in some parts of the natural habitat being destroyed by fires. This comes hard on the heels of Zimbabwe's claim at a meeting in Harare last month of the Ministerial Committee of the Gaza-Kruger-Gonarezhou Transfrontier Park that there were no invasions in the park.

Government this week admitted people were settling in the park but said authorities were in the process of finding alternative land for the invaders. Deputy minister of Environment and Tourism Edward Chindori-Chininga said alternative land had to be found for the people who had moved into the park area. "Basically you cannot settle people in the national park," Chindori-Chininga said. "Whatever circumstances resulted in those people going into Gonarezhou National Park, they must be reversed and re-addressed. We have sent out teams to find out whether people are actually in the national park. We have now come to a conclusion that there are people in the national park and what we have now done as a ministry is that alternative land has to be found," he said.

The situation has generally remained unchanged in Gonarezhou since May when the Independent revealed the park was being demarcated for land resettlement. Most of the people resettling themselves are from the Chikomedzi area, which abuts the park. On Saturday new settlers were busy clearing tracts of land. Their fires could clearly be seen at night. Only last month people from Matibi 2 approached the Warden for Chipinda Pools, asking to be allocated portions of land in the park.

The latest wave of invasions follows a meeting, which was held at Masvingo provincial governor Josiah Hungwe's office on July 19. The meeting was attended by National Parks officials, war veterans, Cattle Producers Association representatives and officials from the Veterinary Department. Sources who attended the meeting said the governor was more concerned with the possibility of a foot-and-mouth outbreak than the environmental disaster unfolding in the province. The latest round of invasions raised fears that Zimbabwe was in breach of the Transfrontier Agreement it has signed to much fanfare with regional neighbours. Zimbabwe told its regional partners in the Transfrontier project that all moves to resettle people in the park had been stopped. Chindori-Chininga said: "If we allow what is happening in Gonarezhou to continue, people in Hurungwe can also go into Mana Pools, Nyakasikana, Hurungwe Safari area and Chewore North or South."

From ZWNEWS, 9 August Life with Zanu comes to town

Zimbabwe has once more surfaced in the international press. After months of burial in the single columns of "world briefs" half-hidden in the folds of the daily papers, the appalling recent events in Kwekwe and Chinhoyi have made the front pages. There are a number of reasons for this renewed interest – northern hemisphere politicians taking their summer holidays, a slow news day with nothing much new to report from the Middle East. And some would say that the prominence given to Zimbabwe in the last two days is purely because white Zimbabweans have been the prime victims. There is probably some truth to this.

But the real reason is that, once again, Zanu PF has chosen to flaunt its "degrees in violence" in the open glare of Zimbabwe's towns and cities. The last time that Zimbabwe enjoyed such prominence in the overseas press was during the factory invasion spree, and threats by Chenjerai Hunzvi to invade embassies and foreign aid agencies several months ago. Cynics remarked at the time that the only time foreign governments got worked up enough to "do something" was when their diplomats and resident nationals were directly targeted and threatened. And whatever 'they' did, it had some effect – the factory invasions were scaled down and foreign missions have not been attacked.

The events of the last two days do mark a change in tactics by President Mugabe – sharply intensifying the pressure on the white minority, farmers and town-dwellers alike, in the hope that they will pack their bags and leave. Reports from Harare yesterday suggest that ruling party thugs were wandering the streets demanding that passersby produce Zanu PF membership cards - failure to produce one resulting in swift physical chastisement. Women with children were singled out for assault, along with Zimbabweans of Indian descent.

But if the tension has been raised, the overall strategy has not changed. Mugabe has, for the last 18 months, been attacking anyone and everyone who poses even the slightest risk to his ambition of retaining power. It's just that the majority of the voters whose support he must coerce in order to survive live out of the glare of the media, in remote areas which are easy to seal off from intruders - areas in which his gangs of marauding thugs can roam at will - raping, pillaging, burning, and murdering with impunity. We have received a report in the last few days of a schoolgirl in a rural school telling of her grandfather being beaten to death, and her grandmother being forced to watch while Zanu PF thugs decapitated his body. This is not just a sudden escalation of violence – it is a shift into the limelight of what has been happening in the rural areas and townships of Zimbabwe without letup since February last year.

There is another widely held misperception. What is happening in Kwekwe, Chinhoyi and Harare – and everywhere else in Zimbabwe since early last year - is not anarchy. The government constantly claims that the farm invasions are spontaneous, that it is not in control of the 'war veterans', and that to re-establish the rule of law risks an explosion into civil war. But the murders, street stabbings, and assaults inside police stations, are about as anarchic as the Bolshoi Ballet. President Mugabe is – to put it politely – a control freak. **His oft-quoted comment from his early days in power puts it succinctly. When asked what he aspired to, he said : "Total power." Asked to define total power, he replied : "When a man is starving and begging for food, you are the only person who can give it to him."**

Up until the beginning of last year, nothing much happened in Zimbabwe without Mugabe's approval. And what he is doing now is to try and restore the status quo ante. The violence is choreographed - Zimbabwe is not Sudan or Somalia. There are local criminals with pretensions of being warlords, and individuals pursuing personal grudges and enrichment, but they are allowed to do so because they are acting in the current interests of Mugabe and Zanu PF. If they were not, they would be stamped on – hard.

