

Hard truths and soft solutions: the aid industry's approach to the emergency in Zimbabwe

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Abstract

High-profile relief operations have become the lifeblood of the international aid industry. On the back of mass appeals – fronted by wide-eyed, starving children – aid agencies rally attention and gather funds and roll in food-filled trucks to where the hungry people wait. Again and again we feel that we have made a difference, that the rich world has fulfilled its obligation to the poor, and that the rescue missions have been accomplished. But, in reality, no humanitarian emergency is ever quite so simple in its machinations or its solutions. This paper looks at how the aid industry portrays and responds to emergencies, how it interprets and presents people’s lives and needs, and how it devises relief operations that too often fail to address the real and difficult causes. In 2002, aid agencies poured into Zimbabwe to avert a famine triggered by bad weather. But the weather was not the issue, many of those who got food did not need it (any more than usual), and the real needs were not addressed.

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“Why help grow trees if the forest is consumed by fire?”

Question posed by a project worker in Rajasthan, India
(D. Goulet, *Development Ethics: a Guide to Theory and Practice*. London: Zed Press, 1995)

“Every nation must solve its own problems, but we can help them over the worst.”

US Senator Robert Taft, 1945
(M. Edwards, *Future Positive: International Co-operation in the 21st Century*. London: Earthscan Publications, 1999)

Chapter 1

Introduction

In mid-2002 a massive international relief operation designed to avert a famine across southern Africa was set in motion. Up to 14 million people, roughly half of them Zimbabwean, were seen to be in imminent danger of starvation following an extended period of drought. Two years on, only a handful of hunger-related deaths have been reported and the rains have returned. On the surface, this is a victory for the aid industry and a great mercy for its beneficiaries. But look a little deeper, and take the case of Zimbabwe in particular, and it seems there is scant cause for celebration. To start with, no credible evidence exists to show that a significant number of Zimbabweans was so severely malnourished as to warrant urgent food aid (Darcy *et al.*, 2003; Itano, 2003). The handouts, together with some long-awaited rains, offered respite in undeniably difficult times, but neither has made people any more able to cope with a bleak future. On top of this, aid workers have found themselves not confronting the root causes of human suffering but only spoon-feeding distorted symptoms. A weary population will continue to run out of food and suffer many other hardships besides because, in any honest assessment of the international response to Zimbabwe, nothing that matters has changed.

This paper, however, is not an assessment of the successes and failures of emergency aid in Zimbabwe. Rather, it is an exploration, drawing on this one case study, of how the aid industry (comprising many actors with varied powers and motivations) portrays and responds to humanitarian emergencies. It examines how people's needs are presented and how relief programmes are devised. It finds that emergencies are a combination of the real, the perceived and the forgotten about. Relief operations, as such, do not offer spontaneous, impartial or necessarily accurate remedies, but are as complex and politicised as the contexts in which they take place.

The body of this paper comprises three main chapters. Chapter 2 ('Emergency portrayal and response') is an overview of the ideas and points of view relevant to any debate around the portrayal of and response to emergencies. It looks at the construction and presentation of needs and at how the aid industry chooses to respond. The use of food aid, the link between relief and development approaches, and the politicisation of emergency programmes are all touched upon. Chapter 3 ('Zimbabwe on the brink') describes contemporary Zimbabwe, looking at where the and why the country has gone wrong, and how this is affecting its people. Chapter 4 ('Seeing and meeting needs in Zimbabwe') brings the two previous chapters together to consider how and to what effect the aid industry has interpreted and responded to the emergency in Zimbabwe.

Chapter 2

Emergency portrayal and response

Constructing emergencies

In vast areas of the world, emergencies are part of a ‘continual turbulence’ (Roche, 1994, p15), events which occur while people pursue rehearsed survival strategies and continue to plan for uncertain futures. Sometimes aid is delivered; other times, people suffering acute hardship do (or die) without it. Invariably, when the outside world responds to an emergency, the urgent needs of victims are balanced against political choices, media interest and the dynamics of the international business of aid¹. In this way, emergencies become ‘a matter of interpretation’ (Darcy and Hofmann, 2003, p15) or a construct, events that do not thrust themselves spontaneously into people’s work plans, but are selected and moulded into shape (Bradbury, 1998; Vaux, 2001; Goodhand, 2002). Emergencies are recognised as such when people are seen to be suffering, but also when they serve the causes and befit the limitations of those who choose to respond. Politicians, journalists and aid workers see emergencies in terms of their ability and their inclination to get involved. In reality, many emergencies go unnoticed, and many others acquire man-made labels that bear little relation to actual causes or symptoms. What we see (or do not see) determines how we react (or do not react). If an agency chooses to respond to a ‘food crisis’, for example, its goal is to understand food needs, and its mission to see that these are met. Or an appeal to help volcano victims implies that aid will return people to their pre-volcano state, rather than that they might be rescued from political persecution or awarded subsidies to produce food to sell on international markets.

In the post-Cold War era, the volumes of development aid have declined whilst the volumes of emergency aid, and the number of bodies dedicated to emergency work, have increased (Ross *et al.*, 2004). Support for relief operations far outweighs commitments to long-term peace-building initiatives, for example, because programme funders and programme managers alike are, to some extent, motivated by short-term visible returns that offer scope for public acclaim (Edwards, 1999). There may be greater need for emergency aid, and this need may be a more obvious one,

¹ In the independent evaluation of the DEC’s India Earthquake Appeal, Vaux (2001) considers how the DEC launches, on average, only one emergency appeal a year and thus must choose between many emergencies that take place across the globe simultaneously. A similar point is made in Valid International’s (2004, p33) evaluation of the DEC’s Southern Africa Crisis Appeal which, in relation to discussions about rates of malnutrition in the Horn of Africa being greater than those in southern Africa, comments: ‘In theory, donor funding for humanitarian crises is in response to need, but in reality political considerations intrude here as elsewhere.’

but the international aid industry² – government departments and independent charities – is clearly drawn to and thrives on the recognition of life-threatening disasters. Relief operations keep people fed and sheltered, just as hungry hoards keep relief workers and their sponsors in jobs. While aid agencies have an important part to play in drawing attention to human suffering, the success they have in harnessing this attention is also key to their own profile and survival³. So long as captivating images and stories of distress can be produced (Natsios, 1996) alongside easy-to-understand and preferably apolitical causes and solutions, a few up-turned hands will be quickly filled⁴. ‘Transitory altruism’ overcomes normal tight-fistedness and provides an incentive for aid agencies, governmental and non-governmental, to ‘go into public relations overdrive’ (Hancock, 1991, p3)⁵.

Presenting needs

When emergencies are selected, the aid industry faces the risk of being drawn into, or accused of, putting income and status before saving lives (Whaites, 2000). Emergency appeals can be infused with ‘disaster pornography’ (Rieff, 1995-6, p7) to suit the misconceived notion that the public do not want to hear about long-term, complex responses (that may not even solve problems) (Vaux, 2001; J. Melby, pers. comm., 2004), but only quick-fix, five-pounds-will-save-this-child solutions. Notions of despair and destitution are easily played on and can eclipse the complexity and dignity of people’s lives. Knowing that their missions are politically charged and fallible, some aid workers have the courage to invite informed and open discussion (Terry, 2002), while others try to keep it simple. Some see it as their goal to speak truthfully and to get beyond starving babies and droughts, others that ‘trying to explain corruption or aid abuses will not help fundraising and will only hamper aid work’⁶. Some continue working to respond to and to publicise those silent emergencies⁷, but most are easily distracted by dramatic mass appeals when these come along. Vaux (2001) describes in his evaluation of the Disaster Emergency Committee’s (DEC) India Earthquake Appeal how several aid agencies jumped hurriedly onto the Gujarat appeal bandwagon, although many of their staff on the ground acknowledged that their money and energy could be better used in other less publicity-swamped parts of the world.

² ‘Aid industry’ is used as a generic term to describe all actors involved in aid. ‘Actors’ include large multilateral bodies, national government aid departments, INGOs and LNGOs.

³ ‘Emergencies are a boost to NGOs, particularly where there is an opportunity to seek funds from – and thus to work with – donor governments.’ (A. Mahony, pers. comm., 2004)

⁴ Olsen *et al.* (2004) describe how the intensity of international media coverage significantly affects the size of any emergency response. The Mozambique floods of 2000 received four times more coverage and, as a result, seven times the amount of emergency aid than the India (Orissa) cyclone of 1999.

⁵ In an interview with Nick Guttman, he said: ‘When an emergency has been recognised and when the spotlight for raising funds is only open for a short time, then Christian Aid will take advantage. We can usually find a way of putting the money to good use.’

⁶ A quote from a World Vision employee cited in Girardet (1993, p46).

⁷ In an interview with Nick Guttman, he said: ‘There are many silent emergencies that do not attract mass appeals. In those cases, Christian Aid does what it can, with the funding it can raise, to respond. For example, we were talking about and working in Haiti before the world really took notice; and during the response to the earthquake in Gujarat, we did not forget about El Salvador.’

