

Inside the Third Chimurenga by Robert Mugabe

When Robert Mugabe started driving the white farmers off their land in 2000, many of his supporters ran around wearing t-shirts which read "Third Chimurenga". In Zimbabwe, a "Chimurenga" is a war or a revolution. There are only 2 Chimurengas in Zimbabwe's history. The one is a rebellion against Colonial rule back in the 1890's and the Second Chimurenga was the "Rhodesian Bush war" - the war that lasted from the late 1960's to 1980. It was that Liberation war which brought Robert Mugabe to power.

When I saw his supporters wearing t-shirts with the slogan "Third Chimurenga", I knew that he had in reality declared war. In this case, on the white farmers. But that war has since gone on to have new dimensions. In 2007, Mugabe got the 14 SADC countries in Africa to agree to supporting his "War against the West". Mugabe is not only at war with the whites of Zimbabwe (only a few thousand of which are left anyway), but he is at war with the Western world. And he has already been at war for years now with the MDC opposition who are the duly elected Government of Zimbabwe. They had another resounding election win on 29 March 2008.

Robert Mugabe is illegally occupying the Presidency of Zimbabwe.

What you are about to read is a book put together by Mugabe for the purposes of propagandising the Youth of Zimbabwe. He calls up hordes of the youth for Militia training. They are known as the Youth Militia and also as The Green Bombers. But they proved that they are capable of murder, torture, arson, rape and much more. They are efficient and feared. This book is the book they are indoctrinated with.

Those of us familiar with the history can spot many of Mugabe's lies with ease in this book. And you will see some for yourself. For example, this book lauds democracy and has the slogan "Our Land is our Prosperity". Well, Mugabe is anything but democratic. He does all he can to prevent the MDC who are democratic, from coming to power. Murdering and torturing their supporters is all in a day's work for Mugabe's fiends.

I heard about this book but could not find a copy anywhere. About 4 or 5 years ago, one of my Zimbabwean contacts in Johannesburg, Jay Jay Sibanda of the CZA (Concerned Zimbabweans Abroad) movement told me I could get it from the BBC. He gave me the contact details and I went to the BBC's offices in Johannesburg. A female journalist there had photocopies of this book. She was reading it to see if it was worth writing about. She mentioned that there are some racist quotes in it, but beyond that she had little interest in it. So I made photocopies of their photocopies and I took them away.

I've been meaning to put this book on the internet for some years, but had problems getting some assistance. Anyhow, I thought I would just take it as is, without further editing and get it online.

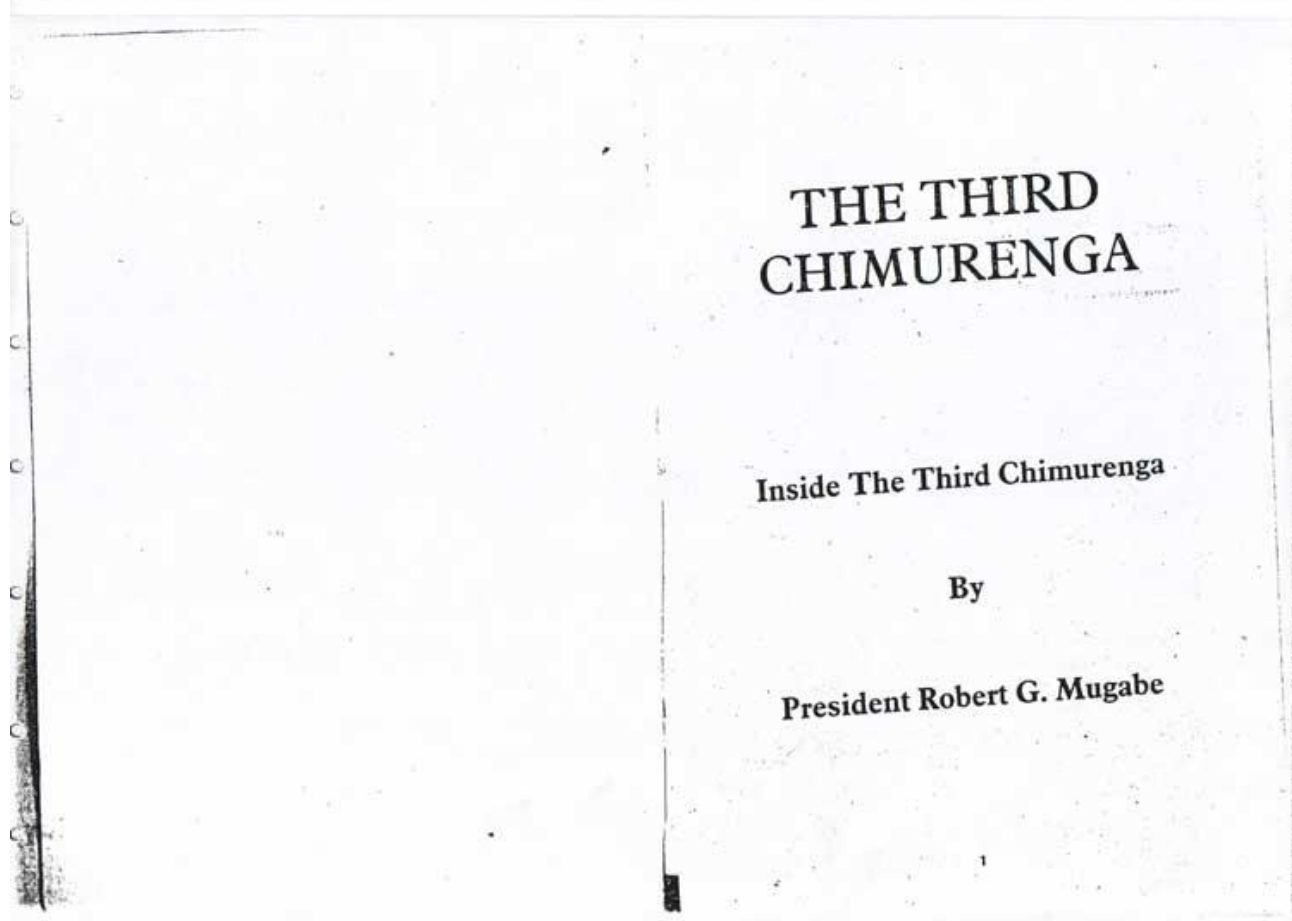
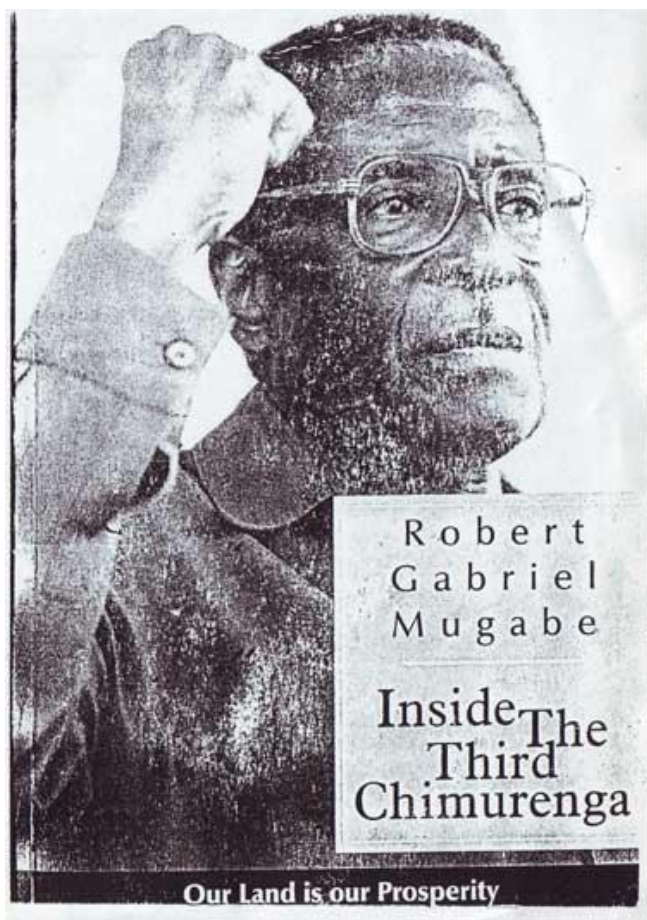
In this book are various racist quotes. The book is rather boring in many ways. The book also claims various economic successes which never really occurred. One of the most interesting portions of the book contains minutes of a meeting of Mugabe's "Politburo". Yes, the same term the old Soviet Union used to use. Mugabe is a Marxist, and was supported militarily by Communist China and probably will continue to be supported by China and Russia in the future. I found the Politburo meeting to be one of the most fascinating parts of the book.

I want to spread the book around in 2 phases. Firstly, to get it out. Then I'd like to start gathering together comments by people familiar with Zimbabwe, so that we can make corrections and point out errors and outright lies in the book.

Feel free to spread it around.

Jan Lamprecht
27 July 2008.

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Published by
 The Department of Information and Publicity
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 Munhumutapa Building
 P O BOX 7700, Causeway, Harare, Zimbabwe.
 E-mail: zimonlinegta.gov.zw
 Website: gta.gov.zw
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December, 2001

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ANC	-	African National Congress
BSAP	-	British South African Police
CFU	-	Commercial Farmers' Union
CMAG	-	Commonwealth Ministerial Action Group
ILO	-	International Labour Organisation
MDC	-	Movement for Democratic Change
NDP	-	National Democratic Party
SEED	-	Soldiers Engaged in Economic Development
UANC	-	United African National Congress
UDI	-	Unilateral Declaration of Independence
ZANU-PF	-	Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front
Zimprest	-	Zimbabwe Programme for Economic and social transformation

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*"But this land, this; the spirits dwelling in it
Will not yield to such casual intimidation
Neither will it give out its rich sad secrets
To half-hearted tokens of transparent love."*

(Zimbabwean Poetry in English by K.Z Muchemwa,
Mambo Press, Gweru, 1978)

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PART I: OUR FIGHT FOR LAND

CHAPTER 1: Africa at 40?

*Based on remarks made by President R.G. Mugabe on the occasion of the
'Africa at 40?' Conference, London, 28th October, 1997*

I am happy to be among you as you grapple with the important theme of what Africa is forty years since the epoch-making independence of Ghana in 1957. "Africa at 40" with or without the question mark is in one obvious sense clearly a short-hand way of drawing attention to the post-colonial history and experiences of the people of Africa. It is a way, I take it, of inviting us all to take stock of the road we have travelled in the last four decades and the challenges that continue to call for at least the kind of commitment and sacrifice that made possible the regaining of independence after the Second World War.

Yet, as we attempt to answer questions about the last forty years we must remain fully aware of the rich autonomous history and legacy of Africa's peoples in the centuries before colonialism interposed itself as a new factor in that history in the 19th Century.

There is also, again as we should recall, a whole epoch of political and cultural contact between Africa and other continents, especially between Africa and Europe: the age of Europe's expansion overseas; the age of forcible translocation of millions of Africans to far away lands across the oceans as slaves; the age of self-appointed saviours with claims to racially specific "burdens"; and of hunters and bellicose colonial imperial columns seeking effective realisation of Bismarckian dreams hatched at Berlin in 1884.

These long-lived actions of five hundred years and more naturally in turn invited counter-action in the form of resistance. Both these actions and counter-action in the form of resistance. Both these actions and counter-actions necessarily constitute as much an integral part of Africa's history as the road that has been travelled since Ghana 40 years ago.

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Time becomes an arbitrary marker, in fact an expression of man's wish or meaning and method as he grapples with the unfathomable. I maintain that Africa is much more than what we can count, much more than what you and I can see or experience here and now. Africa is peoples who have lived well before us; Africa is the mosaic of experiences, some of which are well beyond our ken - dynasties and kingdoms that have come and gone and whose visible leftovers we now revere as symbols of our own identity. Above all, Africa is all those powerful invisibles, those conditioning historical epochs antecedent to Africa at 40, but very much casually connected to processes, which shape its present and in some way influence its future. This is to say that the way to understand and appreciate Africa at 40 is to understand something of Africa before 40.

Africa at 40 is thus a complex amalgam of Africa's varied experiences before colonialism, under colonialism and in the era of independence, which epochs explain both Africa's existential condition and her possibilities. Yet I am only too well aware that to approach the matter in this way is not universally accepted. There are, for example, those who charge that whoever refers to the colonial era in explaining Africa's present travails is guilty of flogging a dead horse.

The legacy of colonialism, is, needless to say, all around us. It is a complex legacy. Over a large portion of the continent it sowed the seeds of a territorial and ethnic balkanization that continues to pose serious threats to political stability and economic viability to this day. French colonial policy, as expressed by one of France's foremost officials, Robert Delavignette, was to harness "the traditional feudal spirit" in the cordon chief to serve colonial administrative goals in colonial French Africa. Similarly, Lord Lugard exhorted his men to ensure that:

every Sultan and Emir ... will rule over the people as of old time ... but will obey the laws of the Governor and will act in accordance with the advice of the Resident.

The same policy of encouraging and whipping tribal and ethnic

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chauvinism for imperial goals was evident in British East Africa and Uganda where in 1917 one Colonel French urged his men to take advantage of the numerous and "ethnographically quite distinct" tribes to cultivate a native intermediary stratum for "imperial administration". His approach was to incorporate missionaries into this programme of fragmenting Africa by "allowing the same denomination to work in each demographic area and by not allowing the same denomination to work in two adjacent areas".

We see the same narrow consciousness afflicting even some of Africa's finest children. Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, that accomplished and articulate anti-colonial Nigerian, nevertheless succumbed to the ambiguities of African citizenry and protest under colonialism when in 1949 he remarked:

It would appear that the God of Africa has specially created the Ibo nation to lead the children of Africa from the bondage of the ages... The martial prowess of the Ibo nation at all stages of the human history has enabled them not only to conquer others but to adapt themselves to the role of the preserver.

Although meant to countermand Yoruba ethnic assertiveness, such remarks had their origins in a set of colonial policies, which neatly followed and encouraged traditional tribal and ethnic fault lines for the sole purpose of dividing and ruling us. Such as policy environment, yet, used traditional figures of authority, but also corrupted Africa's budding intellectuals as is also eloquently illustrated by a Senegalese, one Blaise Diagne, who was later to be elected to the French Parliament in 1894 and who would recruit for France 134 000 "subjects" to fight in Europe during the First World War. Reacting to Marcus Garvey's "Back to Africa" and decolonisation call, he asserted that:

We French natives wish to remain French, since France has given us every liberty and since she has

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unreservedly accepted us on the same basis as her European children. None of us desire to see French Africa delivered exclusively to the natives.

I emphasise this historical detail of colonial governance (or is it misgovernance?) to demonstrate the genesis of a tradition in Africa where structures and figures of power and authority evolve heavily-handedly, alienated from the very people who are supposed to be masters of all our institutions of governance. It is a tradition rooted in our colonial past and one where such power is bound to be illegitimate, coupled and subordinated to foreign interests, narrow and exclusionary. Such power and authority cannot advance the strategic interests of Africa, whether before, at or beyond the age of 40.

When Kwame Nkrumah insisted by way of a myriad speeches, pamphlets and books that "Africa must unite" he had in mind, among other things, the objective of achieving out unity, stability and viability. His call came against the background of divisions, ethnic or imperially induced, as I have already illustrated. In fact, for the greater part of his political career, he contended against such divisions, eventually succumbing to them in the *coup d'état* of 1966.

Indeed the launching of the Organisation of African Unity itself in 1963 had been dogged and delayed by serious divisions within the African continental leadership, dramatized by the three opposed political tendencies on the question of continental unity as represented by the so-called Casablanca, Monrovia and Brazzaville Groups. It is an established historical fact that whilst these contradictions expressed themselves on the African political scene and between African political protagonists, the impetus for discordance and division came from powerful imperial interests opposed to Africa's Unity and complete decolonisation. The establishment of the Organisation of African Unity happily put paid to these divisions and retrogressive alliances.

When in 1963 the thirty African leaders established the Organisation of

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African Unity (OAU) they sought in concrete organisational form to lay the foundation for a continental political dispensation that would at the very least ameliorate the negative consequences of the haphazard carve-up that had characterized Europe's colonizing thrust into the continent. Whatever the weaknesses of this continental body, it is clear that the spirit and purpose, which imbued it then and continues to drive it is a noble one. Its Charter of Unity adopted in 1963 in Addis Ababa had very clear objectives towards the Unity of Africa and its total decolonisation. It, among other things, sought to:

- work for unity and solidarity among African Nations;
- encourage Africans to plan and act together for a better life for Africa's peoples;
- defend the sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity of Africa's states; and
- get rid of all forms of colonialism in Africa.

The OAU's greatest success has been in orchestrating the complete decolonisation of Africa, much against violent opposition from colonial powers. Most of you, I am sure, would recall that as recent as 1968, that is many years after the so-called civilized nations had endorsed the principle of self-determination, Portugal's Marcelo Caetano still maintained that:

Africa is for us a moral justification and a *raison d'être* as a power. Without it we would be a small nation, with it we are a great power.

A similar violent opposition to the decolonisation process was expressed by the socialist French Minister of Interior in the Mendes-France's government and later that country's liberation in Algeria, rhetorically asked his countrymen: "Who among you would hesitate to use all means to save France?" I do not need to remind you of the "not in a thousand years" declaration from my part of the world, again this utterance by Ian

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Smith shows similar resoluteness in resisting the wind of change. Indeed, such belligerence found succour in the bogey of communism which imperialism and apartheid used as the reason to violently resist our legitimate demands for freedom and self-rule. Particularly for Southern Africa, the OAU played a critical role in the defeat of colonialism and apartheid. Its Liberation Committee headquartered in Tanzania throughout our struggle in the region-sought arms from Africa and Socialist countries for our freedom fighters and quite often intervened to foster unity in our struggles. It secured arms from Socialist countries as none came from Europe. Not even from Britain in our case where she had every moral reason to dislodge the rebel Ian Smith regime. It was the OAU through its Liberation Committee and the Front-line States, which bore a large part of the burden of liberation. Even after the independence of Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Namibia, when the struggle refocused on apartheid-ruled South Africa, the West remained a reluctant player which had to be nudged at every step, with Frontline States incurring costs conservatively estimated at US\$46 billion resulting from destabilization only during the first eight years after Zimbabwe attained Independence in 1980.

Let historians who are wont to castigate us as "African Reds" remember that Europe did not hesitate to enlist the same "Reds" to defeat Nazism. Let them remember that it was Europe, not the Soviet Union that occupied, colonized and exploited Africa. Several countries in Africa today stand free from the scourge of colonialism by dint of Communist arms! We remain perpetually grateful and indebted to former and present communist countries for their support and generosity.

What lessons on democracy am I supposed to learn today from a continent and imperialist states that would give none to me and my countrymen during centuries of occupationist rule? Was it not as late as 1944 that the Vichy Government, through its colonial commissioner Rene Pleven, summed up the colonial ethos of governance thus:

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In greater colonial France there are neither peoples to enfranchise nor racial discrimination to abolish... There are populations which we intend to conduct, stage by stage, to political personality, and for the more developed to political rights, but this will still mean that the only independence they will want will be the independence of France?

The roots of genuine democracy in Africa derive from our anti-colonial peoples' struggles whose goals incorporated civil liberties, national unity and the economic empowerment of all our people in place of bondage, ethnic fragmentation and chattel status. I have already demonstrated the colonial roots of tribal and ethnicised politics and I stress that this evil spawned in the colonial past bedevils us in the independent present. Indeed we have in recent times seen violent and ethnicised implosions as African countries like Liberia, Somalia, Rwanda, Burundi, etc. retreat from nationhood. There are big powers, which seek to fan such breakaway tribal politics in the name of oppositional democracy. To some of us, championing such conflict in the name of democracy is resorting to the old colonial policy of dividing our society, but now under new guises.

It is also important to stress that instability brought about by military personnel through coups d'etat has been a common phenomenon. In several cases such overthrow of legitimate authority has been instigated from outside Africa. The ousting of Kwame Nkrumah and the murder of Patrice Lumumba had such a resonance. Today Mobutu reads in history as an archetypal military dictator that the West made and consolidated against the genuine wishes of the Zairean people. To the very end, the West, which saw him as an opponent of communism, was pleading, as he was still alive, that he be accommodated by the new Government of President Kabila in spite of his heinous crimes against his own people and Africa. And there are several other leaders who like him have, over the last 40 years, wreaked havoc upon their people but who came to power through imperialist support.

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I would want to believe that it is not fortuitous that Southern Africa which went through the crucible of an anti-imperialist struggle today largely exhibits a stronger promise of national cohesiveness, stability and democracy than any other African region. The region has largely escaped the scourge of coups although it has had its own share of fractious conflict. Together with other countries, which have escaped or overcome the divisive legacy of colonialism, Southern Africa constitutes a nucleus for African democratic assertiveness and political hope.

Apart from the occasional strategic and related considerations, Europe's colonial enterprise in Africa was fundamentally premised on the quest for economic gain particularly in the sphere of raw materials. This obvious point which, incidentally, was well and unabashedly articulated by, among others, Cecil John Rhodes is sometimes disputed on the grounds that some colonies in fact had very little to offer by way of minerals or other raw materials.

In any event, as in my own country, the apparent absence of large deposits of the gold the colonial settlers had originally single-mindedly set out to exploit did not deter them from changing focus from mining to farming and ranching. The inevitable march of Rhodes' civilizing mission could not, as the colonizer saw it, be halted even if it meant being opposed by and killing of thousands of indigenous people, for land was still as precious as, if not more precious than, gold. Raw materials extracted from the African soil soon found their way by design to the factories of the colonial powers even where processing them in the colony of origin might have been more rational, in at least the narrow sense of being more profitable. Colonial occupation thus became both political and economic.

At independence, then, Africa's inheritance from colonialism was an appendage economy, often monoculture, with rudimentary or even non-existent manufacturing industry. The task of our people and

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governments, initially perceived dimly but more clearly today, is to transform this inherited economic structure so that the people can fully benefit from the exploitation of their labour and resources. In the latter part of the 40 years of independence we have sought to diversify our economies, to industrialise, to improve agriculture, to broaden the skills base through education and training, to build the requisite infrastructure, to facilitate and enhance the process of industrialisation and to ensure that where necessary these initiatives are well-coordinated regionally and, ultimately, continentally.

Since its formation, the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), has now taken bold and historic steps in the economic as well as the political spheres with a view to according meaning to the aspirations of the African people in asserting their dignity. The adoption of the Lagos Plan of Action and its Final Act in 1980 was a defining moment in Africa's quest to promote economic, social and cultural development, and the integration of African economies in order to enhance sustainable economic development. It was a clear recognition of the fact that in themselves the economies of Africa had serious limitations, and that for as long as each country continued to pursue her own separate and inward looking policies, the African continent would remain forever weak. At Lagos, therefore, Africa committed herself to the formation and strengthening of sub-regional organisations as the first step towards the economic integration of the continent.

At the sub-regional level, the Lagos Plan of Action, as later reinforced by the Abuja Treaty, found expression in the creation or strengthening of organisations such as the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the Southern African Development Community (SADC), the Maghreb Union, the Common Market of East and Southern Africa (COMESA) and a possible Central African Economic Community, as essential building blocs for a future viable African Economic Community. It was this economic motivation, which led to the Treaty establishing the African Economic Community adopted at Abuja in

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June 1991. Africa's resolve to establish an African Economic Community by the Year 2030 was reaffirmed at Harare in June this year with the historic convening of the first ever-economic summit of the African Economic Community comprised of the Heads of State and Government of the OAU. The Summit decided that sub-regional organisations should now proceed to establish organic links with the OAU in order for them to acquire the true status of building blocs for the envisaged African Common Market.

At the national level, many African states are currently undertaking bold economic reforms with a view to promoting sustainable economic growth and development. In a number of cases, these reforms have already started to yield positive results with economic growth rates of between 5% and 10% having been registered in the past year. These positive developments notwithstanding, Africa still faces immense difficulties in its developmental efforts. The burden of external indebtedness and debt repayments, unfair terms of trade, low foreign direct investment flows, and dwindling Official Development Assistance, are serious impediments to its development.

Then too, Africa continues to wallow in the vicious cycle of diminishing returns to its exports of commodities and the rising costs of its imports from developed countries. Only a few primary commodities still constitute the main exports of most African states, since manufactured goods still amount to less than 5% of total world exports of manufactured goods. It has been estimated that the total loss of foreign exchange earnings to the African continent due to falling prices, particularly of agricultural products, by far exceeds all foreign funds, which have been invested, loaned or granted to the continent in the last half century.

In fact, thirty-three African economies now constitute the bulk of the least developed countries of the world and as a group, these economies registered the lowest economic growth rates between 1975 and 1995, averaging between a negative 4.3% and a positive 0.8% of the Gross

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Domestic Product (GDP). In terms of living standards, Africa's least developed economies recorded in 1995 an average GDP per capita of US\$178.

In 1995, the highest foreign debt burden constituting an average of 184% of GDP was recorded among Africa's least developed countries, the highest being 443.6%. In the same year, the highest debt service ratio of 201.9%, and an average of 39%, was recorded for these countries.

In these circumstances, the need for the international community in general, and the industrialised countries in particular, to support Africa's developmental efforts cannot be overemphasized. In this regard, we welcome the important initiatives on Africa announced recently by the United States of America in the area of trade and investment. We equally welcome the support being given to Africa by several developed countries including the European Union and Japan in the areas of infrastructural development.

In the political sphere, many African governments have now committed themselves to upholding the rule of law, democracy and good governance. During the past ten years over twenty African States have held democratic elections. Happily, the OAU has committed itself to supporting these processes. At the Thirty-third Summit of the OAU held in Harare in June this year, Africa made it categorically clear that it will no longer tolerate or give succour to regimes which usurp power by unconstitutional means, demonstrating thereby its determination that the values and practice of democracy, human rights, and the rule of law, shall prevail in Africa, for these are values that African people fought for in their bitter anti-colonial struggle. Hence the action taken against Sierra Leone by suspending its membership and appealing to ECOWAS to take successive steps against it because of the recent coup d'etat.

Equally important are the OAU initiatives in the realm of conflict resolution and conflict preventive diplomacy. At the continental level,

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We are either makers of a new world based on new democratic principles of economic and social justice, or we remain in the old world with some conquering nations still set on old agendas of shrinking the rights of smaller nations as they enlarge their own conquests, sanctifying this under the cover of good governance, transparency, anticorruption, democracy, human rights and digital technology. We anticipate the risk of importing the spirit and contradictions of the Victorian era of slavery and colonialism into the new millennium and the New World Order.

We also risk accepting the hypocrisy hidden in the demand for the democratic reform of national governments and institutions in developing countries while doing nothing to reform the undemocratic structures and practices of international bodies such as the Bretton Woods institutions and indeed the United Nations itself. If the new millennium, like the last, remains an age of hegemonic empires and conquerors doing the same old things in new technological ways; remains the age of the master race; of the master economy and master state, then I am afraid we in developing countries will have to stand up as a matter of principle and say, "no, not again!"

The time has come for the practise of political and economic dominance of poor nations by the rich to give way to birth of a new inter-dependent world that recognises and respects the diversity and dignity of all cultures and civilisations. In this connection, I am pleased that the United Nations has declared 2001 as the "Year of Dialogue between Civilisations."

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Chapter 3: The Church as a Historic Partner in the Fight for Land: But Where Does the Church Stand Today?

* Based on remarks made by His Excellency, The President of Zimbabwe, CDE.RG.Mugabe, at the Imbisa Plenary Assembly, Harare, 30th July 2001.

The church as the cradle of mankind

As always it gives me great pleasure personally to be with the Church of my father and mother; the church of my whole family, indeed the church that has claimed and I believe, secured my devotional allegiance the larger part of my life. Of course Chishawasha is the place of my late mother, the place where she grew and developed Christian ways she would later impart to all of us her children, and of course to those in her neighbourhood. She died a devout Catholic; she died under your care. This added to what the Catholic Church has meant and done for our country, for our people; what it continues to do in our midst: by way of spiritual food, education, social relief, health and the invaluable overall guidance of conscience it gives to our society, makes one reflexively gravitate towards it for spiritual and moral nourishment and replenishment. Being mere mortals and scions of original sinful parents, it is vital that we constantly reconnect with forms of spirituality and you are one such. It gets even more pressing and imperative for those of us who have been chosen to lead societies and those of us who have been chosen to lead societies and thus daily make decisions and actions that impact society in its vastness: the rich, the poor; the overfed, the hungry: the righteous, the sinful, the strong the weak the educated and uneducated the ignorant and many more.

- We lead through cold, impersonal structures called bureaucracies, which in their daily motions are wont to undermine the very humanity they are meant to save. Indeed this is one of the ironies of human

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inventions! Unfortunately the church is always there to whisper sanity and conscience and where this is ignored, to speak out and call us back to humanity.

The Church versus Land-grabbing

June 1959, an angry bold voice cried out in what then was a colonial wasteland of Southern Rhodesia. It said:

"Can you in conscience blame the African, if eking out a tenuous existence from the poor soil in an overcrowded Reserve, he is swayed by subversive propaganda, when close besides him there lie hundreds of thousands of hectares of fertile soil which he may not cultivate, not occupy, not grace, because although it lies unused and unattended, it belongs to some individual or group of individuals who perhaps do not use the land in the hope of profit from speculation?"

Those same voices, then in a much gentler tone of a master counsellor, had two years before in 1957 said:

"And yet another thing, not so palatable we must do something about land hunger among the African People. Go into Reserves and see what they have to live on, and you will understand what I mean."

Reading these words, I am sure one would readily ascribe them to one Anti British Marxist African autocratic firebrand called Robert Gabriel Mugabe, blamed for destroying Zimbabwe. Well let me speak for him. At the material time, Robert Mugabe the Marxist had just left Chalimbana Teacher Training College in Zambia for St Mary's Teachers college in Takoradi, Ghana as a young unmarried lecturer. I am not so sure he knew about Karl Marx, let alone had read any of Marx's work

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which were banned in the then Southern Rhodesia. But certainly, he knew a lot about Marist Brothers and their salutary work in the country. He had grown up at Kutama where the Catholic Church was English, and thus had not quite come in contact with the Irish Carmelites. Certainly he did not know of Donald Raymond Lamont, the real speaker of the above words.

