



STATE IN FEAR: Zimbabwe's tragedy is Africa's shame

**A report on
Operation Murambatsvina
– “Operation drive out the filth” –
and its implications**



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State in Fear: Zimbabwe's Tragedy is Africa's Shame

A report on *Operation Murambatsvina* – "*Operation drive out the filth*" – and its implications

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We must clean the country of the crawling mass of maggots bent on destroying the economy.

Augustine Chihuri, police commissioner – 16 June 2005

- ⇒ Up to 1.5 million people made homeless
- ⇒ More than 300 000 homes destroyed
- ⇒ More than 46 000 people arrested
- ⇒ Over 4 million people starving

Summary

Robert Mugabe remains President of Zimbabwe only through corruption of the democratic process and the legal system and through suppression of opposition. Desperate to maintain power and control, he is employing tactics used against guerrilla fighters in Rhodesia in the 70s; then he was a victim, now he is the perpetrator. But while the guerrillas of the 1970s were mainly men and knew the risks they were taking, today's victims are not just men who vote (but not fight) for the opposition but women and children too.

The international community has done little to prevent Mugabe's excesses and it is time to act. The G8 leaders who want to help Africa with debt relief and aid, must condition such taxpayer largesse for all African nations on improving democratic performance in Zimbabwe (and other rogue states). Recent reports that President Mbeki will finally act against the Mugabe regime and be supportive of a return to democracy should be seen against years of inaction and similar broken promises in the past. Prime Minister Tony Blair should seize this opportunity to exert pressure on President Mbeki to act in the interest of the suffering Zimbabweans and not the political elite.

6 July 2005

Background

When Mugabe became the first president of the newly independent Zimbabwe in 1980, his conciliatory approach and apparent commitment to nation building generated worldwide confidence. Numerous countries came forward with support, hoping to ensure the country developed peacefully and prosperously. Apart from his ordering the largely unpublicised and tragic massacre of between 20,000 and 30,000 ethnic Matabele people in the early 1980s by the notorious North Korean-trained 5th Brigade, Zimbabwe was relatively stable⁴. The Mugabe government invested significant amounts of money into improving health care delivery and educational standards, and achieved the highest literacy standard in Africa.

In time, however, large-scale corruption, economic mismanagement and the increasingly vocal disgruntled war veterans began to undermine Mugabe's popularity. An attempt by Mugabe to change the constitution and further entrench his power was thwarted in a popular referendum held in February 2000. Just days later, the government-instigated farm invasions began, leading to the collapse of the commercial farming sector. In the face of growing unpopularity, his regime responded by clamping down on opposition politics and the free press. Sham elections were held and property rights, together with any credibility in the rule of law, were destroyed. Wide scale abuse of basic human rights took place. Torture as a means of suppressing opposition escalated dramatically. The Zimbabwean economy has been in freefall for several years with rampant inflation and unemployment (even prior to Operation Murambatsvina) approaching 80 percent. A combination of price controls, politicised state distribution of maize meal and a lack of foreign currency meant that nearly every basic necessity was in short supply. An estimated 4 million Zimbabweans have been forced to eke out a living in the informal sector (such as street traders), supporting further millions, and it is these people who were targeted by Operation Murambatsvina as 'economic saboteurs'. According to Mugabe, they, along with western imperialists, are causing the economic crisis.

Operation Murambatsvina

Described as "Operation Restore Order", by the government, Operation Murambatsvina is claimed to be a clean up of illegal businesses and housing in Zimbabwe's towns and cities – Harare, the capital, in particular. It is more accurately translated from the Shona language as "Operation Drive out the Filth" and lacks legality in not having served proper notice to owners, in not offering compensation and in not providing alternative accommodation. In many cases, residents have been woken by police raids, and ordered to remove what belonging they could before their homes were demolished. Back garden cottages and extensions have been razed; stallholders arrested and fined and their goods confiscated or burned. Plots used to grow vegetables for home consumption or for sale have been grubbed up.

This theft and destruction was justified, according to the state, because black market operators were making the city centre unsightly, dealing in increasingly scarce staples such as maize meal and sugar, and worse, creating the foreign exchange crisis through illegal currency transactions. However, the seized goods mostly included new and second-hand clothing, domestic appliances and foodstuffs. Even curios in tourist centres were destroyed. Within three weeks an estimated 46,000⁵ street vendors and flea market traders had been arrested.



