



## Zimbabwe after Mugabe: When will Zimbabwe rise from the Mugabe Ruins?

Presentation  
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*Zimbabwe's ruined industrial sector  
Photo credit: The Zimbabwe Standard*

I am going to talk tonight about **“Steps on the Road”** and at the end of it my elder son, Josh, will read a poem I wrote called “One Step” about our fundraising ascent together of Mount Aconcagua (the highest mountain outside the Himalayas) - one step at a time, just before Christmas last year.

Tonight we are talking about the building of a new nation. It takes many steps. For 37 years, we have seen the destruction of a country that formerly had the highest GDP per capita in Africa; the best education and health services in Africa and was the second most industrialised country in sub-Saharan Africa, with the highest yields of various agricultural crops per hectare in the world. It is important to say that this was achieved *without* the world pouring in billions of dollars of aid. This was achieved with *no* aid!

Back in 2000 after President Mugabe lost a crucial referendum that would have further entrenched his power – the event that triggered the farm invasions - his Principal Director of Land and Rural Resettlement, Dr Vincent Hungwe, told a very good friend of mine, a leading commercial farmer: “We will now take every brick off every brick and rebuild the country *our way*.”

A couple of weeks ago, I went out with a Chinese film crew to Mount Carmel farm, which my late father-in-law, Mike Campbell built up over the years into a very productive and progressive agricultural enterprise.



*The home we built on Mount Carmel farm was transformed into a raging inferno on 30 August 2009*



*The smouldering ruins of our home*

I was appalled to see that almost all of the walls of our house have now been taken down. Every brick is being taken off every brick, and the bricks are being sold as I speak here in London tonight.



*Contemplating the ruins of our beautiful farmhouse in August 2012*

We have been trying to make a contribution to the steps that need to be taken to build a nation.

When we built our house we put more bricks in the foundations than we did into all of the walls.

### **Steps to build firm foundations for a new Zimbabwe from the ashes**

Tonight I am going to list steps that we have been taking to try to build firm foundations in our country in a time when so many steps have also been taken to destroy it. We need help in getting Zimbabwe onto the right foundations - but that is the only aid we need.

Around 3,000 years ago, David, the great king of the superpower of the day, wrote: "Justice and Righteousness are the foundations of your throne."

A house that has the foundations of justice and righteousness undermined is a house that will fall.



During President Mugabe's 37-year rule we saw those foundations undermined. It has been a very sad time to live through. Today the factories are echoing shells; the farms are wastelands and ruin, with thorn trees growing where world record-yielding crops once grew; and the hospitals are places where people go to die.

How will that change? What do we stand for as the Mike Campbell Foundation? What steps are we taking to establish those foundational elements of justice and righteousness in Zimbabwe?

With the destruction of Property Rights by the Mugabe regime, we have a situation rather like the king had with Humpty Dumpty. The egg is broken. It's scrambled. The country has more than 90% unemployment, ruined farms and hunger in the land. How can the king and his men put Humpty Dumpty back together again? How can the egg be unscrambled?

We have to go back to foundations. Justice - with truth - has to be at the foundation.

Ayn Rand, the Russian-American novelist and philosopher who saw property rights and the rule of law destroyed in Russia - and the starvation of millions of people that resulted, wrote: "The right to life is the source of all rights - and the right to property their only implementation. Without property rights, no other rights are possible. Since man has to sustain his life by his own effort, the man who has no right to the product of his own effort has no means to sustain his life. The man who produces while others dispose of his product is a slave." We have seen that in our country.

### **Building a foundation of justice**

I wish to go through some of the steps we are taking to help shore up the foundation of justice.

1. Mike Campbell took the step - when everyone was fearful and without hope - to go to the Southern African Development Community's human rights court, the SADC Tribunal, when the justice system failed us in Zimbabwe. The Tribunal's final and binding Judgment held that the farm invasions were illegal and racist, and that fair compensation should be paid to Mike and the 77 other dispossessed commercial farmers who joined the case.

The Campbell Judgment was foundational. We have been building on that foundation and will continue to build on it. Mike Campbell, my father-in-law, died as a result of that. We formed the Mike Campbell Foundation to build on the Campbell Judgment. That was a massive step.