Lamont was a devout Catholic, in fact the then Bishop of Umtali, and thus one of our own dear Graces. His focus was the African People and tier albeit conditions under settler colonialism. He called them a purchased people. His moral indignation was focused and animus was focused on the colonial authority who had passed the undemocratic, dispossessing and discriminatory Land Husbandry Act 1951. In derivation, his indignation came from the holy book:

"Woe unto those who decree unrighteous decrees/ Who right misfortune/ Which they have prescribed/ To rob the needy of justice/ And to take what is right from the poor of My People / That Widows may be their prey/ And that they may rob the fatherless (Isiah 10:1-2)

It was also directed at his own church, the Roman Catholic, which he saw equivocating in the face of patent racial injustice. He knew a good many of his colleagues in the Church and in other denominations, particularly those of English and German descent, who went beyond and actually stood by settler governments right up to the last days of Udi. He knew and in fact had confronted the conservative outlook of church leaders like the German Marian hill Fathers led by Wegger, Edmar and Stojek, then in Matebeleland. He knew of the right wing Father Arthur Lewis of the Anglican Church. Indeed, Historically he knew that churches in Southern Africa had in the words of Linden "goes out to the African from the [colonial] laager" had supported imperial expansion and had shared in the spoils of conquest to levels where they own the rich farm land and look after African tenants.

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Historically therefore, the Church had in many ways failed to covenant with the poor by doing wright, seeking justice encouraging the oppressed, defending the cause of the fatherless and pleading the case of the widow as required it (Isiah 1:17). It had become part of the Anglo Saxon racial nationalism and staunchly believed in the imperial notion of Greater England. Its interpretation of faith and witness largely agreed with the imperial pursuits of Rhodes and his successors.

He was not alone or the first one to dissent. Methodist missionary John White had at the beginning criticised the British South African Company for undermining the right to life, Justice and the rule of law in the new colony. Referring to officials of the administration, he said:

"Unworthy and inefficient fellows are sent out there [Southern Rhodesia]. They do practically what they like. Some of these fellows think less of shooting a Mashona than they do of shooting a dog. The burning of huts, stealing meal and raping of their women are common occurrences".

Of course such wanton acts of racial banditry on the part of those who had been trusted to govern were systematic and sanctioned from the highest authorities. On 7th January, 1893, the Rhodesian Herald could thus write:

"One need not have the slightest hesitation in affirming that throwing open the law courts the Mashona is as great folly as it would be to give his race honoured seats at our tables or office of authority."

Its edition of 19th April 1895 was even more forthright and rejected the notion of "white justices for the black" while pushing for "native justice for the native";

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For the Rhodesian it was absurd to take the untutored savage, accustomed as he is from time immemorial to superstitious and primitive ideas of law and justice, and suddenly try to govern him by the same code of laws that govern a people with many centuries of experience and enlightenment".

Instead, it exhorted settler farmers to "continue pegging way" land, now that gold goblets could no longer be found. For such is the Kingdom of Prosperity", concluded the editorial with suitable piety! The blacks from whom the land was stolen, went on the Rhodesian Herald of Herald of July 1893,

"do not use a large portion of their rich and fertile country, and the indemnity for the expenses incurred could be paid without hardships to the natives in farms and mining ground".

Unfortunately the Church could not prick settler conscience, could not moderate such excesses, having itself concluded through its Jesuits magazine, the Zambesi Mission Record of January 1911, that:

"...the blacks are, and must for generations to come remain the inferior race. It is our duty to raise them from the state of barbarism and to heathenism, but they should be taught to submit cheerfully to the duty so long ago foretold "a servant of servants shall ye be unto his brethren."

So conquest was taken to be good for the natives and the killings, the pillage the pegging continued right up to the end. Human rights continued to be violated with impunity and, above all, the rule of the supreme law, the Constitution, would be overthrown on 11th November,

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1965 by Ian Douglas Smith, again in the name of God the Almighty:

"We have struck a blow for the preservation of justice, civilisation and Christianity, and in the spirit of this belief we have this day assumed our sovereign independence. God bless you all".

This was the ethos and legacy of law, order, justice, human rights and democracy which colonial rule gave the African, gave this country and which, we are told everyday, we are undermining.

The Church hopes to tackle many issues including those related to land, Peace Transparency, Democracy, Rule of Law and Good Governance. Just what legacy do we, as present day leaders in politics, in the church and in communities get from such an ethos? What peace: what political and economic justices: what rule of law? And for you specifically as church leaders, you face one fundamental question: what are Christians supposed to do, nay expected to do, when they live under an unjust system which claims to be Christian, to be Godly? What do we tell God's oppressed children; what do we tell "a purchased people"; what do we tell the widow, the needy, the fatherless, the landless? What form does Christian witness take in such circumstances?

The Church Against UDI

The Church is not of the rich man. It is the church of and for the poor, of the needy and of the poor for the oppressed in the totality of their circumstances. This is why the church's focus is on poverty and economic justices in the new millennium. It is the same Church which just over two weeks after the Smith UDI, boldly issued the following plea for peace and justice.

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"Grave provocation has been given to many people (through UDI). Their hurt must be assuaged. They must be given hope, their legitimate grievances must be given hope, and their legitimate grievances must be examined fairly and with genuine desire to remove them. It is simply courting disaster and building up massive resentment for the years ahead to offer palliatives, or to try to reduce to silence the voices of those who speak piteously pleading against the indignity of being regarded as second-class citizens, of being governed with mere token representation, of being made to feel that theirs is a permanent position of inferiority with little hope"

More outrages followed, the most notable of which was the 1969 constitution. Anglican Bishop Kenneth Skelton would add to this voice by saying:

"It is not good enough to wring our hands and say we must accept it and try to live with it. Justice is more important than law and order and can sometimes be incompatible with it... The Church is being challenged today every churchman is being challenged. Are you tamely, passively to accept a constitution based on fear and therefore denying Christ? Are you tamely, passively, going to accept a Land act based on racial segregation and therefore denying Christ?"

The Church versus the Land Tenure Act

An April 1970 inter-denomination statement from bishops and church leaders would be even more forthright in its affirmation of just rule over "unrighteous decrees", over those who "write and prescribe misfortune to rob the needy and poor:

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"We affirm that the new Constitution and the Land Tenure Act cannot be reconciled with the Christian faith, since they entrench separation and discrimination solely on the basis of race. This is in direct contradiction of the New Testament teaching that race, like other human distinctions, has lost all divisive significance and should not be used to regulate relationships between man and God, and man and man. The Christian responsibility to love accepts no barriers and cannot be defined or restricted by legislation."

All these pleas were not heeded, with hurt and resentment seeping deeper and deeper. The result was a full, costly war of Independence which claimed many lives, including some from your own, including the murder and massacre of priests in Lupane in 1976 and that of Sister Loisa at Musami in February 1977 by the Selous Scouts. We lost and left many, many children and grown-ups in mass graves in Mozambique, Zambia, Botswana and Tanzania. Many, many more perished here precisely to reverse the unrighteous decrees and writings of misfortunes which yourselves opposed: the various Land Acts, segregation laws, undemocratic constitutions, unilateral declarations, etc. It was a just war which is why the Church, with all its contradictions, overall identified with the liberation struggle. Politically, our fight was for the right of our nation to self-determination, which meant the right to independence in political terms. It could not have been the only goal given the nature and scope of oppression.

The main basis of our fight with settlers, a fight which began at the very onset of colonialism, had been the national question of land. It informed Zimbabwe's entire politics, generated a solid support base for the armed struggle with all its attendant hazards, and spurred our fighters on, right up to the bitter end. Land, Land was the cry. And as I

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have just shown, it was also the cry and plea in Church. Apart from being the basis of our liberation struggle, its loss was the basis of African poverty and indigence in this country. To this day, alienation remains casually linked to the poverty and backwardness of our people. Equally, to this day, its allocation is largely as shaped by the same forces and decrees.

The goal and struggle for self-determination and sovereignty which you supported, even at great personal peril for some of you included, in fact rested and depended on our sovereign right, access, control and use of those natural resources which God in his infinite generosity gave us, the land, all creatures great and small that crawl on it, the plants, the rivers, and streams of water clear or dirty, the soils, the pebbles, rocks, hills and mountains. All that, God gave us all who belong to this land to use.

The Lancaster House Conference of 1979 gave us political sovereignty with many conditions and entrenchments, which we were determined to overcome later in the political battlefield. The Church appealed to us as Church leaders in Lusaka a year before Independence and we listened even though we poised to overrule the illegal regime here through the barrel of the gun. We compromised so the war could end and lives saved. What we could not get at the negotiating table we believed we could recover through the instrumentality of political control of the arms and instruments of governance in the fullness of time.

The Lancaster House Conference failed to resolve the principal grievance of Land, which had caused, the war of liberation in the first place. Again we reasoned we would resolve it under conditions of peace and self-government. Since Independence we have sought to do no more than compete that covenant, that contract we have entered with the poor and oppressed namely to stand by the fatherless, the widow, the needy, and landless. We effected sixteen changes to the Lancaster

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house Constitution precisely to dismantle those "unrighteous decrees" which you yourselves had protested against for relegating blacks to second-class status both in politics and economic terms. The British would not dismantle them but instead smuggled new ones to protect their interests and those of their children here. So poverty continued: so bitterness and hurt deepened even more. As late as last year we tried through the Draft Constitution to remove the principal decree of "misfortune" to our people by inserting a clause on land which would have speeded up the correction of an historical injustice, thereby contributing to the healing. What happened is known to everyone including the Church. Whites rallied local and international support in opposing that clause. Monies poured in and an opposition movement was formed to defeat this process of correcting a long outstanding injustice.

What was Government to do in order to fulfil the just mission? We are a Government born out of the liberation struggle. The poor send their children to war to recover their heritage. Several children of the poor who were put in our custody were slain, we could not defend them all. What message do we give them today as they wallow in their pre-independence poverty? That those you fought against have refused with the land and you may no have it? How will they respond to us when they cannot see their children who perished in slaughter? Do we go back to war? These are the questions that face us in leadership. The colonial power has reneged on its promise. Instead it is siding with its children here to perpetuate conditions of internal white colonialism in this country. I, as the President of a sovereign Republic of Zimbabwe, am expected to repudiate the liberation struggle and its goals, while urging a hungry, landless peasants ironically to seek blandishments of the new world, like law and order, rule of law, democracy, free and fair ballot, market economy. He asks whether the law that must rule him is just, whether he is a sharer in the so-called market economy? Indeed I am asked what he eats after casting his vote. What answer do I give him Your Graces and Eminences?

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As in the past, the basis of conflict in contemporary Zimbabwe is the unresolved national question of Land. It is also the basis of peace and all other rights that we wish for in a democracy. Its solutions would enable us to end the two-nation, two-race model we inherited from colonialism. It would create opportunities for everyone and give a stake to the majority of our people; indeed it is the way to the recovery of our economy. This is why Land Reform is at the heart of the current struggle. We cannot relent on this one and we hope the Church will stand with and by us in resolving it.

Yes, there has been lots of tension, lots of excesses on either side of the divide. Lives have been lost: black and white. The latest life to be lost is black and we regret such losses and condemn all those who precipitate them. But we cannot resolve a fundamental question with piety and sentimentality. It did not work in the past; it will not work now for the propertied racial class will not appreciate social justice and the value of sharing especially as western nations from whom this class derives have chosen to side with injustice in this country.

Where does the Church Stand?

One hopes that the Church is clear about its stance and position on the matter. I refuse to read the Church's position from lay persons and isolated preachers who would want to create an impression that the church in Zimbabwe is an English or German church. I refuse even to be provoked by such lonely voices who want to see the church lending holiness to unjust laws and arrangements which stifle the poor and such voices you have always had and will always have in the church. It is also true that such figures have no future in the Church and will sooner or later go to their real impious calling. That is already happening and that way, humanity is cleansed. The issue is for the church itself to remain with the poor for that is where it gets righteousness. Please make those of us in Government remain true and

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committed servants of the needy, the widow, the poor and the fatherless. Let virtue thrive over vice and justice over injustice.

CHAPTER 4: Resisting Imperialists and their Local Agents.

**Based on remarks made by the First Secretary and President of ZANU-PF, CDE. R.G MUGABE, at the forty-seventh ordinary session of the central committee.*

The land issue

The land issue continues to dominate and to demand our singular attention and commitment. The gazetting process is close to completion, and planning and demarcation teams are hard at work anticipating a resumption of more allocation and resettlement activities, which have to start soonest now that the harvest is over and done with. The Ministry of Rural Resources and Water Development through its development arm, the District Development Fund, is working on the infrastructure in newly opened lands and one hopes tillage teams can begin to work ahead of the season.

Some commercial farmers continue to oppose the whole programme, by even using their control of MDC structures and membership to mount attacks on land occupiers whose presence on farms is either covered by a new law on land occupiers, or anticipates the transfer of title of that land to the State. Some of these farmers are even attacking our planning teams sent to demarcate acquired properties. Yet the Commercial Farmers' Union (CFU) claims it now wants to play a constructive and supportive role on land reforms. Such duplicity will not work and only serves to harden our resolve to see through the programme.

Unfortunately, ours is a white community with an imperious attitude, a

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community which never accepted defeat and the new political dispensation of MAJORITY RULE ushered by our independence; a community which discountenances the development of just society predicated on principle of equality and fairness, but would rather there was a continuation of Rhodesian socio-economic system. They somehow imagine they have emerged permanent victors and lords over the majority. Their racial structures have largely been retained and even elaborated. They continue to nurture and pledge membership to the Rhodesian lobby across the world, which they use to undermine our sovereignty and to organise other hostile acts against black majority. Beyond their lobbies in South Africa, Britain, Australia and other western countries, they have enlisted the support of the so-called South African and British white liberals like Tony Leon and Peter Hain who imagine that they run a super continental colonial government allowing them to superintend over sovereign African states, taunting and belittling African leaders everywhere. Just how do you integrate such a supremacist, arrogant and exclusive community which sees every thing: business, eating, playing, and even dying through a colour prism? They have their own "government", their own economy, and their own bundle of right, separable and incomparable to those rights we claim and enjoy as lesser, darker mortals. The grain they get from our land is not part of the national stock, the tobacco they harvest from our land can be withheld unless we devalue, unless we allow them to retain so much of the earnings, unless we stop land reforms, unless... the list is endless. Their produce has to be treated differently. Why? Surely time must come when they either in reality become part of us, or a part of someone else who is not here, in which case they have to join that someone. What our land produces; the rewards which our sweat and toil bring must surely belong to this country, to our people. These are products, which must go towards the gross domestic and national product of this economy and country. If white farmers want to continue farming on our land and in our country, they must be part of

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us and part of the overall national effort, not a part of Britain, nor a part of any other overseas economy.

Africa engaging in the struggle for land.

Our sister countries on the continent have now fully accepted that our struggle for land rights is an integral part of common struggles against imperialism and for full sovereignty of our continent. Presently, there is a new African initiative which is led by Nigeria and supported by South Africa, Kenya, and Jamaica, meant to break the current impasse on the land issue. This is an initiative which replaces the ill-fated CMAG ruse which Britain wanted to use to internationalise what in reality is an ugly and irresponsible bilateral relationship with Zimbabwe over the unresolved colonial land question. The African group has invited Britain and Australia so they are part of a fact finding seven man mission, which will visit Zimbabwe ahead of the Commonwealth Summit in Brisbane, in Australia. The team will examine the land question in so far as it has yielded the current impasse and help evolve ways of breaking through this British-imposed impasse. We are faced by a number of by-elections arising from court actions by the opposition Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) over the June parliamentary election. These court actions which follow counts and recounts of votes; which follow even signed acceptance of free and fair electoral constituency outcomes by the opposition, were designed not just to discredit the electoral process here while generating publicity for the opposition, but also to cripple our institutions, including Parliament through uncertainty. Is not democracy made ridiculous if its major result is paralysis?

As the British Deputy Prime Minister will readily agree, incidents are an integral part of ballot political. We had riots in Britain in the run-up to elections; we even have violent break up of demonstrations against the European Union in countries that consider themselves liberal. Where in the world has democracy been so perfected as to be incident

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presented as freaks; here they are blown out of proportion and become heinous offences. Differences between organs of Government, themselves natural, and some would say desirable in a democracy, are treated as breakdowns in law and order. Perhaps it is time we moved on, motivated by the desire to develop democracy for our people, not for an overseas audience.

Anyway, by-elections are upon us and we have to win them all. The Party machinery must go to work so that our people *en masse* go out to vote and deliver the victory which is ours.

Long live Zanu PF!!

Long live our struggle!

Land to the People!

CHAPTER 5: Zimbabwe a Sovereign State Defending Africa's Territorial Integrity.

**Based on remarks made by his excellency the President and Commander-In-Chief of the defence forces, CDE. R G MUGABE, on the occasion of the Zimbabwe Defence Forces Day Harare, 12th August, 2001*

The 12th of August each year has become a special day to us as a sovereign people, particularly for the members of the Defence Forces. It is a day that is set aside to honour the Defence Forces as the physical guarantors of Zimbabwe's territorial integrity and sovereignty over her land, airspace and natural resources.

This year we celebrate this special event at a time when memories of the untimely death of Comrade Mwenemah Mahachi are still fresh in our minds. The late Honourable Minister of Defence had served the Ministry with Distinction. I am sure that virtues of dedication, diligence and commitment to the duty, which were his hallmarks, will remain indelible in the minds of all those he worked with, especially the Ministry of Defence staff. May his soul rest in peace!

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Assistance to Civilians

For the second year running, we observe this important national day at the aftermath of some devastating floods that hit some parts of the country during the past rainy season. In line with the Ministry's policy of military assistance to Civil Authorities, members of the defence Forces rendered crucial services such as airlifting, marooned victims to safety, providing medicines and distributing foodstuffs to the victims.

During the same period, the Defence Forces Engineering Personnel constructed bridges that had been washed away, facilitating the resumption of traffic flow between various places. Through such activities, members of the Defence Forces demonstrated yet again that they are indeed a people's force that can be relied upon in times of need. They are for this spirit of selfless dedication and unity of purpose with the civilian population.

In the same breadth, One is pleased to note the steady progress recorded in the demeaning of the Victoria Falls to Milibizi Area by members of our Defence Forces. To date 85km of the 140km minefield has been cleared of dangerous and lethal weapons.

This is a welcome development that has made it possible for the Victoria Falls Town Council to commit the cleared land to various development projects for the benefit of the community. This phase of the programme is running concurrently with another exercise at Forbes Border post in Mutare that, on completion should facilitate the construction of a railway line between Mozambique ports so that we can earn the much needed foreign currency for the development of our country.

The Defence Forces were able to perform all these functions despite the unfavourable macro-economic environment, which negatively

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impacted on government's endeavours to improve their general conditions of service. Notwithstanding these constraints, Government is resolved to ensure that the capability of the Defence Forces to discharge their constitutional roles is not undermined.

To this end, resources, both material and financial shall be marshalled to support a credible capability within the Defence Forces to defend the territorial integrity of the Republic of Zimbabwe. The secure and tranquil environment that will result from an effective Defence Force will create the conducive environment that is necessary for our economic activities to thrive.

It is essential however to recognise that the process to maintain and sustain a strong national defence capacity should be underpinned by a judicious, accountable, efficient resource management system. It is therefore essential that the Defence organisational structures, systems and procedures are continually reviewed in order to ensure that they are geared to meet the real challenges that face us as a nation living in the new world order.

To achieve this objective, the Ministry of defence Head Office has put in place a Defence Management Plan which projects the desired objectives of the Defence Forces and how these are to be achieved over a given period. Such plans are crucial because they enable the political leadership to appreciate the place of defence activities within the context of the general socio-economic development strategies for the nation. However, for management plans of this nature to succeed, it is necessary to have a pool of properly trained personnel to implement them. In this regard, the Ministry of Defence has embarked on an aggressive training programme for both its military and civilian staff in various areas, especially those relating to financial management and logistics.

In an attempt to realise these plans, efforts are being made to improve

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the Health Services within the Defence Forces. Clinics for the Defence Forces and their dependants at each formation Headquarters will be constructed throughout the country. A Referral Hospital will also be constructed in Bulawayo. These projects will be funded under the Public Sector Investment Programme. The Referral Hospital will complement the existing facility at Imbizo Barracks. This should go a long way to improve the health of our Defence Forces, an aspect, which is essential for the effective performance of their functions.

In the same vein, the Ministry is implementing a systematic development of its manpower base by establishing a Defence Forces Boarding School in Kadoma. The establishment of this school should create a pool from which the Force can recruit candidates who become their source of, policies, and decisions which are essential for its sustained development. There is no doubt that with support from the Defence Forces Schools and Welfare Trust, which was launched in December 2000, such noble projects will come to fruition in the not too distant future.

It is gratifying to note the intention by the Ministry to supplement the national fiscus by embarking on various income generating and self-reliance projects for the Zimbabwe Defence Forces and the War Veterans under the 'Soldiers Engaged in Economic Development' (SEED) concept. Chief among these are the Brick and Tile Production project to be set up in Norton and the formation of a security company which will compete with other security companies to win contracts to guard Government and Parastatal institutions. This will create gainful employment for War Veterans and other retired members of the Defence Forces and at the same time reduce their total dependence on Government funds. The Zimbabwe Defence Forces will also engage in extensive agricultural activities to produce ration items such as beef, maize fruits and vegetables thereby reducing their ration bill. Any

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savings that might arise from these self-reliance projects will be used to re-equip the Force. This spirit of ingenuity, which should permeate other areas of the broad spectrum of our society, is applauded.

Defending the territorial integrity of the Democratic Republic of Congo

While one appreciates the financial constraints that we are currently facing as a country, one needs to remind the members of the Defence Forces that the shrinking budget allocated to them should challenge the genius in them to come up with new innovations, as the ones indicated above, so that they can lead other sectors of our society by example. Social and economic development cannot be the business of Government alone; it is the business of every citizen of Zimbabwe. At the regional level, we are all aware that the members of the Defence Forces have been deployed in the Democratic Republic of Congo since August 1998. Welcome winds of peace in that country have brought relief and hope to the region. The deployment of the United Nations Observer Mission and the Joint Military Commission in both the SADC Allied and rebel held areas in the Congo is a positive development which should be supported by all people of goodwill.

We sincerely hope that, with the material and moral support of the international community, those who have the power to stop the DRC conflict will take advantage of the changed circumstances in that country. On our part, these positive developments provide the impetus that we so much cherish. The gradual reduction of our force levels in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, which started in March this year, is a direct result of these developments. The implementations of the Lusaka Cease-fire Agreement will continue to provide Zimbabwe with a yardstick against which the pace of the force reduction exercise will be determined until such time that the circumstances are deemed

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appropriate for our total withdrawal from that country. This policy stance will be guided by the provisions of the Lusaka Peace Protocol, the Kampala Disengagement Plan and the Harare Disengagement Sub Plans, and we shall implement all aspects of the ceasefire together as SADC Allied Forces.

At this juncture let me express my satisfaction record of performance and professionalism that the Defence Forces demonstrated in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Through some exceptional exploits, under circumstances of great peril members of the Defence Forces and their allies carved a niche for themselves in defending the sovereignty of the DRC.

May I personally commend members of the Defence Forces and their allies for demonstrating an unflinching revolutionary spirit of resistance and commitment, zeal and determination to succeed where those of a weak disposition would have given up to the enemy forces. I salute you for this! The people of Zimbabwe are proud of your splendid achievements and thus commend you earning Zimbabwe a good name and a lot of praise from the citizens of the DRC. The medals that will be conferred upon you in due course are a tribute to your gallant conduct and should constantly serve as a reminder to you and to the relatives of those who passed away during the DRC campaign of the niche they carved in the DRC peace enforcement mission. I have no doubt in my mind that the people of the DRC will forever cherish your good efforts in assisting them fend off the shameful invasion by Rwanda, Burundi and Uganda.

The business community should do not look at the peace that was created by your Defence Forces in the Democratic Republic of the Congo as an end in itself. The business community must now make aggressive follow-ups and open up business ventures in that country in areas like mining, road construction, agricultural development, food supplies, and several others.

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In conclusion, I wish to urge the Defence Forces to continue undertaking their duties with selfless dedication, professionalism, discipline and unquestionable loyalty and to invite you all to join the nation and me in celebrating with joy the 21st anniversary of the formation of the Zimbabwe Defence Forces.

CHAPTER 6: Removing Colonial Legacies of the Constitution

**Based on remarks made by CDE. R.G. Mugabe, first Secretary and President of ZANU (PF), At The 38th Session of the Central Committee held in Harare On Friday 8th October, 1999.*

The need for a home-grown constitution

The whole process of national constitution making has registered landmarking progress thereby laying a firm basis for a fine, credible and representative outcome. We took a conscious decision during our Mutare National People's Conference to revisit, in a major way, the Constitution of the country in order to put behind us a colonial legacy that emanated from the Lancaster House and the constitutional dispensation it inaugurated in this country at Independence.

The objective was for us to enact a constitution which is truly home-grown and is animated by our own collective history, experiences, identity, preoccupation, ambitions and aspirations as a people and a nation. As the objective gathered currency both within and outside the Party, it became very clear that this hallowed process could only proceed on a consensual, people-driven basis. We wanted the whole process of constitution-making to be so elastic and flexible as to take on board everyone willing to participate and to accommodate the myriad issues and preoccupations of all our people, deriving from their own experiences emanating from their respective social settings and status.

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The peasant families, the workers; the women; folk; the youths; intellectuals; farmers; business people; politicians; civic organisations, all these voices and outlooks had to be brought to bear on the constitution-making process so the outcome would be truly an embodiment of our national thought, ambitions and aspirations.

To achieve this we waived Parliament's sole law-making prerogative and sought to reach every nook and cranny of Zimbabwe, utilising all available languages and media to ensure that all was heard and that nothing proffered went uncollected. Most if not all of you were part of this very demanding and extended, yet epoch-making exercise. Alongside the rest of your colleagues in the Commission, I thank you for the diligence and fairness you have hitherto shown in the process as you endeavoured to ensure that the majority of our people participated unhindered in it either by geography or by status, and every opinion was taken note of.

A People First Constitution

Our rural people who are often characterised and even reviled as dumb, dogmatic and too concrete have participated in the process in a remarkable way. They indeed brought fresh and original thoughts and perceptions to the whole process, much to the amazement and even shame of our so-called "enlightened" urban people. Where their urban counterparts often purveyed and recited borrowed and stereotype positions, our rural people made simple but poignant points that gave the whole process some remarkable inclination towards the critical but yet-to-be-resolved social question. One could not help but recall the experiences of our freedom struggle which affirmed the centrality of the peasants who would stand firm and steadfast where our intellectuals were wont to succumb and capitulate. Going by what most of us have seen, it would seem that the same peasant social class

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remains in the vanguard of change while our intellectuals continue to yield from within their ranks worst collaborators. For how can so enlightened a category seek to defile so hallowed and so fundamental a process as that of writing a People's Constitution by acting as fronts for the defeated and embittered racist Rhodesians and their foreign supporters.

As a Party, you will remember, we had to convene an extraordinary Central Committee Meeting at which we deliberated on our own views of the new Constitution. After that meeting, we tasked the same Committee to adjust its draft so the outcome of that special Central Committee could then be reflected in the final document for presentation to the Chidyausiku Commission. I trust that our legal Committee has completed this task and is now ready to brief when the Central Committee is satisfied, our Legal Committee will, as shall do all other political parties and interest groups willing to participate, present our composite viewpoint to the Commission for consideration. Thus this Central Committee marks our final stage in developing the Party's viewpoint.

I made reference to our desire to ensure that our people in their diverse collectively should own and direct the whole process of constitution making. Thus, after the Commission will have compiled a Report for our consideration, and subsequently a draft Constitution, the people will be invited to approve or reject it in a referendum.

I do not need to remind you that we must sustain our people's interest in the whole process so that the outcome of the referendum is unequivocal. We cannot afford apathy once the whole document has been put to public test. And once the people have given their seal of approval, we shall proceed to present the draft Constitution in form of a Bill to Parliament so that a new Constitution comes out of it. The general election will then proceed on this new Constitution.

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Comrades, we are in the month of October and that means just about a month and half away from our Party Congress. Lots of things, lots of changes have taken place since our last Congress five years ago. The National People's Congress is the supreme policy-making body of our Party and what it decides will affect our Party for the next five years. Both the Youth and Women's Leagues have met and passed far-reaching resolutions. The various administrative organs of the Party have been making decisions and sponsoring activities that have made our Party the way it is today. All these activities, developments and decisions would have to come before Congress this December and we should be preparing ourselves for it. We need to re-examine the principles and values that underpin our Party, the politics that we espouse as ZANU (PF) and the challenges that confront us as we try to defend and extend our heritage in this era of globalisation. It is clear that we have seen significant changes in the last five years, some positive but a good many of them quite subversive to those principles and values that have always provided the bedrock of our politics. Certain administrative organs and political practices we have relied upon in the past for Party activities have to adjust to new circumstances and our Congress must present that opportunity for us to scan the macro-environment so our organisation is not out of touch with the broader circumstances. Indeed, Congress might want to make a whole host of amendments to our present Party Constitution so as to enable the Party to adjust itself to new circumstances.

Local Government Elections.

We are meeting against the background of recent local governmental elections. The elections once again showed ZANU (PF)'s supremacy as we soundly and convincingly beat the nameless petty political formations who aspire to be the opposition. The poll clearly showed

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that the Zimbabwean people disallow divisive politics and have turned their back on those who champion them.

However, within our victory, certain weaknesses became apparent. Our primary elections were, as before, bitter sources of rancour and divisions. Where these could not be resolved before the actual poll, we went to the ballot a polarised Party. Indeed, that cost us some seats as the so-called independents snatched them away from us. In the case of Mutare, we again lost the mayor ship. We can no longer continue to blame the "vaulting ambition" of those who end up standing against the Party as independents. Does their victory not suggest that there is a significant body of supporters who may have been alienated by our own rules, practices and divisions? Something is clearly not right in the Party when the loser of our primaries emerges winner of the overall poll, and this on the strength of our own supporters. How can we possibly explain that paradox? It is clear that the way we manage (or is it Mismanage?) the selection process at the level of primaries is generating a groundswell of bitterness, and is in some cases tempting our own membership to rebel, and hence we face the poll polarised and even divided. I daresay some of those divisions are fomented some of us in leadership who would want a certain outcome. How do we hope to survive and improve as a Party if we fear challenges and innovative thinking that may not necessarily coincide with our own as leaders? We are enervating the Party by interfering with primary elections and imposing our will on our members. Again the Central Committee is being called upon to re-examine our rules, roles and organs in the whole area of primary elections. Comrades, the land acquisition and resettlement programme is still exceedingly slow. There is need to expedite the resettlement of our landless people particularly in view of the impending agricultural season. If people are not resettled quickly enough they will resort to uncontrolled and uncontrollable invasions of farms as witnessed recently at Chikanga Farm in Mashonaland West Province.