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Entire suburbs across Zimbabwe have been demolished in the middle of winter, with no alternative housing for destitute people

Mugabe justified the demolitions in a speech to the central committee of the ruling Zanu-PF party, “Our cities and towns had become havens for illicit and criminal practices and activities which just could not be allowed to go on. From the mess should emerge new businesses, new traders, new practices and a whole new and salubrious urban environment. That is our vision.”⁶

Further endorsements came from the police. On 16 June 2005, Police Commissioner Augustine Chihuri said that Operation Murambatsvina was meant to “clean the country of the crawling mass of maggots bent on destroying the economy”. He went on to thank the people who had their homes destroyed “for not going wild during the exercise”. Police spokesperson Whisper Bondai informed the state-controlled Herald newspaper that criminal activity in Harare had fallen by 16 percent in May compared with the same month last year. “This shows that the operation, despite being condemned, has started bearing fruit,” he said. However, to quell rioting that broke out in some areas, the Zimbabwe National Army was deployed to help police repel attacks from angry urban residents.



Police Commissioner Augustine Chihuri

The “clean-up” spreads rapidly

By 28 May when the devastating clean up had spread throughout townships surrounding Harare, police commander Edmore Veterai gave a briefing to over 2,000 police officers assuring them of Mugabe’s full support for the operation. Veterai went on to say: “From tomorrow I need reports saying that we have shot people... You should treat this operation as a war.”⁷

One of the worst hit areas was Hatcliffe Extension, which had been an informal settlement until it was recognised unanimously by the last Parliament. It was recently supplied with water and sewerage services through World Bank funding, but on 3 June the residents were given 24 hours to demolish all structures, including the crèche, clinic and orphanage run by the Dominican Missionary Sisters, which had provided antiretroviral treatment and home-based care for AIDS patients and cared for many AIDS orphans. Sister Walsh of the Mission wrote, “We stand in shock and cry with the people but we also have to try to keep them alive...When will sanity prevail? Where is the outside world? How can the little ones of this world be brutalised in this way?”



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During President Mugabe's Operation Drive Out the Filth, substantial brick homes as well as informal settlements housing the poor were bulldozed to the ground

The evictions and demolitions have displaced thousands of urban and rural children, leaving them without homes, food, clothing, or a school to go to. A list compiled by directors of education in Zimbabwe's 10 provinces shows that more than 300,000 children have dropped out of school since their homes were destroyed. In November 2004, the Famine Early Warning System Network (FEWSNET) had already reported falling school attendances as desperate parents took their children out of school to work in fields or find food.

Echoes of Pol Pot

The displaced and dispossessed people are being forced into the countryside either physically, by being trucked to holding camps, or by attrition, as aid agencies and churches are being aggressively dissuaded by the police from offering assistance. The elderly, sick and young children were loaded onto trucks with no food, clothing or personal possessions. Many residents were taken to Caledonia Farm, a holding camp outside Harare with only one toilet for more than 3,000 people. Church workers have revealed that those inside are being subjected to political re-education, forced to shout party slogans and warned that they will not be given new plots for homes or licences for market stalls unless they join Mugabe's Zanu-PF party.

The operation has left vulnerable groups exposed to death from starvation and disease, triggering outrage from numerous human rights organisations and the international community. The police also forced Moslems at gunpoint to demolish a mosque which could have provided shelter for homeless people. Priests and aid workers have been warned by the government that they will be treated as "Tony Blair's dogs" if they provide assistance.

Catholic priests in Harare have reported that many of those seeking refuge have appeared with documents forced on them by the police – bills for water, sewerage and electricity on their destroyed homes and businesses, complete with substantial penalty charges.

Demolishing lives

“Getting rid of the trash” has directly caused several violent and totally avoidable deaths that we know of. Two-year-old Charmaine Nyika died on June 8 after a wall that had been partially razed collapsed on her in Harare’s working class suburb of Tafara. A few days later, in Chitungwiza outside Harare, one-and-a-half-year-old Terence Munyaka, the son of a policeman, died of head injuries when the walls of his house came crashing down. On 30 June four people were killed at the sprawling squatter settlement of Porta Farm near Harare. One five year old child was killed when he was run down by a police truck and a heavily pregnant woman died when she fell from a police truck⁸.