**From The Zimbabwe Independent, 3 August
35 000 people settled – CFU**

The Commercial Farmers Union (CFU) says only about 35 000 people have so far been resettled under President Robert Mugabe's contentious fast-track land reform programme, contrary to his claim that more than 100 000 families have been resettled, it has been learnt. Opening the second session of the fifth parliament last week, Mugabe said 100 000 households had benefited from his fast-track programme which he said yielded four million hectares for these families. "Land planning and infrastructural development teams are hard at work and many more families are set to be resettled before the coming of the next rains," said Mugabe in his speech.

However, the CFU says the figures quoted by the president were designed for political capital and had no relationship to the reality on the ground. CFU director David Hasluck dismissed government's assertion that 100 000 families had been resettled. "In the absence of more concrete evidence, there are fewer than 35 000 people not families on these commercial farms today," said Hasluck. "People who are sitting on farms are not usually landless peasants but are people from Zanu PF and its supporters," he said. Movement for Democratic Change agricultural spokesman Renson Gasela said this week Mugabe's figures represent all people resettled since 1980, not those resettled under the fast track scheme. "I don't know why the president lied to the nation," Gasela said.

According to the Central Statistical Office's intercensal demographic survey of 1997, the country had more than 2,5 million households, with urban constituencies accounting for 926 210 and rural 1,6 million. The government figures assume one in every 10 families in the rural areas have been resettled. The situation on the ground however shows that few families have been resettled from the densely populated communal areas of Mashonaland East, especially Murewa, Mutoko and Hwedza. Hasluck said people from the communal areas were wary of leaving their homes and being resettled on farms with no infrastructure. "Communal people did not want to take a risk of occupying farms where they do not know how secure they would be," said Hasluck.

The CFU boss said squatters who had resettled themselves on farms were furthering their superiors' political agenda. "The ongoing land invasions are confrontational and not resettlement per se," he said. Asked about invaders who had occupied land in the vicinity of towns, Hasluck said these were not genuine landless people but were instead army officers, intelligence personnel and ruling party supporters. Hasluck said government was supposed to respect the Supreme Court ruling which took effect on July 1, preventing further acquisition of farms in the absence of a proper plan of action.

When asked about what steps, if any, the CFU would take against the government's refusal to obey the law, Hasluck could only say: "If they do it, it is unlawful." The CFU director queried why government wanted to acquire a further million hectares from white commercial farms. "Why are they taking more than they want?" he asked. He said government had listed 7 132 farms and of that total, 2 335 were repeats or duplications which meant that 4 797 farms measuring 9 183 069 hectares had been listed under Section 5 of the Land Acquisition Act. Hasluck said 204 farms covering 91 868 hectares had been delisted. Part of that land included large properties owned by the Development Trust of Zimbabwe. "The net listed farms after delisting are 4 593," Hasluck said.

Who was responsible?
Alleged perpetrators and their crimes during
the 2000 Parliamentary Election period

A report by the
Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum

July 2001

The Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum (also known as the “Human Rights Forum”) has been in existence since January 1998. Nine non-governmental organisations working in the field of human rights came together to provide legal and psycho-social assistance to the victims of the Food Riots of January 1998.

The Human Rights Forum has now expanded its objectives to assist victims of organised violence, using the following definition:

“organised violence” means the interhuman infliction of significant avoidable pain and suffering by an organised group according to a declared or implied strategy and/or system of ideas and attitudes. It comprises any violent action which is unacceptable by general human standards, and relates to the victims’ mental and physical wellbeing.

The Human Rights Forum operates a Legal Unit and a Research and Documentation Unit.

Core member organisations of the Human Forum are:

Amani Trust
Amnesty International (Zimbabwe)
Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace
Legal Resources Foundation
Transparency International (Zimbabwe)
The University of Zimbabwe Legal Aid and Advice Scheme
Zimbabwe Association for Crime Prevention and the Rehabilitation of the Offender
Zimbabwe Human Rights Association
Zimbabwe Lawyers for Human Rights
Zimbabwe Women Lawyers Association

Associate members are: GALZ and ZIMCET

The Human Rights Forum can be contacted through any member organisation or the following personnel:

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All earlier reports of the Human Rights Forum can be found on the website.

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Overview

This report is a follow-up to “Who is Responsible?: A preliminary analysis of pre-election violence in Zimbabwe”, which was released in June 2000 by the Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum. It sought to catalog emerging allegations of gross human rights violations committed during the run-up period to the June 2000 Parliamentary Elections and aimed to establish certain facts about the nature of political violence during that time. When the report was released, the Forum had taken more than 60 statements which proved that Zanu (PF), their supporters and many state organs were engaged in a systematic, pre-meditated campaign to terrorize local communities into voting for the party or not voting at all. While there were allegations across the political divide, only a very small number implicated opposition parties and there was no evidence that these parties were engaged in a broad-based, systematic campaign. Now, almost a year after the June 2000 parliamentary elections, roughly 1000 statements from victims of political violence and information gathered from victims who have testified in the election challenges at the High Court have further substantiated these allegations.