Once an emergency response is under-way, the aid industry is structured in such a way that the need to earn and spend money fast against a set of attainable targets overshadows the real, less headline-grabbing needs of aid recipients (Hancock, 1991⁸). Often, needs assessments produce results that are insufficient, inaccurate, inconsistent and based on partial perceptions, assumptions and values (Darcy *et al.*, 2003). It seems that only certain needs, like only certain emergencies, are acknowledged because they fit with aid agencies' practical and political concerns. Practitioners and scholars warn that, without improved standards, emergencies risk being staged and then solved according to the biases of those assessing needs (Darcy and Hofmann, 2003). To prevent needs being used to prove a political point or justify a request for funding, needs assessments should be ongoing (so that they take place before, during and after emergencies) and more in-depth. There should be broad and constant 'vulnerability mapping'⁹ (Babu and Bhouraskar, 2003), alongside rigorous monitoring and evaluation, to allow for greater impartiality and a longer-term view when an emergency does arise. In this way, the analysis of need can be more clearly distinguished from the labelling of an emergency and the design of any response to it (Darcy *et al.*, 2003). Similarly, there will be reduced scope for the less sincere elements of the aid industry to claim success on the back of only short-term, untested changes (Twigg, 2004)¹⁰.

Too often, symptoms that are seen to be related to sudden changes in the external environment are recorded, while more cumulative and complex causes are overlooked. Less attention is drawn to slow-onset or chronic features, as these are more difficult to assess and more challenging to present. Natural causes are identified as a means of avoiding 'direct reference to more intractable and politically sensitive issues' (Darcy and Hofmann, 2003, p15). There is a tendency, too, to measure deficit as opposed to risk and, in this way, to ignore the more relevant features of people's lives, such as their ability to cope or their access to basic needs. In examining information systems in the Horn of Africa, Maxwell and Watkins (2003, p72) describe how – in areas where there is deepening, underlying poverty – shocks can no longer be seen as 'one-off events that trigger a one-time response'. Information needs go beyond straightforward early warning or commodity accounting models to include more subtle analyses. An over-emphasis on specific indicators and a lack of analyses (or knowledge) of underlying factors can lead to superficial and sometimes dangerously misguided representations of fact (Seaman, 2002¹¹; Macrae and Zwi, 1994¹²). Tangible, short-term statistics are over-emphasised and can belie more

⁸ Hancock criticises what he calls 'official' aid organisations such as the UN's various bodies, the IMF and the World Bank. He states that 'small, charitable NGOs' (such as Oxfam or SCUK) generally mean well and do more good than harm.

⁹ Vulnerability mapping should focus on indicators such as 'food intake, average income level and income range, food sources, coping strategies, links to markets, assets and access to water' (Babu and Bhouraskar, 2003). In general terms, vulnerability is measured by the degree of exposure to factors that threaten household food security and the extent to which people are able to cope with these factors. Vulnerability can be physiological (weaker groups include children, the elderly, the sick), economic, social, geographic and political (Darcy *et al.*, 2003).

¹⁰ Twigg (2004) describes the disproportionate attention currently given to short-term, end-of-project outputs, which tend to show more favourable pictures and can thus serve as aid agency propaganda.

¹¹ Seaman writes about how famine early-warning systems provide conflicting information and thus delay responses where need may be urgent. He cites the example of Malawi, where SCUK and FEWSNET obtained different information, analysed it differently and so arrived at different results.

¹² Macrae and Zwi, whose work focuses on complex political emergencies such as those in Africa's Great Lakes region, argue that it is unhelpful to examine features such as conflict, economic decline and famine in isolation.

subtle patterns of power and exchange. For example, food may be in short supply but there might be systems in place to distribute it fairly and thus prevent starvation; or, there may be an abundance of food to which only the few have access (A. Dykes, pers. comm, 2004). Measurements of deficit are about demonstrating the lack of a particular commodity or set of commodities seen to be essential to survival. Measurements of risk are about understanding vulnerabilities that lead to deficits and understanding how those deficits actually affect people (Roche, 1994; Darcy and Hofmann, 2003).

Giving food

Although there have been improvements in recent years in assessing needs and understanding emergencies, there remains a tendency to focus on the simple or easily treatable causes (Darcy *et al.*, 2003). The threat of famine is still too often described as a sudden catastrophe fuelled by bad weather or low food stocks, rather than as part of a process of poverty or the consequence of a government's inability to protect its people's basic human rights. Efforts to demonstrate greater awareness and to analyse related social, political and economic issues are often overshadowed by quicker impact, easy-to-digest statistics¹³. Problems are simplified and labelled for greater effect. In a letter to the United Nations (UN) Security Council on 7 April 2003 the World Food Programme (WFP) Executive Director, James Morris, pleaded for greater international attention to be paid to Africa's 40 million who are 'struggling against starvation' and suggested that a month's worth of food would to them be an 'immeasurable blessing' (Morris, 2003). But this inference – that the international community has a straightforward role to play in solving an immediate and continentally homogenous emergency – is highly problematic. It would be wonderfully simple if the major threat to those 40 million was starvation and the solution something so temporary as a one-off food parcel from abroad, but it is simply not the case.

Food and other relief handouts offer only an occasional and usually unreliable source of support to people with a wide array of coping mechanisms. Where people are not able to feed themselves and their families adequately, it is unlikely that their only recourse is to sit and wait for feeding stations to be erected. Food aid can be valuable in limiting asset stripping or the build-up of household debt (N. Guttman, pers. comm., 2004), for example, but it is unlikely to be the sole means of staying alive. In some cases, the sudden influx of large amounts of free food can unsettle local production and market systems, undermine local structures and make people poorer and more vulnerable (Roche, 1994¹⁴; Ross *et al.*, 1994; Bryer and Cairns, 1997). In addition, the often inflexible way in which food is delivered contradicts the currently popular aid industry themes of participation and decentralisation (Buchanan-Smith, 1990). Food aid, therefore, is not an ideal solution, nor even a solution: it is only, at best, a temporary palliative.

¹³ Appendix 6 is a summary of the FAO/WFP's Crop and Food Supply Assessment Mission to Zimbabwe report (28 May 2002), 'Mission highlights'. It shows how Malthusian principles are still practised insofar as food supply is strongly emphasised but references to entitlement far more vague.

¹⁴ Roche (1994) describes how food aid can weaken civil society groups, which, in the face of unpopular and undemocratic governments, have such crucial roles to play.

Addressing long-term needs

Nowadays, although many aid agencies responding to emergencies talk about bringing together relief and development programmes¹⁵, wide institutional gaps between relief and development programmes prevail (Twigg, 2004; Darcy *et al.*, 2003). It requires far greater energy and commitment than exists to avoid dumping emergency aid on voiceless beneficiaries, to promote not undermine local systems, and to empower rather than to make dependent. Since the 1980s, the aid industry tried to move from traditionally Malthusian¹⁶ approaches, which link food shortages with calculable deficiencies such as under-production and over-population, and to understand better the effects of political, social and economic change (Roche, 1994). However, there is still far greater time and money spent on keeping people alive in the short-term, than on promoting self-reliance and sustainability. A famine¹⁷ does not arise for reasons such as poor rainfall or inept farming practices but, more significantly, where systems necessary to support people's food needs or to protect their access to food have broken down (Drèze and Sen, 1989, 1999; Sen, 1990). Linking 'Malthusian optimism' with the 'inaction and misdirection of public policy'¹⁸ (Sen, 1990, p51), Sen asserts that people's basic needs are lost primarily when their control over supply is curtailed¹⁹. As such, more interconnected and strategic approaches are required to recognise and respond to the fact that food and blankets may stave off disaster but do not remove (and may even exacerbate) real threats²⁰ (Goodhand, 2002; White and Cliffe, 2000). The complete emergency response package involve saving livelihoods, not just lives, supporting vulnerable institutions not just people and rebuilding social and well as physical capital (Edwards, 1999).

Roche (1994) proffers that there should be no distinction between relief and development except in extreme cases where life is physically threatened. Political, economic, social and legal root causes²¹ should not be overlooked (ICISS, 2001; Macrae and Zwi, 1994). Emergency interventions which focuses exclusively on the immediate symptoms will probably be far less effective (Babu and Bhouraskar, 2003). Wherever possible, aid should respond to immediate needs but should also 'enable people to avoid being caught in a downward spiral' (Roche, 1994,

¹⁵ See Appendix 3 on 'Characteristics of relief and longer-term food security planning'.

¹⁶ Thomas Malthus' *Essay on the Principle of Population as it Affects the Future Improvement of Society* was published in 1798. It has served as the basis for the argument that population growth and food supply are directly linked. Sen and others have challenged this thinking by describing the complexities of social and economic relations and, in particular, the matter of each individual's access, capability or entitlement.

¹⁷ 'Famine' is generally defined as 'the mortality rate in a region doubling, with 20 per cent of the children suffering from acute malnutrition' (Itano, 2003).

¹⁸ Sen suggests that because food shortages have been so misunderstood, inept responses to them have led to millions of famine deaths (Sen, 1990).

¹⁹ In his language, the 'pull failure' (the inaccessibility of food) is as significant, if not more so, than the 'response failure' (the unavailability of food) (Sen, 1990, p59).

²⁰ Goodhand (2002) describes how emergency aid can fuel conflict by providing resources which fuel war efforts, legitimise unrepresentative groups and erode social contracts between legitimate rulers and the ruled.