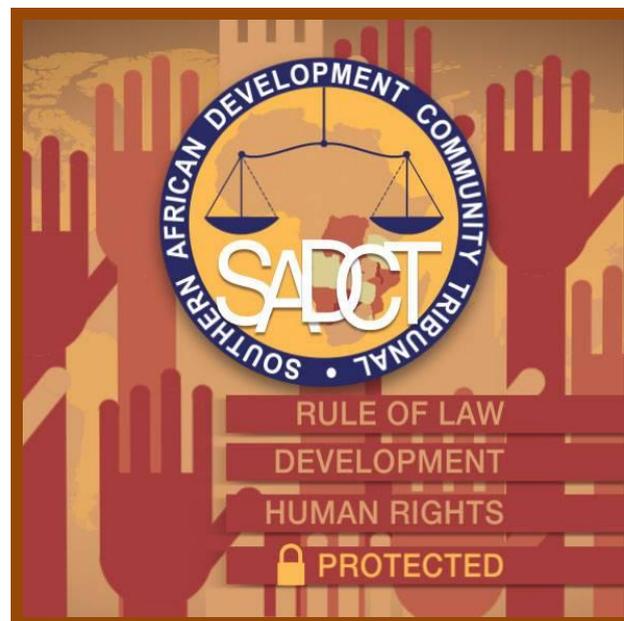
With that step an amazing documentary film was made by a British team, "Mugabe and the White African". I have written and had published two books<sup>1</sup> and have spoken to the world press and almost all the major TV and radio stations. These are important steps on the road.



<http://www.mugabeandthewhiteafrican.com/> Length: 1.40 minutes  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nTXbuW5mGHU> Length: 1.39 minutes

2. We managed to get the Zimbabwe Government held in contempt of the Campbell case Judgment. That was another step.
3. We registered the Campbell Judgment in South Africa - arguing in the High Court; Supreme Court of Appeal and the Constitutional Court. These were more significant steps.
4. Through the South African courts, we were granted permission to attach and sell a house belonging to the Zimbabwe Government in Cape Town to offset the SADC Tribunal's costs order granted to us against the Zimbabwe Government. This was a powerful demonstration to the Zimbabwe Government that a Judgment is more than a piece of paper. It was the first time a human rights judgment had been used in this way in Africa. It was a great step!
5. Thereafter we lodged a case with the Tribunal to set the parameters for full and fair compensation on the strength of the Campbell Judgment. This was another step.
6. Under Mugabe's chairmanship of the Southern African Development Community (SADC), the SADC Tribunal was suspended in 2011 and then unilaterally closed down by the SADC Heads of State in 2012. Consequently, the 277 million people of southern Africa have been denied access to a regional court. This was at Mugabe's instigation because numerous Judgments were going against him and his government - and unlike his own courts it was a court he could not control. When he blocked the finances to keep the Tribunal operational, we approached the African Commission on Human and People's Rights in The Gambia because Mugabe had destroyed the last recourse to justice. Regrettably Mugabe became the Chairman of the African Union and we were foiled again - but nevertheless it was a step.

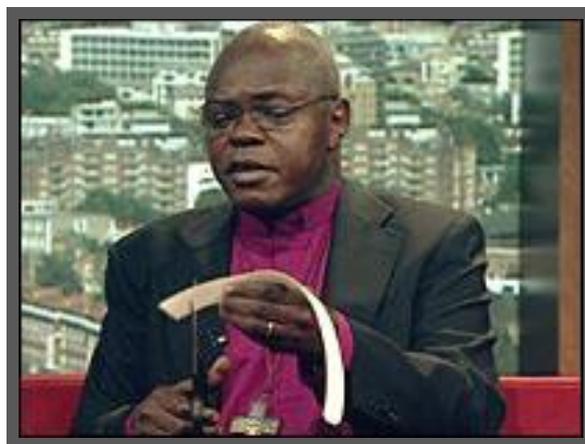
The Judge President of the SADC Tribunal, in our Final Hearing shortly after our abduction and torture in June 2008, famously said: "We are building a house of Justice in the region." This was a step - but we were blocked from continuing up that path at that point.



7. As part of a regional campaign to Save the SADC Tribunal, we made a film narrated by Archbishop Emeritus Desmond Tutu to increase the momentum for the "house of justice" - the highly respected SADC Tribunal - to be restored. This was another step.