In the course of compiling this information, the Forum has begun to put together a picture of who committed acts of violence, how often, and in what manner. This follow-up report, “Who was Responsible?: Alleged Perpetrators and their Crimes During the 2000 Parliamentary Election Period”, contains a list of alleged offenders by name, implicating a number of key officials and detailing some of the most particularly egregious cases of violence. It is important to stress that this list is woefully incomplete; it represents only those perpetrators named by victims in statements or in the course of court proceedings. Compiling a complete list of offenders and offences should be the job of a much-needed independent judicial commission to examine all cases of violence surrounding the parliamentary elections and subsequent by-elections. This report seeks only to provide a glimpse of the massive scale of violence undertaken during the elections and identify who is alleged to have been responsible. Many of the alleged perpetrators still hold key positions in the government and other institutions and could continue their violent activities in future elections.

The perpetrator list contains 644 names but the actual number of perpetrators and the number of political crimes they have committed is exponentially higher, due to the fear or inability of victims to report their experiences. Without a powerful independent judicial commission, it is impossible to determine the number of perpetrators who committed acts of political violence during the first half of 2000. One independent report has estimated that there were well over 200,000 cases of political violence in the first half of 2000.¹ Given that 635 perpetrators were named from only about 1000 statements, it is clear that there are many thousands across the country who took part in acts of violence in the parliamentary election period. But the fact remains that the very first act of political violence committed was as heinous and damaging as the hundreds of thousands that followed.

Unfortunately, none of these alleged perpetrators are likely to stand trial. The General Amnesty for Politically-Motivated Crimes, which was gazetted on 6 October 2000, absolved most of the perpetrators from prosecution. While the Amnesty excluded those accused of “murder, robbery, rape, indecent assault, statutory rape, theft, possession of arms or any offence involving fraud or dishonesty”, very few persons accused of these crimes have been persecuted. For example, in Mberengwa East, where nearly 230 persons were arrested, only Wilson ‘Biggie’ Chitoro, an accused murderer, has thus far been detained for any length of time for any crimes relating to the June 2000 elections. No one has yet stood trial. During the Buhera North election challenge High Court Justice James Devittie requested that Attorney General Andrew

¹ Reeler, A.P. (2001), *The Leaders of Death: State Sponsored Violence in Zimbabwe*, p. 20

Chigovera arrest suspected murderers Joseph Mwale and Kainos Zimunya for their role in the petrol-bomb murder of two MDC officials, but no action has been taken. If murders are not being prosecuted, it is unlikely that any other offences exempted in the Amnesty will be dealt with at all.

Amnesties have proven to be a dangerous practice in Zimbabwe and have set an unfortunate precedent. A general amnesty was imposed both after the Liberation War and after the Matebeleland massacres in the 1980's. As a result, Zimbabwe's disinclination towards seeking accountability in both these eras has been instructive to the populace in general: crimes will not be prosecuted, criminals are free and are even encouraged to terrorize again, and victims will be denied justice. The latest Amnesty absolved those who committed crimes between 1 January and 31 July 2000 but subsequent allegations of political crimes have since gone unattended to by authorities. It is rare that an individual is arrested for a politically motivated act of violence and virtually unheard of that the incident will ever reach trial. If it does, the perpetrators are usually members of the MDC. Zanu (PF) supporters, war veterans and CIO members seem to operate with unofficial impunity.

The legal precedent set by a lack of prosecution and the implementation of the Amnesty has contributed to the current situation where it can be argued that there is no law. Selective prosecution and crimes committed by perpetrators who should already be behind bars are signs of a system that has not just bent, but has been broken for some time. While the sheer number of perpetrators in this report and the harrowing tales of torture which precede them are quite daunting, what is perhaps more horrifying is the knowledge that this is just the tip of the iceberg.

Recommendations

The culture of impunity in Zimbabwe has seriously damaged the rule of law. The legal process has been undermined by the selective application of the law by law enforcement institutions. These institutions function effectively only for the ruling party, rather than operating impartially for all citizens. It is imperative that the 6 October Amnesty be revoked and an independent commission be appointed to investigate all allegations of torture and other human rights violations and make its own recommendations. The findings of the commission should be used to prosecute those accused of any political crimes stemming from the June 2000 parliamentary elections to restore faith in the rule of law.

In addition, it is clear that the haphazard application of the law last year is already having a negative effect on the prospect of free and fair elections in Zimbabwe. Parliamentary by-elections, mayoral elections and local elections have been consistently marred by violence. It is imperative that the government scrap a proposal to limit voter education only to the government-run Electoral Supervisory Commission. It is also crucial that they invite all willing election monitors, whether domestic or international, to observe the election process both on the voting days and in the crucial run-up period which has traditionally seen the vast majority of violence and intimidation.