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In this connection, I wish to urge the National Land Acquisition Committee and the responsible Ministries to work flat out in order to demarcate those that have been acquired so we can proceed forthwith to resettle our people. So far, 25 farms have been acquired and demarcated but the rest of the farms earlier designated appear to have vanished and nothing is being said about them. This is not good enough. As the agricultural season is upon us, it is necessary that the Party encourage our people to prepare their land, cultivate it and plant their crops in good time so they can take advantage of the earliest rains. The tillage units recently acquired and now in place will go a long way in assisting our farmers to prepare their land in good time.

The Central Committee should, as part of its programme, help us to chart the way to the National People's Congress. May I wish the our 38th meeting of the Central Committee fruitful deliberations.

CHAPTER 7: Legislative Challenges of the Third Chimurenga

**Based on remarks made by CDE. R.G. Mugabe, first Secretary and President of ZANU (PF), At The 38th Session of the Central Committee held in Harare On Friday 8th October, 1999.*

The Second Session of the Fifth Parliament of Zimbabwe takes place in the context of legislative challenges that come with transforming our society for greater sovereignty, equity, empowerment and participation. Our nation seeks to undo a system entrenched over 90 years of direct colonial occupation and seeks, along with other developing nations, a more just international economic order that eschews the inequities of the current rush to a one-sided globalisation.

Today we face ever mounting, insistent, but legitimate expectations from our people for substantial deliverables of Independence. Twenty-one years on, our people demand a new social construction which

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clearly and indelibly marks new frontiers of our sovereignty by empowering and giving them genuine ownership of national resources and carving for them substantial roles in running the political, economic and social affairs of their country.

The responsibility of the House of Parliament is to give our society a truly national sovereign status through laws and policies which our citizens can use effectively to augment their chances and to conquer, defend and enlarge legitimate gains and rights.

Social Equity and Justice

The one critical area presenting stiff but urgent political and legislative challenges is that of land reform, our position on the land issue is now well understood by the majority of members of the international community who now accept it as just and reasonable. Within not only the Southern African Development Community (SADC), but the Organisation of the African Unity (now the African Union) there is unanimity that Britain has a definite colonial responsibility to discharge and that Zimbabwean Land must come back to its people.

On the continent, attempts to isolate Zimbabwe on various forums have come to grief as more and more African nations have rallied behind what in fact is our last struggle for the complete decolonisation of our country and continent as a whole. Hence the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), now the African Union, adopted a landmark resolution and declaration at its recent Summit in Zambia, putting Zimbabwe's land question on the agenda of the continent, and lending unstinting support to the current efforts by our people to recover their land. The African Union set up a committee of seven countries led by Nigeria and including Algeria, Cameroon, Kenya, South Africa, Zambia and Zimbabwe to represent the continental body at any forums where Zimbabwe's land issue may be discussed. This position by the

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OAU reinforced an initiative by a group of African states, again led by Nigeria, creating a seven member intergovernmental ministerial committee tasked to visit Zimbabwe on a fact finding mission on land. The committee comprising the Foreign Ministers of Kenya, South Africa, Zimbabwe, Jamaica, Britain and Australia, should, it is hoped, help put the land issue in perspective and point to a way forward on this very important matter.

At the beginning of this month, the Supreme Court made a landmark judgement which should speed up the process of land acquisition and thus paving the way for more rapid resettlement. Relying on different reasons, it ruled that there was no legal basis for the Administrative Court to demand the existence of a land reform policy framework before it could confirm or reject Government acquisition orders.

As at 23rd May, 2001, 100 000 households had benefited from the Fast Track Programme which yielded 4 million hectares for these families. Land planning and infrastructural development teams are already at work and many more families are set to be resettled before the coming of the next rains. We are sure that we should, in the intervening months, be able to resettle many more of our landless communal people, thereby de-congesting our communal areas while improving access to better land and soils for improved agricultural production. We must do everything in our power to ensure the success of this our Third Chimurenga, especially as we continue in the forthcoming months to apportion plots for exclusively commercial purposes to many of the one hundred thousand applicants on our waiting list.

Making land available to more people is the beginning of the whole challenge of economic transformation. This programme must be accompanied and supported by infrastructure, improved access to credits and markets, training and general skills development so that the new found access to land translates to increased self-employment agricultural productivity and general economic development. In the

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last season, my Government provided free tillage services to 105 000 settled families. The 2001 budget set aside a total of \$1,4 billion for Crop and Livestock Input Programme. This programme provides inputs to our rural farmers in our continuing efforts to increase productivity.

On infrastructural development, my Government has set aside \$80 million for the provisional of boreholes on the acquired land for this current financial year. Concerted efforts will continue to be made in the implementation of the Fast Track Land Resettlement Programme to develop more smallholder irrigation will be rehabilitated, while 1 000 hectares of land for irrigation will be rehabilitated, while 500 hectares of fresh land for irrigation will be developed. This year will see the introduction of Community based Veterinary Village Health Workers in pilot areas. This will eventually form the frontline structure for disease surveillance, preventions and control.

Economic growth

During Session a comprehensive Environmental Management Bill will be presented to Parliament. The emergency of Transfrontier Conservation Area initiatives presents greater opportunities for conservation of natural resources and, with this, a firm basis for regional economic integration and national development through tourism and trade. Already, Zimbabwe, South Africa and Mozambique have launched the Gaza-Kruger-Gonarezhou frontier, which should improve tourism in the three countries.

Government has taken measures to stimulate growth in the productive sectors of the economy. The macro-economic environment, characterised by high, inflation, high interest rates, shortage of foreign currency and fuel continues to be of great concern to all of us, not least the business community. Government is currently undertaking a debt

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from short-term to long-term. The debt restructuring exercise has resulted in substantial savings and in interest rates coming down. In January 2001, the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe released statutory reserves for on-lending to productive sectors at concessional interest rates of 15% for the export sector, and 30% for the others. These concessional facilities will complement measures announced in the 2001 budget, in conformity with the Millennium Economic Recovery Programme (MERP).

Government is aware of the potential of the informal sector, the indigenous business sector and Small to Medium Scale Enterprises (SMEs) as an engine for growth and job creation. To this end, an amount of \$1 billion has been allocated towards a revolving fund to advance loans at concessional interest rates to enable them to cater for their needs. The beneficiaries are urged to make productive use of these funds.

SEDCO will increase the capitalisation of its micro-finance scheme from the current \$20 million to \$50 million, which is expected to create an additional 6 000 jobs. The Corporation also has in its plans a programme to construct market stalls for flea markets and sheltering for the informal sector vendors. SEDCO will continue to assist small-to-medium and micro enterprises through the provision of financial assistance, technical training and management consultancy.

Work on the Industrial Development Corporation's Sunway City Industrial Parks project is progressing well at Ruwa. The Competition Amendment Bill, to be considered during this Session, provides for the merger of the Tariff and Competition Commission. The new Commission will have additional functions of monitoring prices, costs and profits in any industry or business, as directed by the responsible Minister, thereby protecting the interest of the consumers as well as promoting competition in the affected industries.

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Mining

In this regard, Government adopted a Revised and Consolidated Fiscal Package For Mining In Zimbabwe for implementation during this Session. This is designed to encourage mineral exploration, development of new mine and expansion of existing ones.

In the mining sector Government has reduced the corporate tax rate for the sector from 35% to 25% in the 2001 budget. Government is also working on the introduction of fiscal regime for the sector in order to enhance the level of economic activity.

Fuel Supplies and Transport.

Government has deregulated the procurement of fuel by allowing indigenous and other entrepreneurs to play a role in this sector. The recent fuel price review has created enormous hardships for our people, both in urban and rural areas and it is the intention of Government to review the fuel situation in the future in order to lessen the hardships.

Government is examining ways of restoring the viability and operational capacity of ZUPCO so that urban commuters benefit. More importantly, our urban transport policy needs an inter-modal thrust, which should see both our road and rail modes complementing each other for the benefit of the commuter.

Revenue Collection

The Value Added Tax (VAT) will replace the current sales tax system and is expected to generate more revenue for the fiscus. Relevant legislative proposals will be presented to parliament.

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The Zimbabwe Revenue Authority has been established; the Board of Directors has been appointed and the Commissioner General has been appointed.

Lands and Agriculture

The land reform programme has clearly shown inadequacies within the deeds and Companies Office. In line with Public Service Reform Programme, the Deeds and Companies Office is in the process of commercialising, and the pace of this thrust is expected to increase in the second half of the year. The computerisation of the Deeds and Companies Office is expected to be commissioned before the end of the year.

Government recently introduced the Public Finance Management System (PFMS) in selected ministries in order to move towards a cash budgeting system which will improve the management of our limited financial resources. The system will be extended to the remaining ministries during the course of the year.

Monetary Policy

Our current system of payment for business transactions in the economy is largely paper based and relies on the physical transfer of documents between and among various financial institutions.

In order to speed up settlement of payment the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe, working in conjunction with Government and Financial institutions, will introduce a National Payment System based on the electronic transfer of funds. Legislation to effect this measure will be tabled in Parliament.

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Industry and Commerce

Commercialisation of the Central Mechanic Equipment Department (CMED) is already underway. This will allow the company to lease or hire equipment and motor vehicles both to government and the private sector. The company has since been registered.

We remain committed to the turnaround of ZISCO. All efforts are being made to source sufficient working capital to assist the company to generate vital exports.

In line with the Civil Service Reform Programme the government has identified the Department of Metallurgy and the Institute of Mining Research as institutions that will be merged to form a new institution to be known as the Centre for Mineral Technology. The new entity will be well resourced to meet the research and analytical needs of the local and regional markets.

During the session, the Government will embark on the following water based projects: Gwayi-Shangani, Matezva, Tokwe-Mukosi, Mpudzi dams and Mtshabezi pipeline.

In addition to the above several other water projects to supply rural service centres throughout the country under the rural water supply and sanitation programme will be carried out.

Rule of law and order

It is important that our law enforcement arms are equipped with adequate laws to deal with such and any situations of public disorder and crime. Government will put before you for consideration a proposed Public Order and Security Bill which will replace the law and order (Maintenance) Act.

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The Bill have provisions that protect public order and security in the country, while paying regard to the fundamental freedoms of assembly, association and expression which are provided for and guaranteed by our Constitution.

Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy

The Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy Bill should improve information availability to the public by making its release a mandatory requirement in situations of demonstrable public interest. The Bill also seeks to improve the quality of information which is available to every citizen by insisting on integrity and professionalism within the media which should be able to source information from most sectors on the strength of the proposed bill, but without undermining the citizen's right to privacy as well as other competing rights including those related to national security and the protection of children.

Other Bills

Amendments to the Justices of Peace and Commissioners of Oaths Act will be introduced to make it an offence for any Justice of the Peace or Commissioners of Oaths to charge for his/her services and provide a penalty for offenders.

The Public Holidays and Prohibition of Business Act will be amended to move the dates of Heroes Day and the Defence Forces day so that in any year they do not fall in the middle of the week where they would cause disruptions to business.

Government is working on various Bills and amendments to existing Acts to comply with the Agreement on trade Related Aspects of

intellectual Property rights (TRIPs). This include the Geographical Indications Bill, Integrated Circuit Layout Designs Bill and the Patent Amendments Bill.

A Judicial and legal Services Bill which aims to take magistrates and law officers out of the Public services is being drafted. The General Laws Amendment Bill which makes a number of relatively minor amendments on several varied existing Acts will also be tabled during this session.

Social Protection

The country has for the second year running, suffered the effects of floods, notably in Muzarabani and Gururwe Districts in Mashonaland Central Province and Tsholotsho District in Matebeleland North Province, and to a lesser extent the provinces of Matebeleland south, Midlands, Mashonaland East and Manicaland. My Government continues to attend short term basic needs of those affected by the floods while embarking on comprehensive long term measures, including relocation to higher ground and or resettlement areas, as well as repairing damaged infrastructure.

In the 2001 budget, \$485 million was allocated for the Enhanced Social Protection Programme (ESPP) under which the Basic Education Assistance Module (BEAM) is already being implemented and is guided by community based targeting.

In order to minimise undue hardship to the aged and pensioners my Government intends to solve the problem of delays in processing pensions payments through computerisation of the pension system.

Governments will continue to reach out to organised business and labour in pursuit of the following among other specific protocols, within the realm of social contract; Productivity Enhancements and

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the establishments of a National Productivity Centre : Urban Transport; and National health Insurance Scheme. Only through a binding social contract forged in the spirit of tripartite negotiations can harmony be struck between principal players in our national economy. Stayaways, employers lock-outs and some such confrontational approaches may be easy to undertake but they can only widen the chasm between the three, to the detriment of the economy and the vulnerable workers who deserve better.

It is intended to bring before Parliament for ratification the ILO Conventions which align us to international standards on freedom of association, health and safety in the work environment.

In keeping with its socio-economic responsibilities, the National Social Security Authority (NSSA)'s investment thrust will largely focus on areas that have the highest socio-economic benefits to the workers as well as stimulating economic growth through the provision of productive infrastructure.

In line with the Civil Service Reform Programme, a Performance Audit Division has been established to enhance productivity and service delivery in the Civil Service.

Furthermore, Public Service Reform Programme will be enhanced by new programmes to be introduced by the Directorate of Training and the Zimbabwe Institute of Public Administration and Management (ZIPAM). ZIPAM's training will focus on strengthening the roles of local government institutions and parastatals in the economy.

In line with the policy to cater for the hopes and aspirations of the youth and the unemployed masses of Zimbabwe, and in constant pursuit for gender justice, my Government has set for itself certain targets in the areas of youth and gender development and employment creation, targets which have to be attained in the next twelve months.

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Government will take the necessary measures, including the training of examiners, and the use of our Universities to hasten the localization of 'A' level exams, but at the same time ensuring that the highest standards are maintained.

As part of the on-going process of organisational re-engineering and curriculum reform, the teaching of Mathematics, Science and Technology will continue to be given greater emphasis at all levels with a view to making children utilise the knowledge and skills learned in these subjects in their daily lives.

Measures will be taken to ensure that the History of Zimbabwe is rewritten and accurately told and recorded in order to reflect the events leading to the country's nationhood and sovereignty. Furthermore, Zimbabwean History as a subject will be made compulsory up to Form Four.

In our realization and acknowledgement of the importance of Early Childhood Education and Care (ECEC), a new revamped syllabus in this area will be launched.

To encourage the full participation of the youth in sporting activities, schools of excellence in sport throughout the country will be established. One such school will be turned into a National Sports Academy where our youths would be trained to international standards. In this, we will vigorously pursue the implementation of gender equity in education to facilitate the wholesome development of the nation.

Government has been expanding the tertiary education sector by establishing new universities and colleges and expanding programmes and facilities at existing universities and colleges so as to make tertiary education more accessible to our ever-increasing secondary school

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graduates. This expansion in our universities education is a deliberate attempt to improve the human resource base critical for the national development of Zimbabwe.

The Zimbabwe National Examinations and Curriculum Council will be created to take over the functions of the Zimbabwe Schools Examinations Council (ZIMSEC), the Higher Education Examinations Council (HEXCO) and Curriculum development units of the two Education Ministries, which will bring about the sharing of generic functions and the rationalisation of operations. This move is expected to be a cost-saving measure. It will provide our education and training system with an integrated developmental progression from the lowest to the highest level.

The initiative to decentralise the management of health services so as to improve efficiency will be intensified. In this regard, the management of Central Hospitals will be transferred to Hospital Management Boards.

It is intended to finalise and launch a realistic Human Resource Master Plan in order to address the health sector's human resource requirements. Efforts to strengthen effective and efficient management of human resources will be undertaken through regular monitoring and assessment of staff performance to improve service delivery. The Rollback Malaria Initiative will be intensified. Child survival strategies such as the Expanded Programme on Immunisation, Integrated Management of Childhood Illness will also be sustained and enlarged.

African efforts towards further integration of our continent continued to make remarkable progress since the adoption of the Constitutive Act of the African Union in 1999. The African Union, already referred to the above, has set for itself a far-reaching agenda, including a new initiative on the economic revival and growth of the Continent

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Zimbabwe continues to fulfil its obligation as a peace-loving, responsible member of the United Nations. We currently have police officers in East Timor, Kosovo and Sierra Leone, who are assisting to maintain law and order, train as well as establish police forces in those in the troubled regions as part of UN peace missions. It is indeed gratifying to note those policemen are doing a sterling job and raising the flag of Zimbabwe high.

In the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) we have been greatly encouraged that progress is being made towards the achievement of peace. The guns have been silent for a long while now and we would wish to have them silenced permanently. The exercise to reduce our force level in that country started in March this year and has been proceeding smoothly.



Some members of the Zimbabwe Defence Force returning from the DRC where they heroically defended the African values, regional solidarity and the territorial integrity of the people of the DRC.

The institution of military and academic excellence will continue to further the cause of manpower development in the military so that the country is securely protected by a disciplined, well trained force. The Zimbabwe Defence Force remains available to render support to the civil authority in dealing with disasters, as well as rehabilitating infrastructure in areas affected by such disasters.

These matters I have outlined require that we put PEOPLE FIRST. I therefore commend these matters for debate and consideration by parliament.

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PART II: ZANU-PF CHAMPIONING THE THIRD CHIMURENGA

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CHAPTER 8: Rejuvenating Zanu-PF, "The People's Party!"

**Based on remarks made by His Excellency the President of Zimbabwe, CDE. RG. Mugabe, at the meeting of the National Consultative Assembly, Zanu-PF Headquarters, 30th June 2001.*

The Party's restructuring exercise

All our ten Provinces now have new leadership, new executives we hope to rely upon for new, dynamic leadership. There is revived interest Party activities, thanks to Cde Gezi's programme of mobilising around self-help projects. Our war veterans are now fully integrated within Party structures, and today play a crucial role in the affairs of the party, again thanks to Cde Hunzvi. I want to pay tribute to the restructuring team led by Cde. Nicholas Goche, which carried further, in fact to the conclusion, the restructuring vision of these heroes. Today, strong and well focused Provincial Executive Committees are in place in all the ten Provinces of the Party, ready and committed to providing revolutionary leadership to the rank and file in their respective provinces.

Yet important though top-level restructuring of our Party is, even more needful is extending and deepening the spirits of that restructuring right down to the lowest structures, which underpin our Party. For these are the structures which being lower, are necessarily the foundation, the foundational infrastructure for executing the will and vision of our Party. We rely on them for the recruitment and membership drives; for meetings and campaigns; to defend and extend our territories of influence; to explain Party and Government policies; to reorganise our supporters and sympathisers in readiness for the gains and benefits of our policies. Indeed, we rely on these structures to gauge and audit the vibrancy of the Party, as well as the impact of its policies and policy outputs as executed by Government.

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We therefore need to ensure that the restructuring already underway goes further and deeper, not just in anticipation of the Presidential election, which we need to win resoundingly, but for the long-term revival of our Party and overall defence of our sovereignty. That is the mission and our top structures should maintain contact with lower structures, giving them the necessary directions and impetus so loyalty to the Party takes root and our programmes succeed. Revival and mobilisation for greater support for the Party should revolve around clear, relevant and implementable programmes of action for each province, each district, each ward right down to each cell.

The role of war-veterans in the party

War veterans, who have now come back into party fold in this big and resolving way, must take the lead, drawing from wartime experiences of self-help agricultural projects we ran in the rear during the liberation struggle. Equally, this is the time to recall and employ those mobilisation and organisational skills we developed and relied upon during the struggle to motivate and rouse our people for challenges that lay ahead. Remember, Zimbabwe is under attack; our sovereignty is under fire from the very same imperialist forces which took it away from our forebears more than a century ago. These colonialists' forces had hoped to rely on a neo-colonial State, a neo-colonial Government and a quisling President to secure the booty of colonial conquest of our country, principally the land. The Lancaster House Constitution was meant to guarantee and perpetuate this outcome and we, like goody quislings, were supposed to demurely accept and end with the apparent control of the political kingdom. They mistook our tactical acceptance of a compromise at Lancaster for our accepting a nominal symbolic role they sought to carve for us in a supposedly Independent Zimbabwe.

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They are shocked by our consistent revolutionary stance and now hope to contain us by using exactly the same method they employed between 1978 and 1979 when their Ian Smith established a bogus electoral process to install a puppet Internal Settlement Government. Comrades, the path we have taken, the principles we espouse are those which least endear us to imperial forces in the West. We seek to compete the realisation of the objectives of our just struggle by dismantling everything that attenuates our sovereignty and sovereign right to our heritage and resources, principally land; by empowering our people through greater say and control over our resources, indeed by challenging a political economy which yields a two, race nation, yields a colonial white leisure employer class while the black majority wallows in poverty, serfdom and indigence. We have to be ready; we have to gather courage for the enemy is back on parade, for we either get back into trenches or we surrender as a slave nation.

As we reflect on the range of challenges bequeathed upon us by these gallant sons of the soil, the greatest of them all is for us to dedicate ourselves to the Party and its work. All of us know only too well, our Party is under unrelenting attack. Our crime is that we have dared to begin correcting the land imbalances that affected our people for too long, this in the face of the heavy odds stacked against us. Because of this principled stand on our land, there has been a mad rush to project Zimbabwe as a rogue state bereft of any law and order. Sadly, some of our gullible people have believed this propaganda and chosen to sell their land for whatever measly price is given to them.

The role played by Zanu-PF in the Liberation struggle

But ZANU-PF is not a fledgling party. It is a Party with experience and markings of war. For years, we have met and resisted all forms of pressure that sought to distract us from our chosen path. And so we realise that the problems we face today are largely from the same old

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foes that have refused to accept the reality of black majority rule. Happily, we realise too that we still have within the Party, a dependable, committed patriotic and unwavering membership that will stand for the Party's policies and fight for the sovereignty of our people.



Because of your connections with the people, because of your proven record of service and understanding of our struggle, we look up to you to help nurture the Party's rebirth. The Central Committee acknowledged the good work done by the Commissariat in putting in place new Party provincial executives. We were heartened to learn that seminars to imbue the new leadership with the requisite knowledge for their calling have also taken place. Our Party should never again be caught unprepared by the political upstarts in our midst.

All this is work that we would like to see nourished and supported especially by you, comrade members of the National Consultative Assembly. You are the repositories of the kind of knowledge and discipline that the Party needs today. In many ways, your challenge is to play the role of the Party's guardians. As you all know, our fast Track Land Reform Programme is now in top gear and even our loudest detractors know that the final battle to give our people their land, the Third Chimurenga, cannot be stopped. Tribute must go to the true sons and daughters of our land, Zimbabwe, who have shown the enemy that the issue of land was never an election gimmick. As one traverses our country today, a new generation of farmers is coming up slowly, yes, but determined to work for their people and country. Where previously our enemies had prophesied the death of agriculture, new potentials for the country are being realised. Government is committed to seeing the success of this new potential for the country is being realised. Government is committed to seeing the success of this

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new breed of farmer and has put in place a comprehensive inputs support scheme. Our desire is to see all our resettled people enjoying equal access to the scheme. Through the involvement of such departments as Agritex, the resettled communities should be encouraged to work hard and bring shame to those who seek to despise and demonise us. On its part, Government is studying ways of ensuring that people in urban areas also benefit from the land reform exercise.

For the small number of our people who are not enthused about farming, the Ministry of Youth Development, Gender and Employment Creation is ready to give guidance, advice and, as far as possible, the resources necessary to start other forms of income-generating ventures.

The deliberate focus on these aspects of our Party's work is in order to illustrate ZANU-PF's undying commitment to improving the lives of our people. As a Party, we take pride in being faithful to our principles and policies that have always put the people economically empowered and able, at last, to savour the full meaning of independence.

On the political front, I have already made reference to the pleasing work done in respect of restructuring and re-energising the Party. We need to build on this success. Above all, there is need for every Party member to remain vigilant and to resist, at all times, the enemy's attempts to contaminate our people. As the enemy becomes more cunning in his attempts to confuse the people, our challenge is to expose his trickery and fallacies. Whereas others grope for achievements to point at, ZANU-PF has the proud history of liberating this country, of giving the black majority their rightful place in the life of the country and of forever changing the course of this country. It is a record that speaks so eloquently that it is not possible for anyone to imagine he or she can surpass it.

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*Pamberi nokushandira Zimbabwe yedu!
Phambili ngokusebenzila iZimbabwe yethu!
Phambili ngokubambanana!
Pamberi nekubatana
Aluta continua!*

CHAPTER 9: Meeting Challenges of The Third Chimurenga

**Based on remarks made by the first Secretary and President Of Zanu (PF) CDE Mugabe, at The Forty-Fourth Ordinary Session of The Central Committee*

The Central Committee meets again in fulfilment of our Party's Constitution which requires and provides for such regular convocations in between Congresses to ensure timeous and continuous decisions and transaction of Party Business respectively. Our last meeting was held on 21st July, 2000 against the backdrop of results of our General Election. Naturally, the top-most item on the agenda for that meeting was a post-mortem of our performance that is, as the Party, Zanu-PF. We also looked at our performance as Provinces, themselves mere organisational units that feed into the national structures of our Party; looked at ourselves as districts, branches, wards and cells, again lower and lowest organisational tiers-respectively, upon which the whole Party superstructure rests. We looked at the framework of interaction of all these various organisational levels, testing at each stage and level, the viability of these structures for the jolt, push and shove so natural and even necessary to politics. As a Party whose history and experience is in struggle, we know and appreciate the value of having strong ligaments to be able to build a sinewy body politic such as ours, which is destined for a stupendous and hotly contested role in defence of our hard-earned National Sovereignty and control of those natural, God-given rights of our people.

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Frank discussion focused on inadequacies, strains and even contradictions within and between levels and structures, that had and still have the negative effect of reducing the responsiveness of our machinery to the tasks and challenges before us.

We heard how often levels and structures which are supposed to be mere organisational aids, increasingly politicised themselves to become subjects and own goals of political action, rather than remain objects obedient and dutiful administration organs with the task of enabling us to achieve the broader goals and programmes of our Party. A province, apart from being a spatial or geographical demarcation, should be an organisational unit which functions in support and harmony with the larger national organisational whole. It should never itself be the focus that stand in apposition or opposition to our national Party.

The Grassroots of the party.

Districts, wards and cells in turn should never function in ways that draw attention away from higher tiers, lest the body politic disintegrates. By the same token, national structures and personages are exactly that: national and should not descend onto lower tiers as if they are some reckless and jealous gods seeking territorial domains for spread and strength of their "divinity".

We went further, We looked at the leadership at all these levels, determining how equal they were to the challenges of the day, of which the general election was just but one. Does the leadership have the history? Does it have a vision, an agenda, the command, the respect, the following and, above all, the stamina, courage and integrity to take the Party forward in an environment of myriad challenges and temptations? They were and still are reports of troubled leadership in a good many of our provinces. We had instances where some leaders simply spent more time making war on their followers than engaging

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our political rivals. For some, it did not matter if the seat went to this or that opposition party, as long as it did not go to the disliked and detestable Party person! So intra-party feuding took centre stage, making friends appear foes and real opponents appear opportunities to bury challengers from within. It enervated the Party; it destroyed our campaign focus; ultimately it cost us dearly. We also read this vital dimension of leadership against the backdrop of instances of costly betrayal, defections and even rebellions that occurred in the run up to elections. Fortunately as a Party, we have had experiences of such inauspicious turns in our rather tortuous history of our own political making. We had a number of Party officials who left for other opposition parties, may be because they felt embittered by genuinely unfair practices; may be because they felt fired by vaulting ambition which catapulted them superficially up and high, only to land disastrously in opposition territory; or may be very simply Judas Iscariots who left because of pieces of silver dangled before their faint, materialistic and purchasable hearts. As a party with a long tradition, we are aware of such wiles and guiles; we are aware that political rivals resort to infiltration, penetration and cheque-book mobilisation; we are aware that it was in the days of Jesus and as it surely will be in future, where you have twelve or more disciples, one or more, usually sitting next, will betray the cause. Some of these dark characters have gone that way and I can assure you a few more will follow before the proper cleansing of the Party occurs. Such are the dialectics of organisational growth and ideological straightening.

The point is to retain and build on a principled cadre ship in whose hands and on whose shoulders we place the destiny of our whole revolution, and with it, nation, heritage and values. For me and thee very dedicated cadres, it shall always be, "Long live Zanu (PF). Viva ZANU (PF), Pamberi ne ZANU (PF) and Pambili le ZANU (PF). That is the bond of our Unity and solidarity.

We have tasked our National Chairman to make a thorough audit of our organs and lead the restructuring exercise, so we guarantee greater cohesiveness, political gearing and correct political and revolutionary direction. We agreed that there were a number of provinces whose structures

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and leadership were moribund and mediocre respectively, stressing such situations deserved utmost urgent attention. Simply, only our political rivals profit from our organisational and leadership shortcomings, and with every day we delay the much needed and much awaited revamp, the political opponents are making increasing gains. We hope we can get an update on this very important exercise.

Our review also showed quite a shaky funding basis Party work. The Party could not muster enough resources to fund its own activities, including campaigning. In practically every district and province, planned campaign programmes became subdued or went unfulfilled simply for want of adequate resources: resources for transport, Campaign material subsistence and for community initiatives as a tool of enthusing the Party supporters; unlike the opposition which had rich, investing farmers and industrialists, rich resources located abroad in imperial if imperialistic metro poles. So we could not match the ill-gotten and treacherous MDC's horn of plenty. The poll has shown us the baneful effects of foreign money to the national soul and spirit perhaps most vividly dramatised by some of our chiefs, those personifications of collective self-esteem and values that make us a proud people, who simply succumbed to the lure of filthy lucre. It was filthy lucre that made the treacherous MDC leadership work against the workers' and national and their own people's interest as they sided with employers and commercial farmers in opposition to the land reform an even, ironically, democratic change. For how else does one reconcile the fact of a political leader, of peasant born bred in an overcrowded, dusty and land-hungry district like Buhera of Insiza taking a rigid stance against land reform meant to benefit his own parents and himself?