8. We have put together a comprehensive case for Crimes against Humanity on those farms protected by the final and binding judgment of the SADC Tribunal. This was a step to create accountability. We continue to document stories of the injustices that have taken place.
9. Together with the Law Society of South Africa, we took (former) President Jacob Zuma to Court for his role in closing down the SADC Tribunal - and had our hearing on 5 February this year. The Judgment on 1 March found that Mr Zuma had acted unlawfully; irrationally and thus unconstitutionally. This was an important step forward in getting SADC's house of justice re-established for all victims of injustice throughout southern Africa.
10. We served papers on President Mugabe shortly before he was deposed to get an international arbitration case underway for two dispossessed Zimbabwean commercial farmers. This is also an important step on a critical path.
11. We have spoken before the U.S. House Committee on Foreign Affairs: Sub-Committee on Africa on two occasions. After my second presentation on 28 February this year, they agreed to tie future financial support to the return of the rule of law - which includes adherence to the Campbell Judgment. This is an exciting step.
12. We are working closely with brave people in the church to get justice discussed and worked towards, and have taken part in the first prayer marches in the country for nearly two decades. These have been wonderful steps.
13. We are working with the poorest of the poor – mainly destitute farm workers - to give them hope by teaching them to farm with conservation agriculture (no till) principles with zero dollars. These are steps of hope.
14. We have seen our patron, Archbishop Dr John Sentamu, the Archbishop of York, wearing a new dog collar after he famously cut up his dog collar on the BBC's Andrew Marr show in December 2007. He said he would not replace it until President Mugabe was no longer in office.

This is a major step of hope. Under Mugabe there was no chance of any real changes. If Mugabe and his wife, Grace, had been allowed to continue their brutal reign, the downward trajectory would also have continued.



*Archbishop Dr John Sentamu cut up his dog collar on 9 December 2007: He said Mr Mugabe had "taken people's identity" and "cut it to pieces"*

## The first 100 days under President Mnangagwa

We have had 100 days of the new President. Where is the country going?

Will the rule of law be brought back as President Mnangagwa says it will? If so, this means that Zimbabwe can no longer remain in contempt of court and must adhere to the SADC Tribunal Judgment.

Most pressingly right now, will it be possible for a free and fair election to take place?

Cosmetic events and actions are taking place. For example, I was delighted to go out to Rob and Darryn Smart's farm a few weeks ago and see them back on their land. Their farm was taken over brutally by a bishop of the church, devastating their lives and those of their workers.



*Darryn Smart (left) and Rob Smart are welcomed back to their Lesbury farm by their delighted workers on 23 December 2017*

They do not, however, have a piece of paper yet giving them legal authority to go back. The reality is that we still live in a dictatorship. We have rule *by* law, not rule *of* law. And there is an enormous difference. One brings tyranny, the other brings freedom.

I am very relieved that various farmers who were under intense pressure to leave their farms have had that pressure relaxed - for the time being. These are mostly farmers being pressured by Grace Mugabe's "G40" (younger generation) faction though and the G40 faction is itself now under siege, having fallen out with Mnangagwa's "Lacoste" (the symbol of the crocodile) faction.

I am also delighted that poor people who were eking out a subsistence existence on one of the former commercial farms taken over by Grace Mugabe, and who were brutally evicted by police in 2015 under her orders, have won their court case. Remarkably, the court ordered Home Affairs Minister Obert Mpfu and Police Commissioner-General Godwin Matanga to pay more than \$30 000 as compensation.

## Questions surrounding the crucial 2018 elections

But what of elections? According to the constitution, the next elections must be held within the 30-day period 23 July 2018 to 21 August 2018.

Mnangagwa has disturbingly said recently in an interview with the Economist magazine (1 March 2018) that the elections of 2008 were free and fair. “It was fair, very fair. Where is the evidence for violence? Not a single case was taken to the police,” he claimed.

This makes me very angry as the appalling brutality in the Presidential run-off election has been very widely documented and there is graphic photographic evidence! Those who try to make themselves believe that the rule of law will return – and that justice and righteousness are being established - need to wake up to the reality of such falsehoods coming from the President. As leader of the Joint Operations Command (JOC), he knows full well what went on during the 2008 elections.

