

ZIMBABWE BRIEFING

a crisis in zimbabwe coalition regional office weekly report

06 - 13 June 2012

ISSUE 77



SADC Reaffirms the Reform Agenda: Yet the Ball Remains in Our Court

Last week the Luanda SADC's Extraordinary Summit of Heads of State and Government reaffirmed the need for Zimbabwe's unity government to fulfil all Global Political Agreement outstanding issues before the next election. This reaffirmation by SADC is important because SADC now stands between the push by President Mugabe to declare, unilaterally, an election timetable against the wishes of his political opponents and the majority of people of Zimbabwe, more so in an environment of growing insecurity. SADC has played its role by urging the unity government to stick to the GPA targets critically the need for a new constitution and an agreed election plan. The constitution writing process has come under relentless assault from ZANU PF with President Mugabe and his henchman declaring their desire for an election in 2012 with or without a new constitution.

The statement by SADC is therefore of huge importance as it takes the unity government back to the agenda of finishing the constitution and subjecting the document to a referendum. The SADC Communiqué also makes it clear that the unity government must agree on the implementation of an election roadmap. This statement has also been contested by ZANU PF with arguments that the GPA does not necessarily carry or state any clear guidelines for elections except that there should be elections at the end of the GNU tenure.

SADC has reminded ZANU PF that such a pre-election process indeed exists and that after the referendum and possible adoption of a new constitution the parties must sit and agree on an election roadmap with the help of SADC mediator, President Jacob Zuma. ZANU PF has resorted to raising a lot of dust attacking not only the constitution writing process, but President Zuma. President Mugabe even threatened to ask SADC to choose another facilitator in place of Zuma. It is important



South African President and SADC Appointed Facilitator on Zimbabwe, Jacob Zuma

The call is for civil society and the generality of citizens

to continue working at making Zimbabwe achieve

peace in the immediate and long term future.

The affirmation of the GPA process by SADC is

therefore to be noted and celebrated within the context

and understanding that a lot more still needs to be done by us.

that despite the tomfoolery by Zambia's president Michael Sata, in attacking the MDC parties and supporting Mugabe in Luanda, SADC remains united and focused on the basic agenda which is for the unity government to complete the GPA agenda, and agree on an election roadmap. While the GPA, hence the unity government and its agenda were never agreed or consented to by the people of Zimbabwe in any democratic process, they however remain all we have on the table to move this country out of its present crisis. In the absence of ZANU PF and its security sector backers deciding, against all expectations, to reform, the SADC negotiated GPA process, with all its faults is the best plan that civil society has and that need support.

It is important therefore that SADC be encouraged by Zimbabwe civil society to stick to the script through continued lobbying and awareness raising on the deteriorating security situation in Zimbabwe. While it might appear unhelpful the fact that SADC ignored the hoodlums in the Zimbabwe military who are threatening citizens and their political opponents might as well be a clear message that no one should take them seriously on the political front, yet their actions in support of ZANU PF are a matter of serious concern that we can only hope that the MDC parties raised in closed door meetings with SADC leaders.

I cannot help but agree with a Sunday Mail headline of 3 June that the ball is in our court.

While this headline was published by this newspaper in an attempt at deflating the full impact of the SADC snub and blow on President Mugabe, the headline is however spot-on, that ultimately the citizens of Zimbabwe must take charge of their political future. SADC can only do so much at its level, but SADC cannot stop the murder of MDC supporters in Mudzi, SADC cannot stop the politicisation and incompetence in the police and military. SADC cannot stop the continued detention of MDC supporters on contrived charges. SADC cannot stop the breaking up local governance systems. The call is for civil society and the generality of citizens to continue working at making Zimbabwe achieve peace in the immediate and long term future. The affirmation of the GPA process by SADC is therefore to be noted and celebrated within the context and understanding that a lot more still needs to be done by us.

