



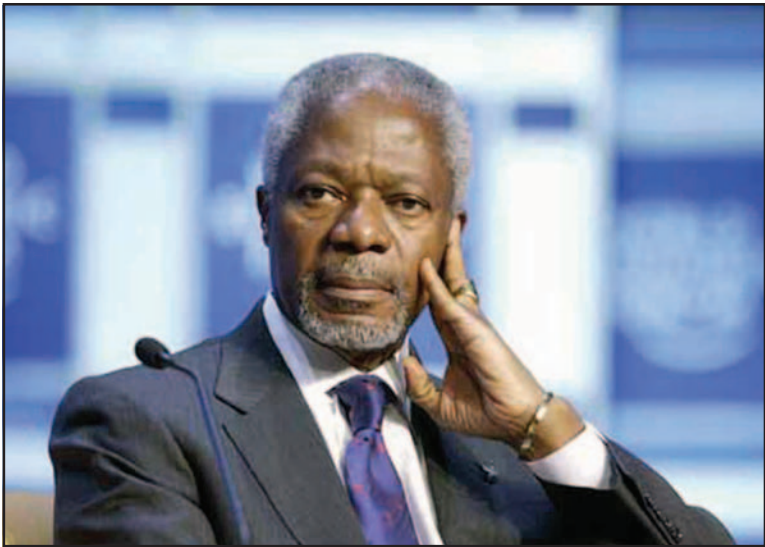
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INTERNATIONAL

Human Rights Day

HUMAN RIGHTS INSTITUTE

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'... Some Africans still view the concern for human rights as a rich man's luxury for which Africa is not ready, or even as a conspiracy imposed by the industrialised West. I find these thoughts demeaning – demeaning of the yearning for human dignity that resides in every African heart. Do not mothers weep when their sons and daughters are killed or tortured by agents of oppressive rule? Do not African fathers suffer when their children are unjustly sent to jail? Is not Africa as a whole the poorer when just one of its voices is silenced? Human rights [...] are African rights. They are Asian rights; they are European rights; they are American rights. They belong to no government; they are limited to no continent, for they are fundamental to humankind itself.'

*Statement by Secretary-General **Kofi Annan** to the opening of the fifty-fourth session of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights in Geneva. 16 March, 1998*



'Do not mothers weep when their sons and daughters are killed or tortured by agents of oppressive rule?'

A victim of political violence in Zimbabwe

Human rights for all: the challenge of our time

December 10 is the day when people around the world celebrate the anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. This year the Human Rights Institute of the International Bar Association marks the event by publishing a collection of personal accounts, opinions and images about human rights in Zimbabwe.

Why Zimbabwe?

There are a number of human rights crises in the world today but, in the past four years, the situation in Zimbabwe has dominated regional and international discourse on human rights practices.

In July 2004 the African Commission for Human and People's Rights presented a report on Zimbabwe to the African Union (AU). The report was highly critical of the human rights record of the Zimbabwean Government. The report has been described as the harshest criticism of any AU member state so far.

Just two weeks ago the United Nations General Assembly voted on a resolution related to member states' concerns about the deteriorating human rights situation in Zimbabwe. Events in Zimbabwe continue to receive widespread attention and condemnation from governments, non-governmental organisations and, most importantly, Zimbabwean citizens themselves.

By all accounts the crisis in Zimbabwe is a matter of grave concern to all who strive for the realisation of the rights enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other human rights charters.

The occasion of Human Rights Day presents an opportunity for us all to reflect on the most serious human rights challenges of our time. In this spirit, the Human Rights Institute of the International Bar Association presents reflections on human rights from within and outside Zimbabwe.

Justice and Accountability

Mark S Ellis



Recent news emerging from Zimbabwe paralyses the senses. Zimbabwe is in crisis, and it's not the result of some national catastrophe or blind ignorance. Zimbabwe's descent into this unimaginable chaos is the result of the perverse policies of its president, Robert Mugabe. His systematic oppression of an increasingly impoverished people and his government's widespread policy of subverting the press, the rule of law and human rights are a desperate and brutal attempt to retain political power at all costs. Mugabe's latest effort to suspend the last remaining check on his dictatorial rule is to rid Zimbabwe of all independ-

ent-minded non-government organisations. With the promulgation of the Non-Governmental Organisations Bill, civil society will cease to exist; there will be no mechanism left in Zimbabwe to monitor the criminal acts of Mugabe and his government.

Robert Mugabe's actions, however – committed in accordance with state policies – are also gross violations of international humanitarian law and he should be held accountable for his reign of terror. The international community has the mechanism to enforce this moral and legal obligation.

The International Criminal Court (ICC), inaugurated on 1 July 2002, is the first permanent international court established to hold individuals accountable for the most heinous international crimes, including crimes against humanity. These crimes embody murder, enslavement, torture, imprisonment, rape, displacement and other inhumane acts of a similar nature that intentionally cause great suffering. The well-documented and mounting evi-

dence of these crimes committed by Mugabe's government is staggering.

According to the Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum, thousands of Zimbabweans who oppose Mugabe are tortured, murdered, unlawfully arrested and detained, raped or abducted on a regular basis by the government and Mugabe's henchmen. Other inhumane acts include the systematic policy of using food as a political weapon. If a Zimbabwean is not a member of Mugabe's ruling party, she will not receive one morsel of the sustaining grain distributed by the government in order to feed her family.

There is a general misconception that the ICC does not have jurisdiction over these and other acts committed by Mugabe in Zimbabwe. It is true that the ICC can exercise jurisdiction only over crimes committed after Zimbabwe has ratified the ICC Statute, which it has not done. Mugabe may think that by not ratifying the Statute he is immune to the Court's jurisdiction. He is wrong.

There is an obscure but forceful provision in the ICC Statute that pointedly addresses the situation in Zimbabwe. Article 12(3) states in part that a state which is not yet a party to the Statute 'may, by declaration lodged with the Registrar, accept the exercise of jurisdiction by the Court with respect to the crime in question'. Thus, a post-Mugabe government could immediately accept the jurisdiction of the ICC and so sanction a full investigation and indictment of Mugabe for crimes he has committed since July 2002.

Under the ICC Statute, the UN Security Council could already authorise the Court immediately to investigate crimes committed by Mugabe. Such an investigation can occur even though Zimbabwe has yet to accept the jurisdiction of the Court.

An investigation would help countervail the woeful responses of many African nations to Mugabe's crimes. The duplicity with which these countries attempt to prop up Mugabe's regime is depressingly

real. This includes the misguided policy of the African Group at the United Nations, led by South Africa, to block resolutions deploring Zimbabwe's human rights record. Those who have been victimised by Mugabe deserve better. If Mugabe can manipulate and evade domestic and regional justice, he should not be able to elude international justice.