Statistics of violence

Political affiliation of the victims

The political affiliation of the victims supports the claim that those targeted were members of opposition parties and non-politically connected persons throughout the country. Violence, on the part of the ruling party, appears to have been carried out on an "if you are not for us, you are against us" mentality. If a person's political affiliation was unclear, it was assumed that they supported the opposition. Office holders and supporters of parties in opposition to Zanu (PF) were the primary targets of political violence, in particular those belonging, or suspected of belonging, to the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC). In comparison, very few Zanu (PF) members were victims of violence.

Table 1: Political Affiliation of Victims who reported to the Human Rights NGO Forum

Political Affiliation of Victims	Number of Victims	
MDC	609	
Unknown +None		63
U.P	21	
Zanu (PF)	5	
ZUD	6	
Total	704	

Gross human rights violations

The nature of the human rights violations reported and the frequency is indicated in the table below. Whilst they represent the frequency of violations reported to the Human Rights Forum and the pattern of violations they by no means reflect the number of violations carried out on a national scale. Pre-election violence affected huge numbers of people and as such these numbers do not give a comprehensive picture of the actual scale of violations. For example, whilst only 14 murders were reported to the Forum, the number of murders on a national scale was about 40. Additionally, nearly all victims who made reports to the Forum spoke of several other persons who had suffered the same violations as they had but who were unable to report or were reluctant to do so due to fear of further victimization.

Table 2: Political Violence: Violence Sub-type for cases reported to Human Rights Forum

Sub-type	#	%
Assault	484	44
Arbitrary + Unlawful Arrest	21	2
Attempted Unlawful Killing	5	0.5
Arson	72	6.6
Death Threat	7	0.6
Threat (to well-being other than death)	78	7.1
Kidnapping + disappearance	46	4.2
Political Intimidation	52	4.7
Political Victimization	5	0.5
Property Damage + Destruction	159	14.5
Rape	5	0.5
Theft	85	7.7
Torture	36	3.3
Unlawful Detention	28	2.5
Unlawful Killing	14	1.3
Total Number of Violations recorded	1,097	100

N.B There is some over-lap between sub-types. For example all victims of torture were also kidnapped.

Bearing in mind the point made above about re-classifying various crimes as torture, it will be seen that 75% of the cases report either physical or psychological torture, or both.

A note on organised violence and torture

It is very important to understand that the cases reported below are not simply examples of electoral violence, but represent gross human rights violations. They involve extra-judicial killings, torture (both physical and psychological), disappearances, and cruel and inhuman treatment. Although we report the

violations as crimes in the sense of the criminal law of Zimbabwe, they are also gross human rights violations in both human rights law and humanitarian law.

Torture is the most common of the violations reported. We have separated assaults from torture, as this is the way that the victims gave their own testimony, but in virtually all cases the assaults would be classified as torture. We have also separated intimidation and property destruction as they are often reported as distinct from torture, but it must be borne in mind that these are also forms of psychological torture and conform to the general definition of torture given in the United Nations Convention Against Torture and Other Forms of Cruel, Inhuman and Degrading Treatment and Punishment. Cases that are considered 'organised violence' meet the first three criteria below but are not committed by agents of the State.

The four elements of torture are:

1. Severe **pain and suffering**, whether physical or mental
2. **Intentionally** inflicted
3. With a **purpose**
4. By a state official or another acting with the **acquiescence** of the State.

When this definition is applied to the cases below, it will be easily seen that the vast majority experienced torture.

Methodology

The primary sources of this report are statements taken by the Legal Unit of the Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum from victims of political violence. Information was also gathered from reliable independent reports concerning the June 2000 parliamentary election. Seventy-two percent of the detailed statements used to compile this report are first-hand reports made by the victims to the Forum. The remaining statements are mostly first-hand reports as well compiled by reliable independent institutions. The statements that appear in italics were either recorded directly from an oral interview with a victim of political violence or were taken from written statements. In some cases notes were taken from a victim instead of a verbatim account and these appear in regular font.

This report shows a large disparity between crimes committed by Zanu (PF) supporters, including war veterans and CIO members, and other opposition parties such as the MDC. Every effort has been made to document political violence as objectively as possible but the fact remains that there were very few cases in which opposition party members were responsible for violence during the pre-election period in 2000. The Forum and the Amani Trust encourage all victims of political violence to come and record their statements regardless of political affiliation. We also advertise publicly for victims to seek us out for services. However, the pattern is clear. While there are isolated incidents implicating opposition members, it appears that only agents of the government and Zanu (PF) have a systematic strategy to employ violence for their political gain, as this report will show.

It is also important to note that this process is incomplete. At the time of this report we have taken statements from, or are in the process of taking statements from, victims from 14 of the 38 election challenges currently before the High Court concerning the run-up period to the June 2000 Parliamentary Elections. The first wave of victims came forward last year but much of our information has come from victims who have chosen to testify in the High Court challenges. It is likely that the number of alleged perpetrators will increase dramatically by the time all the cases are heard. Additionally, it is reasonable to assume that our information represents well less than half of the actual number of both cases of political violence and perpetrators. A complete assessment of political violence should be the job of an independent judicial commission. It should also be noted that the provinces of Bulawayo, Matebeleland North and Matebeleland South were not included in this report. While there is documented evidence that serious cases

of political violence and torture took place during the first half of 2000, there was not sufficient information available to include those areas in this report.