While pushing for increased SADC involvement in a peaceful end to the Zimbabwe crisis, civil society must not lose sight of the prevailing environment of fear and deteriorating living conditions that need to be resolved now and in some cases by this unity government. While equally noting the good news from Luanda, civil society must be aware that the full package of reforms in Zimbabwe is far beyond the fulfilment of the GPA conditions, but also an end to the many human induced social ills. The prevailing food shortages, abuse of diamonds money, and other corrupt activities all have the capacity to derail the conduct of free and fair elections. We need to maintain pressure on the democratic political sector in the GNU to demonstrate leadership not only in pushing SADC to stick to the script but in improving social delivery and standing up for the oppressed. We need to take note of Luanda yet self-introspect on what our role is in this unfolding drama.

By David Mutomba

SADC Decision Falls Short

Coordinator's Note 77



dewaMavhinga

On 1 June SADC leaders meeting in Luanda, Angola, for an extraordinary summit that discussed the political situation in Zimbabwe made a correct decision when they insisted on critical reforms before Zimbabwe can go for elections. This may have derailed plans by Zanu PF to have elections this year with or without a new constitution and may have given pro-democracy forces cause to cheer, but much more needs to be done. SADC must abandon this minimalist approach and take decisive steps to ensure the urgent implementation of reforms to level the political field and pave way for non-violent, free and fair elections as soon as possible.

In March 2011 the SADC Troika Organ on Defence, Politics and Security Cooperation made it clear that elections in Zimbabwe could only take place following credible reforms, and therefore, the Luanda SADC Communique did not reveal anything new; it merely restated a position that SADC had already put on public record. While some can celebrate that SADC consensus on Zimbabwe has not been broken, especially given that Zambian president Sata seems sympathetic to Zanu PF views, the real challenge is that SADC is failing to go beyond this minimalist to actually push for the reforms that must be implemented.

It is not that civil society has been pushing for Zimbabwe not to go for elections at all, but rather, that Zimbabwe should only go to elections under the right conditions. SADC has laid out in clear terms, firm pre-conditions to ensure democratic elections in Zimbabwe but has done little to ensure that Zimbabwe's political leaders implement the reforms with a sense of urgency. Given Zanu PF's resistance to reforms, there is a real risk that the next 12 months may fail to

yield the desired reforms which the Inclusive Government failed to implement in the last 48 months. Such a scenario may very well benefit president Mugabe who may wish to die in office, but would certainly be disastrous for Zimbabwe. SADC must now confront Zanu PF directly on the question of the urgency of reforms and insist on a clear timeframe within which reforms must be implemented. No-one is advocating for the lifespan of the Inclusive Government to be extended in perpetuity. Fresh elections leading to a legitimate government with a mandate from the people is in every Zimbabwean's interest. There is

Monitoring and Implementation Committee (JOMIC). Agreement was reached that the SADC monitors should be deployed but to date this has not happened, SADC leaders must now shift their focus to ensuring that they have a presence on the ground in Zimbabwe to monitor all aspects of the implementation of the GPA on a day to day basis.

SADC must make it clear to the political parties in Zimbabwe that now it is business as unusual and state clearly what appropriate steps it will take to ensure full compliance with its resolutions and directives regarding Zimbabwe's preparations for

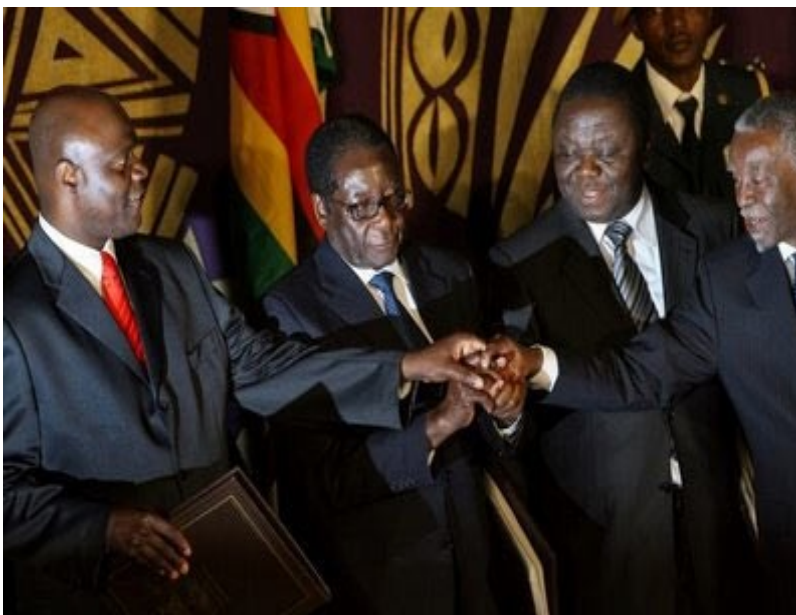
The Zimbabwe Electoral Commission and its Secretariat Staff, charged with elections management, must be completely demilitarized, independent, professional, adequately resourced and have direct technical support from the SADC Electoral Commissions Forum to enable it to impartially discharge its mandate.