²¹ Article 55 of the UN Charter recognises that 'the creation of conditions of stability and well-being necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations' require solutions to social, economic and health problems; international, cultural and educational co-operation; and universal respect for human rights (ICISS (2001).

p17). There are, however, risks associated with linking relief and development, particularly where emergencies have arisen out of conflict and instability²² (ODI, 1998), or are heavily compounded by crippling social, economic or health factors²³. It is argued that, when people remain in dire need, it is premature to replace feeding stations with grain banks or water pumps (Macrae, 1998; Bradbury, 1998). In doing so, the aid industry can be seen to ‘normalise’ higher levels of vulnerability, malnutrition and morbidity²⁴ and to lose sight of very basic humanitarian principles²⁵. Bradbury (1998, p328) states that the ‘dependency myth’ and the ‘local-solutions-to-local-problems mantra’ are employed primarily as a ‘premise for disengagement and the denial of international responsibility’. In other words, aid agencies make excuses to allow them to renege on commitments and back away from the harder work. They introduce sustainable livelihoods approaches that are inappropriate where emergencies are ongoing, and where the conditions for development do not exist. Similarly, when emergency programmes are stopped, entitlements and access are cut, and local people re-assume the costs (that they are unable to meet) of keeping themselves alive (Bradbury, 1998).

The political factor

Decisions as to how to respond to emergency needs – how best to assess, present and deliver – are deeply politically infused. Conflict within the aid industry over the linkages between relief and development, as outlined above, reflects fundamentally opposed views on the principles of aid and humanitarianism. Goodhand and Atkinson (2001) describe these views as ‘maximalist’ (in sympathy with Roche) and ‘minimalist’ (in sympathy with Bradbury). ‘Maximalists’ see that, in emergencies, underlying causes are not distinct from symptoms, and so humanitarian aid is inevitably politicised. ‘Minimalists’ treat complex emergency contexts as ‘negative externalities’ to be kept distinct from short-term, life-saving relief interventions. The choice between ‘maximalism’ and ‘minimalism’ is between broadening emergency programmes to take into account deep-rooted threats to people’s lives, or going ‘back to basics’ (saving lives) in defence of the purest of humanitarian edicts. A case that often serves as a focal point in this emotive debate is the international aid response to Biafra, Nigeria in 1968. In an attempt to force peace talks, the Nigerian Government at the time refused permission to aid agencies to fly emergency

²² ODI (1998) reported that the relief-development continuum concept emerged from studies of natural disasters in Africa in the 1990s, which concluded that impacts could be reduced and recovery accelerated by the integration of relief and development programming. The concept was then uncritically transferred to profoundly different contexts and applied to complex, man-made emergencies.

²³ De Waal (2003) argues that, given the numbers affected by HIV/AIDS, and the fact that in almost every household in sub-Saharan Africa there are sick adults, this perpetual state of emergency already exists. He calls for a long-term welfarist strategy to cope with this ‘new variant famine’ and to rescue a generation of adults unable to cope with previously surmountable periods of hardship.

²⁴ Bradbury (1998, P328) comments that perceptions of emergency have changed and levels of suffering are becoming ‘normalised’ in aid responses. What are seen now as acceptable malnutrition rates would have justified full-scale humanitarian intervention 15 years ago.

²⁵ See ‘Forms of politics affecting humanitarian space’, Appendix 4, and the IFRC Code of Conduct, Appendix 5.

food parcels into rebel areas. Oxfam and others²⁶ defied these orders and continued to get food to those in need but, as a result, played a significant part in prolonging the conflict²⁷. On the one hand, it is possible to defend aid agencies' role in providing for basic needs in any such situation; but, on the other, it is naïve to imagine that delivering aid does not have political repercussions. Aid programmes, even when they are intended to be neutral, invariably have a broader impact and, as such, do have the potential to do harm (Bryer and Cairns, 1997)²⁸.

So long as human beings and nations are innately power-hungry, there is no scope for emergency aid to be apolitical or unpolluted by concerns about national sovereignty. It is wholly unrealistic to imagine that relief and politics can be separated (Macrae and Zwi, 2004; Terry, 2002; N. Guttman, pers. comm., 2004). Slim (1997[b]) sees humanitarian 'neutrality' as something absurd and only devised by people who lack moral conviction²⁹. 'Where do humanitarian values [of neutrality] fit within the context of inhumanity?' he asks. Slim's argument is that humanitarianism is merely a tool to suit the foreign policy of the developed world and the politico-military strategies of the warring factions of the developing world (Slim, 1997[a]). Emergency (and non-emergency) aid can be used to mask or justify other exercises and can be seen as merely a 'smokescreen for new politics of containment'³⁰ (Goodhand, 2002). Rather than there be any decisive engagement between governments, or any acceptance on either side of the responsibility for saving people's lives (or of not causing their suffering in the first place), there is a push to present aid as a privatised, neutralised entity³¹ (Storey, 1997). The international aid industry – its networks, information systems and codes of conduct – is the 'institutionalisation of a value-based duty to help others' (Olsen *et al.*, 2004, p113). But, paradoxically, it sometimes serves to negate the moral responsibilities of its backers, to keep their consciences falsely rested and their hands deceptively clean.

²⁶ Bernard Kouchner founded MSF as a means of getting aid to rebel areas in Biafra. Kouchner is an ardent exponent of the idea that humanitarian obligation is neutral and must not be restricted by concerns over state sovereignty.

²⁷ The conflict was prolonged because rebels were fed, able to use food aid to buy arms and could no longer be forced to the negotiating table (Allen and Styan, 2000).

²⁸ As Bryer and Cairns (1997) describe: 'A real woman in a real conflict needs food as well as some means to stop combatants shelling her. If combatants are taking some food aid, and selling it to buy guns, there comes a time when humanitarian agencies who provide that aid must ask themselves whether they are doing more harm than good.'

²⁹ Slim (1997[b]) describes how Dante condemns people who never stand up for what they believe in to the outer part of hell. He considers that, in the context of CPEs, foreign agencies that choose to define themselves as neutral lack moral conviction and deserve a similar fate.

³⁰ There has been some debate as to whether – or to what extent – the current occupation of Iraq by the US and its allies has anything to do with humanitarianism, as the 'coalition' forces claim. The Iraq situation is an example of a doubtful claim to altruism.

³¹ In 1849 the Quakers discontinued their relief efforts in Ireland in recognition of the limitations of private charity and of the need to assert government responsibility (Storey, 1997). This is an example of the realisation that neutral, non-governmental aid can allow governments to negate their responsibilities to protect people's basic rights.

Crossing borders

Aid in whatever form is political and often ‘remarkably radical’ (Macrae and Leader, 2000, p64) because it involves the interference of external agencies in sovereign affairs. Through Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs), good governance agendas and humanitarian intervention, in particular, aid efforts tend to set aside the principles of nation statehood (Allen and Styan, 2000). As the International Commission on Intervention and Sovereignty (ICISS) (2001) notes, it is generally accepted that international action can be taken (in the form of emergency aid or otherwise) where the existing state apparatus is unable or unwilling to protect its citizens. Where people’s rights are infringed or their needs neglected by their own governments, the principle of sovereignty should be overridden by the international responsibility to protect people³² (ibid.). Given this notion, and at a time when the aid industry is becoming embroiled in more and more emergency contexts, a ‘coherence agenda’ is needed to determine where aid and politics meet (Macrae and Leader, 2000). The international response to genocide, displacement and hunger in Rwanda – and its well-recognised failings³³ – exemplified, for many, the fact that aid cannot substitute for politics: it is politics. Aid forms an integral part of cross-border international relations, whether or not it has government backing, because it affects people’s most basic human rights and is a symbol of power.

Aid agencies operating in emergencies perpetuate an unhelpful pretence when they protest that their work is apolitical. They prefer to speak of conflict as an obstacle to be avoided (Goodhand, 2002) and to refute suggestions that their contribution is being manipulated by warring (and governing) parties, ‘judging that in most cases that their aid produces a net benefit’ (Bryer and Cairns, 1997, p372). However, because their work relies significantly on government funds or government-approved access to people in need, it is inevitably affected by internal or cross-border power wrangles. The aid industry places itself in a politicised role, in politicised contexts, where the denial of peoples’ basic needs is intimately tied to politics and conflict dynamics. International aid is a kind of interference, a symbol of its deliverer’s power and a demonstration of the vulnerability of local people and their leaders. At the same time, emergency relief operations are not and cannot be distinct from a world where injustice and inequality are not challenged, but perpetuated, and where the needs of the poor come last.

³² ICISS believes that intervention and state sovereignty should *not* be seen as contradictory and irreconcilable concepts. So long as we accept that sovereign states have a duty to protect citizens, so we acknowledge that, when this duty is neglected, the outside world has a moral responsibility to intervene.

³³ Fearing expense and loss of (non-Rwandan) life, rich country governments chose not to make any concerted effort to resolve Rwandan people’s suffering through diplomacy or military intervention. Aid workers thus had an impossible task in that they were unprotected and also forced, unrealistically and fatefully, to assume the roles of diplomats and soldiers.

Chapter 3

Zimbabwe on the brink

There is an emergency in Zimbabwe. There are crippling shortages of food, fuel, water and electricity; the rates of unemployment and inflation are soaring; civil liberties are being severely eroded; and an HIV/AIDS pandemic is now killing an average of 2,500 Zimbabweans every week (Burkett, 2000, p471)³⁴. It is a complex and turbulent situation that does not lend itself easily to clear-cut, systematic analyses or rapid solutions. How is the situation being perceived and portrayed by the international community? By the politicians, the journalists and the aid agencies? And what has been the agencies' response to it? Within the framework of the discussion in Chapter 2 on balancing the short- and long-term needs of emergency victims against political, media and aid industry interests, these questions are tackled in Chapter 4. Here, some background to the emergency in Zimbabwe is given. It focuses on the four issues at the core of Zimbabwe's current plight – governance, land, economics and HIV/AIDS. None of these issues is mutually exclusive; none could stand alone as the explanation for that plight. All of them are being variously interpreted to suit the various agendas underlying the nature of the response.