This promising crop guarantees a bright future for a young and determined farmer

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Why would such a person expect Zanu (PF) to teach about the need for land reforms when the best, most compelling teacher is the life and fate of his own peasant father, mother, uncle and neighbour?

As a people and especially as political leaders we must realise there is something called National Interest about which there can never be any compromise and over which there can never be any higher impulse or ideal. Perhaps the experience of the last general election should urge us to agree on basis, binding principles upon which our politics can be made truly national and an expression of genuine local needs and aspirations. Is it moral and acceptable to organise politics against the sovereign rights and claims of your people; against their unity, their collective self-esteem, heritage and interest.

Zanu-PF versus British imperialism

Our relations with the British people dates back to the last millennium and have tended to be defined by successive British Governments, whether Labour or Conservatives. These relations have not been dictated by choice or geographical contiguity. We are no neighbours of the British, whether by geography, cultural affinity or temperament. We were neighbours by history and a history of violent colonial conquest, occupation and subjugation. We have had to overcome that violent history not through prayers or some other interposition by a Deity of beneficence to Africa. We had to wage a bloody struggle for our freedom, in the process making huge sacrifices. This is why a good many of our fine men and women who today would be playing an active role in our Party and Nation, are not with us. They have had to die simply to overcome a supposedly civilised nation which for the greater part of the closing millennium, has chosen to indulge towards us racial hate, animosity and systematic violence as well as organised economic war as a strategy for its latter-day imperialist control and domination of our country. We, on our part, have not sought to engage any nation or

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power big or small, in any unjust quarrel or fight. But when our own sovereignty is being challenged, we have no alternative but to stand firm or go back to the trenches to defend our rights and interests as a nation. This we have done and shall always continue to do whether that challenge is that of the Blair latter-day imperialism or some one else's. We seek no square inch of British soil Zimbabwe's land belongs to Zimbabweans and the sovereign right must prevail.

Our relations with the British have been coloured by this one question of land over which for them passion and impulse lead their foreign policy and override what ordinarily reason and basic morality would surely reject. We have not asked their children here to pack and go to where their forebears were born. We have not even asked them to yield to us all our land they hold after grabbing it from us without paying a shilling. We have merely asked them to be citizen enough to want to live with us, share with us, indeed prosper with us. Out of over 12 million hectares a mere 4 000 of them control, we have asked for a mere 5 million for over half a million landless or overcrowded families. We have done so while reminding the British Government of its obligations as a former colonial power in our country and of its promises voluntarily made at Lancaster House in 1979. We have reminded them of commitments made by the Conservative Government of then Prime Minister John Major regarding the second phase of our land reforms. But, alas, the call has not been heeded. And so since the land is after all ours we are taking it. The farmers had better recognise this so they can adjust their delaying tactics.

We are aware that the British Government are working closely with the opposition MDC and other hostile so-called civil groups to trigger urban civil unrest, in the hope that a ZANU (PF) Government will capitulate or fall in violent circumstances. They have even considered sponsoring hit squads to eliminate some of us. They are working hard to pervert and divide our institutions of governance in the hope of precipitating a constitutional crisis. They are working hard to broaden

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the scope of sanctions against Zimbabwe by trying to enlist the support of the European Union, Nordic countries and the United States of America. They have tried to influence international assistance to Zimbabwe even though credit is generously extended to countries in worse economic circumstances and others riding roughshod over international conventions and mores such as the invaders and aggressors of the Congo. They have campaigned for the international isolation of Zimbabwe in diplomatic terms. Fortunately for us they have not succeeded and the world has begun to appreciate our legitimate stand. We thank our neighbours, our SADC region and all our African brotherly countries for their solidarity with us. We thank the Third World and the Non-aligned Movement, the Group of 77, the majority of the Commonwealth countries, the Caribbean and the Africans in the Diaspora for their support. The just struggle is being won and the fight will soon be over! Over yes, because the land is now being allocated to our people in all the provinces.

The current phase of our land reforms is dubbed the "fast track" accelerated land reforms. The legal process of gazetting farms for now is close to completion and all told, we have processed and gazetted about 2 190 properties measuring slightly over 5,5 million hectares. The break-down province by province is as follows:

Province	Number of farms	Extend (ha)
Manicaland	150	1 185 303.163
Mashonaland Central	141	329 663.26
Mashonaland East	460	349 982.5108
Mashonaland West	490	633 449.6475
Masvingo	243	1 268 503.9448
Matabeleland North	153	532 358.8487
Matabeleland South	199	989 421.3222
Midlands	345	498 331.9662

These figures are expected to slightly fluctuate as the list of gazetted farms gets "cleaned" up to ensure that the properties we have for acquisition truly meet our identification criteria.

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Settler emplacements continues and the latest figures we have indicate that 127 509 families have since been settled on about 262 323 ha of land. Manicaland has had 887 families settled to date; Mashonaland East 1 023; Mashonaland Central 769; Mashonaland West 548; Midlands 295; Masvingo 1 574; Matabeleland South 501 and Matabeleland North 390 families. Another 102 farms measuring total hectareage of about 471 350, have been given for distribution in all provinces and the breakdown is as follows: Mashonaland East (9); Mashonaland West (4); Mashonaland Central (11); Masvingo (17); Manicaland (11); Matabeleland North (26); Matabeleland South (16) and Midlands (8).

We still have a long way to go and it is envisaged that greater acceleration of land distribution will occur in the next few weeks. We have, to ensure that the people will be in their resettlement places in time for the agricultural seasons. We have agreed in Government to make essential inputs available or the viability of the whole exercise.

In conclusion, let me urge you to stand firm and remain united so we can overcome. The greatest threat is not the enemy that lurks; it is the weaknesses we show which ultimately betray, undo and ruin us. Unity remains the best insurance, best defence and weapon against those bent on betraying us. Zimbabwe need ZANU (PF) and not sponsored and unprincipled and counter-revolutionary political parties. Zimbabwe ndeye ropa. Sibokumbula igazi lama qawe!

Long Live Zanu (PF)!

Long Live Our Struggle!

Vincer

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Chapter 10: ZANU PF THE WINNING PARTY

*Address by the first Secretary and President of ZANU (PF),
Cde. R.G. Mugabe, at the 43rd ordinary session of the Central Committee*

The Central Committee is sitting against the background of the recent general election whose outcome is now common knowledge. Suffice it to say that the Party retained and renewed its ruling mandate by securing sixty two seats, when combined with the twelve which are appointed by the President; the eight which are reserved for our Governors, and of course the ten by which we ensure the participation of our traditional chiefs in Parliament, greatly enhance our electoral victory and gave us untrammelled mandate in transacting the ordinary business of Parliament, and near decisive mandate in respect of constitutional changes that we may desire to effect, in pursuit of our set goals of transforming society. To you all I say:

Congratulations and well done!

Makorokoto!

Amhlope!

No doubt this victory owes itself to the vital inputs you made variously, either as party candidates or as senior members of the party in your respective provinces, thus as individuals seized with the burden of directing and organising the party campaign programme in your own localities. We should however admit that the victory was slimmed and soured by the loss of 58 seats all in an electoral stroke. The 58 seats, 57 of which went to the Movement of Democratic Change, and 1 which went to Zanu(Ndonga), would seem to indicate a major swing away from the

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party, signalling a significant swing against it. This amounted to a major political disaster that came our way as a party. In most of the constituencies which the Party conceded to the opposition, the margins of defeat were quite wide, possibly indicating that the protest was quite strongly felt and could very easily translate into a deep chasm between such disgruntled supporters and the Party. Naturally such a development would be inauspicious for the future of our Party and the revolution it brought about.

On the other hand where the Party scored against the opposition it did so with a wide margin, except of course in a handful of constituencies where the competition was quite tight. This would seem to indicate very deep and profound loyalties and reverence of the Party, especially in rural areas where ZANU (PF)'s sway is largely unchallenged.

When all is told your party ZANU (PF) triumphed, and a win however narrow is a win, while defeat however close is just that. We are in Government; we have a strong vote in Parliament and our policies will continue to unfold unchallenged. We thus should never allow ourselves, or anyone for that matter to detract from the victory we have registered, the victory, which is ours to claim and celebrate.

Yet as I have had occasion to say elsewhere, this was a watershed election and one whose results and pointers the Party needs to read carefully, possibly constituency by constituency area by area, indeed region by region, so the Party can begin to understand when and where the rain began to beat us as West Africans say. I hope this meeting will be able to undertake this very important exercise, with the necessary frankness and thoroughness.

Shortcomings

Perhaps let me set the tone by sharing with you my own impressions of

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the results. One dominant pattern to emerge from the result is that ZANU (PF) lost in most urban constituencies and in the case of our two main capitals of Harare and Bulawayo, lost all the constituencies by very wide margins. Even peri-urban constituencies with mining or agro-industrial conurbations like Seke, Mhondoro, Mutare North and South, Mutasa Nyanga, Gweru rural and Bikita West came under the spell of the same urban ill-wind that blew and attenuated our victory.

Economic Hardships

It is quite clear that the Party vote suffered because of the adverse economic conditions currently prevailing in the country. The unstable macro economic conditions have yielded high levels of inflation thereby dramatically raising the cost of living and eroding real wages and incomes of our workers. The same conditions of macro economic instability have spawned high interest rates, forcing the business sector to either shrink its operations or not infrequently shut down completely.

Meanwhile our very successful education policy of developing a literate and numerate youth has been yielding upward of three hundred thousand school leavers each year with little option but to swell the ranks of the unemployed. Urban families whose breadwinners are either on declining real wages or have suffered retrenchments have had to confront either the ever-escalating prices of basic commodities or shortages.

Equally our progressive policy of indigenisation which government launched in the eighties and which yielded a number of successful black entrepreneurs and enterprises simply caved in to the prevailing harsh economic conditions. The fledgling middle class that was beginning to consolidate on the back of that policy slid back and suffered a net decline

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and diminution in welfare.
Unemployment

This predicament most keenly felt by our waged or unemployed urban voters, coupled with sagging faith in the probity and competence of those trusted to manage public affairs understandably converted into a strong vote against the Party. With all price controls done away with in the spirit of liberalisation; with policies and programmes generally failing or being quite slow to yield positive results; with all our safety nets falling, it was difficult to see how the Party would ever escape the winter of urban discontent and the harsh political verdict that this brings about in electoral terms. Little wonder that the bulk of the support and vote for the opposition came from the urban and peril-urban dwellers chiefly from among the unemployed and frustrated youths. Little wonder then that a significant part of the opposition leadership draws from the trade union and tertiary student leadership. Indeed it should not be wondered why the most trenchant criticism against the Party emanated from both the high and low density suburban dwellers, including professional whose incomes are being eroded daily as well as owners of indigenous business whose concerns are either struggling or have already succumbed to the negative performance of the economy.

General discontent

An interesting feature to emerge from this whole adverse situation is that the opposition did not need to have to present an alternate vision, encapsulated in a definite set of policies that they have projected and that could be said to stand apart and compete against ours. In fact the opposition did not need to have strong known candidates standing in various constituencies. Voters, it would appear were more interested in registering their unhappiness and collective censure against our Party, for our sins of omission and commission shown as we went about

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discharging our public responsibilities and duties.
External forces teaming up with the opposition

Equally the Party needs to keep in focus the external dimensions to our modest victory. Our overall economic performance has to be understood in a broader international context. The international markets upon which we rely for our foreign earnings, have been depressed for a very long time, either our foreign exchange earning commodities, whether mining manufactured or agricultural, fetching less than modest and ever diminishing returns.

This situation has been compounded by donor hostilities instigated by Britain because of our policy on land. The International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, the European Union led by the British, and followed by some Nordic governments and the American Congress have decided to punish us for pursuing our land reform. In the case of the British Government, which as the colonial authority created the problem that we are having to correct, an all round international campaign was mounted to block or frustrate any efforts by our country to do business with the rest of the world. The overriding calculation was to destabilise and aggravate our economic situation here so as to create popular disaffection with Government, our Party and our leadership. The intention remains one of influencing the course of political events with ultimately the goal of unseating a Zanu-PF Government and replacing it by a pliant one that would not threaten European interests historically entrenched her by colonialism.

The scope of external involvement went beyond the mere subversion of our party, for its political dimension went as far as brazen support for the opposition, principally the Movement for Democratic Change, by several western countries. The British Government, Britain's two main political parties plus some of its quasi-governmental agencies, all converged to extend political, diplomatic and material support to the MDC. This was in compliment to the daily attacks the country,

Government, the party and the leadership were subjected to by British officials, principally Peter Hein and Robin Cook who led the vilification campaign, supported by well orchestrated western media, both electronic and print.

Although the South African National Congress and its Government were solidly behind us, white interests in that Government represented by the New National Party- Democratic Party merger led by Tony Leon, were not just against us but literally took control of the MDC machinery which they ran from Johannesburg Sandston. Tony Leon paid a secret visit to Zimbabwe towards the beginning of our campaign and made extensive contacts with our white commercial farmers. He went as far as dispatching a team, which included one Charlene Smith not only to help with the campaign effort but also to ensure that the opposition played white ball.

To all this you add disgruntled Former Rhodesians, linked through a world wide web and mobilised by the white factor in the MDC; employed to whip feeling against our Party and Leadership dedicated to mobilising sponsor ship for overall campaigns as well as for specific seats for MDC candidates. These worked closely with their kith and kin in the MDC and those in the country who stayed behind after Independence but who now fell embittered or threatened by our land policy. Assessment teams were quietly sent into the country to design campaign strategies for given constituencies, so MDC could garner enough seats to form the next Government, thereby overturning our affirmative action Policies principally the one to do with land reforms.

The last ditch act in this elaborate programme of interfering and influencing the political direction of our country came by way of processes of observing and monitoring elections. Another dimension had to do with efforts to orchestrate a negative verdict on the whole poll by bringing different and independent observers and monitoring missions under one administrative framework, as well as by smuggling

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in campaigns sponsored monitors associated with Britain and the European Union to echo the desired, premeditated European line.
The Church meddling in politics

The most insidious side of the resurgence of white power came by way of the pulpit and in the human form of church figures who did not hesitate to 'render unto God' things that Belong to Caesar. Especially in Serbian parishes and in rural Matebeleland, prayers became full-blooded politics and congregations became anti-ZANU- -PF political communities united around hackneyed grievance to do with the tensions we had before the Unity Accord and around certain Xenophobic feelings especially bred and carefully nursed to build an ethnic based political catchments for the opposition. You should be able to see from our performance that we nearly lost the whole of Matebeleland, with the exception of Gwanda South and Beitbridge where such religion figure and their narrow politics were denied both a plat form and sympathetic outlook.

Often a myth is peddled that ZANU (PF) lost to a 9 month old opposition party. Nothing can be further from the truth. Whilst we expect our enemies to peddle such a myth, we should never allow it take roots in our minds. Such a misconception encourages us to underestimate the forces ranged against us, and to underplay the significance of our hard-earned victory. The MDC should never be judged or characterised by its black trade union face; by its youthful student face; by its salaried black suburban junior professionals; never by its rough and violent high-density lumpen elements. It is much deeper than these human superficialities; for it is immovably and implacably moored in the colonial yesteryear and embraces wittingly or unwittingly the repulsive ideology of return to white settler rule. MDC is as old and as strong as the forces that control it; that converges on it and control it; that drive and direct; indeed that support, sponsor and spot it. It is a counter revolutionary Trojan horse contrived and nurtured by the very inimical forces that enslaved and oppressed our

people yesterday.

It is this background of formidable forces ranged against our party, which makes our electoral victory both historic, and a source of great inspiration to us and to the African continent. We must be proud and raise our heads for we were able to stand against an avalanche, against an on slaughter of global proportions whose target was not just ourselves but also sister liberation movements in Southern Africa. The grand plan is to stop our struggle against colonialism from broadening and transforming itself into a resolute quest for total empowerment of our peoples in the Southern African region. This is why the so-called 'Zimbabwean Contagion' has to be contained before it spreads elsewhere in the region; on the continent and in the Southern Hemisphere.

The New Government

A new government has risen and it spots many youthful faces. This is an act of self-renewal and one, which should see us moving swiftly to address and correct the socio-economic problems that have afflicted us. The fact that older faces have been released and are now in a position to give full time service to the Party means the Party's position of supremacy and supervision over Government can now be asserted. The retention in Government of some of the older faces should ensure a harmonious interface between the party and Government as the Party goes about formulating its policies, passing them on to Government for speedy implementation.

Government has already adopted a Millennium Economic Recovery Programme, which contains measures and steps that we need to take to restore macroeconomic fundamentals in order to achieve economic growth. The programme goes beyond the remedial measures, and spells out a framework beyond our sustained growth and development. More fundamentally, the programme recognises the need to tackle and resolve

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once and for all the vexing question of land, both for purposes of correcting an outstanding colonial question and for purposes of empowerment and growth in the economy. Let the Central Committee and our Party and Nation as a whole express profound gratitude to the war veterans for their revolutionary role in not only reasserting our inherent right to land as our African Heritage but also in playing a crucial part in mobilising the people towards our electoral victory.

Both the Party and the government should remain aware that we face formidable enemies who have thrown stiff hurdles along the path. We need to be People of great courage, people moved by the same courage which saw us prevail over colonial oppressors to win our Independence. We cannot cringe or surrender to the enemy on matters of national sovereignty and principle. Hence all the steps we have taken to correct imbalances in land ownership to favour the landless majority of our people. These steps just have to be intensified until the land physically and thus truly revert to the people as a national asset. The party must continue to urge and exhort Government to proceed boldly in acquiring and distributing land without undue delays or hesitation. Events of the last four to five months have clearly revealed that the majority of the white farmers and the rest of the white community in the country are as opposed to land reforms as they are to ZANU (PF), the sole Party.

Individualism and factionalism

We went to elections riven by factions and bereft of meaningful mobilisation structure. Hence our slender victory. Probably we got the shock and nemis, which we deserved to the extent that these flowed from the weaknesses we created, nurturing and even fanned within the Party. Hopefully we have all seen what major disaster we court for ourselves when we divisively ride on our egos thereby putting our little

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interests and ambitions before the party. Such individualism, which expressed itself in Independent candidates who stood against the Party, showed the folly and futility of those seized by it through their total rejection by the people.

Continual Restructuring of the Party

Let us immediately embark on a thorough going restructuring process in the Party in order to correct the parlous organisational situation we have before us. Work has to start immediately, stage by stage, province by province so that our entire membership is seen to be falling within organic and vibrant structures which begin with the branch and its constitutive cells, going up to the district and then to the province. Only then can we pride ourselves as having a Party. Short of this we will continue to have an amorphous body as disorganised or unorganised of supporters whose enthusiasm is bound soon to wane or falter before dissipating to nothingness for all times. No time should be wasted in equipping ourselves organisationally for the next round of elections and leading on to the Presidential elections set for the year 2002. We must win both resoundingly and consolidate our revolutionary mandate.

Long live the Central Committee!

Long live Zanu (PF)

Long live the War Veterans

Long live our Revolution

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CHAPTER 11: Addressing The Land Question on the Ground

**Based on remarks made by the First Secretary and President of ZANU-PF, Cde R. G. Mugabe, at the forty eighth ordinary session of the Central Committee meeting: 21st September, 2001*

The forty eighth ordinary session of the Central Committee convenes against the background of significant developments that have a direct bearing on our Party and on our Nation as a whole. Indeed we are on an important threshold in the evolution of our country as a sovereign Nation. As is apparent from history, such an historical juncture imposes very heavy and onerous burdens on a political party such as our own, upon which a democratic mandate to lead and provide stewardship to the nation has been thrust. What this means is that *twe neni tinc basa*, you and I have a mission to accomplish on behalf of our people who demand full independence, full sovereignty and the full benefits of national resources given to them by the Almighty in his infinite bounteousness.

The National Land Question

The land issue remains the central national question claiming all our energies and attention in order to secure its genuine and lasting resolution. In my countless addresses to you, I have emphasised that the national land question enjoys Siamese closeness to the question of our National Independence and Sovereignty. We knew and still know

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that land was the prime goal for King Lobengula as he fought British encroachment in 1893; we knew and still know that land was the principal grievance for our heroes of the First Chimurenga, led by Nehanda and Kaguvi. We knew and still know it to be the fundamental premise of the Second Chimurenga and thus a principal definer of the succeeding new Nation and State of Zimbabwe. Indeed we know it to be the core issue and imperative of the Third Chimurenga which you and me are fighting, and for which we continue to make such enormous sacrifices.

The Emancipation of Peasants

We will win; we are winning, for at no stage and time in the history of mankind has colonial occupation ever lasted forever.



The land is being delivered to its rightful owners, the Zimbabwean people.

A total of 127 509 families are now on 4 762 065 hectares of new, better land, land redeemed for them through our Fast Track Land Resettlement Programme. In Manicaland, 11 659 families have been settled; in Mashonaland East, 21 839; Mashonaland Central, 10 852; Mashonaland West, 20 550; Midlands, 17 607; Masvingo, 26 916;

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Matabeleland South, 10 554 and, Matabeleland North, 7 532. Since Independence, that is from 1980 to October 1998, we managed to resettle a mere 71 000 families on 3 498 440 hectares, on the basis of British and donor participation. From October 1998 to the commencement of our Fast Track Land Reform Programme, we managed another 4 697 families on 144 991 hectares, and this on the strength of our own resources. In other words since Independence we have resettled about 127 509 families on about 85 million hectares.

These families who draw from all our provinces are happy that a principal goal of our armed liberation struggle is being realised. Indeed, the land reform programme is a comprehensive policy intervention which targets those who bore children for the liberation struggle and therefore for the emancipation of our Nation, namely, the peasants. They have had the patience to wait for twenty-one years for that Independence to deliver benefits to them in a meaningful way. I also want to underline that, as with the protracted road to our Independence, our erstwhile oppressors only make reformist concessions, only deliver titbits meant to protect and justify their greater control over our resources. This is why the past twenty years of donor-led land reforms have yielded such modest progress. It is only when we make sacrifices; when we demand and determine the pace of transformative change that we get the results we wish and deserve. This is what the Fast Track Land Programme means: it is an economic correlative of the liberation struggle and we refuse to negotiate its legitimacy or even parameters.

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Addressing Genuine Land Hunger

The Fast Track is not yet complete. There is more land hunger which has to be assuaged by our ZANU-PF Government. However, I am happy that the process of demarcating land

for settler emplacement is close to completion, hopefully before the rains. I am sure those who are coming from the countryside will confirm that all provinces have turned into a hive of activity as the various arms of local and national Government move and place families on new lands, and help them with preparations for the impending season.

Infrastructural Development

A total of 7 414 families have benefited from the tillage programme and that work continues to ensure that most resettled families are given a good start. Resources limit the level of support we can give but we are aware that the Party is encouraging our people to use their own resources to get on with the job. A total of 226 boreholes have been drilled to ensure that some of the resettled families enjoy access to clean water. Infrastructural work continues and the \$15bn pledged as support to agriculture, \$6,5bn of which has already been committed, should enable real, tangible progress on the ground.



Hundreds of people queue to register for land under the A2 Model

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Land Policy

Our policies on land reforms are very clear. Land comes from the white dominated commercial sector where a disproportionate amount of prime land continues to be unfairly held for speculative purposes. The end result should be a one-farmer-one farm outcome in a de-racialised commercial agricultural sector. This translates into a representative release of land to the small-scale peasant agricultural sector to remove the current pressures of congestion in communal areas. We protect agro-industrial concerns while encouraging those who dominate that sector to begin addressing the question of indigenous participation so we remove permanently the anomaly of racial enclaves in our economy.

Protection of Land Occupiers

In the interim we protect by law all the landless people who occupied commercial farms before 1st March, 2001 to allow Government time to complete acquisitions and subsequent settler emplacements on properties which will have been acquired for resettlement. This is how Government hopes to remove all those demonstrating landless Zimbabweans from properties which Government has no intention of acquiring for resettlement. Those demonstrating Zimbabweans who have a legitimate stake in this country can only be shifted from where they are presently onto new settlements in the context of Government initiated and managed resettlement. I want this message to go clearly to the white commercial farmers.

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White commercial farmers are not a lawful eviction authority; they rely on arms of Government which will only act within the laws and policies of Government. More critically, it is important for such farmers to remember that they cannot expect the demonstrations to end on their properties when at the same time they continue to resist and undermine the land acquisition process. I emphasise this against the background of a very dangerous trend where some commercial farmers are attacking land demonstrators and resisting settler emplacements.

To date, a number of lives have been lost at the hands of such resisting commercial farmers who think they can turn the land question in Zimbabwe into a black-on-black violence. They have been mobilising, arming and even paying their workers to attack their black brethren settlers. We lost lives in Manicaland and, about a week ago, in Mashonaland East. That will have to stop forthwith unless these commercial farmers are ready for a conflict situation. It is quite clear that there is a link between the incidence and frequency of conflict and those farming areas which belong to commercial farmers of British extraction, and of course areas where there is a collection of former BSAP and other characters who served in Rhodesian arms of security. We continue to watch this very closely to see whether or not this amounts to a resurgence of military structures of UDI.

Land Submissions

Against this inauspicious resistance from some commercial farmers is an initiative from some positive-minded farmers who have realised the futility of resisting what in fact is a just, fair and reasonable demand from the people

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of this country. These farmers have agreed to release an initial tranche of 531 farms amounting to a total of 967 452 hectares of land for resettlement. About 229 farmers have agreed to withdraw their legal contest to the acquisition of gazetted farms, in effect releasing 410 111 hectares of land to Government for resettlement. Within the overall lot, there is an additional 73 farms amounting to 116 021 hectares, which are new and had not been gazetted by Government.

This release of commercial farmland through the Zimbabwe Joint Resettlement Initiative (ZJRI) should be well understood for what it is and is not. We understand, welcome and appreciate it in terms of our overall Land Reform Programme with its set time frame, land acquisition and settler emplacements targets. From such a perspective, we appreciate it as a symbolic gesture suggesting that a number of white commercial farmers are beginning to be positive about the national land reform policy, evidenced by their willingness to drop legal contests, offer land and support the new settlers by way of inputs. But we are very clear that this disposition does not include everyone, with many, if not the majority still believing they can continue to resist land reforms in the hope of some rescue formulae from the British-led western coalition against the ZANU-PF and the Zimbabwean Government. This is the group, led predominantly by farmers of British background, which is sponsoring and directing the opposition MDC in the hope for a neo-colonial outcome. The group has also been stirring trouble on the farms, as happened recently in Mashonaland West, as well as continuing with court actions designed to derail land reforms. For them, ZJRI affords them a truce, a duplicitous interlude, while they re-group their camp.

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Then we have another group of white commercial farmers who have invested in the ZJRI as the price for buying "peace" from demonstrators on their properties, as a way of testing the waters. They do not have a broader view and in fact are no different from the first group which is resisting. They think they can mollify the landless by releasing a handful of farms so they can retain the rest. They have been projecting themselves as the reasonable side deserving a good return for the land releases they have done through this initiative. Their ultimate hope is to depict Government as the unreasonable side, thereby winning international goodwill.

Well, we are very clear. Whatever the motivation, we are set on resolving the land question once and for all.

International Support: The Landmark Abuja Agreement

International support for our Third Chimurenga continues to grow. At the beginning of September 2001, Government attended a meeting of a Committee of Foreign Ministers on Zimbabwe held in Abuja, Nigeria. The meeting which replaced the ill-conceived and therefore ill-fated C-MAG meeting which the British, helped by the Australians and Canadians, had sought to use to get the Commonwealth countries to condemn our land reform programme, was a significant victory for the landless of our country.

Firstly, it recognised that land was the core problem in Zimbabwe and

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had its roots in the "historical injustices" perpetrated by British colonialism. For that reason, the resolution of the land question was thus central to the stabilisation of the country. Secondly, the meeting accepted that the land question, as any other question in Zimbabwe, could only be resolved in terms of the laws and Constitution of Zimbabwe. This was an affirmation of our sovereignty as a country and people. Thirdly, the meeting got Britain to acknowledge her responsibilities in the resolution of the land question, thereby laying the basis for the resumption of negotiations and mobilisation of the donor community. Even more critically, the Abuja meeting acknowledged our land reform programme, as well as its achievements on the ground. This means we forge ahead with our land reform as planned, so the land hunger is met this year.

Both Politburo and Government have already accepted the broad principles of the agreement about which you will receive a more comprehensive briefing from ministers who participated. Ironically, farmers who stand to benefit from the British and donor initiative are opposed to the Abuja Agreement which they regard as a British sell-out agreement. One can only surmise that those farmers opposed to the Abuja Agreement which holds to them the promise for full compensation, are opposed to land reforms *in toto*.

This meeting must fully and frankly discuss the Abuja Agreement in terms of its broad principles as well as its full implication to our land reforms. If and when we adopt it, we should be able to take the document to the people, including those demonstrating on farms so they appreciate the impact of it all and what obligations it imposes on us. Once this

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process is complete, we should be able to take a position in compliance with its expectations.

Zanu-PF Winning By-Elections

We have held and won by-elections resoundingly in Bindura and Makoni West. Another one is due in Chikomba and we are confident we will retain it, in spite of the campaign of murder, terror and intimidation which the quisling MDC has unleashed on our people. Our cause is just and steeped in people's aspirations and we cannot go wrong. I want to pay tribute to the leaderships and people of Mashonaland Central and Manicaland for a battle well fought and victory well earned. Similarly, I thank in advance the leadership and people of Mashonaland East for a telling victory which they are set to deliver to the Party after the weekend voting. Our support in the rural constituencies continues to grow and the margin of our victory over our rival continues to be stunning.

Comrades, while we revel and relish our success in rural by-elections, we faced another defeat in the mayoral election of Bulawayo. We managed a mere 12 000 votes to the MDC's over 60 000 votes. While these figures pointed to a drastic decline on the part of the MDC and a marginal growth on our part, it was not good enough at all. Very serious shortcomings were quite apparent throughout the preparations and the actual campaign period.