Key Abbreviations

CIO – Central Intelligence Organization

MDC – Movement for Democratic Change

NCA – National Constitutional Assembly

UMP – Uzumba Maramba Pfungwe constituency

Zanu (PF) – Zimbabwe African National Union (Patriotic Front)

ZANLA – Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (military wing of Zanu (PF) during the Liberation War)

ZRP – Zimbabwe Republic Police

THIS IS JUST A SMALL PROPORTION OF THE CASES CITED. I HAVE THE FULL REPORT IF REQUIRED.

Case 1: M.M. (Male) - 12 May 2000

*They took me to **Hunzvi's** surgery and beat me badly. This was on 12 May. They said, 'you are the secretary for MDC and the one who knows where Sithole stays'. I said, 'I don't know where he lives but I work with him'. They caught me by the hands. There were 12-14 of them. I was beaten on my buttocks till they were bleeding. They tortured me on both sides of my body using short circuit electrics plugged in. This was for about two days. There were about 9 women and 14 men involved. They were always coming and going. There was one controlling the gang. He was wearing a yellow tracksuit and had dreadlocks. He was the commander that hit me. He was middle aged and could be a war veteran. Three women said leave him or you may kill him. At night they put us in a toilet. There were nine victims when I was there. There was also a commuter driver and a conductor. They were taken because they refused to stop on the orders of the war veterans. I was beaten and tortured on the first day and the second morning. Then someone just turned up and said, 'leave him as he may not be one of the MDC supporters'. When I was released I reported to police but they said they couldn't do anything with these war veterans. The following Tuesday they were arrested but later released.*

Case 2: M.S. (Male) — May 2000

*I was coming from work. I am self-employed. I had gone to Ziggy's place and was drinking. It was around 8:00 pm. There were five Zanu (PF) youths who came there and abducted me. They took me because they knew my brother was a supporter of MDC. I don't know who identified me. They asked me my name and I said, '(name withheld)' and then I regretted it. They dragged me, beating me and I called for help. There were two or three who arrested me and they squeezed my private parts. It was less than fifty metres to the surgery (**Hunzvi's**). When I saw the direction I was going I realised I was in great danger and tried to escape. Some were kicking me and one guy was holding my neck.*

*When we got to the surgery I was thrown into the crowd and then beaten. It was in what would have been the reception room. One woman shouted from behind that this is (name withheld). Later I was given into custody of the top guys. **Ndlovu**, who is Ndebele is the commander-in-chief. **Chanurwe** is another one.*

*I was kept there being ill-treated for four days. A woman called **Mai Mahenda** was very rough with me. I was bleeding that time through my nose and mouth. I was either in the vehicle, a land cruiser where 16 others were also locked, or I was kept in the toilet. I was beaten firstly then they took a broomstick broken where the broom bit was and the beat me with that on my back, my buttocks, my hands or under my foot. They asked, 'who has a heart to finish him off', and they produced a knife. There was one volunteer. I knew him as the quartermaster. He was responsible for feeding them. Then one old man from the rural areas asked them to spare me. He was part of the Zanu (PF) war veterans. He was Ndebele, light-skinned with a bulging head. They took me to the bathroom and made me swing round and round until I saw "Smith's eye". I was dizzy and I vomited. Then they made me lie in the bath under the shower water and took off my shirt and rolled it and tied it round my mouth. They took me to the toilet bowl and put my head in it. Then they called others and told them to relieve themselves in it. I pretended to be unconscious. And on the third day during the night, a Zanu (PF) lady went to the surgery and told them to release me.*

Case 3: E.M. (Male) — 11 May 2000

*On a Thursday last (11 May) I happened to be moving around. I was on my way back from Zioja church in Budiriro 5. After paying money there I went to Budiriro 4. I wanted to meet someone who had asked me to plaster his house. On my way from where I was to my job, I saw Zanu PF people were at the shops having a meeting. They asked me: "Where do you come from." I said, "Budiriro 2. I'm here to see a person." I was not wearing an MDC T-shirt, but I am an MDC member. They said I was an MDC spy. I was taken to **Dr Hunzvi's** surgery and there I found two young boys, aged about 17-20 who had been caught on a rally. They had no T-shirts or cards. They were also from Budiriro. When I got inside I was given a paper to write all of the structures of MDC, the Chairman, organising secretary, MP etc. As a member I have never participated and didn't know anything. They detained me from just before 12 midday on Thursday to around 1pm on Friday. They were beating me and using electric wires. They changed over; sometimes there were three, sometimes two. They took our clothes. Three of us were locked all naked in one room. Three people could be hitting one person at a time. I have wounds of wires all over my body. At around 11 p.m. on Thursday night, they took us out into the yard inside the wall around the premises, but outside the house. There were a good number of them, more than forty. They wanted us out so they could sleep inside. We were guarded outside. I was beaten. I can't hear with one of my ears now and someone stuck his finger in my eye. I could identify only one person who resides in Budiriro. I have known him since about 1996. Most of the guys are Ndebele speakers. Some of the people at the surgery are war veterans, others are not. The last guy who released me is a soldier from Mutare. When MDC started campaigning, I participated. I was chosen to be vice organising secretary in the ward of Budiriro 2. A policeman was standing there. Even around 12 midnight where we were. He was near us just outside, trying to get them to release us. During the day the police were not allowed inside the wall, but at night they were allowed to come and take victims out. Those young guys were not released because they wrote down some names of those in the party structures. They were kept and told that they would be released if the other guys whose names they had mentioned were found and brought in. I was allowed to go, but the others were not. The policeman remained inside and continued to try and persuade them to release the others. I made a report to the police and they gave us letters to go to hospital.*