Governance gone wrong

To many minds, Zimbabwe was the original 'rainbow nation' of sub-Saharan Africa (J. Melby, pers. comm., 2004³⁵). It is now a nation torn to shreds by a Government intent upon clinging to power no matter what the human cost (R. Monro, pers. comm., 2004; ICG, 2004). The country's leaders, 'interested only in the short-term gains of clientelistic politics' (S. Kibble, pers. comm., 2004), have gagged democratic opposition (politicians, journalists and voters) and pursued a long list of socially and economically destructive policies. Zimbabwe was never quite the 'bread basket' it was sometimes labelled, but there is little dispute about its current status as Africa's latest 'basket case'. As a result of years of political corruption, both within the country and in its dealings with external governments and agencies, the lives of most Zimbabweans are devoid of many of the most basic human rights. Unable to find jobs, to afford basic foods, to gain access to health and education services, Zimbabweans, who once rallied together to build a strong and prosperous post-colonial state, have lost their unity of purpose. Zimbabwean society is now

³⁴ See Appendix 9 on 'The impact of HIV/AIDS on food security in Zimbabwe' and Appendix 10 on 'How HIV/AIDS undermines coping strategies'.

³⁵ Judith Melby added that: 'Zimbabwe's tragedy is that it is ruining itself. The government is deliberately sabotaging the country. Land redistribution is necessary, but the way it has been conducted has destroyed vital and highly valuable tobacco and maize industries.'

'highly polarised' (Africa Commission, 2002, p16) and the country a textbook case of governance gone wrong.

President Robert Mugabe and his ruling ZANU PF party came to power in Zimbabwe's first democratic elections in 1980. Some 20 years later, in February 2000, a disaffected electorate suffering the effects of economic decline and opposed to the engagement of their soldiers in the conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (costing, at its peak, \$US1 million a day), voted in a referendum against the Government's proposed constitutional changes. The ruling elite recoiled and accused those who had opposed it of kow-towing to the West; it played the race card, at which it has become adept, labelling any individuals and organisations questioning its legitimacy as 'colonial stooges' (A. Dykes, pers. comm., 2004). A discourse around neo-colonial threats and nationalist ideology was nurtured to appeal to certain elements of the electorate and to regional allies (R. Monro, pers. comm., 2004). Since 2000, and in the current run-up to the presidential election scheduled for March 2005³⁶, Mugabe and his inner circle have sought to steady their grip on power through propaganda and lies³⁷. Using violence, intimidation and a growing list of oppressive laws³⁸ they have 'bludgeoned opposition parties' (ICG, 2004, pi) and thwarted freedom of speech and assembly³⁹. Youth militias trained to torture and kill have been terrorising civil society groups and gatherings; police regularly detain opposition leaders and supporters on phoney charges; and a Government-sponsored militia made up of people claiming to be 'war veterans'⁴⁰ has displaced and murdered farm workers, farm owners and their families (US State Department, 2004).

Land gone wrong

It is Mugabe's land policy and land distribution measures in the past few years that are most often cited as having brought Zimbabwe to its proverbial knees. After 20 years of virtual neglect, the

³⁶ It is speculated that if ZANU PF gets a two-thirds majority, it will revise the Constitution to allow for a Prime Minister and a largely ceremonial President. This will suit the party's plans to keep octogenarian Mugabe at the helm at least until 2008.

³⁷ Mugabe has, at his side, an Information Minister called Jonathan Moyo. Moyo is ZANU PF's propaganda machine and thought to be behind much of the President's rhetoric. He is an extremely unpopular but very powerful man, a kind of 'Goebbels to Mugabe's Hitler' (S. Kibble, pers. comm, 2004).

³⁸ In contravention of Section 21 of Zimbabwe's Constitution, which guarantees every individual the 'right to assemble freely and associate with other persons and in particular to form or belong to political parties', many Zimbabweans have been beaten, tortured, raped and displaced on the basis of their political opinions and beliefs (Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum, 2003, p2). Laws such as the Public Order and Security Act are intended to limit dissent.

³⁹ The Associated Newspapers of Zimbabwe have struggled against Government ministries to uphold the right to freedom of expression, particularly since the Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act was passed in June 2003. But independent journalists have been harassed, had their offices occupied and equipment destroyed, been refused registration, and forced out of business (ICG, 2004, p4).

⁴⁰ Most self-styled 'war veterans' are too young to have fought in Zimbabwe's war for independence from Britain, which began in the mid-1960s and ended when the country gained independence in 1980. Part of the significance of the term is that Mugabe rode into power in 1980 as a war hero, a man who had fought for his people and earned his place as their leader.

land question was seized upon⁴¹ by an opportunistic Government intent on punishing its dissenters and challenging foreign interests; through the February 2000 referendum Mugabe had identified commercial farm owners and their employees as dissenters who had the potential to vote his Government out of office. A messy revolution began, belatedly, its ignition having more to do with Mugabe's avarice than with correcting the wrongs of the colonial past or addressing the land needs of the people (S. Kibble, pers. comm, 2004). At Zimbabwe's independence in 1980, an agreement had been signed in London to ensure that the land interests of a privileged minority would be safeguarded for an initial 10-year period⁴². For the first decade of Mugabe's rule, there were a few half-hearted attempts to redistribute farmland⁴³; far greater priority was given (with temporary success in many areas) to improving the availability and quality of health and education services (CIIR, 2000). Opportunities to distribute land more fairly or develop agricultural systems so as to genuinely benefit the poor (A. Dykes, pers. comm., 2004; Christian Aid, 2002⁴⁴) were missed. During the 1990s, as national policies and the requirements of international donors led to increased debt and a cutback in spending on public services⁴⁵, land crept back onto the agenda. By the late 1990s, more than 70 per cent of Zimbabweans were still eking out an existence in the over-crowded, often arid communal farming areas (ECA, 2002), while some 4,500 white farmers (less than 1 per cent of the population) still occupied huge tracts of arable land. By 2000, drought was once again exposing the symptom – food shortages – of the Government's failure to support institutions, organisation and policies that would promote sustainable agricultural growth and food security⁴⁶.

In April 2000, the Government passed a 16th amendment to the Constitution, enabling it to take over land arbitrarily without compensation. The (often violent) displacement⁴⁷ of nearly two million⁴⁸ highly vulnerable farm workers and their dependants, as well as several thousand white farm owners, began immediately. Apart from the physical and psychological wounds inflicted on

⁴¹ The Africa Commission (2002, p16) reported that: 'The land question is not in itself the cause of division'.

⁴² The British Government gave financial assistance for land reform during the 1980s and 1990s, but with conditions related to protecting 'white' farming interests (HRW, 2002, p3).

⁴³ See Appendix 8 on 'Land tenure in Zimbabwe 1980-2002'.

⁴⁴ Zimbabwean agriculture has long been in need of diversification because, as in all drought-prone countries in southern Africa, national maize self-sufficiency is not achievable (Christian Aid, 2002). Alternative and indigenous staple crops such as sorghum, millet and sweet potatoes need to be promoted and cultivated.

⁴⁵ During the 1990s wages fell, unemployment rose and fees for public services were introduced. SAPs are often blamed, but poor planning by the Government also played its part. See Appendices 11(a) and 11(b) on 'Zimbabwe's human development status' (as measured in UNDP Human Development Report 2003).

⁴⁶ Babu and Bhouraskar (2003), Sen (1990) and Shaw (2001) all discuss how food shortages signal weak institutions and feeble democracy. Food security exists when all people have ongoing physical and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food for a healthy and active life.

⁴⁷ There have been several human rights reports on the methods and effects of land invasions. HRW's *Fast Track Land Reform in Zimbabwe* (2002) documents cases of murder and intimidation, and details the 'politicised nature of beneficiary selection' whereby those who really need land are being excluded.

⁴⁸ An estimated 320,000 to 350,000 farm workers were employed on commercial farms, each with, on average, five dependants (Sachikonye, 2003). Many farm worker families are second or third generation Mozambicans or Malawians with no links to their countries of origin and no support networks in Zimbabwe (Christian Aid, 2002). They have no families in the communal areas to return to and are not entitled to any form of social support.

those losing land, homes and jobs, the economic and social⁴⁹ repercussions for Zimbabwe as a whole have been significant. Although the commercial farming sector has never been able to guarantee food security for all Zimbabweans, let alone regularly produce a surplus for export⁵⁰ (A. Dykes, pers. comm, 2004⁵¹), the consequences of these land-grabbing exercises have been disastrous for the country's food supply. Maize production gaps have created the need for additional imports⁵² and aid; roughly one-sixth of Zimbabwe's workforce has joined the ranks of the unemployed⁵³; many of these people are now also homeless; and foreign exchange earnings have dwindled significantly⁵⁴. In brief, the 'fast-track land resettlement' programme – also termed the 'Third Chimurenga' (liberation struggle) by its supporters – has caused massive turmoil and shows little evidence of being a reasoned plan to distribute land fairly⁵⁵ or to safeguard the needs of the poor⁵⁶. Several former commercial farms are now little more than palatial retreats for senior ZANU PF politicians, and many others are occupied by just a few hundred thousand newly settled families who lack the necessary government support (in terms of tenure, inputs, market access and foreign aid) to get off the ground⁵⁷.