A fundamental tenet of international law is the repudiation of impunity for those who commit gross violations of international law. Thus, the failure to deter these crimes is not a result of the absence of law, but rather a failure of political will to curtail these violations. A more aggressive response from African nations, coupled with a preliminary investigation against Mugabe by the UN Security Council and the ICC, would send a clear and irrevocable message: justice is not expendable; there will be no impunity for Robert Mugabe.

Mark S Ellis is the Executive Director of the International Bar Association.

Greater violence in Zimbabwe

Kevin Laue

Once again on 10 December 2004, as they have done for years, Zimbabwe Lawyers for Human Rights (ZLHR) will mark International Human Rights Day with a march through Harare. Wearing their court regalia the lawyers will proceed to the Human Rights Tree planted in 1998 to mark the 50th Anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. This year will probably be the last time they do so, as ZLHR and other active human rights organisations are about to be banned under a

new law rushed through parliament in time for the forthcoming general election.

A free hand

With the end of such groups Mugabe's government will have a completely free hand to intensify its policy of torture and organised political violence, without anyone monitoring or recording what is happening, and without any chance of either legal or medical assistance for the victims. Another organisa-

tion in Zanu-PF's sights is the Amani Trust which for more than ten years has helped to treat the physical and psychological wounds of torture survivors.

Until now Amani, ZLHR and other courageous human rights defenders' groups in the Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum, under increasingly difficult and dangerous conditions, have continued to help those beaten and raped by Mugabe's agents. Their role includes rendering direct practical assistance to survivors, including

treating the injured and seeking redress through the courts. Equally important to this aspect of the work of doctors and other health professionals, and lawyers, has been their documented reports on the scale and types of abuse. As a result of their dedication the record is there for all interested regional and international bodies to see, which is precisely why Mugabe is now shutting these local groups down.

Torture and political violence endemic

Torture and organised political violence is endemic in Zimbabwe. The present five-year old crisis, which began early in 2000 after Mugabe lost the constitutional referendum, has seen the worst human rights abuses since the post-independence massacres in Matabeleland and elsewhere in the mid-80s. Then the murder and torture came close to the appalling abuses of the UDI period when the Smith regime used every dirty tactic imaginable to maintain white-minority power. Today, as always in Zimbabwe and in Rhodesia before it, the vast majority of victims are black – the only difference is that since independence the perpetrators are black too.

Immunity from prosecution

Although Mugabe has tried to hide his appalling human rights record behind a smokescreen of land reform, there is no justification whatsoever for torture, which is a crime absolutely prohibited under international law. One of the reasons Mugabe won't step down is that he knows that he will lose any immunity still remaining for a serving Head of State. His current crimes, along with his crimes against humanity (that is, the widespread and systematic murder, torture, rape and destruction in the 1980s), is more than enough to put him in the dock.

Hope of compromise dashed

Last year there was still hope that some sort of compromise settlement might ensue between the Zimbabwe opposition movement, led by the MDC, and the Government. To that end Zimbabwe's leading civil society activists met in an historic symposium in Johannesburg in August 2003 to agree on the imperative need for an end to the culture of impunity which has dogged the country for so long. The

result was an overwhelming consensus that those responsible for torture and all other gross and systematic human rights violations had to be brought to account, and concrete proposals for the mechanisms to do so were agreed.

However, the Government's intransigence has since become clear for all to see. Any hints at talks were only a subterfuge as it pulled out the stops to physically batter the democratic movement into submission in time for the elections which are now pending. Its intention is to regain a sufficient majority in parliament to amend the constitution, retain Mugabe in control indefinitely and keep Zanu-PF in power in perpetuity. The result has been an endless stream of torture victims, destined to become a flood as the election draws nearer.

Response to political threat is torture

The Redress Trust, a reputable international anti-torture NGO, last month published a report illustrating how torture and other violations in Zimbabwe peak during the build-up to elections. Data clearly shows that in recent years, whether the elections be parliamentary,

presidential, local or by-elections, the ruling party invariably unleashes a reign of terror to 'win' no matter at what cost to ordinary Zimbabweans. The report is consistent with numerous local studies going back to before the current crisis began, recording how Zanu-PF would not hesitate to kill and maim even when there was no serious political threat to its hegemony.

A sinister development

In this context the banning of the internal human rights movement is a most sinister development indeed. The independence of the press and the judiciary has been all but destroyed, and the peaceful activities of the opposition party violently curtailed. With a systematic approach characteristic of a traditional fascist organ, Zanu-PF is now focussing on what remains of civil society. Once this is gone there will be nobody left to bring to the attention of the outside world what is happening, or to aid the victims. Mugabe will have a blank cheque to implement his 'final solution.' Never again will he need fear defeat in anything approaching a democratic election, as he did five years ago.

Outside pressure vital

Zimbabwe is heading towards greater violence. As the last democratic space disappears, any remaining anti-Zanu-PF dissent will be mercilessly crushed. Thereafter, as the outside world including Zimbabwe's neighbours continues to watch, how long will it be before the victims turn to arms? History is being repeated, not as farce, but as tragedy. Only immediate and massive outside pressure, particularly from African countries, can halt the country's downward spiral into more bloodshed. In this regard COSATU's recent courageous stand deserves fulsome support. The question is, when will it be joined by all democratic voices in South Africa?

Kevin Laue is the former chair of ZLHR.

Redress' November 2004 report on Zimbabwe is at <http://www.redress.org/publications/ZimbabweNov.PDF>

Free and fair elections – a pipe dream?

As Zimbabweans plan to join other citizens of the world in marking Human Rights Day, much uncertainty exists as to whether the general public and human rights defenders will be allowed to commemorate this day unrestricted by police disruption. The trend in the last four years has been for the Government to deny citizens the right to assemble and express themselves freely. Activities of human rights groups have been carried out in restrictive conditions. In many cases it has been necessary for groups to obtain court orders in order that they could carry out public events which citizens living in democratic societies take for granted.

Litigation has failed

But the courts have not always provided a refuge for those whose rights are violated. In many cases, the obstructive approach of the Zimbabwean authorities towards human rights has, regrettably, been aided by the Supreme Court which, through its treatment of human rights cases, has reversed the many gains made during the early years of Zimbabwe's independence. In the past four years, we have witnessed a failure to deal promptly with litigation that requires urgency where such litigation has human rights implications that are seen as being anti-government.