Reasserting the Party in Matabeleland

We need to put our act together so we can reassert the Party in

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the opposition won not because it is strong in Matabeleland; it won because we are too weak, too disorganised and perhaps too fractious to win. We need to get over that by speedily addressing the problem of structures and voter needs. This is imperative in Bulawayo; it is equally imperative in Masvingo and other cities where the opposition made some inroads. We have a strong basis for recovering support in urban areas. There is palpable disenchantment with the opposition and people want to be walked back to their Party. Let us assist them through vigorous campaigning and strong resilient structures. Government measures for propping the weak wages and salaries of workers are beginning to bear fruit. We have introduced urban commuter train service in the main cities of Harare and Bulawayo. The benefits accruing to the workers are considerable and should redound to the Party by way of enlarged support.



Zanu PF's commitment to provide reliable and affordable urban transport is unwavering.

The Tripartite Negotiating Forum has been achieving results and we should, through the newly launched Cabinet Action Committees, be in a position to bring the run-away prices under tow. Our opponents are throwing everything at the people in order to breed resentment against ZANU-PF ahead of the presidential elections. We are taking

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appropriate measures to bring relief to our people. More importantly, the enormous advances we are making on the land reform front should translate into a positive attitude towards the Party. After all, land reforms touch all of us, whether or not we live in towns and cities. All these positive factors need to be harnessed for a spritely political campaign initiative which should assure us of a convincing victory in the impending Presidential Election.

Our enemies and their local lackeys are hard at work, employing every trick in and out of the book to defeat and reverse land reforms by ousting ZANU-PF from power. The West, led by Britain through the Westminster Foundation, the Americans through certain conduits tucked under USAID, and the Danes and Swedes through their ruling parties, the Germans and the Dutch through Foundations and other NGOs are pouring in money into the country for opposition support. At another level, they continue to assault our sovereignty through phoney interventions packaged as support to our electoral process when in reality it is disguised rigging. We are determined to repulse such gross interference and unashamed attempts to undermine our democratic process.

The Party must be firm. We will win.

Forward with our Independence!

Forward with Land Reforms!

The Struggle Continues!

Akuya Continua.

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CHAPTER 12: Review of the June 2000 Parliamentary Elections

**Based on remarks made by the First Secretary And President of ZANU (PF), CDE, R.G. Mugabe, at the meeting of the National Consultative Assembly, Saturday, 22nd July, 2000.*

It is important to reflect, review and confidently plan for the future as we celebrate ZANU (PF)'s victory at June 2000 Parliamentary polls. I wish to take this time to, once again, congratulate all those of our members who won seats in the elections. Given the Phalanx of opinion and action that united against us in the run-up to the elections, our victory, Comrades, is one deserving of a hearty celebration; one indeed, to cherish for a long time to come.

Future Challenges

However, the celebration should be tempered with the realisation that many more challenges still lie ahead; for, we cannot escape the fact that our Party could and should have done better than it did during the elections. It is my hope that we shall be able to derive the necessary lessons from this post-election period and that these lessons will help us re-energise and re-focus our Party.

Comrades, the process of rejuvenating the Party must of necessity begin with our looking at Party grassroots structures again. There is need for us to seriously revisit the cells, branches and districts as these constitute the tried and tested bedrock of our support. Factionalism and the other ills which have tended to affect top Party leadership have marginalized the lay members of the Party and this has led to enfeebled Party work. We need to re-establish genuine bonds with the grassroots membership of the Party as this is the only way that we can keep in touch with the always changing-needs of the majority. I believe that

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our greatest challenge today, nay, for all time, is to ensure that we are, without doubt, in touch with people's aspirations.

It is noteworthy that a process of cleansing the Party may have already begun without our knowing it. You will recall comrades, that in the run-up to the elections, we had those who thought the Party was standing in their way and opted instead to contest the elections as independents.

Then, as now, our response to them was simply that ZANU (PF) would not brook as independents would not brook indiscipline in its ranks. Our advice was clear that those who stood as independents would not be welcome back into the ZANU (PF) fold.

I am happy to report that our principled stance has been vindicated. Those who sought to defy Party wishes were given an unforgettable lesson by the electorate. Onto their number can be added those, who, in selfish pursuit of positions, have been announcing their meaningless defections to the opposition. ZANU (PF) will do well without them and their duplicitous ways. Let us, therefore, continue this process of strengthening the Party and all its structures so that we are ready for future challenges.

Given the guiles and wiles of the Party's enemies, it is vitally important for the Party's organs to be properly attuned so that they are responsive to the many challenges that will continue to be thrown our way.

Economic hardships.

One of the immediate challenges is represented by our present economic hardships. Quite often, some people have sought to preach that ZANU (PF) is solely to blame for the problems we are currently encountering. They have espoused hate-filled prognoses, which

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inexplicably ignore the reality of a skewed international trading system which continues to cause unending hardships for our local economies.

Locally, a generally harsh macro-economic environment characterized in the main by high inflation and high interest rates has led in turn to massive, at-times, unjustified, retrenchments. Those who have tried to go it alone by venturing into income generating projects have often not fared any better.

Over the years, one of our unfulfilled desires has been to do with the long-drawn search for a new international economic order. As this goal has so far proved elusive, there is now a great need for us to consider home-grown solutions to some of the poverty and destitution we see around us.

In our situation, I am happy to report that an accelerated land redistribution exercise is now in motion. It is my hope that if we put our heads together and believe in the efficacy of this process, we shall see it go a long way towards addressing the twin evils of poverty and overcrowding in most of our rural areas. I believe it is of utmost importance for us to make good and total use of the momentum so far generated in respect of the land question. We are indeed called upon to deliver once and for all.

I wish to appeal to all those who are going to benefit from the fast-track resettlement programme to make optimum use of this opportunity and begin to plant the seed for a green revolution which will be a beacon of hope for all those who are still dispossessed in Zimbabwe and in other lands.

In more ways than one, we have our work cut out for us. It is becoming increasingly clear that we are now being judged on the weight of what we can deliver and not on the sound of our promises. For our Party, as indeed it is for almost all modern corporations and organisations, our chief calling is to re-focus our programmes and objectives so that we do not run the risk of singing a different tune to that of the people. The re-focusing should begin here and now!

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As we celebrate our election victory, we must remember that we have been given the chance to seriously address the promises we made to the people.

It must be borne in mind that, as the Party which decisively changed the history and course of this country, our election victory commands us to greater heights of service to the people. We should develop and nurture a desire of being with the people at all the times so that we are able to both hear and understand their concerns, and more importantly, be able to adopt the right responses to their needs.

During our election campaigns, one of the strongly held complaints against local Party leadership was that there was a tendency to forget about the people for as long as no election was beckoning. I wish to caution against this dereliction of duty; for, increasingly, the rally may not be most reliable medium of transmitting our messages. I believe that equally appealing and effective is working through smaller groups, sharing with them the vision and programmes of the Party and their role in all this. As we have learnt from other aspects of life, nothing can beat the personal touch. And so it be with our Party outreaches; let us strive to make each and every person we reach out to feel that they have a special place in our Party.

For the tasks which I have enumerated to succeed, we need a unity of purpose. Unless we seek, above all else a single-minded programme of action, we will run the risk of some of our members falling for the tricks of the masters of deception who masquerade as champions of democracy and yet in reality seek to detract from all that we have done. More than ever before, therefore, we are called upon to exercise a greater sense of vigilance and patriotism for the sake of our nation's future.

With these remarks, I would like now to wish our meeting very fruitful deliberations.

*Pamberi nekusimbisa Musangano wedu!
Phambili lokuginisa uMhlangotho!*

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CHAPTER 13: Land for Economic Empowerment.

**Based on remarks made by the first secretary and President of ZANU (PF) CDE RG Mugabe at the forty fifth ordinary session of the central committee.*

The Third National People's Congress left a number of items on our agenda uncompleted, and thus agreed to re-convene in a special way to finish that business. And since our National People's Conference would have come more or less around the same time anyway, we agreed that the Special Congress would also serve to advance the aims and objectives of that National People's Conference. It is important therefore to finalise plans and adopt the agenda for the Special Congress.

The Special People's National People's Congress is being held under the theme of Land for Economic Empowerment which as you will remember, was also the campaign theme of our Party for the Parliamentary Elections whose outcome we already have had occasion to review and discuss. Naturally, my address to you today begins with that theme.

Those of you who come from, or are in contact with, our rural constituencies would vouch that the past few months have seen quite but thrustful agrarian revolution in the countryside. As long promised, the past two months or so have seen real advances in bringing land to our people. Each province is estimated to have placed and resettled close to 10 000 families under the Fast Track Approach. I am told that to date, a grand total of 127 509 families are now on newly opened virgin lands, covering about 2,2 million hectares. We should, in due course, be able to get an update from the Chairman of the National Land Acquisition Committee. However, let me, for the purpose of this address, make some broad observations on this very important matter.

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It is important for all to keep the land reform programme both in perspective and focus so we are one in purpose and in action. Often, one hears murmurs of doubts, reservations, criticisms and even opposition to what the Party, through its Government, is doing. While this is natural and even expected from those falling outside the Party, we in the Party cannot be seen to be divided on this one crucial matter.

Our perspective on the land reform programme derives from our struggle for sovereign independence, and the compelling fact that the last and decisive seven years of that struggle took on an armed form that demanded of us the precious and ultimate price of our blood. We died and suffered for our land. We died and suffered for sovereignty over natural resources of which *land, ivhu umhlaba*, is the most important.

Expectedly, Government has had to subordinate all its structures to the achievement of this one goal, and I can assure you this purposeful redirection of all arms of governance will continue until this national question is resolved. On that score, I want to thank all arms of the Party and State Organs of the Party, Government Ministries, Security Arms, structures of Local and Traditional Government for working in concert, purposefully and determinedly on this one vital matter; May that continue until the 5 million hectares truly come to the landless, and with them, our final emancipation!

In that struggle to deliver land to our people, we continue to face numerous hurdles put in our way by those whose mission it is to protect and defend alien interests against the pressing needs of their people, who are the majority.

The Colonial Hangover of the Courts

These hurdles are bound to multiply and manifest themselves in many forms and guises as we make more advances towards genuine

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Independence. One dimension has to do with the higher courts where some elements, themselves legal spillovers from the UDI era, have decided to place themselves up against the people and their resources. Ironically, the courts have chosen such an infamous role over a matter of natural and economic justice, a matter of people's rights. I address you now against the background of many court orders thrown at Government and the landless like confetti, in a bid to stop those, whose land was unlawfully seized in the past and who have had to struggle and even die for it, from assuming long delayed control of it. As I have had occasion to indicate in the past, the land question is a political question, a deep political question that no sane judge can hope to solve through laws of trespass, or some other legal instruments including court orders. Land was forcibly seized from our people in the past. No courts intervened then. We cannot, therefore, brook any court impediments to our land acquisition programme, designed to achieve, equity, justice, and fairness.

Let it be known that the Courts in Independent Zimbabwe do belong to the people and will, whatever it will take, be placed at the service of those same people for whose convenience and protection they were set up in the first instance. They will not be allowed to go against our quest for full sovereignty; our quest to fulfil the wishes of the vast majority of our people in favour of a mere four thousand white racist commercial farmers.

I am happy to report to you that our struggle for land reforms is ever broadening and just now, the peasants have raised the stakes by engaging the Commercial Farmers Union on its legal term. A land restitution has since been launched. Our chiefs are also up in arms and have threatened to take the CFU *kumutare!* Let us spare no avenue in driving home the indisputable fact that we are right and we are just. Let us bring home to the Commercial Farmers of the CFU that they have declared war against the people of Zimbabwe who have every determination to win it.

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External and neo-colonial opposition

Another hurdle confronting us has to do with the role of external powers, principally that of the former colonial power, Britain, which is aimed at foiling our whole land acquisition programme. Apart from giving succour to the settler colonial community here, as well as sponsoring the violent Movement for Democratic Change (MDC), the British have been scuttling all initiatives meant to bring the donor community on board for the resolution of the land question. In this unhallowed effort, they have had a few European sympathisers who think we will not be able to carry out land reforms without donor support. They are completely wrong and are doomed to fail!

We will continue to finance the whole programme from our own resources. Already, close on to \$25 million has been spent on tillage services given to the new settlers each of whom has had a hectare of their land ploughed by the District Development Fund. We have also set aside \$900 m for the Crop Input Loan Scheme targeting the new farmers. For the 2001 Financial Year, we have allocated \$1,14bn for resettlement and this should see us make quiet some strides. I am also happy to report that the land reform programme continues to receive the support of all Zimbabweans, whatever their station in life. The list of the expectant landless includes those in town, amongst several are professionals all of whom recognise that their navel is in the soil. Indeed, some of the opposition strongly support our land acquisition thrust, and thus have been defying and deserting their wayward parties and sell-out policies to join our ranks in the exercise.

The Special Congress should provide us with an opportunity to critically examine the situation within the Party and its organs. As is already known, this process began well before the Parliamentary Elections and gathered greater pace after the June elections, when it

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became quite apparent that there were serious organisational problems within our political house. We encouraged all the organs of the Party to work as hard as they could to restructure themselves so they could strengthen themselves.

This whole exercise arises from a recognition and concern that internal problems and structural weaknesses of the Party have resulted in its poor electoral performance. It is clear that organisationally and in terms of programmes and political activities, our Party lacked the capacity to effectively deal with situations that have confronted it. We continue to rely on residual structures and method that served us in prosecuting the liberation struggle, but which now sorely need a major revamp to measure up to the new circumstances and challenges.

There is a lot of uncaptured and dormant membership, which cannot be reached or motivated by our structures, themselves badly in need of revamping. Is our Youth League so organised for a correct cause and action? Is our Women's League geared enough for the young woman with her new outlook, sensibility and ambition? How about the Main Wing? Has it gone the old outlook to enkindle the interest of new ones? Have we tried in any vigorous and effective way to capture the young educated and new-look individuals who are searching for a new home, and who comprise the uncaptured constituency that by and large kept away from the ballot?

Factionalism and Cliques

Comrades and friends, we are also going to the Special Congress with unresolved cases of divisive factionalism and cliques. The problem appears to have stiffened much more in Masvingo Province and Manicaland. It is a truism that our Party cannot reassert its political dominance under conditions of division and factionalism, and the Special Congress will not alone provide conclusive solutions.

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Lamentably, in all cases of divided organs one recognises the issue of personalities, itself an ample indication of the absence of galvanising principles and political maturity.

It is important that the Party fully appreciates the challenges confronting us. We can no longer rely on super power rivalry or leadership to defend our own interest both as a party and as a country.

We just have to draw on our own inner political strength, which should derive from our unity, the unity of our Party. Our enemies are aware that this is the one weapon we have in our defence, which is why the attack against us has taken the dimension of challenging our Unity Accord, the mainstay of the stability of our Nation.

In addressing the same question, we must remain aware that we are a Party of National Liberation. We carry and defend that significance in collaboration with other liberation movements of our region. Our unity as a Party, which in turn yields the unit of our Southern African Liberation Movements and the Governments, they constitute. The resurgence of new, incipient colonialism, exemplified by the desire by the British to retain a foothold on our country through economic control has happily dramatised to our Liberation Movements the need to re-establish the solidarity and partnerships we forged as we struggled against imperialism. Towards this goal, all the liberation movements of our region had convocation in Johannesburg from 13th to 16th October, 2000, during which the region-wide onslaught against us came under examination. A follow up of that convocation is scheduled to be held here in Zimbabwe this coming year.

The coming together of the two main South African white political parties, National Party which crafted apartheid and Democratic Party, to create the Democratic Alliance under the leadership of Tony Leon clearly shows the intentions of the white communities in our region to

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challenge to our liberation movements. The support extended to the MDC by the local white settlers and Tony Leon's party should be understood in that context. There are dangerous attempts by the white interests in our region to forge a broad front across boundaries against genuine reforms being championed by all the governments of our liberation movements.

That grand strategy works in many forms, and uses all kinds of tactics, including bribery, deceit, camouflage, violence and dirty forms of achieving power. As we prepare for our Special Congress, let us realise, we have a historical role to play. As liberators of the nation, we have now to safeguard that nation and prevent its subjection once again to racial rule, oppression and suppression. We cannot succeed in this as a divided people. Hence unity, Party unity and national unity must remain our theme.

Forward with National Unity!

Forward with land for economic empowerment!

CHAPTER 14: Struggling against Africa and Zimbabwe's Chief Enemy; Poverty

**Based on remark made by the President and First Secretary of ZANU-PF, CDE R.G Mugabe to the special people's Congress*

In fulfilment of the decision we took to reconvene for the express purpose of finishing outstanding matters on our agenda of the Third National Peoples' Congress we held in December 1999 where we agreed to convene a Special People's Congress which, apart from dealing with outstanding matters of the December Congress, would act as a substitute for the traditional Annual National People's Conference. This second dimension allows this Special People's Congress to address those issues that have arisen in the interim since that Congress.

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Before I turn on to substantive matters of the Special Congress, let me begin by greeting you all in the name of our Party, ZANU (PF). I recognise delegates from each and every province, organised variously in keeping with the main organs of our Party: the Youth League; the Women's League; the Main Wing and Lower Wing but equally important tiers of our Party, right down to the village cells.

*Salibonani lonke
Ndinokwakukwazisai mose
Greetings to you all*

I trust that every one of you will feel facilitated in every way possible so our proceedings advance with little or no disruptions, discomforts or anxieties.

Our idea is to rest all your other worries, mobilise all your thoughts and rivet them on the affairs of our Party and Nation during these two crucial days, such that, at the end of it all, we should be able to go back to our respective Provinces revitalised and focused on a new agenda that restores our Party to its traditional might and vigour.

I have prepared a detailed report on pressing matters from the year which is coming to a close hardly two weeks hence, which I hope will be circulated for your more considered attention. My address to you this morning will present that report to you in summary form, recommending it for your considered and possible adoption.

Our Special People's Congress convenes under the theme of "Land for Economic Empowerment", and clearly indicates what preoccupies us currently. We meet at a time when our economy is modestly performing, a situation which has translated into severe hardships for all our people. Goods are short and expensive; unemployment is very high; factories and other businesses are closing down on account of

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harsh economic conditions related to inflation, high interest rates and an acute shortage of foreign exchange for vital inputs which include raw materials and fuel for our economic recovery and growth. The year 2000 has been a very challenging one indeed.

For the Party, these economic difficulties have tended to register as general apathy, disaffection or even opposition, as many of our people blame us for all the economic ills that afflict our nation today. Indeed, going by our modest victory in the June Parliamentary Election, these are deep. The small racial group which controls this economy has largely determined how well we do far we go by way of changes we desire to effect. We have tried within limits to educate our children and happily, we have achieved a literacy rate upward of 80%; we have tried to bring development and health to our people and Zimbabwe has this day overcome the debilitating legacy of discriminatory Rhodesia. We have tried to support our communal farmers and this day our agriculture is peasant led, although hugely constrained by the shortage of land; indeed, we have tried to support our own indigenous entrepreneurs to break into the closed shop of white led businesses and to this day we have something to show by way of few successes. Yet all these changes and advances have tended to express themselves within an undesirable structural status quo.

The far-reaching changes that took place from 1989 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 transformation vision we had at Independence. Instead the new uni-polar environment simply legitimised and deepened the racially skewed structures we have had here. Government had to be pro-business; had to cut back on social spending; had to get out of the market, or some such Breton Woods prescriptions. We obeyed and by 1991 we were busy implementing the structural adjustment programme, tantalised by the promise of abundance to follow the hardships of adjustment.

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The Evils of The Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP).

The hardships we endure today arise from the programme of adjustment to which we acquiesced at the beginning of this decade, which have had the terrible effect of simply wiping off the phenomenal social gains we had made during the first decade of our Independence. Presently, many children are out of school; support for our communal farmers has declined; our health institutions can no longer serve our people; our social safety nets are largely dismantled and the laws that used to protect workers against arbitration retrenchments are, by and large, repealed. Our people suffer and blame the Party and Government for it.

In terms of the growth of economy, there has been very little beneficiation of our raw materials to stimulate tertiary industry. Our predominately white entrepreneurs would rather export gold than trinkets; raw cotton lint than clothes; raw minerals and not processed ones. We have been exporting jobs for our children and metropolitan countries with which our lead entrepreneurs identify, have been thriving at our expense.

Meanwhile, the parastatals we have traditionally used to cushion our people from arbitration rise in the price of basic commodities are gradually being dismembered in the name of privatisation. The State can no longer influence the market, whether by law or by participation. We have had droughts; we have had cyclones; we have had depressed international markets which have knocked out practically all our leading exportables, starting with tobacco and ending with our base metals. This is our situation, quite structural indeed and scoffing at easy, borrowed solutions.

For the past decade we adjusted and liberalised the economy by way of ESAP and its sequel, ZIMPREST. The question we would not answer in both programmes is for whom were we adjusting the economy. By hindsight and the sheer deepening misery of our people, we can now

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answer that question. We adjusted the economy for external interests which is why our people have nothing to show, ten years into the adjustment; which is why this economy has been declaring monthly dividends to foreigners year in and year out 'indeed why local white companies have been notching profits at the expense of their workforce. The way forward is to adjust the economy for real ownership and control by indigenous Zimbabweans. This is why the theme of this Special People's Congress has a particular special resonance.

The Zimbabwean economy is based on agriculture. Those that dominate it currently derive their power from control and ownership of our land. Conversely, our marginal role, our condition of disempowerment, arises from the fact of landlessness. 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. We single-mindedly pushed for the resolution of the land question with that undertaking and conviction in mind. After all the land is ours: by birth, by right, by struggle! The Party, this Congress especially, has to demonstrate resolve on this one vital matter.

Our Fast Track Land Reform Programme is underway and phenomenal progress has been registered since its inception hardly six months ago. Close on to 50 000 families have already been resettled and we have transferred over 5 million hectares of land by this month next year. 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. The Fast Track Programme has largely proceeded on, our stream and we have been financing it, depending on the sheer resourcefulness of our people. This is what Independence means.

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The land question that we are tracking is much more than a national question; it is a regional question. We have within our national neighbourhood African countries who share our predicament in so far as their land is under occupation. Namibia has such a situation; so does South Africa. Further afield, Mauritius faces similar contradictions, as does many former colonies on the continent and beyond. Global capitalism is shifting further down into real estate, which is why land is such a crucial issue of control. Therefore, we need not feel lonely, for the Third World peoples are with us.

This fact has not been lost upon sister nations of our region, a good many of which either feel for us or share our problem. I want to mention in a special way sister Liberation movements of ANC, PAC, SWAPO, MPLA, FRELIMO and their governments. They have done much more than support us; they have stood by us in what is in fact a bruising fight against very powerful, very vicious and vengeful nations of imperial dominance.



Much as one does not underestimate the ever strong bonds of comradeship deriving from the liberation struggle, one sees in their hard choice to stand by us a recognition that is an assault on ZANU-PF, is an assault on the very values of the struggle that cost much to bring. Indeed, we have seen the same forces we fought in our wars of liberation regrouping across borders and defending those interests and structures which are synonymous with continued relegation of our people.

I also thank the Zambian people and their Government led by President Chiluba for standing by us, thank the people of Malawi and their Government led by President Muluzi. I thank many African Presidents, especially President Obasanjo of Nigeria who has spurned

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at the temptation of easy fame to stand by us on this matter of supreme principle. He did the same in 1979 as we negotiated with the same British for our Independence. Support for us continues to grow on the continent and within the Third World while that commanded by the Blair regime continues to dwindle, even within Europe. Our cause is just and right.

Land as the backbone of the Party

Comrades, the land issue should provide a good backdrop for rejuvenating our Party. It is a solution to bread and butter questions exercising our people. Is the Party ready to translate the gains of the Fast Track approach into mobilisation and greater membership? It is important that our structures move in tandem or even ahead of the land redistribution exercise so that our people can properly contextualise where this huge benefit is coming from. Have we told them that the land is being brought to them by a ZANU PF government? Have we told them who it is that opposes land reforms, who it is that is fighting for the continued occupation of our land by a mere 4 000 white commercial farmers?

Have we told the people who is traversing Europe for sanctions to punish Zimbabwean for demanding their land; who it is that is bringing back white Rhodesia to this country?

Such messages can only come from vigorous Party leaders who are very active and interacting daily with the People. Such messages can only come from structures which are well led and focused on problem-solving for the benefit of our people. Is the Party taking full advantage of Government structures and programmes to advance its interests? There are structures related to agriculture; to local government; rural and water development; co-operatives, health and social welfare. I am informed that the Ministry of youth Development, Gender and

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employment Creation has, in the past six months invested over \$33, 4 million in community-based youth and women projects. This sterling performance has to be taken advantage of for the revival of our Party.

Forward with National Unity!
Forward with the Fast Track Land Reform Programme!
Forward with the Youth League!
Forward with the Women's League!
Forward with the Main Wing!
Aluta Continua.

CHAPTER 15: A Restructured Zanu-Pf.

** Based on closing remarks made by his Excellency The President And First Secretary Of ZANU (PF) at the Special National People's Congress, 15th December, 2000*

The two days we have been here have given us an opportunity to review our situation in the Party and in our country with a view to casting a solid future for our children and ourselves. We have received reports; shared experiences and perceptions as these pertain to our respective localities in all our provinces. That way we have been able to cumulatively reconstruct the complete situation of our Party and our country. This whole exercise has been managed with candour-itself a trademark of deliberations in our Party. This is because we believe that correct solutions always arise from accurate and frank assessments of situations.

We have also, in these two days, been able to send shivers to our enemies who wish fully thought we are kicking our last: we are finished! They now know, as they should always have known, that we are here and well. In fact, we have been, we are and we will be here long enough to witness

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such quite and shameful expiry, the way of all traitors. Those that back them have also realised the futility of their evil ways. Let them continue pouring in money; let them design errands for their stooges; but we are in the full knowledge that defeat and doom await them.

The party's durability

The durability of our Party derives from the soundness of its principles, which coincide with the national interest. We liberated this country from the throes of colonialism. We are freeing this country from the clutches of neo-settler colonialism by bringing the land back to our people. In all these difficult phases of our long struggle, we have overcome traitors and shall continue to do so until our certain final victory.

We have reviewed our Fast Track Land Reform programme as it has been implemented and administered in our respective Provinces. From all the provinces, all categories of our membership: the youth, women, men, war veterans, detainees, restrictees, chimbwidos and mujibas, our chiefs and headmen, professionals we have heard this one resounding message that the land should have come yesterday. There was a palpable sense of frustration at the pace of our Fast Track which is regarded as too slow, in fact, too sluggish for its importance. Let the Fast Track turn into a full gallop as all those involved in this exercise demarcate, and allocate and deliver to our expectant people. This is the job, which the Party must handle and accomplish. This is the national programme to which all else must be subordinated.

We have heard that over and above the broad impediments thrown in our way by our adversaries, there are also hitches which, if left unattended, can hamper the way we are administering the Programme. There are complaints against our civil servants who are either

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desultory in application, or simply frustrating the implementation of the process itself which appears to deliberately sideline Party members and those who sacrificed through demonstrations and vigils to press home the urgency for land reforms. Let it be known by all those involved that it is our Party ZANU-PF which has single handedly championed land reforms when all others have either been conveniently quite or have actively sided with those that control and deprive us of our land. Surely we are the first claimants, the first beneficiaries of Fast Track.

After all we carry the majority of the people. We have no apologies to make on this one. Let MDC supporters get allocated land in Britain where they have been getting pounds and politics. They cannot benefit from policies they have rejected and even opposed.

We have also heard of misunderstandings related to boundaries. We need to appreciate that the Fast Track Land Reform is a national programme and thus should draw from all corners of our country. There are districts in our country which can be acquired for resettlement. We also have Provinces which are predominantly communal and thus which cannot raise enough farms for people on the waiting list. While our land reform programme tries as far as is practicable to keep people close to their original homes, there are situations where this cannot be upheld. This means there is going to be quite some rearrangement of families and communities in a way that bursts traditional borders as we have had them in the past.

The Party must prepare our people both to move to new places and to welcome new families who may have been so translocated. I want to appeal to our chiefs especially to help with this process so the Fast Track Programme does not end up dividing our people and Party.

It has also been impressed upon us that farms adjacent to our urban areas should be acquired for our urban families who need land both for dwellings and for small farming units so we have green belts around

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our cities, and town s. We should try and make the land reform programme comprehensive enough to meet various needs for our people. Indeed this is how we can stop the environmental degradation arising from land pressures in both rural and urban areas. Of-course, we are allocating land so it can be utilised fully. Once the land has come our way, it has to be used for the full benefit of the nation and our region. Our enemies want to stigmatise us as a people who do not know the value of the soil and who will ruin the land once it comes our way. They predict food shortages after our land reform programme. They believe that only the white man can ensure food security for the African. Let the facts speak for themselves.

They conveniently forget that we have always fed ourselves from time immemorial; that we even fed them for a very long time; and survived their attempts to ruin us agriculturally, so they would turn us all into a waged class. To this day, we dominate the production of most crops. It is important that we show our detractors that we not only are sons of the soil; we are master farmers, men and women whose livelihood comes from the soil. We have heard your plea for more tillage assistance; for seed packs and other forms of input support. We will look into it but let us, in the meantime, do what we can for ourselves and our region.

We have had a chance to revisit our Party Constitution to make it more amenable to the new situation. We have amended it to provide for an enlarged Politburo and Central Committee, and for a quota system for our women and provinces. The posts have since been filled in a representative way. After these changes, our Party has become firmly national in all senses: provincial, regional, generational in terms of gender.

This is as it should be. I want to congratulate all the new members who have been elected or appointed to these vital organs of the Party. Let it not be lost upon them that they have been elected or appointed to serve

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the people and the Party, not themselves. We have had big egos who have threatened the unity and cohesion of our Party. We cannot afford any more such personalities.

Pamberi ne ZANU (PF)!
Pambili lo ZANU (PF)!
Forward with our National Party!
Safe Journey.

CHAPTER 16: Bright Prospects for the Revived Party.