The destruction of market places and stalls in Harare and throughout Zimbabwe has to be seen in the context of the fastest shrinking economy in the world which is characterized by 80% unemployment and rampant inflation

The operation, which has been conducted in mid winter has left thousand of people exposed to the near freezing night time temperatures. Several reports have emerged of young children dying of exposure while their parents pathetically try to shield them from the elements.

In the once prosperous and popular tourist town of Victoria Falls, shacks, brick houses and convenience stores were torched by police in a callous raid beginning at 3am. Without warning, shocked residents were ordered out of their beds by armed police before their shacks and possessions were doused with petrol and set alight. The government reported that 3,368 homes, many solid brick or concrete structures, were knocked down and six kilometres of craft stalls were torched and smashed.

The operation has not been limited to the informal sector. In Harare’s central business district, formal sector tenants such as stationers, estate agents and tailors were evicted by police claiming the buildings were overcrowded. In some areas, groups of supposed ‘war veterans’ who had illegally occupied previously productive commercial farms with the encouragement and support of the Mugabe regime were ordered to vacate the farms three weeks after Operation Murambatsvina began.

After Harare, the operation was extended to Matabeleland, a stronghold of the opposition Movement for Democratic Change (MDC). Licensed traders at the popular Fifth Avenue market in Bulawayo had to watch the destruction of not only their wares but the entire complex. In one of the cities oldest suburbs, Makokoba, police attacked unarmed civilians before demolishing their property. In many areas, small four-room houses built with government approval as long as 70 or 80 years ago were razed with impunity in what people are referring to as the Mugabe tsunami.

By the end of June, virtually every town and rural business centre in the country had been affected and every day the nation awoke to fresh destruction and horror.



© Jonathan Shapiro

Note, the Union Buildings referred to in this cartoon are the residence of the South African Presidency and government

Condemnation within Zimbabwe

Years of brutal repression of human rights and basic freedoms and the general climate of fear means that many Zimbabweans have been afraid to speak out and condemn Operation Murambatsvina.

Despite this however, the Zimbabwe Catholic Bishops' Conference (ZCBC) stated that "... a grave crime has been committed against the poor and helpless people.... We warn the perpetrators, history will hold you accountable." The Zimbabwe Association of Doctors for Human Rights (ZADHR) has also deplored in the "strongest possible terms" the ongoing operation that has displaced thousands of families.



Robert Mugabe

The MDC has issued numerous statements condemning the action and calling for its immediate halt. According to Shari Eppel, a human rights activist, "This is like Pol Pot, corralling people into the countryside where they can be controlled and indoctrinated. We're heading into the dark ages... we're going to see selective starvation. Mugabe wants the people hungry and compliant." But, as The Independent (UK) points out, "Mugabe shows no sign of following Pol Pot's personal example and moving into a rural mud hut. He continues to live in majesty in Harare."⁹

Even Zimbabwe's former Information Minister and spin-doctor, Jonathan Moyo, strident defender of Mugabe and Zanu-PF until his sacking earlier this year, said that Operation Murambatsvina constituted "an inhumane, barbaric demolition of properties belonging to the weak and poor in our society."

Yet in spite of local opposition, the Operation has grown in strength and viciousness. In some bizarre cases, the police are charging a demolition fee to those unable to dismantle their own homes in time. It is also worth noting that prior to the rigged elections in March it was reported that the government had drafted 20 000 youth militia into the police force, thereby doubling the number of policemen and women. Presumably these extra recruits are assisting in the demolitions.

The roots of Operation Murambatsvina

Initially, we felt that that the real motivation behind Operation Murambatsvina was to punish those citizens that supported the MDC during the March 2005 elections. However the motivation may go deeper than this. The failed land reform process has driven many former farm workers and rural folk into towns where they are exposed to news and political opinions counter to those of traditional leaders and political councils in rural areas that have over the years been under the influence and favour of the Mugabe regime.

The effect of moving hundreds of thousands of people into the countryside is to make them utterly reliant on government-controlled food aid for survival. Agricultural production has slumped as largely white-owned commercial farms have been taken over or rendered inoperable since 2000. Emergency imports of the staple, maize, amount to almost the entire annual requirement. Food distribution is controlled by the government along political lines. In addition, in rural areas people will be less able to communicate and organise themselves against the government. Zimbabwe's deputy Minister of Local Government, Public Works and Urban Development, Morris Sakabuya, has, in a truly Orwellian moment, described Operation Murambatsvina as an attempt to "resuscitate rural areas."¹⁰

Jonathan Moyo considers that the operation is linked to an internal ZANU PF power struggle as to who will succeed the 81-year-old Mugabe in 2008. The appointment of Joyce Majuru as second of Vice-President in December 2004 worsened in-fighting in Zanu-PF, effectively pitting the Zezuru faction, a powerful sub-group within the majority Shona tribe – which comprises 70 percent of the population – against the Karanga sub-group. Joyce is married to Solomon Majuru, a former army commander and highly influential Zanu-PF politician, without whose active support Mugabe would not have achieved the leadership of Zanu-PF.