For many lawyers, taking cases of human rights abuses to the Supreme Court is no longer seen as a viable option because this court has demonstrated a disturbing averseness to upholding individual rights where this would conflict with Government policy.

Violations remain unpunished

As Zimbabwe prepares to elect a new parliament in March 2005 election petitions commenced in the year 2000 remain unconcluded in the courts, less than four months before the election. What this means is that perpetrators of political violence, electoral fraud and other serious election-related violations have remained in Parliament throughout their five year term. Any findings that might be made by the Courts now on their conduct is not likely to have any effect on them or the conduct of the next election.

Other human rights violators who carried out criminal acts in the last election have also escaped unpunished as most of them were the recipients of a Presidential amnesty. Those who did not qualify for such amnesty remained unprosecuted, even in the rare case where the Courts had specifically ordered that their cases be investigated and be prosecuted.

What this means is that perpetrators of political violence in the last Parliamentary election will be

free to commit similar acts in the forthcoming elections, as there has been no sanction whatsoever for similar acts in the past. It is likely that those members of Parliament who have, as a result of the law's inaction, remained in Parliament after committing acts of violence will not be deterred from employing similar methods to defeat their opponents in the forthcoming elections. Perpetrators of political violence, particularly during elections, probably calculate that political violence is a viable route to winning elections, because they are not likely to risk any definitive litigation or sanction that would result in serious consequences for them.

Little hope of fair elections in the future

The failure by the State and the Courts to deal decisively with the human rights abuses during past elections obviously does not bode well for free and fair elections in the future. Rather, the victims of election violence in the last Parliamentary election are less likely to fully participate in the forthcoming elections as there clearly are no guarantees that they will receive the full protection of the law if their rights to free political participation are infringed.

Candidates who would have lost elections through violence and other illegal electoral practices in the last Parliamentary elections will

not be motivated to participate in the forthcoming elections. Where they do participate and are subjected to violence and any other electoral malpractices, they are not likely to challenge such actions as such challenges have proved to be of academic interest only.

New legislation impedes election processes

Recently proposed legislation, including that related to elections, will not in any way improve Zimbabwe's electoral processes, as the position of bodies that will be responsible for the elections remains in the hands of trusted political players. Severe limitations on voter education have been proposed, which will severely restrict access to information to voters to enable them to make informed choices. New NGO legislation will mean that there will be fewer civil society organisations allowed to work with the public in the forthcoming elections, with the result that there will be less information on any human rights abuses during the elections.

New strategies needed

As we celebrate Human Rights Day in Zimbabwe in 2004, the likelihood of a free and fair election seems extremely remote for the foreseeable future. The OAU and SADC principles governing democratic elections are likely to remain a pipe

Beatrice Mtetwa

dream for Zimbabweans, particularly as regards the forthcoming general election. As the issue of a free and fair election is so closely intertwined with the enjoyment of all human rights, we are unlikely to see any improvement in the human rights situation in Zimbabwe in the foreseeable future. This is not to say that human rights defenders should stop or give up on their fight for the observance of human rights in our country. If anything, human rights defenders should be encouraged to consider new strategies for ensuring that human rights violations in Zimbabwe continue to be exposed to as wide an audience as is possible.

Beatrice Mtetwa is an award winning Zimbabwean human rights lawyer.

'The South African government will continue doing all it can to help the people of Zimbabwe deal with the economic and political challenges that they are facing. It will do all it can to promote dialogue in Zimbabwe as this is the best way to resolve any challenges the country is facing.'

Ronnie Mmoepa
spokesman for the South African Foreign Ministry.

The colour of huma

Heather Bennett, 42, looks more fragile than she is, but she weeps recalling the night in late October when her ebullient husband Roy, MDC member of parliament for rural Chimanimani, in eastern Zimbabwe, was carted off to jail for a year for shoving Justice Minister Patrick Chinamasa to the floor in parliament. Roy Bennett has been the target of so much vengeance from Zanu PF since he was elected in June 2000 that even hardened observers gasp in disbelief when confronted with evidence of appalling violence against him and his associates.



Happier times... Roy Bennett

Roy and I discussed deeply whether he should go into politics before he took the decision in 2000. I agreed it was good to serve the country. We knew it would be tough but we had absolutely no idea how bad it would be, that it would be a cesspool, so cruel, and that so many people would suffer for being connected with Roy. If the fight had been just Roy and me, but when people around you are being destroyed, raped and murdered, you start thinking, is it worth it? Now the people of Chimanimani send me messages that they feel guilty for having chosen him to represent them.

His campaign manager wept when he saw Roy in prison in Mutoko, but I didn't because I don't want him to think I am strug-

gling. Roy is in survival mode. I don't know if he is doing hard labour because we only have ten minutes to talk every two weeks. He is hoping that as he has not been convicted of a criminal offence that he can stand again in the March elections, from prison, if the MDC participates.

We cannot imagine living anywhere else when he comes out. Anyway, we don't have access to citizenship other than Zimbabwe. He phoned the children just before he was taken away. He told them he would be OK. When I got home that night I did cry. A lot.

I was born and brought up in Chivhu, my dad owned a small garage and my mother worked in a bank. Roy also came from a family with little money. He learned Shona because he grew up with the kids on his dad's farm. When I first met Roy I thought he was an obnoxious guy, very rowdy. He was wearing shorts and needed long trousers, so he just swapped pants with another guy.

I had my first child, Charles, a year after we were married, then Casey in 1987. Roy wanted six kids, I thought he was joking. It was all so hectic as we were struggling to pay loans back on the farm in Karoi. Roy visited Chimanimani and fell in love with it. We weren't in tune with the more affluent way of life in Karoi. Chimanimani was a much simpler way of living. So we sold up in Karoi but still had to borrow

money for Charleswood (Chimanimani farm). I missed my friends at first and didn't like having to send the kids to boarding school. We only finished paying back the loan on Charleswood six months ago, long after we had been kicked off.

When Morgan (Tsvangirai) was acquitted, I knew they would send Roy to prison. They had to have something. I begged him for weeks to skip but he wouldn't. He told me that so many MDC people have been jailed unfairly and they didn't have the option of leaving Zimbabwe. He said that if he left he would miss 21 sittings of parliament and would lose his seat and Zanu PF would turn round and say 'of course we weren't going to send him to prison.' Roy still had respect for some Zanu PF, like Joyce Mujuru (first woman Zanu PF vice president) who was on the parliamentary committee which convicted him. He felt she was sympathetic, but she wasn't.