**Based on remarks made by the First Secretary and President of ZANU (PF), CDE RG Mugabe, at the Forty Sixth Ordinary Session of The Central Committee.*

The Central Committee of our Party, ZANU-PF, meets in fulfilment of our Constitution which bids such meeting every three months. We had our Forty fifth Ordinary Session on the 13th December 2000 just a day before our two day Special Peoples Congress held on 14th and 15th December, 2000.

That Special Congress, which dealt with outstanding matters from our Third National People's Congress of December 1999, convened under the theme of "Land for Economic Empowerment", itself a summation of the preoccupation of our revolution at this historical juncture. The Special Congress was a tremendous success, such to the chagrin and fear of our enemies. I thank all of you for putting so much into the whole event.

We meet against the background of vigorous restructuring Programme of our Party which, in a way, started with the Special Congress I have already referred to. This programme has affected practically all our

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political provinces except Mashonaland Central whose sheer cohesion and excellent performance in the June Parliamentary Election made such an intervention needless. Mashonaland Central is the only Province which delivered all the seats to our Party and, I daresay, continues to show the way forward for the party.

I was struck by the high level of enthusiasm for the Party, despite the sheer adversity and disaster which have befallen the Province because of the floods and the earlier phenomenon of the drought.

It is important for all of us to see the restructuring process positively as an inescapable task of survival self-renewal and growth. Our strength lies in vibrant functional Party structures which meet the challenge of organising, mobilising and defending the Party against any attack from any quarter. The Party needs structures which serve it this day, this moment, with all the attendant challenges and tasks which confront us. Yesterday, the main challenge and task was the liberation of this country through armed struggle, and our structures therefore deliberately reflected a movement of people in combat. Our structures were deeply grassroots orientated, interwoven and interlinked with the traditional rural structures of our people whose support we needed to survive and succeed. As we blended with the people organisationally, we shared and articulated their grievances conceptually.

Besides, we had structures that fore-shadowed departmental ministries we envisaged in a free Zimbabwe such as defence, educational, health, and agricultural and cultural arms of our present government. Within liberated and semi-liberated zones, there was a vigorous re-organisation of the people into production units, in order to sustain the armed struggle. Over and above this, we ensured at all times that these structures were manned by committed knowledge cadres who knew what was required of them in the struggle, whether by our Parties or by the people whose liberation we sought.

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We need to reconnect with that periods of purposive re-organisation and restructuring. After all, the environmental imperatives of the present struggle require no less. Let us constantly bear in mind that we have been forced back to the trenches by the same enemy we fought during our liberation struggle who has confronted us in all forms of guises.

Our strength lies in our having in place a Party whose structures will enable us to assert undiluted sovereign right over our natural resources of which land, being the most important; we must deliver unencumbered by impediments to its rightful owners. It is theirs by birth; it is theirs by natural and legal right; it is theirs by struggle, indeed theirs by legacy.

But the challenge also calls for a leadership which is resolute and does not equivocate or hesitate in using those structures in fulfilling a long standing covenant our Party entered with the People. The current restructuring processes must yield such structures, such leadership, and must purposefully serve our struggle against continued British imperialism by an unprincipled, confused and ignorant Blair government.

Sadly, some of you have sulked and even opposed dissolution of old provincial structures which precede the restructuring process. You cannot be a true cadre of the Party when you put your own narrow, selfish interests and prospects before those of the party; when you arrogate to your self underserved continued leadership and control of Party structures, yet you show obvious shortcomings and irresoluteness in the face of urgent challenges. You cannot, as a truly begotten cadre of ZANU-PF, mortgage the performance and fortune of your Party to your whims or ambitions. No, these have to give way to the transcendental interests of the Party to which we are all

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subordinated and should bear true allegiance. So let the current restructuring continue and speedily conclude so that, at the end of it all, we have a strong Party served by dynamic structures, and led by a vigorous, committed and hard-working and unifying leadership in all our Provinces.

Since our June Parliamentary Election, we have had two by-elections, one in Marondera West and another in Bikita West. Both have been won by us, and in the case of Bikita, we sent a strong and staggering message of a spirited electoral come-back. Both by-elections have shown that we can bring to a speedy end the mirage of a powerful MDC, made even more ephemeral by the growing realisation among Zimbabweans who voted for it during the last general elections that they were mistaken in gambling with their future by supporting a bogus party championing settler interests. We should take advantage of this realisation and sustain it by active Party programmes at all levels. We should not miss any electoral opportunity to drive home the message that we, the only genuine people-oriented Party which deserves the popular support.

I want to thank all those of you who were involved in campaign work in the last two by-elections, and specifically the war veterans who have now come back into Party structures in such a massive, resounding and re-invigorating way. We need to harness the same energy to win the forthcoming local Government and mayoral elections which should see us consolidating our hold on lower tiers of governance. Regrettably, through oversight and poor vigilance we have failed to field candidates in two wards in Masvingo Province. Such ineptitude, must not be allowed to happen in future. The Party should never yield a single inch to the opposition, and our restructured organs must always be ready and vigilant to take up the confrontation head on.

Looking ahead, we should remain principally focussed on the forthcoming Presidential Elections scheduled for sometime in 2002.

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Everything we do henceforth must be directed towards that critical election which we must win in order to consolidate the gains of our struggle and therefore to fend off the British neo-colonial machinations. It is an election whose outcome must deliver an emphatic and forceful win to ZANU-PF, an election which must beat and permanently bury the forces of reaction so our people can move into a proud future as a free and sovereign people. Already there is panic and pandemonium within the enemy camp, as evidenced by mass resignations from their imbecile and amateurish party outfit.

Comrades, I address you at a time when some parts of our country are reeling from the after-effects of both brought and flooding. The country experienced a dry spell between mid-December and the greater part of January, itself a critical period for the growth of our crops. This dry spell wreaked havoc on our early crop which got hit at tasselling stage. Few farmers were spared; fewer still ever recovered from it; when the rains eventually came; they did so with a vengeance, completing the destruction already wrought by the dry spell and compounding the woes of our people by flooding and even washing away their homes and livestock.

The past two rural visits took me to parts of Mashonaland Central, Matabeleland North and Midlands Provinces. I was able to see the great devastation visited upon those communities, almost all of them situated in low-lying areas, close to major rivers confluences. I saw at first hand families both distraught and grateful. Distraught and anxious that their Party and Government, assisted by a few Non-Governmental Organisations, had stood by them in their hour of need.

Relief camps had been established on higher ground and our Air Force and other security arms, true to service, had plucked marooned families to safety, while our Provincial Civil Protection Civil Protection structures had moved with deserving speed to provide temporary shelter, food, clean water and medicines to displaced families. Many

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families are still in that destitute situation. Hope has not totally dissipated, for some peasant farmers in the Lower Gureve area are requesting for short-season maize seed. They still want to plant for the seemingly lost season, with full confidence that they can still harvest enough to provide for their families! Such is the undying spirit and sheer industry of our people!

I also saw enormous damage to our infrastructure principally our rural road network which gave in to floods. A good many bridges had been washed away, while homes and school buildings had collapsed. Government will have to move in comprehensively to bring relief to our people. In the short term, food, medicines and clean water have to be delivered to those in greatest need, while we take stock of the communities which have been affected, and who thus stand in need. Temporary additional shelters have to be provided for while the responsible Ministry moves in with our urgent rural housing project. New homes have to be sited in a planned way on higher ground so that Government can move in with other services to serve and secure the people.

Government has to embark on public works principally to repair the damage wrought on community infrastructures, including homes and to provide rural employment and steady incomes, so affected families can actually participate gainfully in their recovery without feeling hapless and demeaned. Our people are ready to work and would gladly support the public works programme. The Party and Government must therefore be active in organising such programmes in all Provinces, including those which may not have been affected by the flooding but by drought.

Our land programme should remain focused, with emphasis presently on speeding up the acquisition process in terms of our law and policies. We have already resettled more than sixty thousand families in the six

months of our Fast Track Land Reform Programme. While we wait for the dry season, the relevant Ministries are busy preparing the ground for the second and decisive phase of our resettlement. Our wish is that resettlement should have been completed by the end of the year so that in 2002, we would only have the worry to make the newly resettled farmers more productive. The thrust of our programme emphasises the small-holder peasant farmer first, because it is he or she who badly needs lands for a living.

Only after satisfying him/her will the focus turn to other categories of indigenous farmers, including the farm tenant scheme to which there has been such an overwhelming response. Gone is the myth routinely peddled by our detractors that land is not a pressing issue in Africa. I challenge those who carry out phoney, politically motivated surveys and opinion polls to explain the responsiveness of urban-based Zimbabweans, including non ZANU-PF persons to offers of land. Such a response should fortify our resolve and conviction that we have correctly interpreted the wishes and desires of our people, whatever our detractors may say. After all, we are accountable to our people, not to our detractors who happen to be our enemies, anyway.

Let the British continue to smart each reverse they suffer in their bid to isolate and declare us a pariah country. What is ours is ours, we take it because it belongs to us! We will not brook any interference from anyone!

The British will continue to suffer reverse, for they have set themselves against the just cause of the Zimbabwean people. Remember some of our slogans during the Liberation Struggle were:

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*"Pasi ne British colonialism",
"Iltwe ebantwini", and
"victory is certain"*

Today we still tell the Blair neo-colonial government that victory is indeed certain and that the people will truly own their country and their land! Down with British neo-colonialism.

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THE THIRD CHIMURENGA

PART III: REMEMBERING our FALLEN HEROES

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CHAPTER 17: Remembering The Fallen Heroes of the 1st; 2nd and 3rd Chimurenga

**Based on remarks made by His Excellency the President CDE R.G. MUGABE on the commemoration of Hero's Day on 11 August 2001*

Each year in August we gather at the National Shrine and at many other shrines throughout the country for the solemn commemoration of our heroes. This is a day we have set aside not just to remember those who have gone before us and have died for our Independence and Sovereign Nationhood, but also a day we seek to engage our collective thoughts in reflection of the arduous, torturous, in fact bloody road we have walked to get to this day and to our present national circumstances. The 11th of August is thus a profound day for our Nation. I want to share with you



some experience we have gone through as a people. Maybe experiences which you and me as the present, living generation may not have lived through, but experiences nevertheless vital to our sense of well being, to our sense of national identity as Zimbabweans. For, while nations are defined by geographical boundaries their real essence lies in human actions and experiences. True geographical boundedness is an important marker: the scenic mountains of the east that mark us off against our brethren in the sister Republic of Mozambique; the mighty Zambezi and Limpopo, themselves meandering markers of our beautiful land vis-a-vis sister Republics of Zambia, Angola, Namibia Botswana and South Africa: the thrusting hills and the granite outcrops; the woody veils the forest, the havens

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and many other features that typify our land. All these matter and define us. But the real nature and content of that nationhood is our People great or small, rich or poor, literate or illiterate, royal or peasant in their march towards collective self-realization. The essence of our nationhood lies in the Historical struggle of our People, initially against nature and the elements, in the process evolving practices and technologies by which they conquered asserted mastery over time.

The essence of our nationhood is our people, as they struggle with and even against each other to establish a common order and vision, bigger politics able to take beyond small and narrow social circumstances. We know of many wars and conflicts that were fought on this land, indeed for this land: between tribes within Kingdoms; between chieftains within chieftaincies as our people evolved and moved inexorably towards ever enlarging formations which would later yield this big country we call Zimbabwe.



We think of the Great Zimbabwe Monument, and many other monuments scattered throughout the country as indicative of those great struggles that bore the civilization which at once precede but also lead to our present circumstances. It indeed has been a long road with dark moments to Independence: A long road with dark moments and stupendous changes.

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Colonial Invasion

The year 1890 when our country was invaded and fell under British imperial occupation, began what no doubt was the darkest phase of our nation so far. Our essence as a nation indeed lay in our people's resistances of this cruel encroachment and foreign domination that now asserted itself over our land the 1893 and 1895-7 struggles, the second and third Chimurenga. All these are dramatic episode in the story of our nation, episodes that have given a tragic ring to our Independence, giving us as they do a sense of loss and of inhuman cruelty by one imperious race to another. But the same episodes have also given us a sense of sacrifice, of purpose of unity and cohesion, of achievement, indeed of heroism and ownership, which makes us, guard and defend jealously our sovereignty. This indeed is our land our heritage, our sovereignty, for we fought and died for it! This indeed is our democracy, for we created it by our precious blood, created it by defeating a heartless settler colonialism, which had occupied and marginalized us! This indeed is a black man's country!

When the British racial autocracy brutalized and traumatized us the so-called democratic world would not lift a finger or even raise an eyebrow to help. For we were dubbed the world's supernumeraries, a race of no rights beyond those of a chattel. We were the white man's hewers of wood and drawers of water; we worked, sweated blood as we dug deep, deep into the bowels of the earth for them as they pillaged our minerals. We worked the land, not so our children could eat but so we could feed their own children and kind.

When all that happened, the free World was there; Britain, America Germany, and Holland they were there. British American and German citizens came here as mercenaries to fight alongside Ian Smith's soldiers. The weapons used against us were NATO weapons and these

claimed many of our people: at Nyadzonza, Chimoi, Mkushi Luangwa, Freedom Camp and many places inside the country.

The American senate and Congress were there! At no point did they think of supporting our struggle here by crafting a sanctions bill against the Rhodesians who had overthrown the supreme law of the land, the constitution. If anything the same senators who today work with our own people in the opposition to craft the iniquitous so called Zimbabwe Democracy and Economic Recovery bill, were part of the infamous international right wing Friends of Rhodesia (FOR) movement meant to defend overseas white interest.

Just what is our crime?

Our crime is that we are black and, for America a condemned race! How dare we challenge their kith and kin here, God chosen Anglo Saxons who only yesterday were their condemned slaves? They fell repulsed that we seek to correct the effects, imbalances and injustices of that sinful slave past. To do justice is to practices terrorism and autocracy. These Anglo- Saxons bigots glibly use the language and vocabulary of democracy to duck their colonial responsibility so they can prolong their evil control and ownership of our land and resource.

Today as we stand on the shrine that keeps our heroic dead we tell them that none of the freedoms we enjoy on this land, not even an iota came to us from them, from the West. The west brought us colonial oppression, economic deprivation, the illegality and unconstitutionality of UDI: Inhumanity and racism. It meted out genocide deaths and maiming, robbed us of chunks of lives through restrictions, detentions imprisonments and torture. Let them remember what their kith and kin caused here in the name of their Queen and Government, their law and Parliament.

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Heroes of the First Chimurenga: Mbuya Nehanda and Sekuru Kaguvi.

On the 27th of April 1898, the district surgeon for Salisbury wrote:

**"I certify that I have examined the body
Of Nianda, upon whom sentence of death
Has been executed, and that life is extinct."**

"Nianda" was none other our gallant defiant and fierce heroine of the First Chimurenga, Ambuya Nehanda, the legendary Spirit Medium (svikiro) from Mazowe. She had been apprehended and hauled to Her Majesty's court in March of the same year, alongside Zindoga Hwata and Gutsa for the alleged murder of one Henry Hawkins Pollard, brutal white native commissioner of the British South Africa Company (BSAC) who resided near Mazoe and terrorized natives in that district. Legal documents classify Mbuya Nehanda modestly as "a Mashona woman residing at Chitawa's Kraal" in the Mazoe district; Zindoga as a native Kitchen boy residing at Niandas kraal" in the Mazoe District and Hwata and Gutsa as "native hunters residing at Hwata kraal". All of them stood accused of wrongfully unlawfully and maliciously causing the murder of one Henry Hawkins Pollard in his lifetime a native commissioner. They were arraigned in the High Court of Matabeleland which sat in Salisbury on the 20th February, 1898 and were subsequently convicted on 2nd March, 1898 in a case entered as The [British] Queen against Nehanda". The sentence was that Nehanda was "to be hanged by the neck until she be dead at such place of execution and at such time as His honour the [colonial] Administrator should be pleased to appoint"

The execution of Ambuya Nehanda was authorised by the (British) High Commissioner for South Africa, one A Milner, and endorsed by the (British) Imperial Secretary on 28th March 1898. The presiding

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judge was Judge Watermayer, with Herbert Hayton Castens Esquire as "the acting Public Prosecutor Sovereign the queen within British South Africa Company territories, who prosecutes for and on behalf of her Majesty. The warrant of her death commanded that she be executed within the wall of the goal of Salisbury between the hours of 6 and 10 in the forenoon". What followed according to the Roman Catholic Father Richartz who has been assigned to convert the condemned before their death, was heart rendering. Nehanda we are told, refused to talk to Father Richartz and

**"Called for her people and wanted to go
back to her own country Mazoe and die
here... When I saw that nothing could be
done with her, the time of the execution
having arrived, I left Nehanda and went
to Kaguvi who received me in good
dispositions. Whilst I was conversing with
him Nehanda was taken to the scaffold. Her
cries and resistance when she was taken up
the ladder up the ladder, the screaming and
yelling on the scaffold disturbed my conversation
with Kaguvi very much, till the noisy opening of
the trap door upon which she stood, followed
by the heavy thud of her body as it fell, made
an end to the interruption."**

She died at the hands of a British hangman, at the hands of a representative of the Free World, and died for resisting violent Imperial encroachment. The thud of her lifeless body would not be the last one to be heard on this land, as many more lives would be executed in the walls of the British gaol, in battles of resistance in villages all in the name of British law and justice. Her co-accused Kaguvi Hwata and Gutsa would soon meet with the same violent end, even though they had converted to Christianity. Not even the Church could save them!

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Many of our people had already been killed before Nehanda's demise and during the first war of resistance of 1893 with King lobengula vanishing against the real threat posed by the rampaging Pioneer Column. Many, many more were killed between March 1896 when the Ndebele alongside the Shonas again resisted occupation, heroically struggling on until about September 1896, when they eventually succumbed. Judicial executions started soon after the rebellion and continued well into 1898, with 21 condemned Ndebele fighters being executed in the month of May alone of 1898.

In Mashonaland, I saw the same bloody orgy, with leaders of resistance such as Mashonganyika, Muzambi, Maremba, Ndowa, Zvidembo, Gundusa, Mvenuri, Mashindu, Manyongoni, Chiriseri and Chief Gutu getting executed in the same violent way. In the case of Chief Chingaira, the Civilised British would savagely and bizarrely decapitate him and carry his head to Britain as a trophy for their museum. To this day, we have not recovered that head so we can give this great heroic chief a decent burial. These, our early heroes, were apprehended and incarcerated by the British: tried in British Imperial courts; convicted and sentenced by British judges; under British law; and eventually executed by British hangmen.

The campaign extended to our British forbearers harvests, which were torched and dynamited to break their resistances. The years that followed the 1896-7 struggle, witnesses hunger and starvation artificially caused by the invaders. Even that did not break the spirits of resistance and sooner or later Africans would regroup and fight again. All that was precious blood shed for this nation by those who claim to be Christian, democratic and civilized.

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Heroes of the Second Chimurenga lying at the Heroes Acre

Our notion of heroism thus comes directly from bloody resistance to British imperial expansionism and the challenges, which come with foreign domination. These heroes we have here at the National Shrine and elsewhere in and outside the country come from that tradition of resistance and tell through their own lives, the story of our struggle in its various constitutive facets; trade unionism; urban protests; nationalist politics, peasant resistance, spiritual struggle, student militancy and of course liberation soldiery. The heroes we gather to celebrate this day remind us that the principle goal of that struggle was the search for freedom, the search for democracy, and the search for sovereignty and control over all our resources, principally the land. We will never lose sight of the goal and remain prepared to die for it!

Hondo Yeminda- The Third Chimurenga

We have repeatedly told the world that the on-going land reform programme seeks to redress land imbalances deriving from the history of colonialism in this country. It is also meant to transform the agricultural set-up, which we inherited from colonial governments. The set up is not just: it is not fair, it is not productive: it is not environmentally sustainable. There is nothing therefore that justifies it beyond racial imperial dominance which we reject completely. This is what the British are resisting here in the name of democracy, rule of law and some such drivel: this is what the right wing American Senate is seeking to legitimise through a piece of legislation that affronts our legislative sovereignty.

The Commercial farmers union have changed their heart and would want to join Government in implementing the land reform programme. They have used all sorts of wiles and subterfuges; dropped

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those for more brazen ones to defeat land reform in this country: by sponsoring an opposition: by mobilizing the west to impose Sanctions; and by attacking the landless on commercial farms.

We hope they have now realised the futility of their ways for we will not budge on this one question. Our progress on land reforms could certainly benefit from, but does not rest or depend on their goodwill. We will proceed with the present land reform with or without their blessings. We will proceed with the current land reforms with or without their sanctions. Let that position be known here and abroad and let the commercial farmers tell that to their constituency overseas. We thank Africa and the third world for standing by us!!

We undertake at this very shrine and in communion with the dear departed to accelerate the implementation of the Land reform and Resettlement Programme. To this date 5 327 farms covering 9.5 million hectares have been gazetted. Government has paid out \$157 million this year alone as compensation for capital improvements on forty-seven farms that have been acquired.

Cabinet has approved an updated and comprehensive Land reform and Resettlement Programme Implementation Plan, which clearly outlines the guiding principals of the resettlement process. The response to the Commercial Farm settlement Scheme has been overwhelming with around 100 000 applications having been received. These are now being processed quickly so that allocation starts before the rain season.

On the ground planning and demarcation of acquired farms into arable land, residential stands and plots is progressing smoothly throughout the province s. The district Development Fund (DDF) has planned and demarcated 718 farms measuring 2 million hectares since the programme began in July 2000 this year alone the fund demarcated 585

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farms measuring 1.4 million hectares.

The commercial farmers cannot expect that we take them seriously when some of their members adopt a confrontational stance on the farms. The past few days have witnessed sporadic violence in Mashonaland West Mashonaland East and some parts of Matebeleland, resulting from commercial farmers organized campaigns against the landless and even resettled villagers. May these be brought to an end immediately. Today we should remember all our heroes, but especially *Umdhala wethu* Joshua Nkomo without whose leadership spanning over decades, the struggle for our Independence would have taken longer to start and to finish. Those in our midst who today want to destroy that unity on whose strength we over came British Imperialism for these men who lie here did not die in vain.

Our hearts go out to the 809 heroes' dependents consisting of 314 spouses and 495 children who have been left under our care. They are all benefiting from the National Heroes dependent fund at a cost of about Z\$2,3 million Per month. In view of the recent sharp increases in school fees, Government is considering increasing the school fees from the current \$15 000 to \$20 00 per term to enhance the welfare of the dependants. We remember today all the heroes we lost this year, including Cde Gezi, Mahachi and Hunzvi. Their agenda remains our focus.

Government remains committed to the restoration of the macro-economic stability as evidenced by its commitment to fully implement the policy measures announced in the 2001 budget. Already the fiscal position for the five months to June 2001 has been generally positive as evidenced by the performance of revenues and expenditures, which were, on average within targets.

Zimbabwe is for Zimbabweans and only Zimbabweans can work for its

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development. Indeed only Zimbabweans can defend its sovereignty, which should never be taken for granted, and is a priceless heritage we owe posterity. This is a day on which we all should dedicate our selves to the unity of our nation, whatever our different walks of life.

Long Live our Freedom!
Long Live our Independence!
Long Live our National Unity
Long Live our Third Chimurenga!
Long Live our Sovereignty!

Chapter 18: Cde Joshua Mqabuko Nkomo: An Illustrious Son of the Soil

**Based on remarks made by His Excellency, Cde President R.G. Mugabe at the funeral of Vice-President Joshua Mqabuko Nkomo at National Heroes acre, on 5 July 1999.*



The Nation assembled here at the National Heroes Acre, in a solemn and sorrowful way, in order to pay both national and individual respects and

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last tribute to one who was great among us, so dedicated to our liberation, so fatherly and loving, so famous and so historical and yet so simple and down-to-earth, that his departure shall continue for a very long time to invoke in us a deep feeling of grief and a profound sense of loss.

Joshua Mqabuko Nkomo, has a revolutionary history so dramatic in both form and content that to do it justice might require not less than several volumes of accounts. A synopsis of these accounts could perhaps run in the manner and order of my address to you.

Joshua: the young hardworking boy at school

Born in Semokwe on the 17th of June, in 1917, his father Nyongolo Nkomo made sure that his son secured an education not just academic but practical in content. Up to the middle of the 1940s, there were no secondary schools at all to which Africans could go. The existing ones were exclusively white and hence the form of education, which young Nkomo could acquire, was one, which could lead to a limited choice. He could train as a teacher at one of the few post-primary teacher training schools in the country such as Tegwane, Hope Fountain, Waddilove, Kutama, Hartzell, St. Augustine, Dadaya, etc. One could also train as a nursing orderly in either Bulawayo or Harare. But one could also undertake to do a building or carpentry or agricultural course at either Tsholotsho or Domboshava, the only two Government

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Joshua was asked to do carpentry at Tsholotsho, before the institution was transferred to Mzingwane.

The late 1930s and 1940s were a period when young men, if they had financial sponsorship, yearned to go south, to South Africa, to further their education. It was not surprising, therefore, that Joshua developed an ambition to go south - zansi. Adams College, alongside such other South African secondary institutions as Marian hill, St. Peters, Kilnerton, Tiger Kloof, Lovedale, Wesley College, had become household names in many homes in Southern Rhodesia.

Young Joshua Nkomo chose to do metric, a five-year secondary course, at Adams College. His sights now having been lifted high, he felt he could take an advanced diploma course in social work, and so he entered the Jan Hofmeyer Schools of Social Work in Johannesburg, where he earned the relevant diploma, on the strength of which he sought and got employment with the then Rhodesian Railways. He was academically well equipped to do an external Bachelor's Degree in Social Work with the University of South Africa.

It was during the period he worked for the Rhodesia Railways in Bulawayo that I used to see him on his bicycle coming to Stanley Hall, Bulawayo. I was then teaching at Hope Fountain.

The worker: A Nationalist is born

The makings of Nkomo as a politician began in the urban environment of

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Bulawayo, where the personalities such as Mazibisa, Sipambaniso, John Kumalo, Burombo, and others founded a number of organisations which in their various ways fought against social injustice, colour bar, low wages, poor housing and welfare facilities as well as the removal of Blacks from such areas of the country as whitewaters. The fact of his being an employee of the Rhodesia Railways also meant that he had to be associated with the Rhodesian Railway Workers Union and the struggle of that Union to improve the lot of the workers belonging to it. Trade Union activism thus had a definite input into his political conscientisation. Indeed, the 1940s saw an upward surge in general trade union activism culminating in the 1947 general strike that brought the industries and commercial life in Bulawayo to a complete stand-still, to be followed by a similar situation in Harare, then Salisbury, Gweru and Mutare.

Joshua Nkomo was not yet in the thick of these strike activities as the main organizers were still persons like Benjamin Burombo, John Khumalo and Sipambaniso Khumalo. But, assisted by his academic background he was soon to get into the leadership limelight and this was to occur through the conduct of the Southern Rhodesia African National Congress, first led by the late Rev. Samkange, the father of the late Dr. Stanlake Samkange, who himself became the Secretary General of the Congress much later than the death of his father.

In the late 1940s, Mr. Jacha Rusike who had assumed the presidency of the Southern Rhodesia African National Congress, as successor to

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Rev. Samkange, decided to retire. His own successor was no other than Mr. Enock Dumbutshena, former Chief Justice.

In 1952, he too had to cede the leadership to an up coming and more dynamic and more courageous man of an equal degree status, Joshua Mqabuko Nkomo, B.A. (S.S.). So, in a rare chain, the Congress at that stage had had in its leadership circle three degreed persons, Enock Dumbutshena, B.A., with Stanlake Samkange, B.A., as Secretary General, and after Dumbutshena, Joshua Nkomo, B.A. (S.S.). The people who had been carrying on political and trade union activity had been yearning for a well-educated leadership which they hoped could intellectually watch the arrogant white leaders of the country and be able to challenge them in thought, word and deed. Of course, it did not always follow that one's academic degree was necessarily equal to one's degree of courage. The equation was often false. The history of the struggle has proof of cases where highly degreed persons ended up as men of the lowest degree of courage. We have had several arrant political cowards in our revolutionary experience. Joshua Mqabuko Nkomo has proved to all of us that he was a man who passed the test of endurance, given the many years of hardship, imprisonment, detention and restriction he went through.

As Leader of the Southern Rhodesia National Congress

It is a fact that as soon as Nkomo assumed the leadership of the Southern Rhodesia African National Congress, positive changes

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started occurring, more especially as political events in Southern Africa started stirring up. The African National Congress led by Harry Nkumbula and Kenneth Kaunda in the then Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, African National Congress, led by Manoah Chirwa, and later by the Late Dr. Kamuzu Hastings Banda had started a hot campaign for majority rule and independence. The activities of these militant nationalist movements indeed had a cross-fertilisation effect upon the Nkomo-led Southern Rhodesia African National Congress. The formidable political campaign waged by the white communities of the two Rhodesias and Nyasaland to create the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland helped to generate a much needed and a much more militant counter campaign by the African Congresses of the three territories. A joint meeting was soon convened in 1953 at Victoria Falls to which Joshua Nkomo together with Secretary General Stanlake Samkange, led the delegation of the Southern Rhodesia African Congress. Opposition to the proposed Federation regenerated political activities, which had been as good as dead. In Harare, where I was now teaching in Highfield, Stanlake Samkange and Jasper Savanhu convened a meeting in that same year, 1953, but before the October Referendum on the Federation, to reactivate the moribund Salisbury Branch of the Congress. Jasper Savanhu was made Chairman, to be deputized by Leopold Takawira; John Mbirimi was appointed Secretary General to be deputized by Robert Mugabe, and James Bassoppo became the Treasurer, while John Madzima was Organising Secretary. All the meetings we had were held in Jasper Savanhu's house, but soon it became obvious that those who had organized the

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revival of the Salisbury Congress Branch wanted to use it as a political launching pad for their participation in Federal Elections. The discovery of this apostasy killed the nascent resuscitation move. The Southern Rhodesian African Congress thus remained ticking only in Bulawayo where Nkomo lived, for it was for all practical purposes dead in Harare and elsewhere.

The October 1953 Referendum

The Referendum of October 1953, in which mainly the whites voted, produced a result, which was acceptance of the Federation proposal. The vote got the concurrence of the British government and in December 1953, the Central African Federation was inaugurated amid very strong African voices of protest and opposition in all those territories involved. A high degree of nationalist feeling had been generated, and young men, encouraged by the success of the Youth League movement elsewhere, now desired to found their own. Thanks to the personalities like the late Edson Sithole, the late Chipembere, James Chikerema, the late George Nyandoro and others, the Youth League was founded. The sense of establishing for it an overall umbrella, in form of a national political movement, impelled its founders to associate and merge it with the Southern Rhodesia African National Congress led by Joshua Nkomo.