Emmerson Mnangagwa, who heads the Karanga faction, was long considered to be Mugabe's favoured heir. His fall from grace was linked to a secret meeting convened last year by Jonathan Moyo to promote him for the post. The Karangas are reportedly bitter about the ascendancy of Zezurus to top positions within Zanu-PF and political observers believe the tensions could split Zanu-PF into two camps, severely weakening them politically. If Mugabe intentionally created tension between the two ethnic groups that form the Zanu-PF backbone, he risks much since his capacity to manage and heal these tensions in the future is open to question. The International Crisis Group (ICG) reported on 7 June 2005 that powerful party figures were squaring up for what could be a vicious fight for power.

The Chinese puzzle

Speculation over the motives behind Operation Murambatsvina has pointed to the removal of local competition threatening newly arrived Chinese businessmen whose stores sell cheap and often poor quality goods. It is estimated that, as a result of the government's aggressive "Look East" policy, up to 10,000 Chinese citizens have moved into the country,¹¹ and some have moved onto farms taken from highly skilled commercial farmers, notably to grow tobacco for China's 300 million smokers.¹²

Chinese investors are reported to have interests in Hwange colliery, electricity generation and platinum mining.¹³ According to a Bloomberg report, "For China, investment in Zimbabwe may provide access to minerals the country needs to fuel its growing economy."¹⁴ The Zimbabwean government has also purchased goods from China, such as three commercial airplanes, buses, K-8 jet trainers and military vehicles, small armaments and riot control equipment.

Economic and social considerations

The licensing of stallholders has been taken out of the control of the city councils, which are dominated by the opposition MDC members, and applications are being dealt with by inter-ministerial committees. It is these committees that will decide who is successful (aided by a vetting process carried out by the police) and where they will be allowed to operate. Land vacated by razed settlements is already having plots pegged out for houses to be built which are reportedly being reallocated to police, army and party officials, which is consistent with Mugabe's past method of rewarding those who do his grizzly bidding.

Official employment is low since the collapse of the agriculture and tourism sectors, but many work informally and are being supported by foreign currency sent in by friends and family working abroad. Most of this money is not passing through banks or attracting tax. The Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe (RBZ) estimates the parallel trade supported by the 'Diaspora forex' represents 60% of GDP and that only 10% (or US \$4 million) a month is channelled through the formal bank system. The RBZ aims to increase this to \$70 million per month. The Bank's governor, Gideon Gono, is approving the 'clean up' presumably in the hope that informal currency mechanisms will be disrupted.

International and regional responses

Zimbabwe is in violation of its own laws, but it is unlikely that courts will uphold complaints against the police and government. However, Zimbabwe has also contravened international laws and conventions to which it is a signatory. The UN has a principle under which it can decide to intervene: "Where a population is suffering serious harm, as a result of internal war, insurgency, repression or state failure, and the state in question is unwilling or unable to halt or avert it, the principle of non-intervention yields to the international responsibility to protect."¹⁵

In a statement issued on 3 June, the Special Rapporteur of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, Miloon Kothari, urged the government to immediately halt the forced evictions. He reminded Zimbabwean authorities of their obligations under the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, which Zimbabwe ratified in 1991. On 28 June, Anna Tibaijuka, the Tanzanian head of UN Habitat, arrived in Zimbabwe to judge the impact of Operation Murambatsvina for Secretary-General Kofi Annan.

Condemnation of the operation from the US and European governments was swift and firm. US Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice and UK Foreign Secretary Jack Straw both decried the operation and urged AU members to push Mugabe's government to respect the rule of law and human rights.

More than 200 international, African and Zimbabwean human rights groups have called on the African Union and the United Nations to stop the mass evictions. Amongst the human rights and civic groups signing the Joint Appeal are Zimbabwean Lawyers for Human Rights, the Inter Africa Network for Human Rights (AFRONET), Amnesty International, the Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions (COHRE), the International Bar Association's Human Rights Institute, and the International Crisis Group. The coalition called on relevant bodies at the UN, including the Secretary-General, to publicly condemn the ongoing mass violations and take effective action to stop them.