In the context of its on-going facilitation in the political conflict in Zimbabwe, SADC must independently examine and certify that the environment is conducive to holding free and fair elections and then supervise those elections to ensure full compliance with SADC principles and guidelines governing democratic elections.

The elections must robustly monitored and observed by local, regional and international groups who should have unfettered access to all parts of the country.

Together with the AU and the UN, deploy peace-keeping monitors at least three months ahead of elections to prevent state-sponsored violence and intimidation and to guarantee peaceful transfer of power to the eventual winner of the elections. The peace-keeping monitors should remain on the ground a further three months after elections have been held.

Dewa Mavhinga, Crisis in Zimbabwe Coalition Regional Coordinator



From Left, Deputy Prime Minister Authur Mutambara [MDC], President Robert Mugabe [ZANU PF], Prime Minister Morgan Tsvangirai [MDC-T] and Thabo Mbeki Former South African President and SADC Facilitator on Zimbabwe

need now to commit to a clear elections roadmap with benchmarks including a new constitution confirmed in a referendum.

An issue of prime importance for SADC is the monitoring of the Global Political Agreement (GPA) implementation, particularly the set of reforms agreed to that will level the political field and pave way for free and fair elections, and such monitoring is best achieved through the urgent deployment of SADC appointed monitors from the Troika countries who should work closely with the Joint

elections. For the roadmap to be meaningful and to inspire confidence in the people of Zimbabwe, it must directly address the following five critical pre-conditions:

A new constitution which includes critical electoral reforms such as an updated and accurate voters' roll, guarantees for media freedoms, promotes gender equality and equal access by all political parties to state media while repealing or amending all legislation that hinders free political activity.

UPCOMING EVENTS

9th to 10th July, 2012 - 24th

Ordinary Session of the Permanent Representatives Committee (PRC). Malawi

12th to 13th July, 2012 - The 21st Ordinary Session of the Executive Council. Malawi

15th to 16th July, 2012 – the 19th Ordinary Session of the Assembly for Heads of State and Government of the African Union. Malawi

ZINASU Calls for Solidarity with 29 MDC Activists on Trial



Pride Mkono, ZINASU President

The president of a revived Zimbabwe National Students Union (ZINASU), Pride Mkono has condemned the politically motivated trial of 29 MDC activists including MDC-T Youth Assembly President Solomon Madzore on trumped up murder charges saying democracy is on trial.

He called upon the pro-democracy movement to come out in solidarity with the activists whose trial at the Harare High Court is currently underway.

Mkono further stated that a re-branding ZINASU is geared to mobilize students and the youths to register to vote in their

thousands in elections that must be free from military interference and monitored by SADC and the AU to ensure they are genuinely free and fair and without violence.

By Zimbabwe National Students Union

Perils and Pitfalls by Solidarity Peace Trust & People Against Suffering, Oppression

Solidarity Peace Trust (SPT) and People Against Suffering Oppression and Poverty (Passop) launched a joint report in Johannesburg yesterday on the 4th of June. The launch was attended by many Zimbabweans.

