
CONTENTS

List of Contributors	11
FOREWORDS	15
1. Long live our freedom! Robert Mugabe	17
2. On tyranny A.C. Grayling	20
INTRODUCTION	23
Mark Ashurst and Gugulethu Moyo	
1. THE HOME FRONT	
Will ZANU-PF survive?	39
Ibbo Mandaza <i>An assessment of the prospects for ZANU-PF.</i>	
The Mugabe way	46
Jonathan Moyo, <i>Mail & Guardian, April 2007</i>	
Back to the future	47
Stephen Chan <i>The great nationalist project has eroded hard-won sovereignty.</i>	
There is still time for Mugabe...but not much!	52
Morgan Tsvangirai, <i>Washington Times, May 2007</i>	
Lessons in violence	53
Brian Raftopoulos <i>Both parties are divided and only regional mediation can deter conflict.</i>	
A new ZANU-PF is not enough	57
<i>Statement by Arthur Mutambara, June 2007</i>	
A credible opposition?	58
Joram Nyathi <i>The MDC has failed to articulate an alternative vision of democracy.</i>	
Calling in the generals	62
Martin Rupiya <i>Soldiers have gained influence and patronage, but they cannot solve the crisis.</i>	

A bad case of writer's block Brian Chikwava, <i>Mail & Guardian</i> , May 2007	68
2. ECONOMY AND LAND	
The War on Prices Nothando Ndebele <i>How to restore confidence after the ravages of hyperinflation.</i>	71
Then and now Sam Moyo, <i>Mail & Guardian</i> , April 2007	76
How many farms is enough? Phillan Zamchiya <i>Land restitution must not ignore the imperative of social justice.</i>	78
No quick fix Eric Bloch, <i>Mail & Guardian</i> , May 2007	82
"We are printing money to build roads and dams" Gideon Gono <i>An interview with the Reserve Bank governor by Baffour Ankomah</i>	84
Neighbourly advice <i>Excerpt from text agreed at the SADC summit, August 2007</i>	90
Did the farmers deserve it? Diana Mitchell <i>Liberals mistrusted the pact between African nationalists and white farmers.</i>	91
Kith and kin Thabo Mbeki, <i>ANC Today</i> , December 2003	94
Zimbabwe's golden leaf Aoiffe O'Brien <i>The tobacco crop can still drive an agricultural recovery.</i>	95
Beware foreign aid Beacon Mbiba <i>Zimbabwe needs donors, but policy-makers should be wary of foreign "help".</i>	101
Farms in Zimbabwe may be confiscated <i>Article from the New York Times, November 1980</i>	104

3. AN AFRICAN DILEMMA

- Taking Africa's name in vain** 109
 Tawanda Mutasah
The high standards of the continent's new institutions are in jeopardy.
- The upside-down view of Africa** 116
 Thabo Mbeki, *ANC Today*, December 2003
- The blame game** 117
 Peter Kagwanja
The international community should keep faith with the SADC mediation.
- The ABC of fair elections** 123
 Muna Ndulo
Sending observers is only the last step in a complex process.
- The Old Bogey** 127
 Ronald Suresh Roberts,
Excerpt from Fit to Govern: The native intelligence of Thabo Mbeki.
- Between an ostrich and a flamingo** 128
 Adam Kahane
Zimbabwe needs frank discussions, just like apartheid South Africa.
- Tempers flare over recovery plan** 130
 Thabo Mbeki, *ANC Today*, and Dumisani Muleya,
Business Day, August-September 2007
- Rough justice** 132
 Mark Ashurst
On the Mozambican border, a glimpse of history repeating.

4. ZIMBABWE AND THE WORLD

- British policies have not helped Zimbabwe – yet** 139
 Richard Dowden
By ignoring past betrayals, British ministers played into Mugabe's hands.
- British heartened by Rhodesia voting** 143
Article from the New York Times, March 1980

Small fish in a Chinese sea	144
Lindsey Hilsum <i>From a position of weakness, Harare should adopt a tough stance with Beijing.</i>	
Dizzy worms and other disasters	150
Michael Holman <i>The dubious precedents for outside intervention in Africa's crises.</i>	
Not being Nelson Mandela	157
Robert I. Rotberg, <i>Mail & Guardian, April 2007</i>	
Sleights of hand at Lancaster House	158
Shridath "Sonny" Ramphal <i>An interview with the former secretary-general of the Commonwealth</i>	
"We have now obtained assurances"	164
<i>Excerpt from statement by the Patriotic Front on promises made at Lancaster House, October 1979.</i>	
Grasping the nettle	165
Derek Ingram <i>The Commonwealth should strive to regain lost influence.</i>	
A broadly held view?	170
Thabo Mbeki, <i>ANC Today, December 2003</i>	
5. TRANSITION	
Process matters as much as substance	173
Gugulethu Moyo <i>A new constitution needs public consent.</i>	
A record of history	177
<i>An interview with Richard Goldstone, chief prosecutor of the International Criminal Court by Nicole Fritz, Mail & Guardian, May 2007</i>	
The price of truth	178
George Bizos <i>An interview with Nelson Mandela's defence lawyer, by Gugulethu Moyo.</i>	
Beating the watchdog	182
Bill Saidi, <i>Mail & Guardian, May 2007</i>	

In a rough neighbourhood	183
Geoff Hill	
<i>Policy-makers in Zimbabwe can learn from Rwanda and Somaliland.</i>	
A media worth the trouble	186
Tawana Kupe, <i>www.mg.co.za/newzimbabwe</i>	
After the plunder	188
Hennie van Vuuren and Charles Goredema	
<i>The first hundred days are vital to the recovery of stolen assets.</i>	
No refuge for Mugabe	193
Interview with Mark Ellis, chief executive of the International Bar Association by Gugulethu Moyo, <i>Mail & Guardian</i> , May 2007	
The road to free and fair elections	194
Welshman Ncube	
<i>New laws and revamped institutions are needed to prepare the ground.</i>	
New rights for women	198
Fareda Banda, <i>www.mg.co.za/newzimbabwe</i>	
Varieties of justice	199
Priscilla Hayner	
<i>There are many recent precedents for reconciliation.</i>	
AN INVITATION TO THE GOVERNMENT OF ZIMBABWE	207
A letter to President Robert Mugabe.	209
NOTES & REFERENCES	211