I take one day at a time, so there is one day less to worry about. I have to sell my two little businesses, a pottery shop and decor business as I am so busy sorting stuff out that Roy would have done. Paying wages, going to the accountants to tie up details of Charleswood, and Roy had bought this panel beating shop and I must keep it going.

Roy is quite a spiritual guy. He doesn't go to church or talk about

Bennett's workers make beds in a bus shelter after being evicted at gunpoint by the army from Charleswood estate



religion, but he reads his bible morning and night, it's a habit he got into as a child, from his mother. I think I may be more affected than Roy. I am not bitter, but I have to work on that. Of course we have lost everything, but so many have.

A commercial farmer from Karoi phoned offering support. He is older than me so I didn't want to be disrespectful, but I told him I didn't want his support because he is doing deals with Zanu PF to stay on his farm, and that I had plenty of support from principled people. We have good old friends, but we don't have much in common with some friends from before. Roy feels

far happier with his MDC friends these days and they are black.

I am being given a visit on Christmas day so I will take him food. It's a five hour drive to Mutoko and back. Charles is coming from England. He is studying agriculture, he is also working hard to pay fees. He will see his Dad. Casey won't because she said it will make her too upset to see him like that.'

To find out more visit:
www.freeroybennett.com

Below and left: Photographs showing injuries to two of Roy Bennett's employees. Other pictures were too shocking for us to publish.



n rights Slave labour – a hidden wrong

Unprecedented, unjustified and unacceptable

There can be no better example of the way in which a government has twisted an anti-imperialist anti-colonial discourse to justify human rights abuses than the case of Roy Bennett.

Roy Bennett's sentence is unprecedented for a crime of common assault, which in Zimbabwean common law would merit no more than a small fine. The treatment of Bennett is a stark contrast to the response of the South African parliament when a few years ago, National Party MP Manie Schoeman pushed ANC MP Johnny De Lange who responded with a blow that knocked Schoeman to the floor. Frene Ginwala, the then Speaker of Parliament was only as hard on De Lange as she was on Schoeman and she ordered both men to apologise not only to Parliament but to the nation. Far from being persecuted for initiating a fight with a member of the ruling party, Schoeman was disciplined in a fair and just manner. He continued his parliamentary career and is today an ANC MP.

Human rights are indivisible

Sadly the response of the government and many people in this region to the Roy Bennett saga is support for the ZANU-PF view that as a white farmer Roy Bennett deserved what was coming to him. According to this view, because his ancestors took the land (no matter that he bought his farm after 1980 under the laws of an independent Zimbabwean state), Roy Bennett deserves to be deprived of his rights as an MP, a citizen and indeed a human being. The danger of such a view is that human rights are indivisible. Depriving a citizen of his or her rights, for whatever reason, and persecuting them with impunity, sets a dangerous precedent. It is unprecedented and illegal for parliamentarians to impose a jail sentence on a fellow parliamentarian outside of a judicial process. The separation of the powers of the law-makers from the law enforcers is fundamental to any democracy.

Unjustifiable

Those who would applaud the treatment of Roy Bennett because he is a white farmer, would do well to be reminded that the majority of black opposition MPs have suffered harassment and abuse from State and ruling party agents, ranging from assaults, theft of property to torture. Even if one chose to justify the persecution of Roy Bennett on racist lines, how would one justify the murder of Bennett's black employee Steven Tonera and the severe beating of Tonera's brother Tonderai Murimba? How would

one justify the violence against women that is part and parcel of the land invasions?

Apologists for the Zimbabwe government would be well reminded that behind ZANU-PF's obfuscatory propaganda about white farmers and the land question is the cynical and systematic persecution of the most marginalised and vulnerable citizens sanctioned by the highest office of the land. President Robert Mugabe has on at least two occasions, publicly threatened Roy Bennett and encouraged ZANU PF supporters to force him from his own constituency.

Others have suffered

On International Human Rights Day, the last day of the 16 Days of Activism against Violence against women and children, spare a thought for the women who have suffered as part of the political persecution of Roy Bennett. His wife Heather was three-months pregnant when war veterans invaded their house and held her hostage. She suffered a miscarriage as a result of the trauma. In the ongoing campaign against Bennett's employees, two teenage girls were raped and two sexually assaulted (their names are withheld to protect their identities). Chamunorwa Muusha, the war veteran who was convicted and sentenced for the rape of one of the teenagers, was released after a presidential pardon.

Human rights abuses in Zimbabwe fly in the face of the peer review mechanism in the New Partnership for Africa's Development (Nepad) and the Constitutive Act of the African Union, and the many protocols, declarations and treaties signed by African heads of state and government. A regional civic advocacy programme to call for an end to human rights abuses in Zimbabwe could yet provide the starting point in the quest for civil society to lead in the articulation and enforcement of norms and standards for human rights protection that ought to be sacrosanct across the region, indeed across the continent.



Elinor Sisulu

Coordinator, Crisis Coalition of Zimbabwe, South Africa Office and Award winning author of: 'Walter and Albertina Sisulu: In Our Lifetime'.

Since President Robert Mugabe's disputed victory, the Zanu PF government has gained in brute strength and overwhelming confidence. In its increasingly successful bid to further shrink the democratic space, it has come up with legal precedents of such intellectual dishonesty, and legislation of such outlandish ludicrousness as to be hysterically funny, were the consequences not so far-reaching.

Moral bankruptcy

The true horror of the current Zimbabwean government is that it is deliberately fostering a situation where notions of human decency are debased, and where this debasement is celebrated. In my view, the policy that best illustrates the moral bankruptcy of this regime is one that has received little, if any, attention in the media, namely, the use of forced labour on redistributed farms. The Minister of Justice, Patrick Chinamasa, confirmed in a report in the state daily, *The Herald* of 19 November 2004, that through the Zimbabwe Prison Service, the government has been offering 'new farmers' prisoners to work on their farms.

There can be no question that such a programme of lending out prisoners as labourers to farmers is morally repugnant in the extreme. To force prisoners to work for the personal enrichment and profit of individuals and companies amounts to sanctioning slave labour

Contempt for international standards

Rather than address unemployment, especially among dispossessed former farm labourers, the Zimbabwean government encourages the use of unpaid prisoners. The policy confirms the greed and hypocrisy of a regime that is so negligently that it will institute state-sanctioned slavery rather than pay a decent wage to farm labourers. It is a perfect example of the myopic and poorly thought-out policies that are a hallmark of this regime. It bears testimony to the contempt for international standards and norms that is typical of this government.