Economics gone wrong

Zimbabwe's failing economy, battered by political upheaval and reckless policies, has been a long time in the making. The country's infrastructure, resource base and skills may be notably more developed than those of its neighbours, but the long-term economic planning has been

⁴⁹ As well as homes and incomes, many farm owners provided their workers with basic education and health services. This support network has collapsed and not been replaced.

⁵⁰ Each year Zimbabweans consume on average 2 million tonnes of maize, the primary staple crop; before Mugabe launched his fast-track land resettlement programme, commercial farmers produced roughly 60 per cent and small holders (mainly communal farmers) the remaining 40 per cent (Christian Aid, 2001).

⁵¹ 'It is a myth that the collapse of the commercial farming sector has had the devastating effect that is claimed. It was not the most efficient form of agriculture, if you consider how much more was produced in other small areas of land.' (Dykes, pers. comm., 2004)

⁵² Christian Aid (2003) reports that the area of maize planted on commercial farms fell by 61 per cent in the 2001-2002 planting season. Magrath *et al.* (2002) add that, in 2002, the worst year of food shortages so far, Zimbabwe produced only a quarter of its maize needs and needed to import in total up to 1.8 million tonnes of cereal. In this period, poor rains have also had a huge impact on crop yields. See Appendix 7 'SADC-FANR VAC (September 2002) maize production chart'.

⁵³ Before 2000, Zimbabwe's farming industry accounted for 26 per cent of its workforce (CIIR, 2000). The FCT estimates that 70 per cent of these people have lost their jobs (Sachikonye, 2003), although current figures will be higher.

⁵⁴ Zimbabwe's farming industry supplied 40 per cent of the country's exports (CIIR, 2000). Foreign exchange is necessary to purchase vital commodities such as fuel, electricity, water treatment chemicals and medical supplies.

⁵⁵ HRW comments that, as well as generally politicised land distribution, the Government has reneged on commitments to address gender inequality as women have failed to benefit proportionately (HRW, 2002).

⁵⁶ The Zimbabwe Government promised a Z\$15.5 billion agricultural package for resettled farmers, but less than half of this materialised and it has never been clear who benefited from the scheme (IDC, 2003).

⁵⁷ By the end of 2002, 300,000 small-scale farmers had been resettled (Sachikonye, 2003). The FCT report, written by Sachikonye, highlights the potential long-term benefits for resettled farmers. They may be acutely vulnerable now, but in the long-term, with planning, consultation and resource mobilisation, they may yet see the benefits.

fatally flawed. Although it has some way to go before it reaches the state of economic collapse seen in many other African countries, Zimbabwe is nonetheless experiencing a sharp economic decline. The social programme established in the 1980s, which provided Zimbabweans with impressive education and health services, has proved unsustainable (A. Mahony, pers. comm., 2004). Contemporary Zimbabwe – now ranked 145 (out of 174 countries) on the UN’s Human Development Index⁵⁸ – faces ballooning domestic and external debt⁵⁹, crippling foreign exchange shortages⁶⁰, negative GDP growth and escalating inflation⁶¹. Jobs are few and far between⁶², wages have fallen, food and other basic commodities are increasingly unaffordable, and social services are in disarray. People in both the urban and rural areas are now far more vulnerable to shocks as their purchasing power dwindles (UN, 2003) and planning and support mechanisms fail⁶³.

With governance and land in the spotlight as major contributors to Zimbabwe’s plight, it is sometimes easy to overlook the failures in economic policy since 1980. The Government, often in collaboration with, or at the behest of, external financial institutions such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF), has made some disastrous choices. In its memorandum to the British House of Commons International Development Committee (IDC) in October 2002, Save the Children UK (SCUK) suggested that externally imposed structural adjustment measures had left the agricultural sector unable to cope with poor harvests and had created a kind of ‘free market famine’ (SCUK, 2003). Magrath *et al.* (2002) corroborated this finding, describing the Washington-led economic programme in Zimbabwe as dogmatic, opportunistic and hypocritical⁶⁴. A raft of policies – to reduce state-subsidised rural credit and agricultural inputs (such as fertiliser and seeds), to cut public investment in agricultural marketing services (especially in remote rural areas), to remove guaranteed cross-seasonal prices for food crops, and to scale down Government agricultural extension services – have had the effect of squeezing smallholder farmers out of markets (Christian Aid, 2002; Magrath *et al.*, 2002). In economic terms, it is well understood that state control of prices and of the import and marketing of key commodities can have an oppressive effect, particularly by reducing the competitive incentive among private traders (Magrath *et al.*, 2002). In Zimbabwe’s case, the withdrawal of state support in the agricultural sector has achieved little in the way of positive results; instead, it has created a

⁵⁸ See Appendices 11(a) and 11(b).

⁵⁹ Debt inherited from the colonial regime mounted during the 1980s due to heavy spending on social and infrastructure programmes and during the 1990s due to continued borrowing (to cope with persistently large budget deficits), and now stands at roughly US\$6 billion (ICG, 2004).

⁶⁰ Zimbabwe is now an extremely unattractive destination for foreign investment. It is becoming increasingly isolated as donor-funded projects such as the Zambezi Water Project and the US\$18.1 million solar energy programme sponsored by Italy are abandoned (ECA, 2002).

⁶¹ Zimbabwe’s annual inflation rate – among the highest in the world – jumped from 400 per cent in August 2003 to 622.8 per cent in February 2004 (ICG, 2004).

⁶² Up-to-date statistics are hard to come by, but the ZCTU estimates that unemployment, at the start of 2004, stood at 80 per cent (ICG, 2004).

⁶³ Magrath *et al.* (2002) comment that in rural areas it is usual for many households to run out of home-produced food four or five months before the next harvest. In past years they have had the scope to earn money to buy food to tide themselves over, but now, when the hungry season arrives, this scope has all but vanished.

⁶⁴ ‘At the same time as African farmers are told they can no longer have free seeds or fertilisers, US farmers are receiving an average US\$20,000 a year in subsidies and EU farmers US\$16,000.’ (Magrath *et al.*, 2002)

population overly dependent on a state-controlled Grain Marketing Board (GMB) that is failing to provide for the country's needs.

And HIV/AIDS too

In the midst of the failures in governance, land and economic policies is the added trauma of HIV/AIDS. Mugabe's Government 'has failed to act decisively and effectively' in combating this and other prevalent diseases such as malaria and tuberculosis (ECA, 2002, p132). Now, more than a quarter of the country's adult population is infected with HIV/AIDS and life expectancy has dropped significantly; it fell from 61 years old in 1990 to 33 years old in 2002 (lower than it had been in 1960) (IDC, 2003)⁶⁵. It is the adults in their most productive years, primarily, who are falling ill and dying, and thus children and the elderly are increasingly forced to cope with less support and greater burdens of care. The situation is exacerbated because, at a time of economic hardship when people cannot afford medicines, many migrate to look for work (and thereby increase the number of their sexual partners) and more women resort to prostitution. HIV/AIDS inevitably increases the human, financial, social and physical vulnerabilities (Harvey, 2003) of a population already weakened and insecure, more exposed to the risks of transmission and less able to cope with the effects of the disease.

In terms of 'excess morbidity and mortality', the HIV/AIDS pandemic 'dwarfs the effects' of any other kind of emergency in the region as a whole, including Zimbabwe (Darcy *et al.*, p5)⁶⁶, and could be classified as an emergency in its own right (Darcy and Hofmann, 2003). In de Waal's⁶⁷ (2003) view, southern Africa is now populated by a large number of people who will remain chronically food insecure for many years and who will need extended international welfare programmes. In what he terms the 'new variant famine', the threat of starvation is triggered by traditional causes such as bad weather or political instability, but exacerbated and made more complex by HIV/AIDS. He writes that HIV/AIDS creates a crisis with 'a distinct vulnerability profile and a new trajectory of impoverishment' which calls for 'a new type of response'⁶⁸. While there is broad agreement that measurements and approaches to aid must change to cater for the added complexities of this rampant disease, de Waal's approach is seen by many to be disingenuous⁶⁹ or exaggerated (Harvey, 2003). There is, certainly, a need for a better understanding of the links between HIV/AIDS and food security (Valid International, 2004;

⁶⁵ See Appendix 9 on 'The impact of HIV/AIDS on food security in Zimbabwe' and Appendix 10 on 'How HIV/AIDS undermines coping strategies'.

⁶⁶ An estimated 2.4 million people in Africa died of HIV/AIDS in 2002 (Harvey, 2003).

⁶⁷ De Waal, as the Director of the UN Commission on HIV/AIDS and Governance in Africa, has a vested interest in raising the profile of HIV/AIDS.

⁶⁸ De Waal argues that because HIV/AIDS affects the able-bodied workforce, its effects are subtler than those that aid workers are used to measuring. In other words, there should be less focus on malnutrition or death rates and more on longer-term, complex social and economic issues.

⁶⁹ Bolton (2003) quotes Dr Guy Scott, former Zambian Minister of Agriculture, Food and Fisheries, as saying (pers. comm.): 'The New Variant Famine nonsense is just a way for the HIV/AIDS people at the UN to get the food security money and for the food people to get the HIV/AIDS money.'

Morris, 2003), but there is nothing to suggest that the people on a continent debilitated by HIV/AIDS are living in a semi-permanent state of famine.