Case 4: M.C. (Male) — 8 May 2000

*Last Monday (8 May) I was taken to **Hunzvi's** surgery. We were at the shopping centre trying to buy bread - myself and Wilson Mandeya and Patrick Mutodanziso. I am well known, someone must have pointed me out. Patrick is (MDC) youth chairman for Budiriro 3. There were about 20 of them. But they were also about 90 war veterans who came to the shops. It was about 7:30 in the morning. They caught Patrick and me but Wilson escaped. They took us to the surgery and told us to remove our clothes. They started to beat us on the ribs with a wooden stick. They tortured us with car jumpers (jump leads). They gave us electric jolts under the arms and on the genitals. They wanted to know our names and positions. They came with a book where names and positions were written. I told them a false name, but when I was checking the book I saw my real name. No 10 on the list with a star beside it. They told me the names with the star are the ones we want. Then they asked me where the others are and where they stay. They beat me under foot using electrical wires. We were tortured in shifts of guys and including women and they were different people who came each time. I told them that I am not MDC but in the NCA so they started to ask me about Lovemore Madhuku (former NCA vice-chairman) and others. The commander there is an old man, an ex-combatant. A group of them came from Gutu and some from my home village there. There were about 150 people there altogether. It is a big house with seven rooms. The women were fond of electrical jolts, they seemed like war veterans. They were not only war vets. Some of them were young, some even less than 22. They spoke Shona, Ndebele, Venda. They just wanted me to go back from MDC. They want us to surrender T-shirts and cards and said that if you join us then we can give you money. They said some of the people there used to be MDC but have changed to Zanu PF, but I didn't see any I knew. They may be lying. After about three hours then the police support unit came. They didn't come in, but those inside saw the police and told me to put on my clothes and get out of the surgery. They let me out but not Patrick.*

Case 5: S.M. (Female) — 11 August 2000

*My husband was an MDC member and ward treasurer in Budiriro 2. On the 14th of May 2000, my husband, Patrick Chipunza, left home around 9am going to buy some goods. On the way back Zanu (PF) members whom I do not know forcefully abducted him from the public transport he was using. They took him to **Chenjerai Hunzvi's** surgery in Budiriro 4 and started assaulting him. They beat him to death. I went and reported the matter on the following day at ZRP Glen View and I was told by one of the officers about the whole incident and he alleged that they had taken him to Harare Hospital only to receive a call later that he had passed away. My husband was self-employed as a cobbler. I am currently finding it very difficult to fend for my two children who are not yet at school. My husband was laid to rest on the 20th of May 2000 and the funeral expenses were covered by the MDC to the tune of \$15 000.*

Case 6: F.N. (Male) — 7 January 2000

*Tortured at the Bikita Minerals by members of the ZANU (PF) led by **Chenjerai Hunzvi**.*

They hit him with an iron bar on the lower part of each leg. When he was walking along the main road they forced him to participate in their rally at Svosvera Growth Point. Anyone not present was assaulted. Suffered injuries.

Matter could not be reported to the police, because some of them were involved in the assault.

Case 7: L. S. (Male) — 12 January 2001

*Threatened at the Nyika Growth Point in Bikita with death by a group of ZANU (PF) supporters, armed with guns, iron bars and knobkerries, led by **Chenjerai Hunzvi**. Suffered injuries on the right arm, when he tried to escape.*

Did not report nor seek medical treatment out of fear of victimization. About 20 MDC supporters fled into the mountains.