African responses

Morgan Tsvangirai, leader of the opposition Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) has requested an internationally supervised, legitimate transitional authority to lead Zimbabwe out of the present crisis. This requires a rescue package which must at least include: food, fuel, medicine, foreign currency, support for the displaced people and funds for the rebuilding of homes.



Morgan Tsvangirai,
leader of the Movement for Democratic Change

Mr Tsvangirai has been to Ghana and Mauritius and met President Obasanjo of Nigeria. He will shortly be meeting with Condoleezza Rice and has held meetings with South African ministers, including President Mbeki. South Africa is already under tremendous pressure regarding Zimbabwe and the aim is to try to work with President Mbeki and offer him the solution of the transitional authority (perhaps by agreeing an exit strategy for Mugabe, and a Truth Commission, not unlike that which occurred in South Africa). While support for a transitional authority would be required from the UN and possibly from the European Union as well, the support of the African Union would also be essential.

So far however, responses from the African Union (AU) and African governments to the disgraceful Zanu-PF actions and Tsvangirai's suggestions have been muted at best, refusing to take action against what it terms an internal matter. With close economic and political links many see South Africa as the key to restoring peace and democracy to Zimbabwe. Despite growing pressure from civil society and church groups, the South African government has been all but silent over Operation Murambatsvina. Responding to UK Foreign Secretary's request for South Africa to act against Zimbabwe, South Africa's Presidential Spokesperson Bheki Khumalo questioned what he termed a "bogeyman approach being used to scare African countries, like children, into conforming with the West." He said South Africa refused to accept the notion that it must appease G8 leaders because Mbeki was attending the summit in Scotland. "We do things because we believe they are correct and right."

This approach is consistent with South African Foreign Minister Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma's March 2003 statement that South Africa will "never" condemn its Zimbabwean counterpart. "It is not going to happen as long as this government is in power," she told journalists.

Some African governments have explicitly approved of Operation Murambatsvina. At a housing seminar in Cape Town on 4 July 2005, the Kenyan Minister of Housing, Amos Kimunya is reported to have "sympathised with the actions of the Zimbabwean government" and noted that "however painful, evictions are necessary."¹⁶

A statement issued by the General Council of the Bar of South Africa expressing solidarity with "those who call on the nation states of Africa to openly condemn the operation" has reminded the South African and African governments that they are signatories to the African Charter. As such, they have "accepted the obligation to protect and promote human and peoples' rights and freedoms on the continent."

In an attempt to restore credibility to President Mbeki's flagship development program, the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), Reuel Khoza, Chairman of the NEPAD Business Foundation accused the AU of shirking responsibility for Zimbabwe.¹⁷ Indeed it is difficult to imagine how the African Peer Review Mechanism, a key element of NEPAD, will ever be taken seriously when such egregious violations of human rights are not condemned or even criticised.

Despite their reluctance to condemn the latest wave of violence against Zimbabweans, the country's neighbouring states are likely to be negatively affected. These countries are already struggling to cope with the constantly rising number of Zimbabwean exiles and refugees. South Africa alone has an estimated 3 million Zimbabwean refugees, the vast majority of whom have not been granted any official status and survive on the margins of society, often reliant on charity. The social and economic pressures of more refugees in neighbouring countries, particularly Botswana and South Africa are only likely to worsen. In a recent report we document the disastrous health consequences for Zimbabwe and its neighbours of inaction over Zimbabwe.¹⁸

Africa's political leadership has clearly chosen to ignore the statement by the coalition of more than 200 human rights groups that "African solidarity should be with the people of Africa – not their repressive leaders."

The way forward

As the leaders convene for their G8 meeting they should demand not just fiscal responsibility as a condition of debt relief and aid, but improving regional democracy as well. The test of SADC and the AU should not just be about 'selling' the region to investors, and other 'good' news, but addressing the hard issues, such as promoting Zimbabwean democracy.

As a result African leaders must have their comfort and complacency undermined unless they promise action. If not the G8 leaders will be rewarding bad behaviour by giving debt relief without demanding action, and tacitly condoning Mugabe's actions.