The food factor

Whether or not Zimbabwe's distress – economic, social and physical – can be laid, for the most part, at the door of Robert Mugabe, it certainly plays into his hands. A weak population, struggling to feed itself, is a submissive population, one that is more easily ruled (J. Melby, pers. comm. 2004; R. Monro, pers. comm, 2004). Where people are hungry for food and land, sacks of maize make for a handy political weapon. The feeder is empowered, the fed are disempowered. In 2002, in the early stages of the international emergency response to Zimbabwe's plight, a senior ZANU PF figure is reported to have said: 'We would be better off with only six million people, with our own people who support the liberation struggle. We do not want all these extra people.'⁷⁰ Since then, the state-controlled GMB has hoarded food, distributing it only to card-carrying ZANU PF supporters⁷¹, and the Government has exploited or obstructed relief operations. Mugabe has at times accepted that international food aid is needed to plug a gap, but more recently his tune has changed. 'We are not hungry,' he is reported saying in May 2004. 'It should go to hungrier people, hungrier countries... Why foist this food upon us? We don't want to be choked, we have enough.'⁷²

⁷⁰ Didymus Mutasa, ZANU PF Administrative Secretary, was quoted in *The Times* on 25 November 2002.

⁷¹ Christian Aid describe the government-controlled GMB as 'a major route for dispensing patronage and building up loyalty to the party and to the leadership' (Christian Aid, 2001, p7).

⁷² In *The Guardian* on 24 May 2004, in an article by Andrew Meldrum quoting Mugabe.

Chapter 4

Seeing and meeting needs in Zimbabwe

Perhaps Mugabe has a point. Zimbabwe is not an urgent priority in terms the kind of aid it has received so far, and it is not about to succumb to mass starvation. The key issue is not the lack of food but who controls its supply. Far more significant than the state of farmers' fields or the contents of GMB warehouses is an understanding of power relations. An international emergency relief operation that occupies itself almost exclusively with the exaggerated symptom of hunger is one that bypasses real needs. It assumes a very narrow perspective and does not begin to grapple with the actual causes of people's suffering or to compensate for their disempowerment. The broad picture – involving issues of governance, economics, land and disease – has been blacked out. This is a context of inhumanity, one that is deeply embroiled in politics and history, and one that must be seen and responded to as such. Zimbabwean's problems are deeply entrenched, and require concerted, sophisticated, honest and politically engaged solutions.

Constructing Zimbabwe's emergency

Zimbabwe's emergency was recognised as such on the basis of a public presentation 'far more dramatic and simplistic' (Valid International, 2004, p23) than the reality. This has been reinforced by assertions that mass starvation has been averted in the country (UN, 2003). While some aid agencies have acknowledged more quietly the emergency's complex roots and have shown interest in the country's political and economic upheavals in discussion forums and policy papers, their overall approach has been to dumb down and misrepresent. There has been a tendency, partly justified by the view that it is 'difficult to portray complexities to the public' (A. Dykes, pers. comm., 2004), to put easily digestible and dramatic messages in place of hard truths. So long as an emergency relief operation attracts the necessary financial support, it seems not to matter that people are made to look a little hungrier than they really are. There is far more to say than that Zimbabweans need feeding stations in their villages because their fields are dry and their crops have not grown, but it is not said. In portraying a regional emergency (and not differentiating between countries), the DEC used on its Southern Africa Crisis Appeal posters the haunting image of a young boy gazing into the camera, all bone and empty eyes. Some international non-governmental organisation (INGOs), in their various public materials, turned to scaremongering by repeating words such as 'famine' and 'starvation' or even, in World Vision's case, by referring to 'a crisis of biblical proportions'. These and countless other reflections, often

compounded by journalists⁷³ and politicians⁷⁴, demonstrate genuine concern and a desire to respond, but are also exploitative and attention seeking.

In truth, it has suited the aid industry (and, in many ways, the Government of Zimbabwe⁷⁵ too) to focus on natural causes and manageable solutions, and to 'avoid direct reference to more intractable and politically sensitive issues' (Darcy and Hofmann, 2003, p15). The attention that Zimbabwe has received is testament to some high-profile envoys for the country, but, with the world's head turned to more strategically important places such as Iraq⁷⁶, it has been marred by much international donor apathy, with appeal targets (particularly those relating to longer-term aid⁷⁷) far from satisfied. Zimbabwe's emergency has been selected and moulded into shape to suit the pre-determined expectations and limitations of international donors and aid agencies. Its portrayal has been about failed crops and food aid (followed by some medium-term livelihoods assistance to hard-hit farming communities), not about a crumbling economy nor the urgent need for a revived democracy. Complex risks to people's lives or livelihoods, as well as their more entrenched health and security needs, are given far less attention and too often excluded from funding proposals and programme plans. As a result, an unvaried, blueprint response that fails to adapt to complex local circumstances and has missed some pockets of greatest need (Darcy *et al.*, 2003) has been applied. Zimbabwe's turbulence continues in spite of the many millions the aid industry is still spending in its midst, because far too little is being done to counteract it.

Presenting Zimbabwe's needs

Zimbabwe's emergency has been constructed on basis of some needs that are inflated and others that are ignored. It has been presented and responded to neither impartially nor spontaneously and, most worryingly, in a way that demonstrates 'an underlying lack of knowledge' (Valid International, 2004, p23). Some small-scale, specific needs assessments have been conducted by local and international aid agencies on the ground, while countrywide surveys have been carried

⁷³ For example, Andrew Meldrum (2004[a]) quotes Bulawayo Archbishop Puis Ncube's claim that 10,000 people died of hunger-related illness in Matabeleland in 2003.

⁷⁴ European Commissioner Glenys Kinnock produced a pamphlet entitled 'Zimbabwe on the brink' in early 2003, in which she describes a 'an unmanageable famine' in which 'two-thirds of Zimbabweans are now starving' (Kinnock, 2003, p2) and recommends food parcels be dropped by planes.

⁷⁵ Darcy *et al.* (2003) draw a comparison between North Korea and Zimbabwe, showing that in both cases food crises have been attributed to natural causes as a face-saving exercise on the part of national governments.

⁷⁶ In November 2003 several international aid agencies (ACF/AAH, CAFOD, Christian Aid, Concern, CRS, GOAL, LDS, MSF, Oxfam, SCUK, Plan, Tearfund and World Vision) composed a letter to the European Commissioner for Development and Humanitarian Aid, Poul Nielson, to express concern at what was seen as a sudden withdrawal of European Commission emergency funds (via ECHO and EuronAid) from Zimbabwe. There were concerns at this time that aid was being diverted to Iraq, despite continued needs in Zimbabwe.

⁷⁷ Regional appeals launched by the UN received a generally poor response, particularly with regard to non-food elements (DfID, 2002). An early UN appeal for Zimbabwe in September 2001 for US\$86.3 million (for programmes to run until January 2003) had raised a mere 25 per cent of the target sum some seven months later (Magrath *et al.*, 2002).

out by UN bodies⁷⁸, the Southern Africa Development Community's (SADC) Vulnerability Assessment Committee (VAC)⁷⁹, the Famine Early Warning System Network (FEWSNET) funded by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), and the national Food Security Network (FOSENET)⁸⁰. A few reports (such as SCUK's Food Economy Assessment) demonstrate a broader analysis of vulnerability, but most have concentrated narrowly on food supply (Darcy *et al.*, 2003) and there have been limited or unreliable data on nutrition. Even the VAC, which until 2002 had been developing a more comprehensive regional database on livelihoods, is now engaged mainly in 'straightforward food monitoring'⁸¹ (Darcy *et al.*, 2003, p33). While increased obstruction⁸² by the Zimbabwean Government has not helped, poor needs assessments also stem from impatient aid agencies needing to 'justify funding requests' (*ibid.*). Constraints on humanitarian space – in the form of instructions imposed by the Zimbabwe Government on NGOs operating in Zimbabwe – limit access and choices, but they are also convenient where political and financial commitments are limited (Darcy *et al.*, 2003). Overall, it does not seem credible to blame a shortage of time or any other constraint for poorly evidenced proclamations of need, for there has been nothing of Zimbabwe's predicament so suddenly, fatally urgent as to justify rushing in half-blind.

In its assessment of the DEC's Southern Africa Crisis Appeal, Valid International (2004) reports that food needs across southern Africa have been 'overstated'. Malnutrition⁸³ levels, which would normally indicate a need for an emergency relief operation, did not seem to justify a perceived 'food crisis'⁸⁴. In Zimbabwe, food shortages continue to affect many millions but the threat of imminent famine presented in many emergency appeals has been exaggerated, masking more complex issues. Since mid-2002, when the first appeals were launched, food has been presented as the source and solution to people's problems, and food aid the most necessary, immediate response. In concluding their research into ongoing emergency programmes in the region, both Darcy *et al.* (2003), an ODI team, and Valid International (2004) state that the emphasis on food has been misleading and is an inadequate representation of the fuller picture. The attention given to natural causes (i.e. drought) and outcomes (i.e. failed crops) has undermined real issues (R.

⁷⁸ The WFP, the Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) and the UN Children's Fund (UNICEF) have all carried out assessments.

⁷⁹ The VAC was set up in 1999 and is run by SADC's Food Agriculture and Natural Resources Network (FANR). It was designed as a multi-agency assessment body, and so intended to mitigate against institutional bias (Darcy *et al.*, 2003).

⁸⁰ FOSENET is a network of 24 Zimbabwean NGOs formed in March 2002.

⁸¹ For example, the VAC of 16 September 2002 [see Bibliography] declares that 6.7 million people required emergency food aid (until March 2003) on the basis that 75 per cent of households hold less than 25kg of food.