Kambuzuma

Case 8: D.M. (Male) — 28 April 2000

*I am the youth district chairman for MDC in Kambuzuma. On 28 April 2000 I held a meeting at the section 3 shops in Mufakose to arrange for primary elections on the morrow. After the meeting we went to drink beer. Around 9 pm I left for home. On my way I saw a blue 504, and a white Sunny and a cream Mazda 626. The owner of the Sunny is CIO. After some 500 metres from the shops, the 626 sped and stopped in front. The back passenger dropped out and pointed a gun. He slapped me in the face and pushed me into the car. He said we should not hold MDC meetings anywhere. They said: "You think you are clever, you MDC people are now behaving like you are already ruling the country." There were four men in the back of the car and two in the front. One of them I recognise. He is from the **President's office**. I recognise him from Kambuzuma. I know where he lives. They were also CIOs in the car. I was forced to sit on the lap of one of them who was sitting in the back. I was sitting in the middle and my arms were outstretched. Each arm was handcuffed and it was held by the two guys sitting on either side of the car. The guy in the front seat was slapping me in the face. The other one was sitting behind me and hitting me at the back. I screamed and a cloth was put in my mouth. The car moved. I was bleeding. They took me to a bush near Willowvale industrial area. When they parked the driver didn't come out, but the others took me out. I was made to lie on my back and one of them was stepping on my stomach. Two were holding handcuffs with arms outstretched. One of them took a wire from the car and put it in my anus. Then he put it in my penis as well. I fainted and they left me for dead. I came round twice. Once on the spot and then I got to the road and a car found me and took me to Kambuzuma police. I came round again at the police station. An ambulance was called. I fainted again and I don't know how I got to hospital. At the hospital, they came two times asking for me. The first time they came on the 3rd of the month. One of the guys came to the hospital, when I was in bed. I saw him and I told the sister who was in the ward and she went to call the police, but he went away. The following morning he came and said I'm a doctor. He actually came and examined my stomach. I recognised him. My brother was there. Afterwards when the doctor came back the CIO went away. My brother asked the doctor about him and he confirmed he's not a doctor, saying he thought he must have been a friend of ours. He was wearing a blue T-shirt.*

Mbare East

Ali Manjengwa, George Tsvuura, Admore, Baba Dhi, Gozho Simango, Edmore Tinaruro, Miriam, Jahannes Mudhuwiwa, Stanley 'Rasta' and Paddington Nyama

Case 9: L.M. & P.M. (Male, Female) — 15 June 2000

*On our way back from a campaign mission at Ivan's farm we met Zanu (PF) supporters in a white pick-up. They were carrying small axes, bicycle chains and knobkerries and screwdrivers. They had another sharp object that I don't know which they used to try and mark an axe on my back. They stripped us both of our T-shirts and beat us. They beat the lady I was with, P.M. and Alois Nhizva, the candidate. They chased him and pushed him in the water in a quarry. They took \$14,000 cash from him and \$3000 from me. They destroyed the car headlamps and left me for dead. P.M. was unconscious. Farm workers found us and they poured water on us. We walked a distance and then couldn't go any further. Then a lady driving by saw us and took us to Parirenyatwa. The assailants are resident in Mbare and we gave the police their names but no arrests were made. Their leader was **Ali Manjengwa**. The others are **George Tsvuura, Admore, Baba Dhi, Gozho Simango**. When they were beating us they told us we have to do our work because we get good pay. Ali said: "We must take the T-shirts or you will die for nothing." Ali was once arrested, but Tony Gara is said to have gone and got him out of the police station telling them they could not arrest his campaign manager. He is the one who sponsored them and sometimes went to their base or their meeting place at the Zanu (PF) offices in Mbare.*

Case 10: R.M. (Male) — 1 June 2000

*On the 1st of June I was campaigning on Derbyshire Farm with about 36 people, and there were about 120-150 people attending the meeting. While I was addressing the people, a white Mazda pick-up carrying about 15 people wearing Zanu (PF) t-shirts drove up. I know some of them: **Ali Majengwa, Edmore Tinaruro, Miriam, Jahannes Mudhuwiwa, Stanley "Rasta", Paddington Nyama, George Tsvuura**, and several others. They were wielding sjamboks, iron bars, bicycle chains and knobkerries. Since my people were not armed, I advised them to flee for their lives. The Zanu (PF) people started attacking everyone who was present at the rally. I ran away. It's a rocky area, and many people fell down, injuring themselves. The Zanu (PF) supporters caught up with me whilst shouting, "We want (name withheld)!" Ali Majengwa pushed me over a cliff. I fell a distance of about 6m into the dip and injured my left leg on the shin. I crawled for about 40 to 50 minutes, trying to get away from the assailants. I managed to reach the Seke road and hired a lift to Chitungwiza Police Station where I made a report. We arrived back at the site of the incident to find that the tyres on my car had been deflated, and some of the property and parts of the car had been stolen. The damage to the car comes to about \$10 000, and the spare wheel, jack, wheel spanner and my jacket were also stolen. There was a sum of about \$38 000 stolen in cash as well. A report was compiled by the Waterfalls Police but the police now claim that the docket has been lost.*

Mufakose

Sabina Thembani, 'Cobra'

Sabina Thembani, while not personally committing the violations, hired youths to torture Mufakose residents. Youths were employed to monitor movements of suspected MDC supporters and to attack them. These youths received salaries of between \$500 and \$700 a week and were paid for bringing in MDC t-shirts with the blood of supporters on them. As a result, incidents of people being systematically assaulted have become very common in Mufakose.

Case 11: T.M.D. (Male) — 11 May 2000

*After a rally in February thugs employed by **Sabina Thembani** attacked us. There were about fifteen people armed with iron bars, axes, hoes and stones. We had not anticipated such violence and as a matter of fact we did not have anything to defend ourselves and everyone that could, ran away. Unfortunately five of our members were assaulted - one of them an elderly man of about 76 years old. His name is Sydney Pandehuni. He was severely assaulted and sustained deep cuts on the back of his head.*

Case 12: B.M. (Male) — May 2000

B.M. and a youth organising secretary were abducted from their homes and taken to **Sabina Thembani's** Zanu PF offices in Mufakose and severely assaulted. They both fainted during the assaults, were doused with water and as soon as they recovered they were beaten again until Sabina herself claimed she was tired of the beating and called off the assault. They were then dragged out of the office premises.