The International Labour Organisation (ILO), of which Zimbabwe is a member, has strict standards prohibiting such use of prison labour. The ILO Convention Against Forced Labour stipulates clearly

that authorities 'shall not impose or permit the imposition of forced or compulsory labour for the benefit of private individuals, companies or associations'. Zimbabwe ratified this treaty in 1998. By ratifying this treaty, the Zimbabwean government understood that it is immoral for private individuals to profit from labour performed by prisoners.

Short-term expediency

And yet, in defiance of its own consent to be bound by this international treaty, the Zimbabwean government has decided that short-term expediency should trump its international obligations. Answering questions before Parliament on 17 November 2004, the Minister of Justice informed parliament that his Ministry had for the time being suspended the programme 'pending a policy framework which would be used should farmers require prison labour'. At no point did the Minister explain what must be known to him, that this scheme is a violation of Zimbabwe's international obligations. On the contrary, the minister assured colleagues that the necessary framework having been put in place, the programme would be resumed. At the same parliamentary session, Zanu PF parliamentarians be-moaned the suspension of this programme in view of the urgency of the fact that the tobacco crop was soon to be harvested.

Both perpetrators and beneficiaries

And there we have the crux of the problem. The very people responsible for the implementation of Zimbabwe's international obligations in this regard are themselves beneficiaries of the violation of those obligations. The Minister of Justice, officials in his ministry and in the Attorney General's office, government ministers, several judges and parliamentarians have all benefited from the land reform programme. Is it not likely that these are the very same people benefiting from prison labour?

A trading ban to follow?

It appears to have occurred to no one that if prison labour is used in the farming of tobacco, the country's chief agricultural export, Zimbabwe's trading partners would be well within their rights to ban the

sale of such tobacco. Rather than ensuring the prosperity of the new farmers, this ill-advised scheme risks alienating Zimbabwe's tobacco and other agricultural products from the international market. When this happens one can be almost certain that the Zimbabwean government will point the blame to some western conspiracy against Zimbabwe.

What hope?

As a Zimbabwean it is painful to me to realise that human rights standards in my country have been so debased that no one questions the morality of this scheme of slave labour. The current situation in Zimbabwe is not new: the abuse of prisoners for personal gain merely illustrates the ruling elite's worldview in which the poor and the vulnerable exist only to further the interests of this elite. If the Zimbabwe government is willing to bypass international obligations that it signed up to in this cavalier manner, what hope is there that it will implement to the letter the SADC Protocol on electoral standards?

Petina Gappah is a Zimbabwean international trade lawyer who has worked for an international organisation in Geneva that assists developing countries to defend their interests before the WTO. The views expressed in this short opinion are the personal views of the author.

'The South African Council of Churches (SACC) appeals to Zimbabwe and all SADC countries to do all they can to uphold human rights of citizens to ensure stability and development on the continent. We particularly appeal to the South African government and civic society groups to do all they can to help the people of Zimbabwe in finding solutions to their problems in their hour of need.'

SACC calls for SADC to look at processes that would prevent ordinary citizens from having to flee their motherland because of human rights violations.'

Eddie Makuue deputy general secretary of the South African Council of Churches.

Significant progress but much yet to be done

Andrew Meldrum

To mark International Human Rights Day, retired Justice Richard Goldstone voices 'cautious optimism' that the international community is making progress at establishing and protecting individual rights.

Justice Richard Goldstone, formerly Justice at the Constitutional Court of South Africa, is widely recognised as a leading legal proponent of human rights. Speaking from New York where he is the William Hughes Mulligan Visiting Professor at Fordham Law School, Justice Goldstone said that while significant progress has been made in the campaign for human rights, much remains to be done. He emphasised there have been setbacks in the past two years, in the aftermath of the 9/11 attacks and the resultant 'war on terror'. He also encouraged African countries and institutions to take a stronger stance in protecting human rights across the continent.

Progress

'I am cautiously optimistic about progress in human rights,' said Justice Goldstone. 'That is because of the huge advances that have taken place in human rights in the past 60 years, really since World War II. Before that there was little recognition of individual rights whatsoever. Since then we have seen international charters on race, gender, children's rights. Individual beings are protected in the courts. They have standing in domestic, regional and international courts around the world. Whatever failings or weaknesses there are, the precedents for human rights are being established, the law is becoming stronger. We are making progress.'

UN the driving engine of human rights

Justice Goldstone praises the United Nations as 'the number one protagonist of international human rights. The principles of human rights are enshrined in the UN charter. It has been the primary driving engine of human rights.' But, he warned, the UN alone cannot uphold human rights, particularly because of the nature of the United Nations in representing governments. Experience has shown that the UN Commission on Human Rights and the General Assembly's statements and decisions on human rights abuses in various countries can be sidetracked by political manoeuvrings. 'Of course the effectiveness of the UN depends on the politics of the situation,' said Justice Goldstone.

Effectiveness of other agencies and institutions

Justice Goldstone stressed that another vitally important role in protecting human rights is played by watchdog agencies from the non-governmental sector. 'Of course the input from international NGOs like the International Bar Association, Amnesty International, Human

Rights Watch and the French organisation FIDH (La Fédération Internationale des Droits de l'Homme) are very important. One should add there are important regional institutions such as the European Union and the European Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg. The African Union and the Organisation of American States have also established commissions. All institutions have their limitations, they are not infallible. One must use all the facilities in the campaign to establish and protect human rights. One can not exclude any. The United Nations has played a very significant role and I believe will continue to do so and will improve.'

Post 9/11

Justice Goldstone acknowledged that human rights have suffered substantial setbacks in recent years. 'The reasons for my caution are the tremendous setbacks experienced since 9/11. Combating terror has been used by powerful governments to roll back some of the fundamental gains made on human rights, particularly treatment of prisoners. The war paradigm has made it easier, particularly in democracies, to violate basic human rights. This obviously includes the United States and a number of European countries.'

Situation in Zimbabwe

Turning to Africa, Justice Goldstone added his voice to those who are speaking out against documented evidence of gross and systematic state violence and torture in Zimbabwe. 'I am disappointed that there hasn't been more action and louder voices in Africa condemning the situation in Zimbabwe. It has had a seriously negative effect in Zimbabwe and in the cause of human rights across the continent. Unfortunately loud voices from the northern hemisphere, denouncing the evidence of state violence and torture in Zimbabwe, has made it seem like an anti-African campaign when in fact it should be seen as an international responsibility of all to condemn human rights violations in Zimbabwe.'

But Justice Goldstone is encouraged that some African organisations appear to be taking a stronger position on Zimbabwe. 'I am heartened that there are signs that Africa is taking a firmer stance. I am pleased that the African Commission on Human and Peoples Rights has investigated the situation in Zimbabwe and issued a substantial report that was presented to the most recent African Union summit. It is an important sign that Africa will not ignore human rights abuses.'