The West may feel it is not appropriate for them to act (militarily at least) on Zimbabwe, notably because they will be criticised as imperialists by Africans. However, Western leaders should not reward those with the regional responsibility who have failed in their moral duty to protect the lives of vulnerable Zimbabwean citizens. Furthermore, the potential destabilisation of the region, due to escalating refugee numbers and the uncontrolled spread of HIV/AIDS increases the regional risk

significantly, further impacting on vested interests. Ultimately African leaders must accept that they are playing into the hands of those who perceive the continent as a failure and a breeding ground for despots.

In order to gain essential support of the international community, African leaders must prove their commitment to the rule of law, the protection of innocent civilians and the protection of property rights, as well as taking responsibility for their actions, both fiscal and moral.

Absolute power is when a man is starving and you are the only one able to give him food.

Robert Gabriel Mugabe

Acknowledgement

The Solidarity Peace Trust is a non-governmental organisation, registered in South Africa. The Trustees of the Solidarity Peace Trust are church leaders of Southern Africa, who are all committed to human rights, freedom and democracy in their region. Its *co-chairpersons* are Archbishop Pius A Ncube; Catholic Archbishop of Bulawayo, Zimbabwe and Bishop Rubin Phillip; Anglican Bishop of KwaZulu-Natal, Republic of South Africa. *The objectives of the Trust are to assist individuals, organisations, churches and affiliated organisations in southern Africa, to build solidarity in the pursuit of justice, peace and social equality and equity in Zimbabwe. It shall be the special concern of the Trust to assist victims of human rights abuses in their efforts to correct and end their situation of oppression.*

The Solidarity Peace Trust published an interim report on 27th June on Operation Murambatsvina, which has provided some material and corroborated much else that we have reported above. The Trust's report is unsigned but concludes that "For the Government to presume to dictate that hundreds of thousands of their fellow citizens should be driven out of the towns...when rural life also means the real danger of starving to death...like so much filth is indeed a crime against humanity."

Writing to the people of Zimbabwe from South Africa, the Trust's co-Chairman was more direct.

It is with a mixture of deep sadness and anger that I write this message of solidarity to you at this time of your national pain and suffering. Anger at the inhumanity and brutality of the police and security forces in destroying the homes and livelihoods of hundreds of thousands of people across Zimbabwe, and sadness at the indifference and lack of concern of a regime that appears increasingly bent on wilful violence and destruction. I am also greatly saddened by the lack of a decisive response from our government in South Africa and other SADC governments to these gross violations of people's socio-economic and human rights, and to the low exposure given to these atrocities in our national media (particularly the SABC).

We also pledge our on-going prayer and solidarity with you in this struggle, and our support in helping to mobilize resources for those affected by the 'tsunami' which has hit Zimbabwe. This tsunami is not as a result of a convulsion of nature, but is a result of the convulsions of an evil and despotic regime which no longer has the interests of its people at heart, and therefore must be resisted by every freedom loving person in Zimbabwe.

Bishop Rubin Phillip, Anglican Bishop of Natal

- ¹ Catholic Archbishop of Bulawayo, Zimbabwe
- ² Resident Fellow, American Enterprise Institute, Washington DC, USA
- ³ Director, Africa Fighting Malaria, Johannesburg, South Africa
- ⁴ There were only an estimated 400 dissidents in Matabeleland at the time of the massacres, known as Gukurahundi; most of those killed were innocent civilians
- ⁵ Mail and Guardian, South Africa, 24 June 2005
- ⁶ Institute of War and Peace Reporting, 6 June 2005
- ⁷ ZimOnline 28 May 2005, www.zimonline.co.za
- ⁸ Sokwanele Newsletter, 2 July 2005, www.sokwanele.com
- ⁹ The Independent (UK), 12 June 2005
- ¹⁰ Business Day “Ministers back Mugabe in clean-up campaign” 5 July 2005
- ¹¹ Justice for Agriculture, Zimbabwe
- ¹² Roger Bate “The Shell Game comes to Zimbabwe” Daily Standard, 27 May 2005
- ¹³ Business Day, “China seen as holding platinum-coated key to economic revival” with Bloomberg, 23 June 2005
- ¹⁴ ibid
- ¹⁵ The report on the International Commission of Intervention and State Sovereignty, entitled “The Responsibility to Protect”, published in December 2001, cited in “Discarding the filth” Operation Murambatsvina, Solidarity Peace Trust, 27 June 2005, www.solidaritypeacetrust.org.za
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