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Nkomo: Leader of the African National Congress

In 1957, a symbiosis occurred as the rejuvenated and reinvigorated African National Congress took shape with all participants electing Joshua Mqabuko Nkomo as its leader. Thenceforth the thrust of the nationalist movement would not only have the vigour and direction it needed to resist reactionary settler colonial suppressive measures, but it also would acquire a new capacity to adapt itself and transform progressively in its response to the demands of the situation. For this to happen, however, the leadership had to pave the Party's way and direct it on its tortuous route. Indeed, its leader, Joshua Nkomo, demonstrated, in the process, his own capacity to learn, adapt and acquire an exceptional degree of resilience. The ANC's programme aimed at addressing the burning grievances of the African people, which included the **Land Question** as the most important of them. All the other were ancillary to it.

The African National Congress was banned in February, 1959, as the Preventive Detention Act, 1959, was enacted in the Federal Parliament, at a time Sir Roy Welensky was now the Federal Prime Minister. Many of Nkomo's ANC Colleagues, who include Joseph Msika, James Chikerema, Jason Moyo, George Nyandoro, Dan Madzimbamuto, Maurice Nyagumbo, etc, were all arrested and detained, but he, fortunately, was outside the country when the swoop

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occurred. The arrests were preceded by the proscription of the African National Congress. Eleven months after the banning of the ANC and the ensuing detentions, other brave young men sought to negate the act of proscription by forming immediately after it the National Democratic Party on 1st January, 1960, whose interim leadership comprising Michael Mawema as President, soon replaced by Leopold Takawira, other subordinate leaders being Moton Malianga, Tarcissius Silundika, Enos Nkala, Zekbediah Gamanya, and Nikita Mangena.

It was at that stage I joined the Nationalist Movement, from Ghana as it was striving to recover from the intensive suppressive and repressive measures that now prevailed in the political environment of the country. The intolerant Rhodesian Government of Prime Minister Edgar Whitehead had, however, decided to thwart the emergence of militant African nationalism now being spearheaded by the young NDP leadership. The country-wide devastating political strikes of June and July, which were called to protest against both the continued detention of ANC leaders and the recent wave of arrests of some of the interim leaders of the NDP, who included Leopold Takawira, Moton Malianga and Enos Nkala, had a positive organisational and fuelling effect to growing nationalism.

At the heart of all the interim leaders was the call for the return of Joshua Nkomo from London, where he had remained in exile, so he could bear the mantle of the young movement, which now had expanded its membership throughout the country, and in both urban

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and rural areas. The inaugural Congress of the NDP held in Salisbury, and which I had the joy to chair, had elected Joshua Nkomo as President. Advocate Herbert Wiltshire Chitepo was now given the responsibility of clearing the legal way with Edgar Whitehead, the Prime Minister, and ensure that there would be no other impediment to his return. This was soon achieved, and Whitehead promised that he would not arrest him.

His Historic Return From Exile

Nkomo's return home shall always remain a memorable and historic event, with thousands of people, first in Harare and then in Bulawayo, thronging the streets and stadium, shouting Party slogans as Chimurenga and traditional military songs were sung. The huge crowd which was held close to the Mbare hostels near Rufaro Stadium, can never be repeated and was only exceeded by crowds which greeted us upon our return home in 1980, after Lancaster. In Highfield, which was the hive of our political activities, the Chitepos surrendered their house to Nkomo, so he could reside there and carry out his plans there. Under Nkomo's leadership, the NDP moved from strength to strength, consolidating the work begun by the banned ANC and emphasizing much more the principle of majority rule, based on one-man-one-vote. The NDP held that the mere correction of the people's grievances should not constitute the principal thrust of the political struggle as the assumption of political power was more important. Through the

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democratic process of elections based on one-man-one-vote the Africans would automatically acquire the political and legal authority that would enable them to effect desired correction of their grievances. Giving power to the people would thus remove the fundamental cause of the grievances caused by minority rule.

The Formation of ZAPU

The National Democratic Party was allowed to exist for only a period of two years and thus got proscribed in December, 1961. Ten days after this banning, Cde Nkomo convened a meeting of our executive committee and enjoined us to think of establishing another Party to replace the NDP. We had agreed on calling it ZANU, but we felt it would sound better to call it ZAPU, the Zimbabwe African People's Union, as we were emphasizing people's rights, the people's land and the people's interests. Cde Nkomo felt a reshuffle of the leadership was necessary and some of us lost their positions, although I kept my own as Secretary for Information and Publicity. He proposed the name of Dr. Samuel Parirenyatwa as Vice President, and we agreed, and that of Washington Malianga as Secretary General, and we agreed.

ZAPU benefited from the experiences of both the ANC and NDP. It became a dreaded organisation by the authorities, especially as our plans to sabotage the economy and make settler life untenable were known. Action programmes started being worked upon hurriedly so activities across all provinces could be started in a synchronized way.

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Alas, in September, 1962, when the Party was hardly ten months old, it was banned.

Two months before the banning of ZAPU, we had lost Dr. Parirenyatwa in circumstances, which were extremely suspicious, and many of us believed he had been assassinated. One of the most aggrieved people was, naturally our President, Cde Nkomo, who, only about eight months previously, had appointed him as the Party's Vice President.

The Banning of ZAPU

The banning of ZAPU by the Whitehead Government had seriously disorganized our action programme. As usual, the regime had decided to restrict us under orders, which required that we be confined to our rural homes. However, when the Whitehead government was defeated by the Rhodesia Front, led by Winston Field, with Ian Smith as his deputy, orders releasing us were issued. This release enabled us to congregate once more in Highfield at the beginning of 1963 under the Chairmanship of Cde Nkomo in order to chart our way forward. It was decided at our meeting that the way forward should now be by transforming our political struggle into an armed guerilla one. By this time the four remaining 1959 ANC detainees, Chikerema, Nyandoro,

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Madzimbamuto and Nyagumbo, had been released.

The Formation of ZANU

It was our different perceptions of the proposed armed liberation struggle which, plus the fact that we lacked the opportunity for a get-together to discuss them, that caused the serious division, which saw ZANU being formed. We, however, continued to interact, even at the height of our serious engagement in armed activities on the two fronts, with Zambia and Mozambique as our respective rear states. Indeed, it was as the Patriotic Front of ZANU and ZAPU that we went to the ill-fated Geneva Constitutional Conference, and later participated in deliberations on the Anglo-American Proposals and then finally went to London for the Lancaster House Constitutional Conference.

We thus got our Independence as the Patriotic Front, and, although we participated in the 1980 Elections as separated Parties, the understanding was always that ZANU and PF ZAPU, if they won, form a Government of National Unity to which we would add members of the non-African community. We lived true to this pledge after our election results as put together yielded 77 seats for us, with only three seats going to the UANC.

Cde Nkomo's Humility

As soon as we got these results, we started discussing the composition of

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the Government which we had been requested to form by Lord Christopher Soames, who was the Governor representing Britain. My own disappointment, which has persisted to this day, was that when in all seriousness, I asked Cde Nkomo to become President and Head of State of our new State, he declined. Again, a day or two later, I repeated the offer, but again he declined, stating that he would prefer an effective ministerial post to a merely ceremonial one. There, you are able to appreciate the humility of this great man we are laying to rest today.

That humility is also discernible in the context of the conflict situation in which Government found itself fighting dissidents in Matabeleland after three years of our Independence. Comrade Nkomo, fearing for his life and security, had gone to Botswana. But, later after my assuring him of effective protection, he returned to the country only to start serious negotiations on unity without any rancor or ill feeling on his part. This was why we were able to make progress in ending the conflict and proceed to sign the Unity Accord in December, 1987. Of course we cannot forget the role played by former President Canaan Banana as mediator.



Unity, unity & more unity.

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As we lay him to his permanent repose, we are called upon to identify the virtues that made him the courageous, indomitable, beloved national and the truly supra-regional and supra-ethnic leader he proved to be. This reckoning should surely impel us to make a pledge to ourselves that, in emulating him, we too shall, as leaders in our various capacities try to walk the road of unity, dedication, service, sacrifice, humility, and love he charted for us. This is a heritage greater than wealth we are bound to bequeath to future generations. This also is the greatest tribute we can ever pay him. We owe it to him and much more!

May God rest him in perpetual peace!!

Chapter 18: A Nation In Mourning

**Based on remarks made by His Excellency Cde. R.G. Mugabe thanking the Nation for the show of support over the Death and Burial of Honourable Vice President Joshua Mqabuko Nkomo, 6th July, 1999.*

I would like to pay tribute to the whole nation for the moving and overwhelming show of oneness and empathy demonstrated as the nation went through a difficult and painful moment of acknowledging the passing away of one so great and loving, one whose life's story is in large measure the story of our Nation, yes, the story of you and me as our destiny took a painful and tortuous meander towards self-rule and full Nationhood.

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It was humbling to hear the nation's mournful sobs and plaintive cry, to see grief's etches on the face of our stricken Nation, as Zimbabwean men and women, young and old, rural and urban, Ndebele, Shona, Venda, Tonga, Nambya, Shangaan, white and black, of this or that political grouping, this or that religious creed, all expressing spontaneously outpouring of deep grief over the passing away of our great Hero.

Sobs of grief continue to echo and a heavy pall still darkens the horizon of our Nation. Yes, I continue to receive and read touching messages from lands afar, as many continue to mourn and grieve with us. Many who held the late departed in such great esteem and like us, many who are still struggling to come to terms with this momentous tragic happening. Our hearts glow, if only for a moment, in the knowledge that the one so great in the eyes of the world, so deserving of the world's attention, was one of us and one whose makings became the struggle that made us.

I want to thank you for giving this great son of Zimbabwe such a deserved and well-earned heroic send-off, a send-off so fitting of a man of the people that he truly was. I thank the countless ordinary men and women, some ragged, some barefoot, some with children heavy on their back, braving the chilly and wintry weather, abandoning their pressing chores, and laboriously making it up to the Heroes Acre, if only to come and say "Fambayi zvakanaka Baba" and "Hamba Kahle Mdala Wethu". I saw hundreds, indeed thousands of people at the late Vice President's Mandara home and Matsh'anhlope. I saw many who spontaneously gathered at the funeral parlour, I saw even many more thousands who lined up our streets just to make sure that this man of people, iqhawwe lamaqhawe, was indeed with his people, accompanied inch by inch, step by step, as he did his last walk on this earth, our own part of the earth that he had liberated. The scenes were the same in both Harare and Bulawayo.

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As we took the Vice President to Stodart Hall, little did we know that extraordinary scenes awaited us, scenes of a great feeling from a people attached to their leader. As events turned out, we had greatly underestimated the depth of that powerful collective feeling, having programmed only one hour for body viewing. We needed more than three hours for the thousands of people who queued to bid farewell to their National Hero.

Heroes Acre was extraordinary. Simply driven by grief and sheer love of the dear departed, a huge human mass had gathered and continued pouring from all corners of the country. By the time the cortege journeyed through the spontaneous human chain of affection from Stodart Hall to Heroes Acre, the great human throng at the Acre had grown and swelled, uneasily stretching itself well beyond the margins of both the Acre and imagination. Here were a people paying a loud and lasting tribute to their hero.

I thank you all Zimbabweans, both those of you who were able to attend the historic burial and those who could not make it but still remained grief stricken as they followed the burial proceedings within their hearts. I thank the different social and political groupings for their sincere participation; I thank our churches, especially the Roman Catholic Church in both Harare and Bulawayo, for their overwhelming funeral services that gave our Hero a spiritual send-off. Then there were the many workers and officials who applied themselves so diligently to ensure that our funeral arrangements would be a resounding success. I thank our communicators who captured the great collective sentiment that gripped us all as a people in grief, and gave it the shape of words it needed for communication with our own people, those of our region and the rest of the world.

I thank friends and comrades in the struggle, friends and comrades

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from our continent, friends from beyond Africa, friends who sent delegations to commiserate and mourn with us, and friends who sent in touching and moving messages of solace both directly to the Nkomo family and to the Government of which Dr. Nkomo was a focal point. All those words of warmth and solace assuaged our pain, especially that of Mai Nkomo and the Family as they gave us the strength and fortitude we needed to bear our deep sorrow and grief.

May I in a special way thank all the doctors and nurses who as I had occasion to observe worked so tirelessly and committedly to attend to Cde Nkomo and did all they could to try and save him. May they become the example everywhere of how the sick should be cared for. May we continue to pray that God rests Cde Nkomo's soul in eternal peace and that his life will continue to shine on us.

Chapter 20: The Story of a Gallant Fighter of the 3rd Chimurenga: Cde Border Gezi

**Based on remarks made by His Excellency The President of Zimbabwe Cde RG Mugabe on the occasion of the burial of Cde Border Gezi, National Heroes Acre 2nd May 2001.*



When after our general election in June last year, I set about composing my Government through ministerial appointments, I did not have to look very far for my new Minister of Youth Development, Gender and Employment Creation. I very easily settled on a burly and bearded young man from Mashonaland Central, a young man whose drive and commitment I had followed with

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keen interest as he worked alongside his colleagues in the Province to bring about political vibrancy, unity and national development. He had served as a councillor for Mvurwi where he had come face to face with white racial obduracy, as he tried to broaden development beyond commercial farming areas, to embrace rural areas neglected by successive colonial governments in spite of the fact that this was where the majority of the people lived. He had served as a Member of Parliament for Centenary Muzarabani and lately Bindura, and had risen to become the Governor and Resident Minister of Mashonaland Central Province.

At national level in Parliament, he had been appointed Chief whip and had served on various standing Committees of the august House. When we embarked on an accelerated land reform programme, he had proved dependable and critical to its planning and implementation. Often, he would get overcome with emotion and castigate Ministers he saw as developing cold feet over the land issue. For him this was a fundamental question, which had to be resolved once and for all, in order to give content to our hard-won Independence.

It is with extreme grief and sadness that I rise this day to announce that this young, ever energetic and dynamic cadre affectionately known to many as Madzibaba, is no longer with us having been cut down in a tragic car accident last Saturday morning, while on his way to Masvingo on a national assignment. This is a harrowing moment for me personally and for most Zimbabweans who today mourn the loss of one so committed, a true revolutionary, a real man of the people, indeed a genuine hero of our land-based Third Chimurenga.

Selfless servant of the people

Cde Border Gezi set out early Saturday morning from Bindura to catch a fixture in Masvingo where he was scheduled to disburse \$1.6m to a

number of deserving beneficiaries of self-help projects in that Province. This would have been another of the numerous trips which in sum, had taken him to every corner of the country; had brought him in close contact with the flotsam and jetsam of our society, and had rekindled so much hope and self-belief in hitherto depressed communities as they struggled to overcome unemployment through community based self-help initiatives. Not surprisingly, Muccheke Hall, his scheduled rendezvous with this stratum of our society, was abuzz with excitement, full of anticipation, knowing that hope was surely coming their way that very morning in the person of their beloved Minister, Cde. Border Gezi.



The legacy of Border Gezi.

Sadly, as fate would have it he would not make it to Muccheke. He would not meet in fact never would meet again, at least on this side of the earth, with those he hoped to help and who eagerly awaited his arrival. Some of these we have with us here and grief falls their heart., overcomes their tongues. They are devastated and helplessly do no more than watch the coffin of Cde Border in permanent stillness. That bundle of energy and dynamism, that booming voice has now been silenced by a cruel, ineluctable fate.

Some 200km along the Harare-Masvingo road, near Mvuma his vehicle went into that dramatic accident. He and his driver were the victims but fortunately his aid was a survivor.

Why should fate reserve so cruel a destiny for so young and promising a figure? He was only 37 the only surviving child, the father of six, in his 10th month as the Minister of Gender Youth and Employment creation. He was full of ideas most of them in various stages of implementation, ideas set to change our countryside and with it the lives of many of our rural people currently faced with acute unemployment. All that is now

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a dream, which only partially came true.

We have lost a great life lived simply; a life and figure of compelling affection. Hailing from a very average background and averagely educated he represented a generation of rural youths, born in the early 60s under conditions of settler colonialism: a generation that grew up exposed to brutal conflict inflicted on the black majority of this country by white settlers. Guruve, where Cde. Gezi was born the only child in his family, in many ways typified the objective conditions for communal Africans under Settler colonialism. Situated in the Muzarabani area on the margins of what was then called Rhodesia, Guruve was thought cursed by the Gods given its harsh climate and a landscape, which offered no readily known riches or attractions to the white settlers. It fell outside the attractive wealthy heartland; outside the settler scheme of things and thus was left to evolve slowly neglected, undeveloped and only periodically remembered by successive native commissioners on tax collection chores. Occasionally and alongside Binga and Gokwe, it would present itself as dumping ground for Rhodesia's black supernumeraries who would have been forcibly uprooted from heartland areas and displaced to make way for privileged white farmers, many of them veterans of European wars coming here to be pensioned off with our land. Like most marginal areas, Guruve has no real roads, very poor schools very few clinics, no safe drinking water points, and was yearly affixed by all sorts of malaria typhoid and dysentery. The African families and their cattle stood between tsetse fly and European farmer. The sun scorched and the rains were erratic making harvest both meagre and uncertain. Survival for our people, Cde Gezi's family included was hand to mouth.

Ironically, it was in the backwaters like Guruve where nothing was supposed to happen that the great germ for the liberation struggle took deep root, sprouted and matured. Their contiguity to Independent African states like Mozambique and Zambia, coupled with swelling

community bitterness to colonial neglect made places like Guruve the Bedrock of militant policies which were later to transform into armed insurrection against settler colonialism. These marginalized places along our border with Mozambique, Zambia and Botswana gave us the first generation of fighters of the armed liberation struggle, a militant youth movement and loyal peasant families on whose strength, support and commitment settler colonialism would be defeated.

A Militant Mujibha at 13

To understand and to pay tribute to the late departed is to recognise the social situation that yielded a personality of his calibre and courage. Cde Gezi emerged from such an environment whist through him into the fray and cauldron of the struggle. By 1977 at the tender age of thirteen he was already in struggle distinguishing himself as a loyal and dependable militant a mujibha amongst other mujibha and chimbwidos.

His spiritual calling also prompted him to become a youthful member of the Johanne Masowe Apostolic sect. Many of his fellow worshippers are with us to bid him farewell; to them I say: We fail to comprehend the tragedy before us; our eyes are full of tears; our hearts grieve and weigh heavy, we know no sigh we know no relief. We join you in sorrow for you have lost one of your own, one so dear. On our part we have lost a leader you raised and so generously gave and offered to us in the political leadership. We readily welcomed him seeing in his youthful age and tremendous personality enormous energy to propel your revolution through many years of leadership ahead, which his youthful promised. We certainly hoped to work with him much longer and never at any one moment were we prepared for the nightmare we now endure. But God's will has had it otherwise.

I have already alluded to the fact that Mashonaland Central was among

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those of our provinces with very depressed areas. It faced many developmental challenges at Independence made worse by its leading role in the Liberation struggle which left it scarred by the war. When in 1996 I decided to appoint Cde. Gezi as governor and resident Minister of Mashonaland Central, I looked to a quick turn around of the development of the province. I indeed soon felt vindicated, for in a couple of months the wheels of Development turned fast pushed by a united Party synonymous with gainful self-employment and participatory development. Significantly Cde. Gezi has lost his life trying to further such an initiative on a national basis!

Unwavering commitment and integrity

Perhaps the one area in which Cde. Gezi showed the most courageous leadership was our land reform. Often, we were hard put to restrain him in Central Committee as we repeatedly took swipes at Cabinet Ministers he accused of equivocating on agrarian reforms. For instances he could not understand certain delisting decisions taken by lead ministries in the face of rampant landlessness. White Commercial farmers he would charge comprised ministers and civil servants. Indeed he was the man most appropriate to make such a charge having himself been unsuccessfully tempted with a tractor by a commercial farmer who hoped such a gift would save his farm.

His wish was to see the land reform programme through by the middle of the year. We dare not fail him. Our temporarily resettled people are close to finishing this years harvest and our machinery should speedily move in to put them on newly opened permanent resettlement areas so that they can start preparations for the next season immediately. Let all those who have taken it upon themselves to oppose our land reforms do their worst led by the labour Government of Britain. Have no goodwill to expect from them. But let them please leave us alone. Neither our

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History nor that of any colonized people provides any statutory lessons from imperialism. We have come this far in our struggle for freedom, independence and sovereignty not by permission or generosity of colonialism but through agony, blood and sacrifice.



Let those who think a job in the Whiteman's factory is worth the price of the landlessness of the vast majority of our people please, think again! Let those who think the British penny worthier than the sovereignty of Zimbabwe think again! This country is not for selling and traitors are bound to fail and perish as the peoples will inevitably triumph. Cde. Border Gezi knew this perfectly well and, wherever he is he urges and exhorts us on.

To Cde Gezi I say: you have done your part you have fought for your struggle: staunchly defending your right and heritage. The people's need and interest were always up most in your mind. May we all take a clue from you!

Rest in Perfect peace Comrade, for your cause has not been in vain.
Land to the people!
Power to the People!
Long live free and independent sovereign Zimbabwe!

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Aluta Continua.

Chapter 21: Cde Moven Mahachi, a gallant Hero

**Based on remarks made by The President Of Zimbabwe Cde R.G. Mugabe on the occasion of the burial of Cde Moven Mahachi at Heroes Acre, 29 May 2001.*



Barely a month after we congregated to lay to rest Cde Border Gezi we meet again under similarly sad and heart rending circumstances to bid farewell to yet another gallant and illustrious son of Zimbabwe, Moven Enoch Mahachi. As we all now know, Cde Mahachi died on his way to hospital after a road accident in Nyanga.

Selfless sacrifices at Cold Comfort Farm

It was at the tender age of 16 that Cde Mahachi first showed a readiness and ability to be in the service of his people. Starting at Cold Comfort farm where, together with Cde Didymus Mutasa, he preached and practised the ideals of self reliance and unity of purpose through cooperative farming, Cde Mahachi over the years rose to prove himself as a selfless, dedicated and unwavering cadre. At Cold comfort farm where he was elected to the position of vice chairman, he came into contact, with the beginning of the desire by blacks to reassert themselves, in seeking their political rights and resisting their economic disempowerment. In many ways, therefore, Cold comfort Farm became synonymous with the embryonic but unstoppable yearning to fight the colonial exploitative stereotypes that saw blacks as purely "hewers of wood and drawers of water".

In the 1970s, and with the experience of the power of united action, Cde

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Mahachi found himself at the helm of the Nyafaro Development Company, which fought against the forced removal of the Tangwena people from the land of their birth to rocky and barren areas. Together with late Chief Rekai Tangwena and Cde Didymus Mutasa, Moven Mahachi became the new frontier of resisting the callous and barbaric nature of colonialism. Although the Tangwena people were eventually overcome and violently removed from Gaeresi Ranch, the land of their forefathers the spirit of their resistance and the strength and sincerity of their cause was to prove inspirational to the entire liberation struggle. Indeed, it was the flame anvil, which shaped and gave courage to many other young cadres who were leaving the country for the liberation struggle.

The Great Escape

Fired up by the increasing brutal character of the Smith regime, Cde Mahachi together with Chief Tangwena became trusted couriers and bridges for many young cadres who had decided to cross into Mozambique, take up arms and pay the ultimate price for the liberation of their land. For Cde Mahachi, then as now the fight for our dear land was the most consuming. There could be no greater sacrifice. Indeed, it was through Mahachi and Tangwena's brave and courageous support that Edgar Tekere and I were assisted in crossing into Mozambique in April 1975, after the ZANU Central Committee had decided that I should go and lead the liberation struggle, following the sad death of Cde Herbert Chitepo.

Later in the year, 1975, Cde Mahachi was to meet the full-bodied wrath of the Smith Regime, which sentenced him to 14 years imprisonment for assisting in the recruitment of freedom fighters. His release in 1979 came at the dawn of a new Zimbabwe. The release enabled him to attend the Lancaster House Constitutional Conference. A few months later he was to shed together with many of us, tears of joy at the birth of a

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soil ; go well gallant fighter!

*Famba zvakanaka Gamba redu!
Hamba Kahle qhawo lethu*

Chapter 22: The Story of a Dedicated War Veteran Cde Chenjerayi Hunzvi



**Based on remarks made by His Excellency, The President Cde R.G. Mugabe on the occasion of the burial of the late Cde Chenjerayi Hunzvi, National Heroes Acre, 8th June 2001.*

Barely a week ago we gathered here in heart rending circumstances to bid farewell to our dear departed Comrade Moven Mahachi. Four weeks before then, the cruel hand of fate had brought us here to pay our last request to another gallant son of Zimbabwe, Cde. Border Gezi. We are once again congregated in equally sad circumstances to bid farewell to yet another Son of the Soil CDE Chenjerai Hunzvi who died on Monday at Parirenyatwa Hospital of malaria.

Fate has been most unkind to us, hitting us where it hurts the most at a time when the land based third Chimurenga is at its most critical historical junction. And yet these harsh reversals should never deter us but should instead propel us to fight even harder to intensify the campaign and ensure that the sacrifices of our fallen heroes are not in vain. These heroes lived a life dedicated to ensuring that Zimbabweans regain ownership of their land as an undisputed matter of social justice. They died in the middle of the third Chimurenga, which we must see to the victorious end. Our greatest tribute to them and many others who died before them, some of who lie here and many others who lie in unmarked graves within and outside our borders, would be to give land

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back to the people of Zimbabwe.

We are today bidding farewell to Chenjerai Hunzvi, a man who spent his entire life fighting to ensure that the people of Zimbabwe regain their political and economic birthright.

Cde Hunzvi's Arrest

At an early age of 19 years Cde.Hunzvi experienced the racist brutality of the Smith regime when he was arrested in October 1965 just before the illegal unilateral declaration of independence, for leading demonstrations against the British Prime Minister, Harold Wilson during his visit to Rhodesia. Wilson had come to Rhodesia ostensibly to give political pressure on Ian Smith not to declare UDI. A group of nationalist leaders, including myself and the late Vice President Cde.Nkomo were police led from detention camps to meet this man, who had been projected as one so interested in our cause for equal rights and so as one who was to tell Smith that if he proceeded to declare UDI his regime would encounter the wrath of the Queen's imperial might.

We were to discover that it was all a monumental charade, an ill-fated public relations exercise, devoid of real care for the plight of the black majority in this country. Harold Wilson made it clear to us then that as the unfolding of history has testified the British people and their government would never contemplate abandoning of their white kith and kin in favour of the African cause.

These statements coming from one other than a British labour prime Minister were all that Smith and his likes needed to hear in order to know that they could unilaterally declare Independence without fear of any consequence from the Queen's government. As if History is repeating itself today another British labour Prime Minister, Tony Blair, has made it clear in many ways reminiscent of Harold Wilson's assurance that the Queens government would not abandon its kith and

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kin whose forefathers colonized our country, butchered our people and stole the land.

The young Hunzvi realized in 1965, as he did in 2000, that it would take None But Ourselves to liberate the country from colonial settler regimes and its consequences.

Cde. Hunzvi's nationalistic involvement in the liberation struggle saw him incarcerated, detained and restricted in the various infamous holding centres around Zimbabwe such as Gonakudzingwa, Wha-wha, Enkeldoorn Police station and Salisbury Police station. Yet the harassment by the Smith Regime could not deter him as he rose to become the chief ZANU PF representative in Poland during the liberation struggle.

In post Independent Zimbabwe, CDE Hunzvi could have been comfortable with the affluence that often goes with the professional status of medical doctors, but his selfless commitment and dedication to seeing Zimbabweans regain ownership of their land led him to toil and suffer together with the landless and his fellow war veterans in the quest for total liberation. He fought tirelessly for the welfare of the war veterans, ex-detainees and war collaborators in as much he did for the peasants and workers deserted and abandoned by an opportunistic would-be-trade union now in bed with its employers. His inspiring leadership of the war veterans came at a time when some people were beginning to waver, perceiving war veterans as object of contempt and ridicule as they relegated the land issue from the top of the priorities.

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The struggle for land

Following the British sponsored rejection of the democratic draft constitution which held the British government responsible for the funding of a land reform programme in Zimbabwe, without taking a cue from the leadership of the party, ZANU PF, or government, he courageously led war veterans and the landless to demonstrate on white owned commercial farms country wide. Their simple message was that the ultimate purpose of the liberation struggle must be fulfilled and that the ownership of land must be returned to its rightful owners. This act of unparalleled disciplined heroism saw the beginning of the Third Chimurenga.



It is this land based Third Chimurenga that has become the target of vicious British sponsored local and international media and diplomatic campaign that seek to preserve the immoral and inequitable land system where a mere one percent of the population owns over 70 percent of the best land in the country. Worse still, out of the land owned by the white farmers only a paltry 30percent is utilized with the rest lying idle or used for cosmetic purposes. Indeed they are many cases of white commercial farmers boasting of little Englands in Zimbabwe and some having farms almost the size of Belgium.

Instead of seeing Cde Hunzvi, war veterans and the landless as seeking solutions to the land problem, some sections of the international community, led by Britain portray them as invaders of the white man's land, squatters, land grabbers, marauding thugs and rapists whose only interest is to loot the white man's property with no regard for the rule of law. No wonder why the most common images on CNN, BBC, Sky TV and even SABC portray war veterans as axe wielding warriors ready to strike at "vulnerable God fearing whit farmers living peacefully on their

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farms". Invariably, the white farmer is projected as the paragon of justice and the one responsible for the country's success story in agriculture and the survival of the economy. The fact that 80 percent of cotton and over 70 percent of maize is produced by these same farmers is conveniently forgotten as is the fact that these black farmers can do more and better for the economy if given access to fertile land currently lying idle in the hands of an extreme selfish racial minority.

Through various British mouth pieces, Government has been explicitly directed to remove the war veterans from commercial farms or consequently face British hostility isolation and sanctions. We have been repeatedly informed not to oblige, worse things would be done as we would have to uphold the rule of law and preserve the sanctity of the white man's property.