When I think of those elections, I tremble. I experienced the fear. I saw the violence. I documented report after report of severe human rights abuses. I saw the state of our workers after the pungwes (brutal all-night indoctrination sessions). I lay in hospital with other victims. I felt their pain with my own. I saw the pictures. It was brutal. The torture was horrific.<sup>ii</sup>

We live under a system that has ruled by the fear of violence for so long.

## Hope for the future

I have to say though, despite this, that I am hopeful for the future. Morgan Tsvangirai, the former leader of the opposition MDC party, died during February and this is very sad for the country as he was an exceptionally brave man who successfully established an opposition to the one-party personal rule of Mugabe. Although the opposition was fractured, I am very hopeful that Nelson Chamisa, who has taken over leadership of the party, will take things forward.

We must all draw hope from the fact that steps have been taken along the road. People are rising. Courage is growing. The rule of law will be re-established. I sincerely believe this - even if it isn't happening yet. People are uniting.



*People cheer a Zimbabwe Defence Force military vehicle during a demonstration on 18 November 2017 demanding the resignation of Robert Mugabe – Photo Jekesai Njikizana/AFP*



*Zimbabweans came out en-masse on Saturday 18 November 2017 to publicly declare they did not want ousted leader, Robert Mugabe as their leader any longer. Photo AP*

The momentous November step of throwing off the shackles will evolve to the next step. The spell that Mugabe had cast over the nation was broken in November last year when the lid came off and for the first time ever we all marched to call for his immediate resignation.

Foundations are being built. The future is before us. We have to be honest: we fear what it could bring. But we also know that the only thing stronger than that fear is hope, coupled with faith, and completed by love. We fear but we also dare to have hope. We fear, but our faith is stronger than the fear. We fear, but we know that the love that is perfect, the love that is from our God, is able to cast out fear.

Thank you for your support. Thank you for your prayers. Thank you for being here tonight. Let's keep taking steps to build the foundations right. Let's keep going!

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<sup>i</sup> *Mugabe and the White African*, published by Lion Hudson (UK) and Zebra Press (South Africa), and *When Governments Stumble – Lessons from Zimbabwe's Past, Hope in Africa's Future*, published by Lion Hudson

<sup>ii</sup> Retired South African army generals sent by former President Thabo Mbeki to investigate post-election violence in Zimbabwe in 2008 uncovered "shocking levels" of state-sponsored terror, sources close to them said. "The continued violence makes any chance of a peaceful runoff election "almost impossible", they said. Senior members of the investigating team said their findings were "alarming" and that most of the violence was state sponsored, although the opposition had also retaliated.

**[PTO for further information]**

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"What we have heard and seen is shocking. We have heard horrific stories of extreme brutality and seen the victims," said one of the generals. "We have seen people with scars, cuts, gashes, bruises, lacerations and broken limbs, and bodies of those killed. It's a horrifying picture."

Ref: "Zimbabwe violence 'shocks' SA generals." Business Day (SA) by Dumisani Muleya, 15 May 2008

**Further reading on the 2008 election violence:**

"Punishing Dissent, Silencing Citizens: The Zimbabwe 2008 Elections", a 60-page report with photographs published by the Solidarity Peace Trust, 21 May 2008: [http://www.solidaritypeacetrust.org/download/report-files/punish\\_and\\_silence.pdf](http://www.solidaritypeacetrust.org/download/report-files/punish_and_silence.pdf)

**Documentary film on the 2008 election violence:**

A documentary film looking at Zimbabwe's post election violence of 2008. A Violent Response was nominated for the Rory Peck Award in the UK(2010) and for the BANFF Documentary Film Award in Canada(2010). Shot, directed and produced by award winning Zimbabwean Film Maker and Television Journalist Hopewell Rugoho-Chin'ono, it is the definitive film on the events of what happened during Zimbabwe's violent election. Hopewell spoke to people on both sides of the political divide. Some of the footage was shot undercover.

Hopewell was the Africa Journalist of the year in 2008, Henry Kaiser Foundation award for HIV & Aids Reporting in Africa, 2008 Archbishop Desmond Tutu Leadership award winner, he also won the 2009 USAID Communication Award. He was nominated for a Rory Peck award in 2010 and a BANFF World Documentary award in Canada. Fearless a film he Co-Produced was nominated for The 2014 One Media Awards. Contact Hopewell on [hopewell2@post.harvard.edu](mailto:hopewell2@post.harvard.edu)

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YEdPQcQFqU&feature=youtu.be>