Justice Goldstone said it is 'not appropriate for the Zimbabwe gov-



ernment to confuse the issue by using political, racial or regional arguments' and he emphasised the importance of the courts in protecting human rights. 'When human rights are under threat in democracies, the courts are the last bastion to protect them. A good example is the US Supreme Court which recently ruled against the excesses of the Bush administration. If the independence of the courts of law is subverted then there is no protection at all,' he said.

Litigation can protect human rights

Justice Goldstone sharply rejected the arguments of some that litigation for human rights is often a waste of time. 'I couldn't disagree more strongly. In many countries it is litigation that has established basic rights and protected many. Of course not every case wins but those that do are often important steps forward in building the legal foundation for the protection of rights.'

The Justice said there have been many legal landmarks in the campaign for human rights. 'The legal cases against the former Chilean dictator, General Augusto Pinochet, for instance, have been very important, as has the trial against former Yugoslavian leader Slobodan Milosevic. Many former dictators and present dictators now find themselves having to curtail their international travels because of the threat of being arrested to face international lawsuits. The use of United States alien tort law has also been important.'

The wider African picture

Within southern Africa, Justice Goldstone said, 'the role of activist lawyers and some judges in South Africa during apartheid has been a substantial precedent. The international war crimes tribunals are playing a significant role in deterring war crimes. Without question leaders around the world are aware that they may be held accountable for their actions in the future. This is an important step forward.' He added, however, that 'the democracies of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) should be more vocal in condemning human rights in our continent.'

Andrew Meldrum is *The Guardian* Southern Africa Correspondent and Author of 'Where We Have Hope, a Memoir of Zimbabwe'

Human rights is the field where there is the greatest hiatus between words and action. Reality shows that there is a growing disparity between the globally accepted standard for the protection of basic human rights and the strident denial of those rights to a multitude of people. A large number of states ratify human rights treaties as if joining a sporting club with no real intention to apply them. Others cynically only protest about human rights scandals that take place over the fence. There is a failure of implementation on a scale that shames us all.

However, even though states have primary responsibility for action, the main responsibility falls on us, on each and every individual. We honour human rights with our lips but our hearts remain unmoved and we are distracted by the daily worries of our life, overlooking what our eyes and ears perceive. It is time that we conciliate our senses.

Ramón Mullerat OBE is Co-chair of the Human Rights Institute of the International Bar Association

On this Human Rights Day 2004 I salute those individuals in Zimbabwe who continue to fight for respect for human rights, in a country where the quest for justice has been met with untold resistance from a government which has committed itself at least on paper, to uphold these rights. The courage of these human rights defenders has touched the hearts of many throughout the world.

To those who fight on I say to you keep the lamp of liberty burning bright. Your triumph is *now* – in shaping public opinion and public postures on events in Zimbabwe. The future will take care of itself when the repressive rule of the Mugabe regime is gone.

Fali Nariman is President of the Indian Bar Association and Co-Chair of the Human Rights Institute of the International Bar Association

It is especially sad when it is the same people who were prepared to sacrifice their lives and freedom to fight racism and oppression, who now deny their own people these same human rights when they have now assumed power. It is sadder still when many in the rest of Africa regard this as acceptable. However, it is heartening for us to observe that there are many people who do care about human rights, and speak out against injustice.

Lawyers have a unique role in the campaign for human rights. They have an advantage over other human rights campaigners because they have the knowledge, the ability and the expertise to enforce human rights within the legal system. This knowledge places a special burden upon lawyers to further the quest for human rights within society.

Joseph James, President of the Law Society of Zimbabwe

The primary precondition for free and fair elections is an environment in which human rights and the rule of law are observed and protected. It is obvious that by 'free and fair elections' is meant the conditions prevailing prior to, during and immediately after the voting process.

Laws such as the Public Order and Security Act (POSA) place severe restrictions on political activity. It is inconceivable how Zimbabweans can participate in peaceful political activity intended to influence the composition and policies of their government and campaign for any cause when there is legislation in place which criminalises passive resistance and other forms of civic engagement to such an extent as to attract jail sentences of up to 20 year in certain instances.

Many of the provisions in this law are clearly inconsistent with the enjoyment of the right to freedom of association and assembly. They are both inimical to participation in peaceful political activity intended to influence the composition and policies of the government and the right to campaign for a political party or cause. Also, they are inconsistent with the right to freedom of expression. Demonstrations and public gatherings are a mode of expression or promotion of one's information, ideas and beliefs.

The absence of a political right to free and fair elections in Zimbabwe is rendered more serious by the fact that although the law proscribes corrupt practices such as treating, undue influence, bribery and other illegal practices, the remedy of petitioning the High Court was shown to be ineffective in that election petitions filed with the courts following the 2000 elections. These still await final determination.

Sternford Moyo, Former President of the Law Society of Zimbabwe and Vice-President of SADC Law Association

Freedom of expression and the 2005 parliamentary elections

A free and fair election will be impossible next year if the current political climate is allowed to persist. All manner of Zimbabweans' fundamental human rights have been so badly eroded that most of their civil and political liberties exist only in the most vestigial form.

The greatest casualty of all has been Zimbabweans' constitutionally guaranteed right to freedom of expression and its subsidiary rights to receive and impart information without hindrance. The country's independent media have borne the brunt of this sustained onslaught to silence criticism of the government, while the national public media have been hijacked by the ruling party to disseminate a relentless tidal wave of propaganda portraying a favourable image of government's policies and performance, and to malign the political opposition and those individuals and organisations that have publicly objected to government's abuse of power.

Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act

The main instrument used to gag free expression in the country is the Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act (AIPPA), which essentially turns the business of gathering and disseminating news – the practice of journalism – into a privilege, which is itself controlled under the Act by excessively restrictive clauses that carry heavy criminal penalties. This anti-democratic law has been used to close down the country's most popular daily newspaper *The Daily News*, for what amounts to the petty administrative offence of failing to register with a government-appointed media and information commission. Its sister Sunday paper suffered the same fate, and another weekly newspaper, *The Tribune*, was also ordered to close earlier this year for similarly trivial reasons. The authorities have also used this law, among

others, to arrest and harass scores of journalists with the clear intention of discouraging them from investigating and reporting on the excesses of government.