⁸² Several needs assessments have been obstructed by the Zimbabwe Government, which has impeded the activities of assessors in the field or delayed the publication of reports. In early 2004, the FAO was forced to withdraw its crop monitoring mission because the government made its work impossible (A. Mahony, pers. comm., 2004).

⁸³ There are varied definitions of 'malnutrition'. Valid International defines 'acute malnutrition' as the risk of death through hunger-related illness; and 'chronic malnutrition' as a less severe condition whereby people, who may have sufficient food at times, are prone to periods of under-nourishment (Valid International, 2004, p31).

⁸⁴ In an interview reported on IRIN on 26 January 2004, DEC spokesperson, Richard Miller admitted: 'The Southern Africa crisis was a complex crisis, and conveying the seriousness of the situation was equally challenging. Admittedly, as in any complex humanitarian situation, mistakes are made.'

Monro, pers. comm., 2004). Poor rainfall is only a threat to people's lives when other factors such as 'poor governance; misguided market reforms; a lack of support for stricken farmers; the removal of consumer protection (allowing food prices to rocket); political instability; and HIV/AIDS' come into play (Valid International, 2004, p18). And so, in terms of committing to and seeking genuine long-term solutions, in a place where the people are weak but not starving, the desirability and effectiveness of an emergency response based around food aid is questionable.

Food and long-term needs in Zimbabwe

At the start of the international emergency response to Zimbabwe the UN and the Government of Zimbabwe collaborated to put together a universal food relief programme. Blanket feeding got underway in August 2002 under the auspices of the WFP, and many other aid agencies followed suit. Initially, the focus was almost entirely on food, not on seeds and tools or any other structural input. Programme planners anticipated a temporary and uncomplicated response (A. Mahony, pers. comm., 2004) and did not pay great attention to varying levels of vulnerability across the country. As DEC spokesperson, Richard Miller⁸⁵, explained, food aid has been seen as a way to shore up people's defences and 'to prevent a humanitarian crisis'. The stated mission across the aid industry was to 'save lives, restore human and productive assets' (UN, 2003, p17) and thus avert a famine⁸⁶. According to many aid workers, the fact that 'southern Africa has not witnessed a human suffering of Ethiopian proportions' (A. Dykes, pers. comm., 2004) testifies to a successfully completed mission. However, as the emergency response in Zimbabwe has been prolonged, some agencies have become more engaged in agricultural activities 'more akin to rehabilitation or traditional development' (Valid International, 2004, p3) and have moved beyond feeding stations⁸⁷ into new kinds of 'resource transfers'⁸⁸. The UN, though, remains concerned primarily with food aid and, all in all, the response to Zimbabwe continues to be short-term and single sector⁸⁹ (Darcy *et al.*, 2003).

Valid International (2004) concludes that DEC agencies 'contributed to the deferment of death and the prevention of suffering' but that there is much to be learnt in terms of dealing with chronic, underlying issues. The international emergency response to Zimbabwe has offered reprieve, but has focussed almost exclusively on symptoms not causes (Darcy *et al.*, 2003). People's more entrenched vulnerabilities – ill health, homelessness, threatened livelihoods,

⁸⁵ IRIN, 26 January 2004. See Bibliography.

⁸⁶ For example, in a press release in July 2002 [see www.wfp.org/appeals/flashappeals/SA0207.html], the WFP declared its intention to 'pre-empt this humanitarian crisis'.

⁸⁷ For example, World Vision has distributed sorghum and millet seed (as a means of reducing dependence on maize) and Concern has followed food distribution programme with water and sanitation programmes.

⁸⁸ 'Resource transfer' is a phrase devised by DfID to fit with rehabilitation programmes aimed at infrastructure building, such as the establishment of village grain banks (A. Mahony, pers. comm., 2004).

⁸⁹ The 'largest single area of expenditure for the DEC agencies was agricultural recovery' (Valid International, 2004, p25).

political persecution – are still there. As one aid worker notes⁹⁰, communities do not have only one shock to cope with, but a whole variety of shocks that are acute, ongoing and recurring. Even where there are promising signs that aid programmes are beginning to take on broader challenges or to acknowledge early weaknesses, there seems still to be a strong reluctance to be more engaged in any bold political sense. Harvey (2003) has argued, for example, that the growing emphasis on HIV/AIDS in emergency programming in Zimbabwe is welcome to some extent but also brings with it new risks of simplification and depoliticisation. Similarly, farming inputs and efforts to encourage crop diversification are sound in theory, but look to be a means of minimising involvement in Zimbabwe's very fundamental land question. There has been much speculation too that the UN's incentive for continuing to fund and run feeding programmes is to not be seen to be meddling in more complex issues, and thus to keep the Government on side and be allowed to stay in Zimbabwe. But Zimbabweans' needs are complex and can be met only with complex solutions, not responses that are pre-packaged to fit with logistical, political, financial or other restrictions.

Politics in Zimbabwe's emergency

In 1992-93, during the last serious drought in Zimbabwe, international appeals raised generous amounts of support. Positive relations between the Government of Zimbabwe and the international community increased the latter's willingness to get involved, and also meant that much aid could be channelled directly through Government ministries. The aid industry's current emergency response now looks much more like external intervention and, from the Government's perspective, can be seen to undermine sovereignty or weaken state legitimacy⁹¹. In countries where people experience food insecurity, food availability can bolster leaders' authority, and its unavailability can unsettle them⁹². Governments, like Zimbabwe's, want to be seen to be in control and not in need of foreign backup. When aid agencies arrive with food aid, and particularly where they are seen to be working independently of governments, they may pose a threat to the powers that be. As a result, local and international aid agencies are subjected to government threats and impediments. Unfriendly governments and constraints on humanitarian space are nothing novel (Buchanan-Smith, 2004; N. Guttman, pers. comm., 2004); in fact, many aid workers with prior global experience have reported feeling comparatively free and safe in Zimbabwe (HRW, 2002). However, regular communication breakdowns between the Zimbabwean Government and foreign aid agencies have caused delays in gathering information and have restricted access to some areas and groups of people. The UN, which plays a vital mediating role in any such context, has at times struggled to ensure that humanitarian standards

⁹⁰ Paul Macek, of CRS, quoted in IRIN, 18 March 2004. See Bibliography.

⁹¹ SCUK's Chris McIvor (2004) relates how a local official told his colleagues that their programmes are an indictment of the Government of Zimbabwe and aimed at highlighting its inadequacies.

⁹² A clear example of this is in Saddam-led Iraq, where food rations were handed out universally as a well recognised means of increasing peoples' subservience and vulnerability (N. Guttman, pers. comm., 2004).

are upheld or the interests of aid workers defended⁹³. In Zimbabwe, a combination of bureaucratic menaces (such as registration delays⁹⁴ for foreign aid agencies), bills aimed at controlling the activities of aid workers⁹⁵ and the occasional forced suspension of programmes has been to the detriment of neutral aid delivery. Typically, local non-governmental organisations (LNGOs) and INGOs with any connection to the British Government (through funding) have faced the most notable cases of obstruction and are acutely aware that sticking heads above parapets could mean expulsion (A. Mahony, pers. comm., 2004)⁹⁶.

The most worrying effect of constraints on humanitarian space in Zimbabwe is that those likely to be in greatest need have been overlooked. Although aid agencies have had fairly unrestricted access to communal farming areas, where relations between them and local government committees have generally been good (Buchanan-Smith, 2004), their access to ex-farm workers, the urban poor, internally displaced people, former mine workers and re-settled farmers has been far more restricted (UN, 2003). To add to this, many donors have shown themselves reluctant to fund programmes that target such groups of people because these programmes are deemed to be too politically sensitive (Buchanan-Smith, 2004). Foreign governments, through their own aid agencies, have striven to avoid giving the impression that their intervention is anything other than humanitarian, or that it has any political motivation. As a result, the needs of these highly vulnerable groups are not well understood and have scarcely been responded to by the aid industry. Among the very few bodies working with such groups is the Farm Community Trust (FCT), an LNGO with some international backing; the FCT has produced evidence of increasing child malnutrition and deaths from starvation amongst ex-farm worker families (Sachikonye, 2003), and has been able to provide some support to these families. Similarly, in urban areas, where massive unemployment and hyperinflation have impinged drastically on livelihoods, the needs here have been largely neglected by aid agencies⁹⁷. These agencies have not spoken out to condemn Mugabe's policies and nor have they advocated in earnest a softening of the donor stance on assistance to commercial farming areas⁹⁸ (Buchanan-Smith, 2004). Their representatives feel that it is not their duty to defend human rights, and that they are better placed to offer aid not words (A. Dykes, pers. comm., 2004; N. Guttman, pers. comm., 2004). But in

⁹³ In the latter half of 2002, when large-scale emergency programmes began in southern Africa, the UN was weak and failed to defend humanitarian adequately space in Zimbabwe (A. Dykes, pers. comm., 2004). It has since improved.

⁹⁴ The WFP was unable to register either Oxfam or SCUK as implementing partners in 2002 because of Government objections. (The latter is now registered.)