Case 13: T.D. (Male) — 11 May 2000

*They came to my place and produced pistols and they took cards and T-shirts to surrender to **Sabina Thembani**. They come to my place on a daily basis. We have tried with the police, but as soon as you give a complaint your details are there. The police have told us: "You MDC people - we want nothing to do with you". **Cobra**, one of the MP's thugs was arrested but when he was taken to court Sabina Thembani came and they released him. She was ululating.*

Manicaland

Buhera North

Kainos 'Kitsiyatota' Zimunya and Joseph Mwale

Kainos Zimunya was an election agent for Zanu (PF) Buhera North MP Kenneth Manyonda. In the Buhera North election petition, Sanderson Makombe named Zimunya and Joseph Mwale as being responsible for the deaths of MDC campaign workers Talent Mabika and Tichaona Chiminya.

Mr Makombe alleges that he was in the twin cab with Ms. Mabika and Mr Chiminya when a Zanu (PF) labelled vehicle stopped them and began to beat them while he and his colleagues were still in the twin cab. According to his testimony, he escaped out of the back of the vehicle while the others tried to hide in the front seat. He then heard Ms. Mabika screaming and also heard someone call for petrol bombs to be brought from the Zanu (PF) vehicle. Petrol was poured on Mr Chiminya and Ms. Mabika and then poured under the

hood of the vehicle. A bomb was thrown and the vehicle caught fire. Mr Makombe alleges that he ran back to the vehicle to pull his two colleagues out. When he did, their skin was flaking off from the burns and their clothes were still alight. Mr Chiminya was pronounced dead at the scene and Ms. Mabika died after being taken to the hospital.

Despite numerous witnesses implicating Mwale in the murders he has not yet been detained. The docket in which Mwale and Zimunya are cited as prime suspects in the murders of Chiminya and Mabika was sent by Mutare Police to Police General Headquarters in Harare for them to forward to the Attorney General's Office. Police sources say the police chiefs are still holding the file. Mwale and Zimunya were summoned to testify in the Buhera North petition but disappeared before they could be brought to court.

After the trial Justice James Devittie cited section 137 of the Electoral Act that allows him to forward any illegal act discovered in the course of court proceedings to the Attorney General for prosecution. He forwarded information to Attorney General Andrew Chigovera but as yet no action has been taken.

Case 14: D.M. (Male) — 15 April 2000

At Murambinda Growth Point after an MDC executive meeting he was approached by **Joseph Mwale**, a CIO agent and assaulted with an empty beer bottle.

Case 15: B.M. (Female)

15 April 2000

Approached by a CIO agent, **Joseph Mwale**. She was assaulted in the face as a reprisal for chanting MDC slogans. She was further assaulted all over the body with booted feet and clenched fists.

Makoni East

Erengwe, Happymore Dafi, Ndongwe and Revai Nyamombe

Case 16: T. C (Male) — 14 June 2000

Attended Zanu (PF) rally addressed by Minister of Defense and Makoni West MP Moven Mahachi. He was identified as an MDC supporter and therefore an infiltrator. Attacked with machetes, logs and sjamboks by **Erengwe, Happymore Dafi, Ndongwe and Revai Nyamombe**. Sustained injuries on back.

Shadreck Chipanga

Zanu PF Makoni East MP Shadreck Chipanga, who is also a former director of the CIO, is alleged to have set up a base in Nyazura from which Zanu (PF) youths launched their operations.

Case 17: T.B.M. (Male) — 9 April 2000

*I was wearing an MDC t-shirt and going to an MDC rally at Mabvazuva in Rusape in the company of J.M. Six people alighted from a white defender and kidnapped us. **Shadreck Chipanga** was with them. We were taken along Wedza Road and assaulted with sticks and iron bars. I sustained injuries to my back and currently experiences problems with my spinal cord. There were 12 people in the vehicle. We were threatened with death and being buried alive. We were told to remove our t-shirts and support Zanu (PF) if we wanted to survive. They took us to Mucheke River and threatened to throw us into it. Chipanga then gave the order for us to be spared. We were dumped at Mucheke River about 23kms from Rusape.*

Case 18: Amos Kutiya — April 2000

Mr Amos Kutiya testified that he witnessed Shadreck Chipanga assault MDC supporter David Sundai. Chipanga then allegedly stood by as Zanu (PF) youth tortured Mr Sundai. Mr Kutiya was at his homestead when he saw a blue Nissan twin-cab arrive. He recognized the car because he had seen Zanu (PF) supporters using it on party business in the area. He recognized Chipanga immediately because the respondent had once given him a ride to Rusape. Mr Kutiya stated that Chipanga hit Mr Sundai with an open hand and also identified Lloyd Chipunza as an assailant. He also was able to identify William Venge as a member of a Zanu (PF) gang known to assault MDC supporters in the area. After the assault, Mr Kutiya went to help Mr Sundai up but the victim could not stand. His face was swollen and bloody and he could not see properly.