Broadcasting Services Act

There are other, equally restrictive laws that also affect freedom of expression and the operations of the media. For example, the Broadcasting Services Act (BSA) ostensibly allows for other broadcasting entities, but contains so many restrictive clauses that it is virtually impossible for private investors to establish independent broadcasting companies. Four years after that ruling Zimbabwe Broadcasting Holdings still enjoys a defacto monopoly of the airwaves which the governing party has ruthlessly exploited to malign the political opposition and its critics, particularly at election time. And although the broadcasting authority of Zimbabwe has recently invited applications for more broadcasters, there are no illusions that government is about to grant equitable access to the airwaves.

Public Order and Security Act

The Public Order and Security Act, primarily intended to restrict Zimbabweans' freedom of assembly and association, also provides severe sentences for those ridiculing the presidency and the uniformed forces. And now a new law makes provision for a jail term of up to 20 years for simply 'communicating' certain falsehoods.

Criminal Law (Codification and Reform) Bill

The Criminal Law (Codification and Reform) Bill makes it a criminal offence to communicate 'to any other person a statement which is wholly or materially false with the intention, or realising that there is a real risk, of inciting or promoting public disorder or pub-

lic violence or endangering public safety or adversely affecting the defence and economic interests of Zimbabwe, or undermining public confidence in a law enforcement agency, the Prison Service or the Defence Forces of Zimbabwe; or interfering with, disrupting or interrupting any essential service'. Another clause also makes it an offence for any citizen, either in Zimbabwe or outside the country, to make an 'abusive, indecent or obscene statement' about the presidency, even if it is true. This frighteningly Draconian piece of legislation is certain to silence potential sources of information who will be terrified of falling foul of the law by 'communicating' information that cannot be substantiated.

Government activity unchallenged

Faced with such viciously repressive instruments, the independent media have no chance of fulfilling their role as watchdogs of government activity. Nor will they be able to report on the partisan activities of the police force and other security agencies, which continue to persecute the political opposition and critics of government. Worse still, independent media workers continue to be subjected to illegal intimidation and harassment by ruling party supporters and other shadowy quasi-government agencies.

For example, large parts of the country were closed to the distribution of independent newspapers in the countdown to the 2002 presidential election and the parliamentary election before that. This remains the case today. Thousands of copies of newspapers were destroyed, and vendors and readers alike were attacked and terrorised. In one instance a reader was even killed allegedly because he possessed a copy of *The Daily News*.

Such incidents clearly illustrate the vulnerability of the private media and the power of the govern-



ment's propaganda machine, which continues to spew hate messages that dehumanise members of the opposition, journalists and many other members of civic society who are brave enough to publicly criticise government.

These conditions make a mockery of the international covenants Zimbabwe has signed – including the SADC election principles and guidelines – guaranteeing and promoting freedom of expression, media diversity and access to infor-

mation. Unless all these repressive laws are repealed and the violence against the media – and the people of Zimbabwe – is brought to an end well before Election Day, there cannot be any hope for a free and fair election in 2005.

This article was written by a Zimbabwean journalist who wishes to remain anonymous as he was denied accreditation by Zimbabwe's Media and Information Commission. He travels to South Africa regularly in search of freelance assignments.

International Bar Association Human Rights Institute

The IBA believes absolutely in the fundamental right of the world's citizens to have disputes heard and determined by an independent judiciary, and for judges and lawyers to practise freely and without interference.

In 1995, the IBA established the Human Rights Institute (HRI) under the Honorary Presidency of Nelson Mandela. The HRI is now a leading voice in the promotion of the rule of law worldwide.

The HRI undertakes:

- fact-finding missions leading to long-term technical assistance programmes;
- develops capacity building programmes to assist Bar Associations and Law Societies;
- sends trial observers to monitor the extent to which trials adhere to regional and international fair trial standards;
- organises human rights training for lawyers and judges;
- liaises closely with international and regional human rights organisations;
- produces Newsletters and other publications.

HRI focus on Southern Africa

The HRI currently has capacity building and advocacy projects in several southern African countries, including Malawi, Mozambique, South Africa, Swaziland and Zimbabwe.

Details of all HRI's work, including press releases relating to Southern African countries, and copies of reports from HRI fact-finding missions to Angola, Swaziland and Zimbabwe can be found at www.ibanet.org/humanrights/hri_home.cfm

To receive the IBA's innovative electronic news diary delivering a succinct weekly wrap-up of important and topical African rule of law developments visit:

www.ibanet.org/humanrights/Legalbrief_africa.cfm

The HRI is grateful to the Open Society Initiative for Southern Africa for its generous support of HRI projects in Southern Africa.

View from the Frontline

The Daily News, launched in 1999, had played a remarkable role in the constitutional referendum and the parliamentary elections in 2000. It was common knowledge that Zanu PF, which lost the referendum and 57 seats in the elections had blamed its misfortunes on the newspaper. What the newspaper had done was the equivalent of levelling the electoral playing field in the communications stakes. Its competitor was the government-owned Herald newspaper. The unfortunate coincidence was that the newspaper gave wide coverage to the campaigns of the anti-Zanu PF constitutional proposals and the nine-month-old Movement for Democratic Change (MDC).

Zanu PF appreciated what a difference *The Daily News* had made to the outcome of the both the referendum and the election. The

introduction of the Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act in 2002 was thus not entirely unrelated to the perceived crucial role of the paper in influencing people's political views in such matters of good governance as parliamentary elections.

If the next parliamentary elections in March next year are held without the publication of a newspaper with the same wide circulation and national clout as *The Daily News*, it may not be entirely possible to conceive of a level electoral playing field. A free press during an election goes to the very heart of the people's right to choose who should represent them in Parliament. The Southern Africa Development Community (SADC) protocols hammered out in Mauritius as guidelines for the future conduct of elections in member-countries are by no means ambiguous on this

score: all political parties must have equal access to all the media. Although the government in Zimbabwe has recently announced it would abide by this provision in the SADC guidelines, there have been extraordinary 'riders': the government would not allow parties to undermine the sovereignty of the government or the country. But who determines what constitutes this offence, in legal terms?

Since 1980, no election has been held in Zimbabwe in which the playing field was entirely level. It is unrealistic in the extreme to believe that free and fair elections can be held in Zimbabwe in 2005, even without *The Daily News* and *The Daily News on Sunday*.

Bill Saidi Editor, *The Daily News on Sunday*

A long walk to freedom for WOZA

Jenni Williams



Broken...this woman is one of many victims of organised political violence in Zimbabwe

My name is Jenni Williams, although some people call me MaMoyo. I am the mother of three children, a daughter and two sons. They have all grown up and left home and I am looking forward to being a grandmother although I am at present very busy with another 'child' that was pushed out into the world. My children were born in an independent Zimbabwe but as they grew to adulthood, I could not continue to say that they were born free. I could not see a promising future for them and had to allow them to seek greener pastures abroad.