⁹⁵ In September 2002 the Private Voluntary Organisations Act introduced by the Government triggered concern amongst aid and civil rights networks. Crisis in Zimbabwe Coalition's Brian Kagoro denounced the latest NGO bill of July 2004 as 'part of a strategy to close the last crevices of democratic opposition' and 'an assault on NGOs under the guise of protecting national sovereignty' (IRIN 19 July 2004)

⁹⁶ Buchanan-Smith (2004) points out that other organisations, such as the ICRC, are less affected because of the way they work and because of their more independent relationships with both the host and donor governments. The ICRC's mandate is enshrined in the Geneva Conventions and it fiercely protects its independence from donor governments through the nature of its financial relationships, with less earmarking than is the case for most INGOs.

⁹⁷ The IFRC and some local churches have engaged in targeted household food distribution, in spite of difficulties in accessing high-density areas (Buchanan-Smith, 2004).

⁹⁸ DEC agencies felt that assisting resettled people could restrict their donor income and so 'none... could provide any example of their lobbying with donors to permit food distribution on the basis of need in the resettled farm areas' (Valid International, 2004, p32).

keeping their heads down they could be accused of acquiescence and a lack of moral courage (R. Monro, pers. comm., 2004; J. Melby, pers. comm., 2004).

Although aid from abroad is not being regularly pillaged by ZANU PF supporters, as some international media reports have insinuated, it has certainly been politicised and probably misdirected. SCUK's less than harmonious relationship with the Zimbabwean Government reached an all-time low in September 2002 when, following a Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) victory in local council elections, its programme in Binga⁹⁹ district was closed for two months¹⁰⁰. During this period too, the WFP and other international bodies withdrew support to the national Organisation of Rural Associations for Progress (ORAP) when, during local by-election campaigns, both ZANU PF and the MDC used distribution sites as places for political speeches (and the former also confiscated 3 million tonnes of maize) (HRW, 2002, p32). The Government, far more than the MDC, has used food, like land, as a means of demonstrating political favour. In early 2003, the VAC was unable to account for over 200,000 million tonnes of maize in its national assessment and strong suspicions were aroused as to the likelihood that much-needed food was being exported on the black market or given to vote-seeking ZANU PF politicians (HRW, 2002). Government maize distributions are also controlled through a central 'Food Committee' whose chair answers directly to Mugabe. So, in spite of how the aid industry has presented food shortages and food handouts as straightforward and apolitical, it works, undeniably, in a context where both have enormous political significance. Food is not just food; it is a reflection of power dynamics, of economics and of peoples' ability to fend off multiple threats to their ability to produce and to access this life-sustaining resource.

Crossing Zimbabwe's borders

So far, diplomatic responses to the situation in Zimbabwe by the African Union (AU), SADC and the Commonwealth¹⁰¹ have been inconsistent (HRW, 2002) and are clearly affected by memories of southern Africa's long struggle for an end to colonial and white minority rule. Feelings of racial discrimination and exploitation run deep, and have been well manipulated by Mugabe as a means of wooing national voters and African allies, and of undermining donor governments (Kibble, 2003)¹⁰². The 'Africa blocks' at the UN and the Commonwealth have, to a degree, defended Zimbabwe, while South Africa's President Thabo Mbeki has played a key role in keeping Western noses and fists out¹⁰³. There have been no human rights resolutions against

⁹⁹ See Appendix 1, 'Map of Zimbabwe'.

¹⁰⁰ ZANU PF representatives accused SCUK of 'being a front for British intelligence' and ensured that programmes were stopped for a couple of months. It has been particularly difficult for agencies to operate in Matabeleland, a traditional opposition stronghold and home to the minority Ndebele people.

¹⁰¹ See Appendix 2, 'Chronology', for some details on sanctions and suspensions imposed on Zimbabwe.

¹⁰² 'By defining the Zimbabwean crisis as one of anti-colonial redress and legitimate land redistribution, President Mugabe set the parameters of the subsequent debate, helped by Western, particularly British, intervention that appeared unaware of the African and to some extent Third World impact of its statements.' (Kibble, 2003, p3)

¹⁰³ Following a visit by US President George W. Bush to South Africa in mid-2003, Mbeki was given the nod to let Africa lead the way in responding to Zimbabwe.

Zimbabwe at the UN, and the Commonwealth has gone no further than suspending Zimbabwe's membership¹⁰⁴. Both the EU and the US imposed targeted sanctions on top ZANU PF officials in 2002 (which have since been extended), following violent land seizures and evidence of unfair elections, but their approach is best described as 'softly softly'. And the UK government, feeling itself backed into a corner, has avoided any diplomatic confrontation for fear of perpetuating the misconception that this is a battle between Mugabe and Britain over white farmers.

Former UK Secretary of State for International Development, Clare Short, in giving evidence to the IDC on 'The humanitarian crisis in southern Africa' in January 2003¹⁰⁵, commented: '[The UK Government] cannot stop the Zimbabwe Government from wrecking its own country.' In every declaration of humanitarian principles, and in any fair assessment, national governments should be responsible for and responsive to their people. Ideally, foreigners should not have to intervene, and nor should they have to deal with despots apparently intent on bringing harm to millions of people. But there is nothing ideal about contemporary Zimbabwe and there is ample justification on human rights grounds for the outside world to do a lot more than it has done so far. ICISS describes the need for 'root cause prevention' at political, economic and legal levels: political responses include confidence-building measures between different communities and support for press freedom; economic responses include addressing inequities in the distribution of resources or opportunities, introducing better terms of trade, allowing greater access to external markets, and encouraging necessary structural reform; and legal responses include efforts to strengthen the rule of law, protecting the judiciary, promoting accountability in law enforcement, enhancing protections for vulnerable groups, and providing support to local institutions and organisations working to advance human rights' (ICISS, 2001, p23). In Zimbabwe, specifically, the international community – and the aid industry within it – should respond to more complicated risks if and when they arise, but must at the same time engage realistically with the less presentable causes and solutions than has been the case. Aid workers should represent an honest and deep commitment to all Zimbabweans (especially those who are harder to reach) and should be working with local people to promote security and prosperity, not just fill bellies.

¹⁰⁴ The Commonwealth has no human rights charter, and so is limited in what action it can take (R. Monro, pers. comm., 2004).

¹⁰⁵ See Bibliography.

Chapter 5

Conclusion

The response of foreign governments and aid agencies to Zimbabwe has been ‘inadequate and ineffectual at all levels’ (ICG, 2004, pi). Political challenges have been avoided as the temptation to continue to portray and respond to Zimbabweans primarily as a food-deprived mass struggling to cope with bad weather has proved too great. The case of Zimbabwe shows how emergency relief operations can be less about the needs of those who are (or are not) targeted, and more about the interests of programme planners and sponsors. At no time do desperately needy victims in far-flung corners of the world catapult themselves onto the urgent agendas of aid workers and government officials. But between them and those who are dispatched to save their lives, a far more potent set of needs and priorities determines what an emergency is and how to react to it. In spite of good intentions on the part of many of the individuals who work in aid agencies, levels of engagement and response are strongly determined by money and politics.

Zimbabwe is a country in deep turmoil. Under a self-serving and ruinous government its people are being deprived of homes, livelihoods and voices, its political systems are rotting and its economy is collapsing. Whilst Zimbabweans must fix their own problems, their dire circumstances are a clear indication of the need for support from the outside world. Without national, regional and international pressure to rebuild the country’s democracy (starting with free-and-fair elections and talks between the Government and opposition parties), Zimbabwe may soon be ‘at the point of no return’ (ibid.). Without strenuous efforts to address grave economic failings, to ensure that rich resources are shared, and to assist people whose resilience is worn thin with the impacts of disease, the suffering of Zimbabweans will not be abated. Lives are saved by generous food aid, but they will not be out of danger until the root causes of Zimbabwe’s complex emergency are tackled. To help people in emergencies to help themselves, the aid industry must allow their true needs to shape its emergency portrayal and response. It must face up to hard truths and move beyond soft solutions.

Acronyms and abbreviations

ACF/AAH	Action Contre La Faim/Action Against Hunger
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
CAP	Consolidated Appeals Process (UN)
CHOGM	Commonwealth Heads of Government
CPE	Complex Political Emergency
CRS	Catholic Relief Service
DEC	Disaster Emergencies Committee
DfID	Department for International Development (UK)
ECA	Economic Commission for Africa (UN)
ECHO	European Commission Humanitarian Aid Office (EC)
EU	European Union
FANR	Food Agriculture and Natural Resources Sector (SADC)
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organisation (UN)
FEWS(NET)	Famine Early Warning Systems (Network) (USAID)
FOSENET	Food Security Network (Zimbabwean NGOs)
GMB	Grain Marketing Board
HIV	Human Immuno-deficiency Virus
HPG	Humanitarian Practice Group (ODI)
HPN	Humanitarian Practice Network (ODI)
HRW	Human Rights Watch
ICISS	International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty
IDC	International Development Committee (UK Parliament)
INGO	International Non-Governmental Organisation
LDS	Lutheran Development Service
LNGO	Local Non-Governmental Organisation
MDC	Movement for Democratic Change
MSF	Médecins Sans Frontières
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
OCHA	Office for the Co-ordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UN)
ODI	Overseas Development Institute
ORAP	Organisation of Rural Associations for Progress
PPP	Purchasing Power Parity
SADC	Southern Africa Development Community
SCUK	Save the Children UK
SSA	Sub-Saharan Africa
TNC	Trans-national corporation
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNDP	UN Development Programme
UNICEF	UN Children's Fund
US	United States
USAID	US Agency for International Development
VAC	Vulnerability Assessment Committee
WFP	World Food Programme
ZANU PF	Zimbabwe African National Union – Patriotic Front
ZCTU	Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions

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Judith Melby
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