Reconciliation is now supposed to mean final acceptance, by the African of the social, class and economic structures and property relations put in place by illegal colonial regimes, in the most scandalous robbery in history. The hand of reconciliation is now understood to be the five finger hand salute of the policeman who stops you at the gate of the property stolen from your ancestors, and asks you to turn round and go back to the arid patch where the colonialist predator threw our clan. The only variation is when the African labourer who must till his own land for the benefit of robbers from across the seas.

The rule of law is presented as one that protects the minority privileges, which are subsidized from the expropriated African ancestral land and other resources.

Law abiding Africans are those who will not challenge the immorality and illegality of their deprivation, but will happily retreat to their arid patch of land after their useful life, in the judgement of enterprising settler, expires.

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Our response to these British machinations is very clear and unequivocal. We have reminded the British of their failure to honour their pledge at the Lancaster House Conference but also of Harold Wilson's open testimony to us that the British would never set their army on their Rhodesian kith and kin, a testimony that is now being repeated by Tony Blair as he resists the land acquisition and reform programme in protection of his kith and kin. Why then are we expected to send our own army to shoot our own people? We could not, and we will never set war veterans in the army against fellows war veterans in the army and landless peasants peacefully demonstrating for their usurped birth rights.

While we have made it clear that we would not shoot our own people demonstrating on farms we nevertheless have indicated that under the fast track land resettlement program government would acquire at least 5 million hectares on which to resettle landless Zimbabweans and that we would as we are doing now, acquire this land in terms of our constitution. Laws and policies all of which are very clear not withstanding endless attempts to misinterpret our rule of law. War veterans on gazetted farms would be moved on to acquire farms. The fast track resettlement program, which began in July last year is now at an advanced and irreplaceable stage having settled 105000 families on close to 3 million hectares of land. More families are set to be resettled before the onset of the rains. Cde Hunzvi was a pivotal player in our realising these targets.

Regrettably, his death came at a time when victory of the ongoing land based Third Chimurenga was now in sight. There can be no greater tribute and honour to pay him today than to intensify the campaign which will make victory even more certain. His untimely departure should never be an opportunity for those who want to see division within the ranks of the war veterans to proceed with their machinations. Nor should it be an opportunity for those who want to

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intimidate our people or render them despondent by defying our culture and celebrating the untimely death of our heroes. Instead the war veterans and indeed all of us more united and resolute that comrade Hunzvi's cause is fulfilled and that the noble values of our liberation struggle are upheld.

To you Cde Hunzvi I say; you have done your part: you have fought your struggle and fought it gallantly; staunchly defending your birthright and your revolutionary heritage. The people's needs and interests were always uppermost in your mind. You indeed deserve the halo of a national her.

*Go well gallant son of the soil!
Famba zvakanaka Gamba redu!
Hamba Kahle ghawe lethu!*

CHAPTER 23: OUR ACHIEVEMENTS

LET US ALL BUILD ON OUR PROUD RECORD!

While we acknowledge the above challenges that we face and the temporary setbacks in our economy today we, like you, are very proud of the remarkable achievements we have made together over the last two decades following the revolution brought to this country by ZANU PF. For us to move forward as a strong, united and peaceful nation, it is essential that we build on what we have achieved to get more and better of the same. Our notable successes include areas too numerous to list save to highlight a few examples that follow below.

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LAND TO THE PEOPLE: To our Zimbabwean African society nothing is more important than land. For us, the personal and communal consequences of land are all encompassing with far reaching political, economical and cultural implications. That is why the land question was the pillar of our revolution and that is why it remains the centre of our constitutional reform. Indeed that is why we say Land is the Economy and the Economy is Land. Where others might consider precious stones such as gold or diamonds as more important, in our society it is land. This because for us land is not only one's perpetual heritage and home but it is also one's food and wealth and basis for dignity and well being.

LAND TO THE PEOPLE: WHAT WE HAVE DONE SO FAR

	Area Coverage	Beneficiaries (Families)
Fast Phase (1980-1996)	3.3 Million Hectares	91 000
Second Phase (1996 to date)	4 762 065	127 509

LAND TO THE PEOPLE: WHAT WE MUST DO NEXT

	Area Coverage	Beneficiaries
1996-2009	5 Million Hectares	150 000 Families

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- **AGRICULTURE:** Over the last two decades, the ZANU PF led Government has recognised the importance of agriculture as the mainstay of our economy and introduced progressive agrarian policy reforms that have helped to boost our agricultural exports to the current level of over \$30 billion in 1999. The number of agricultural colleges has increased from four to seven. As a result, the agricultural extension coverage has benefited from innovative training programmes leading to the improvement of the ratio of one extension worker per 1 200 farmers to one extension worker per 800 farmers.

PHENOMENAL EXPANSION OF AGRICULTURAL EXPORTS

	1980	1999	
Tobacco	212 917 000		96.6%
Maize		52 8848 000	93%

Vigorous marketing reforms have been undertaken with the consequence of liberalising the agricultural market through the successful privatisation of the Cotton Marketing Board (CMB) and the Dairy Marketing Board (DMB) while the Grain Marketing Board (GMB) and the Cold Storage Company (CSC) have been successfully commercialised. The Agricultural Finance Corporation (AFC) has been restructured into Agribank and Agricultural Development Assistance Fund (ADAF).

TWO DECADES OF GROWTH IN CROP PRODUCTION

	1980	2000	
Tobacco	122 571	205 000 metric tons	41%
Maize	1 510 700	1 519 560 metric tons	1%
	155 000	250 000 metric tons	38%
Cotton	157 433	254 250 metric tons	38%

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- **PEACE AND STABILITY:** without doubt, the cornerstone of our success over the last two decades has been the unity, peace and stability that we all enjoy in our country today. This is a major achievement that makes us all proud and upon which we should continue to build a better future for all our people. Thanks to our police men and women. Zimbabwe is a peaceful country free from the crime levels that are found elsewhere around us. The peace and stability we have are a direct result of the historic Unity Accord signed between the former PF-ZAPU and for ZANU (PF) on 21st December, 1987. At independence in 1980, cynics, armchair critics and enemies of our revolution took advantage of the schemes of the then apartheid regime in South Africa and the civil war in Mozambique between 1985 and 1992 to make doomsday predictions that our country would be destroyed by civil strife. These self-serving predictions were engineered by the same people who were plotting against our sovereignty by creating confusion among our people and national leadership to produce mayhem and chaos and to sow the seeds of polarisation, conflict, instability and disintegration in our country. It is a pity that there are some little parties today that are again threatening our peace and stability by forming dubious movements for the destruction of our country and unholy racist alliances with the likes of Ian Smith. Voting for ZANU PF would ensure that our country does not go back to the dark pre-independence past of conflict, lawlessness and instability yet again.

- **PROMOTING REGIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY:** Over the last two decades our country has played a pivotal role in international relations through regional organisations like the former Frontline States that spearheaded the liberation of

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Namibia in 1989 and brought democracy to South Africa. Indeed, even though cynics and armchair critics tend to conveniently miss the point, it is fact that our Party and Government made political and economic sacrifices on behalf of the people of Namibia and South Africa. We did that in the spirit of Pan-Africanism because we understood only too well that our independence and freedom had no meaning unless our brothers and sisters in those countries were also independent and free. The same principle applied to our support for the FRELIMO Government during the civil war in Mozambique between 1985 and 1992. It is surprising that the same cynics and armchair critics that made noises about our Pan-African support for freedom and the sovereignty of the people in Mozambique, Namibia and South Africa are now trying to create false divisions between us and our friends in the three regional neighbours. The same is true in the DRC where the usual enemies of Pan-Africanism have sought to deliberately distort and misrepresent the Pan-African reasons for the presence of our troops in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC). Don't be surprised if, in a few years when there is peace and stability on the DRC, the same cynics and armchair critics start praising the DRC against us in the same way they have done with regard to our support of revolutionary forces in Mozambique, Namibia and South Africa.

- **EDUCATION:** At independence in 1980, the ZANU (PF) Government declared education a basic human right. This declaration is behind the unprecedented achievements that our country has made in education over the last two decades. Since 1980, education has been the engine of development. The school system has witnessed monumental expansion at all levels with the biggest increase in the secondary school sector

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where the number of schools went up from 179 to 1 548. To strengthen the country's human resource base, the number of universities has increased from one in 1980, with an enrolment of less than 2000, to eight today with combined enrolments of about 30 000 students. Teacher colleges have increased from one in 1980, with an enrolment of less than 2 000, to eight today with combined enrolments of about 30 000 students. Teacher colleges have increased from four to 15 with enrolments up from less than 1 000 to 17 000 today. State technical colleges have increased from two in 1980 with enrolments of about 2 000 to eight today with enrolments of over 20 000. In addition, some 300 private colleges have been registered with enrolments of over 100 000. The enrolment of female students has continued to rise through the implementation of progressive affirmative action policies leading to more than 50% of student teachers being female. To finance these initiatives, government expenditure has risen from only \$12 million for student funding and \$136 million for capital and recurrent expenditure in 1990 to the current levels of \$136 million and \$2000 million respectively.



Because children are the future, our Government is committed to giving them quality education today.

Our achievements in higher education are even more impressive in the light of the fact that 99% of all apprentices are now black and therefore reflective of our population distribution. As a country, we now have adequate skilled

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workers and we no longer depend on expatriate human resources. The ZANU PF led Government also took over the trade testing function from national employment councils in order to eliminate racial and other discriminatory practices against black Zimbabweans. The new arrangement has afforded opportunities to all skilled workers to be trade tested and awarded with appropriate certificates. As a result, skilled and experienced blacks without formal training have benefited from this imaginative policy initiative. The emphasis now is on improving the quality of the worker by upgrading skills and competencies through degree level studies even for primary school teachers and technicians. In technical and vocational education, the ZANU PF Government has rationalised and localised curriculum examinations to produce homegrown courses at five levels from pre-vocational courses to higher national diploma level. As part of a wider strategy to empower the indigenous business community, the Government has established the Informal Sector Training and Resource Network (ISTARN).

TWO DECADES OF MAKING EDUCATION HAPPEN

	1980	2000	%
Literacy	62%	80%	18%
Secondary School	179%	1548	165%
Teacher Training Colleges	4 with an intake of 1 000	15 with intake of 17 000	73%
Universities	2 with intake of 2 000	15 with intake of 20 000	75%
	1 with intake of 2 000	8 with intake of 30 000	89%

To match the quantitative achievements, attention now is on the quality of the system of education. Emphasis is on making

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education relevant to the changing requirements of the economy, improving the supply of learning and teaching materials and upgrading the competencies of teachers by creating opportunities for them to get higher academic or professional qualifications through distance education. An example of a successful initiative to boost quality in the education system is the "Better Schools Programme". Schools have been organised in clusters and resource centres have been established so that the whole community in particular areas can access them.

The Government has taken strides to address the educational needs of disadvantaged groups, particularly the physically and mentally challenged, by enabling schools for such groups to receive more resources in terms of per capita grants and other assistance for infrastructure development.

Other initiatives that have been introduced into the educational system include:

- The retention of school fees by the schools to facilitate better financial planning and management by the school administration.
- Strengthening of district education offices by the appointment of enhanced officers in charge of the districts' educational affairs.
- Creation of school clusters to facilitate better peer supervision by school heads.
- Facilitating the development and formulation of a home-grown syllabus.
- Involving stakeholders in the development of the educational process.

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HEALTH: At independence in 1980, the ZANU PF Government inherited a health system that represented gross racial inequalities and disparities between urban and rural areas. For example, while the health problems for whites were largely of a lifestyle, blacks had to contend with the burden of disease with most of it falling on infants, young children and women in the child-bearing years.

GROSS DISPARITIES IN HEALTH BETWEEN BLACKS AND WHITES IN 1979

Infant mortality was only 14 per thousand births for whites and nearly 90 per thousand births for blacks. The average cost of health care for whites was 36 times that of blacks in the rural areas where health services were provided by rural mission hospitals or private clinics run by commercial farms or mines with between few and no outreach or preventive health services.

INDICATORS OF HEALTH STATUS OVER THE LAST TWO DECADES

	1980	2000	% Variation
Annual Population Growth Rate	2.5%	2.7%	1%
Ante-Natal Coverage	20%	89%	69%
Use of Contraceptives	12%	48%	36%
Infant Mortality Rate	88 per 1000 births	102 per 1000 births	(NB: Gains lost due to HIV/AIDS)
Life Expectancy	56 years	61 years	

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To deal with these problems, the strategy of the ZANU PF Government over the last two decades has been to increase health expenditure, shift allocations towards communal and resettlement areas with a sustained focus on primary and preventive health, nutrition and family planning services using the hugely successful Primary Health Care (PHC) approach.

TWO DECADES OF BUDGETARY COMMITMENT TO THE HEALTH SECTOR

	1980	2000
Budget	\$119 Million	\$6 Billion
Per capita expenditure	\$36.00	\$35.00
% of GDP	4%	3%

Implementation of the new strategy to improve access to health services for all our people involved a two-pronged approach to improving health and strengthening health services. The ZANU PF Government expanded community level interventions, health education, food production, communicable disease control, provision of clean water and sanitation and setting up of an essential drugs programme. This expansion relied on village health workers who became the backbone of the primary health care system supported by a nationwide professional cadre of newly trained doctors and other medical personnel.

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TWO DECADES OF TRAINING MEDICAL PERSONNEL FOR DEVELOPMENT

	1980	2000	% Growth
Doctors	761	2,608	57%
District Central	75%	74%	
Nurses	3,270	6,170	47%
District Central	32%	65%	
District Central	55%	74%	

To deepen the new policy thrust, the ZANU PF Government provided support for clinic services and strengthened the referral system by establishing a hospital in every district and training providers in primary health care. Prior to the implementation of this policy, only half of our country's 57 districts had designated district hospitals and many of these were very small, poorly staffed and equipped or severely damaged from the liberation war.

TWO DECADES OF BUILDING INFRASTRUCTURE

	1980	2000	% Growth
Provincial Hospitals	3	7	58%
District Hospitals	28	54	42%
Rural Health Centres	318	1,105	71%

Over the last two decades, the ZANU PF Government has built one provincial hospital, 25 district hospitals and 621 rural hospitals. During the same period, seven provincial hospitals and scores of clinics have been upgraded. Some 456 health centres have been provided with radio communication, solar powered lighting and

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clean water supplies. A total of \$3,6 billion has been spent on the refurbishment and acquisition of medical equipment. Because of this development of health services infrastructure, 85% of our population now live within eight kilometres of a health facility. Furthermore, access to health has been increased by the provision of free health services to those earning less than \$400 per month.

As a result of these people-centred efforts by the ZANU PF Government to improve health services in our country, life expectancy at birth increased from 56 years in 1980 to over 61 years in 1990. The infant mortality rate fell from close to 100 to 66 deaths per 1 000 live births. The prevalence of malnutrition in children under 3 years fell from 22% to 16% and the percentage of fully immunised children rose from 25% in 1980 to 86% in 1997. The use of contraceptives rose from about 14% to 60% in 1997, making it the highest level in the whole of Sub-Saharan Africa!

HOW OUR IMPRESSIVE HEALTH SYSTEM FARES IN AFRICA

	Zimbabwe	Africa
Population per Doctor	6732 per Doctor	2000 per Nurse
Population per Nurse	843 per nurse	205%
Sanitary Facilities (Access)	66%	32%
Access to Safe Water	83%	41%
Availability of Essential Drugs	78%	41%
Use of Contraceptives	48%	18%
Immunisation Coverage	92%	61%

Equally great progress has been made in controlling communicable diseases as evidenced by the near eradication of childhood illnesses. For example, diseases like neonatal tetanus, polio, whooping cough, and diphtheria are rarely seen in Zimbabwe today. The of measles, especially the measles

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deaths, has also been greatly reduced.

Even though these achievements of the ZANU PF Government are impressive by any standard, the spread of HIV-AIDS has presented a new challenge to the accomplishments. HIV-AIDS is now a national disaster in Zimbabwe and this has taken a heavy toll not only on the health system but also on the economy and the entire social fabric of our society. There is, however, some good news. Recent health indicators reported by the Health Information System show that the rates of Sexually Transmitted Diseases (STD) and the notification rates of AIDS have been declining since 1991 and 1996 respectively.



One of the wards: Our Government will continue improving health facilities throughout the country.

Also, following the declaration of HIV-AIDS as a national disaster, wide ranging policy actions have been taken by the ZANU PF Government to arrest HIV-AIDS. For example, an Aids National Council has been launched under the Office of the President and Cabinet, a 75% increase in the annual budget allocated for HIV-AIDS control was made and the AIDS Levy (income and corporate tax) has been introduced.

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MINING: Thanks to the policies of the ZANU PF Government, our mining industry has grown by leaps and bounds since 1980 adding to the country's employment creation and export earnings. For example, the industry's export earnings stood at US\$218,7 million in 1997, representing 13% of total exports, while its contribution to the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) went up from \$446 million in 1986 to \$1 384 billion in 1997. Between 1980 and 1989, the mining industry saw an increase in exploration activity with the number of Exclusive Prospecting Orders (EPOs) rising from 40 to 289. What is particularly pleasing is that, as part of the process of economic empowerment of the indigenous community, the growing number of indigenous business people in the mining industry has increased from 500 claim holders in 1980 to 40 000 today.

TOURISM: Recognising the comparative tourist advantage bestowed on our country by Providence, the ZANU PF Government has developed and implemented policies which, over the last two decades, have turned tourism into the fastest growing sector of our national economy. The industry has been particularly doing well following the promulgation of the Tourism Act in 1995. This Act provided for the setting up of the Tourism Authority, which has played a leading role in promoting and marketing our country to attract foreign and local visitors. As a result the tourist industry has grown in terms of receipts, arrivals, employment creation and foreign currency earnings. For example, in 1980 our country received 237,7 thousand tourists with earnings of \$24,2 million. This increased to 1,9 million arrivals in 1998 which generated \$3,7 billion in earnings representing an average growth rate of 18,5%, which is well above the world growth rate of tourist arrivals of 8,5% over the same period.

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JUSTICE, LEGAL & PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS: At independence in 1980, our Party and Government committed itself to the respect and use of the rule of law as a tool for radically transforming the then racially based legal system that discriminated against the majority of our people. For example, the Supreme Court, then called the Appellate Division, had six judges in 1980, all of them white. Now there are five, two of whom are black largely if not only because the appointment system to the Supreme Court remains flawed in favour of seniority. The High Court had nine judges in 1980 and now has 19 out of which 12 are black while the Administrative Court has three President, one white and the other two black. The Magistrate Courts now have 19 regional magistrates all of whom are black, whereas there were none in 1980. In order to reach the rural majority of our people, our country has over 400 community and over 300 primary courts. Over the last two decades, the transformation and administration of justice in our country has found its strength from the prohibition of discrimination on a range of natural and social grounds including racism. Accordingly, our Government introduced legislation and implemented policy directives to transform not only the judiciary but also the public service. Contrary to the mischief of cynics and armchair critics of our revolution, the transformation of the judiciary as a result of the efforts of our Party and Government has led to the international respect for the judicial independence and acclaim enjoyed by the Bench in Zimbabwe today.

Some 16 constitutional amendments have come to Parliament since 1980 and they have each and all had the combined effect of consolidating and democratising the power that was transferred from the white settler minority to the African majority. A major turning point in the revolutionary transformation of the legal and

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justice system in Zimbabwe took place in 1987 when our Government amended the Lancaster House Constitution through Amendment (No. 6) of 1986 to abolish the separate voters roll for blacks (who had been allocated 80% of Parliamentary seats under the Lancaster House Constitution) and white (who had the remaining 20% of the seats even though their total population was nowhere near that representation). This amendment transformed parliamentary representation and gave it the required democratic expression which was fully cemented in 1989 when the then irrelevant and toothless Senate in which whites had 20% of the seats reserved for them was also abolished with the consequence of creating a single chamber democratic house that we have today.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT: In our country, everyday life democracy finds expression in local government because that is where the majority of our people live and work. For this reason, the revolutionary transformation of our country over the last two decades is most visible through the lenses of our system of local government.

At independence in 1980 the ZANU PF Government abolished the colonial local government system which treated our people as subjects and replaced it with a democratic system based on citizen participation under the District Councils Act. In 1988 our Government repealed the Rural Councils Act (which catered for white commercial farming areas) and the District Councils Act (which catered for black communal areas) and put in place the Rural District Councils Act to amalgamate black and white areas. However, the actual amalgamation was not achieved until 1993 because of the resistance of the white commercial farming, mining and mission station areas. Prior to this, blacks in white commercial farming and mining areas as well as in mission stations had no right to vote because they were regarded as tenants or squatters. Therefore the amalgamation truly liberated our people in the rural areas and

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they exercised their right to vote for the first time ever in local government elections in 1994. To us this is a telling example of revolutionary change that only ZANU PF can bring.

The enactment of the Urban Councils Act abolished the racist separation of the administration of white and black areas by creating a single administrative structure based on racial equality and democratic participation. Growth points and service centres have been established nationwide in rural areas as focal points of our Government's rural development thrust. To date there are nine growth points, 57 district centres, 420 rural service centres and over 3000 business centres.

Through the Traditional Leaders Act, our Government has given respect, status and responsibility to our traditional leaders who were humiliated and marginalized before our hard won independence. Today the role of our traditional leaders has been harmonised with that of our elected local and national representatives in the interest of unity, peace and development for all our people.

INFRASTRUCTURAL DEVELOPMENT: ZANU PF understood right from the onset of our hard won independence in 1980 that our revolutionary commitment to the attainment of unity, peace and development in our country would not be achieved without a comprehensive and consistent strategy of developing and providing for the basic infrastructure necessary for development. That is why, over the last two decades, our Government has given priority to the construction and refurbishment of such basic infrastructure as housing, clean water, electricity, roads, bridges, dams, airports and telecommunication facilities among others.

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TWO DECADES OF CONNECTING THE PEOPLE THROUGH ROADS AND BRIDGES

	1980	2000	% Growth
Roads Upgrading	12	31	65%
Bridges	18	27	33%
Expenditure on Roads & Bridges	\$800 000	\$175 000 000	99.5%

Also, milestones have been achieved in terms of the provision of clean and safe water. For example, over 33% of all households have water piped into their residence, yard or plot and over 93% of households in urban areas have piped water. In communal and resettlement areas, boreholes are the main source of water for over 42% of the communities while about 17% rely on unprotected wells. It takes an average of about 20 minutes to get the source of drinking water in rural areas and less than a minute in urban areas.

GIANT STEPS IN WATER DEVELOPMENT OVER TWO DECADES

	1980	2000	% Growth
Dams	121	2 438	95%
Boreholes	1 226	34 538	97%
Budget	\$2 000 000	\$587 000 000	99.7%
Deep Wells	529		95%
Piped Water	26	520	95%

Another area of major development in terms of infrastructure is access to communication, which is very high in our country due to a combination of factors including high literacy levels, thanks to our education system and availability of the necessary infrastructure. For example, the teledensity in our country has now improved to 1,7 per 100. Our country is increasingly becoming an information

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society. Over 52% of women and 63% of men read newspapers or magazines at least once a week, while over 32% of women and 44% of men watch television at least once a week with 46% of women and 32% of men listening to the radio everyday. The Posts and Telecommunications Corporation (PTC), which is soon to be privatised, is currently working on a programme of digitalising all transmission links using optic fibre cable. The PTC also operates Zimbabwe's Internet Hub covering over 26 private Internet service providers who sell access to the public. With a span of some 200 post offices nationwide, the PTC also provides one of Africa's most reliable and fast mail and courier services countrywide and internationally.

In the area of information, the greatest achievement of the ZANU PF Government since 1980 has been the decolonisation and democratisation of the mass media. This was done with the setting up of the Mass Media Trust that enabled us to cut off links with the then apartheid regime in South Africa whose evil media organs controlled the major newspapers in this country. Another landmark development in the decentralisation and democratisation of information in our country was the formation of the Zimbabwe Information Services (ZIS), an innovative rural based news agency. ZIS has more than 25 provincial and district offices across the country. To complement ZIS' outreach work, a mobile cinema programme was established to inform, educate and entertain the rural masses by disseminating development messages to rural communities. The mobile cinema programmes have been particularly effective in disseminating accessible information on agriculture, the environment, health, family planning, challenges of rural resettlement, gender and children's issues and how to combat the scourge of HIV-AIDS.

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MAINSTREAMING GENDER CONCERNS: Gender concerns have always been central to ZANU PF's commitment to unity, peace and development in our country. That is why our Government has not only followed the example of the Party in placing gender concerns on the top of national priorities but also why it has worked closely with progressive elements of the international community that are equally committed to redressing gender imbalances. Following the Fourth World conference on Women held in Beijing, China in 1995, our Government identified priorities out of the 12 critical areas that emerged from the conference's platform of action and these are:

- Institutional mechanisms for the advancement of women
- Women in power and decision-making
- Education and training for women
- Women and the economy.

The ZANU PF Government policy has since been confirmed by our commitment to increase women's participation in the economy, amend the constitution to repeal discriminatory laws and introduce gender progressive legislation and combat gender violence in both the domestic and public spheres. Within our Party, we have resolved to ensure that a minimum of a quota of 50 seats in our central committee must be allocated to women. Also at the Party's last Congress a resolution was passed that for every three positions at least one must be occupied by a woman. We would like to see that example followed in the public and private sectors. The following are some of the major achievements over the last two decades:

- In 1981 the ZANU PF Government set up a Ministry of Community Development and Women's Affairs to facilitate the integration of women in all development initiatives to

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mobilise, organise, co-ordinate and monitor women's advancement programmes and projects in the public and private sectors and the NGO community. In 1996 this Ministry was replaced by a unit in the Ministry of National Affairs, Employment Creation and Co-operatives charged to empower communities through advocacy and entrepreneurial development for women, the youth and the unemployed.

- In 1994 focal persons were established in all ministries to ensure gender mainstreaming in all governmental departments.
- 1997 a gender issues department was set up in the Office of the President and Cabinet to monitor the implementation of the national gender policy and the platform of action from the Beijing women's conference
- Landmark legislation has been enacted over the past two decades to empower women under the law. These include the Matrimonial Causes Act allowing for equitable distribution of matrimonial property between spouses upon divorce; the Electoral Act enabling women to vote and stand in general, presidential and bye elections on equal terms with men, the Labour Relations Act that prohibits discrimination against women seeking or holding employment on the basis of sex and the maternity leave regulations that allow women to take up to three months leave with pay.

ECONOMIC LIBERALISATION: Since 1991 the Government has implemented a series of bold policies to reform our national economy to promote private participation in the market place. This has been done through restructuring the economy to allow for trade liberalisation and deregulation of key sectors such as public transport, finance and banking. Our Government has been bold enough to give everyone a chance to participate in the economy and

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to take responsibility for the consequences of that participation. The major effect of economic liberalisation in our country has been to shift considerable responsibility from the Government to the private sector. That is why, for example, price controls were removed. While the Government has demonstrated sincerity in liberalising our economy, we in ZANU PF are very concerned that the same people who lobbied for economic liberalisation are refusing to take responsibility for the consequences of their decisions and actions. Some of them are desperately trying to heap all blame for the current temporary economic setbacks on the Government. Yet some of these people have abused the opening up of the economy to engage in illegal profiteering through unfair trade practices including setting prices well above market levels, illegally repatriating foreign currency, underpaying workers and retrenching them recklessly, hoarding essential products such as diesel and illuminating paraffin among others. It is quite clear to us that the sincere efforts by our Government to liberalise our economy are being abused by some unscrupulous elements as a haven for corruption and as an opportunity to destabilise our nation. For this reason, it is clear for everyone to see why the conditions of our economy today require decisive Government intervention on behalf of the people. The rampant corruption should not be allowed to continue, the need to intervene is important and urgent. Only ZANU PF has the revolutionary commitment and capacity to take the required action in the national interest.

PRIVATISATION: One of the rewards of economic liberalisation has been the privatisation of parastatals to give our people an opportunity to take indigenous ownership in the economy while also reducing public expenditure and promoting the efficiency of operations and effectiveness of service delivery.

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MAJOR STRIDES IN PRIVATISATION

Companies > Investor	DAIRY MARKETING OF ZIMBABWE	COTTON COMPANY OF ZIMBABWE	COMMERCIAL BANK OF ZIMBABWE	ZIMBABWE REINSURANCE CORPORATION	RAINBOW TOURISM GROUP
Strategic Partner	25%	35%	41%		35%
Government of Zimbabwe	25%	30%	20%	51%	30%
General Public	20%	20%	13%	N/A	20%
National	10%	10%	N/A	N/A	N/A
Insurance Fund	10%	N/A	N/A	N/A	10%
Large Scale Milk Producers	5%	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Small Scale Milk Producers	5%	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Employees	5%	2%	2%	N/A	5%
Public Institutional Investors	N/A	N/A	20%	49%	N/A

POLITICAL LIBERALISATION: Even though the merchants of confusion in our midst do not acknowledge it, the fact is that our country today enjoys full political freedoms because of the political liberalisation efforts of the ZANU PF Government. Political liberalisation is alive and well in our country today, thanks to ZANU PF. The unity of our people facilitated by the historic Unity Accord between the former PF-ZAPU and former ZANU (PF) has served as the engine of revolutionary change that we want for our country. Today, there is no party in Zimbabwe that is as nationally representative and internally vibrant and internally democratic as ZANU PF. This is why our Party will win every seat in the forthcoming election. The little parties and their paymasters know that ZANU PF will win because it is the Party of the people and they are scared to death even though they pretend otherwise.

Our confidence in that our Party will win every seat in the forthcoming Parliamentary elections comes from the fact that we are the only Party that has brought revolutionary change in real terms without relying on trendy but meaningless slogans about false change. It is not possible for a little party without a history, without evidence of internal democratic practice and commitment to national unity to run a democratic country. That is just not possible and whenever anything like that happens, disaster strikes. Indeed, it is because of our revolutionary unity that we have seen the opening up of real political space to allow for the existence of all kinds of organisations and many little political parties including those that have decided to form a movement for the destruction of our country. Political liberalisation is so deep in our country that we do not even have laws to register political parties, as is the practice in many countries in Africa and elsewhere.



The President meeting the people to get their views on government policies and reviewing income generating projects implemented by Zanu PF.