WOZA formed

In 2002, I decided to participate in creating a better future for my children; this led to the formation of Women of Zimbabwe Arise, using the acronym WOZA that means 'come forward'. I look upon WOZA as my fourth child. WOZA does not represent a revolution to us. Rather, through WOZA we are fighting an EVEolution. We have just outgrown being suppressed by this regime.

The NGO Bill

This year the regime introduced a proposed new Bill, dubbed the Non-Governmental Organisations Bill (NGOs) Bill. Although WOZA is registered as a trust, this Bill, if it

becomes law, will effectively render an organisation such as WOZA illegal. And as we speak out about the suffering of women and their families, we are regarded as an 'enemy', so, with a state-appointed and ruling party partisan Council we are unlikely to be registered. In this Bill the state seeks to ban all foreign funding for 'issues of governance'. The definition of 'governance' is so broadly defined as to include any matter in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the civil rights in the African Charter on Human and People's Rights.

WOZA affairs are managed by a group of women's rights activists called Mother WOZA. So the mothers got together and decided to defend the life and very existence of WOZA. We were already angered by unjust laws such as the Public Order and Security Act (POSA) and Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act (AIPPA), which attempt to take away our basic human right to assemble and express ourselves.

Sadness and anger

We are saddened at the daily deaths of family, friends and neighbours to HIV/Aids and the faces of the hungry orphans left behind bring tears to our eyes. There are now over one million HIV/Aids orphans in Zimbabwe and many WOZA

women try to help them survive. Many grandmothers are members of WOZA; some are the 'widows and mothers of the disappeared', husbands and children who fell victim to the Gukurahundi massacres of the Ndebele in the early 1980s. Many of them were silent then, but now they urge us to speak out. They received no compensation.

We are already angry at the shortage of food and the high prices that mean we cannot afford to feed our children and orphans without the monthly food rations of maize meal, cooking oil and other items received from NGOs. The NGOs who provide food in Matabeleland manage to do so in defiance of state attempts to take over food handouts and ensure only those with a ZANU PF party card get fed. If the NGO Bill closes them, we are heading for another Gukurahundi.

A decision taken

And so we decided to walk to Harare in protest! We think police officers thought us crazy and did not think we would manage 50km. In fact we lost ten women on the first night. They did not make it to camp, they took a wrong turn. Instead of giving up and going home they just kept walking along the Harare road until they got to Heany Junction about 30 km out of Bulawayo. No blankets, no water,

no food, they just slept by the roadside to wait for us to catch up with them which we did the next day. We adopted a special saying for the Walk – 'Uthinte Umfazi Uthinte Imbokodo' (Zulu): 'You strike a woman and you have struck a rock'. They made this saying true for us that first night and set the stage for a determined campaign.

Arrested

Some police officers must have thought that a 440km walk would work off a lot of steam and tame the women of WOZA so they advised letting us walk on! This guess probably held sway as we made it 380km before the 48 walkers were arrested, less two of us who had gone to Norton for supplies. Later they managed to nab Siphwe who had gone to feed colleagues in custody, leaving myself at large to complete the 440km Protest Walk. My colleagues in Chegutu were released without charges three days later. The main evidence police officers tried to pin their case on was that our banner was political. The magistrate insisted on the banner being read out and then apparently shaking his head dismissed the charges. The banner reads 'Women of Zimbabwe Arise' – WOZA. There is the logo of WOZA and the LOVE hand sign showing the slogan 'Choose Love Over Hate. Defending Women's Rights. Sokwanele – Enough is Enough – Zvakwana'.

On my own

I am sure many people saw the photo of my solo walk of the last 40 km. I look at myself in that picture and re-experience the internal conflict I went through that night. My mother would probably look at the picture and understand her troubled daughter. I sat in the car in darkness thinking about the journey and about how far we had travelled. Eventually I decided that completing the walk, alone or not, was the best way for WOZA to win. A pastor friend agreed to drive behind me and to be with me and so the decision was made and WOZA completed what it set out to do – a 440 km protest walk to Africa Unity Square in Harare.

Fellow travellers

There has been much debate about who was not there when WOZA arrived in Harare. I wish to focus on the brave women of WOZA who joined me along the way, including Trish Tafadzwa, a four-month-old baby girl with her mother Enia. Ellah, Fungai and Tambudzai joined at Kuwadzana with physiotherapist volunteer Caroline. Filda, Janet and Mary joined near the show grounds. We sang loudly and chanted our WOZA MOYA (Come

Holy Spirit) slogan to any and all who passed by, pedestrian or motorist, some chanted it back. We had a great time.

Opposite the ZANU PF offices, Stella Monda, a HIV/Aids activist and member of the WOZA mobilising team, joined us. We stopped to talk to her. Ellah had whispered to me that Stella was not well at present but had said she wanted to come and walk refusing to allow her daughter to represent her. Stella has earned great respect from myself and WOZA women for the confidence with which she lived 'positively'. Sadly Stella could only walk half a city block before apologising and asking us to continue on without her. News of her passing away reached us after we came out of custody. We still mourn her but recognise that her determination to walk with us was a lesson we must not forget.

March on Parliament

My Chegutu colleagues, including Siphwe and me, were finally reunited upon my release from custody. We had a meeting to discuss our next move. NGO leaders were intending to go into the Public gallery, as a form of 'protest' and the worry was if WOZA were outside in the street, the leaders in the gallery could also get arrested. There was even a 'concern' that we may not have legal cover if re-arrested at Parliament. All was debated transparently and the decision to continue arrived at democratically. We would march in total silence to Parliament and attempt to hand over our petition to the Speaker of the House. We did make it to Parliament, 49 of us got arrested and charged under the Public Order and Security Act (POSA) Section 24, but all of us made free bail.

A long walk to faith

Activist friends and journalists had dubbed the Walk 'the Long Walk to Freedom'. I could never concur with this description. To some people I said it was most probably a 'long walk to jail'. I have already been arrested 14 times before the two arrests related to the Walk. We have held a secret post-mortem meeting (secret because we would be arrested if discovered by the police) and I am finally able to tell you all what this was a long walk to. It was a 'long walk of faith' – FAITH in each other and in our EVEolution. This baby girl WOZA has taken her first steps and has learnt to RUN, she went into the bush and learnt how to survive there. She will adapt, NGO Bill or not because we have FAITH in her, it is she who will lead us to FREEDOM.