The report titled Perils and Pitfalls indicates that between October and December 2011 the Beitbridge border handled 7 755 deportees, while an additional 7

177 Zimbabweans were deported between January and March 2012. The two organisations called on the South African government to halt the militarisation of immigration raids. Commenting on the legislative regime governing immigration, Bram Henekom, from Passop warned that “the policies being promoted by the government will ultimately see Africans fighting fellow Africans like

what was experienced in 2008.” The recommendations come a few months after the South African government instituted a bill in parliament that will see immigrants being imprisoned for up to four years for staying illegally in South Africa. Professor Brian Raftopolous, who also addressed the meeting lamented that people are being deported without proper procedures asking for the rule of law

to prevail. Raftopolous said there was need for international consensus on resolving Harare political quagmires and the political mediation should lead to normalisation of situation in Zimbabwe.

By Tafadzwa Maguchu

Inbrief Around Zimbabwe

High Court Trial of 29 MDC Activists

The trial of 29 members of the



Solomon Madzore, MDC-T Youth President, one of the 29 MDC Activists on trial for allegedly killing a policeman

MDC including MDC-T National youth Assembly President Solomon Madzore kicked off yesterday the 4th of June 2012 at the High Court in Harare. The 29 are facing spurious charges of murdering a police officer in May last year in Glen View, a high density suburb west of Harare. The accused pleaded not guilty to the charges. Over 200 protesters gathered outside the court and were dispersed by police who fired tear gas. The trial continues with defence lawyers applying for bail.

Government of Zimbabwe to Conduct Population Census in August 2012

The Zimbabwe National Statis-

tics Agency (ZIMSTAT) has announced that Zimbabwe's fourth population census enumeration will be conducted from 18 to 28 August 2012. Previous censuses were in August 1982, August 1992 and August 2002. Given the cost and investment in the census, it is difficult to see how the government can manage a census, a constitutional referendum and national harmonized elections all in a space of six months.

Mudzi Murder

The late MDC-T Ward 1 Chairperson for Mudzi in Mashona-



The Late Cephass Magura, MDC-T Ward 1 Councillor Mudzi North Constituency

land East, Cephass Magura (aged 67), who was murdered by alleged Zanu PF supporters in the presence of indifferent police on 26 May, just a day after UN Human Rights High Commissioner Navi Pillay left the

country, was laid to rest on Sunday the 3rd of June 2012. The burial was attended by the Prime Minister Morgan Tsvangirai and other senior MDC officials. Two Zanu PF MPs Newton Kachepa and Aquilinah Katsande have been accused of sponsoring the violence in Mudzi.

Post Mortem results reflect multiple blows with blunt object to body and head, with intracranial hemorrhage.

United States Hosts Kimberly Process Conference

The United States is hosting the annual Kimberly Process Inter-cessional on the mining and trade of diamonds from conflict zones in Southern Africa at the United States Department of State in Washington DC from the 4th to the 7th of June 2012. The conference is being chaired by US Ambassador Gillian Milovanonic who is chair of the Kimberly Process. The United States has temporarily lifted travel bans against Zimbabwe Mines Minister Obert Mpofu and Attorney General Johannes Tomana who will be attending the meeting. Officials from the State run Zimbabwe Mining Development Cooperation and some civil society representatives including Farai Maguwi of

the Centre for Research and Development are also attending the conference. The conference is expected to review the definition of conflict or blood diamonds to include those diamonds mined in the context of serious human rights abuses such as in the case of Marange in Zimbabwe.

SADC Extraordinary Summit (Luanda, Angola) Resolutions on Zimbabwe

6.9 On Zimbabwe, Summit commended stakeholders for their commitment, cooperation and efforts towards the implementation of the Global Political Agreement (GPA) and urged the parties to the GPA to finalise the constitution-making process and subject it to a referendum thereafter.

6.10 Summit also urged the parties to the GPA, assisted by His Excellency Jacob G Zuma, President of the Republic of South Africa and SADC Facilitator of the Zimbabwe Political Dialogue, to develop an implementation mechanism and to set out time frames for the full implementation of the Roadmap to Elections.

6.11 Summit further commended the Facilitator for his efforts towards the realization of full implementation of GPA.

President Sata's Position on Zimbabwe is Bankrupt and Toxic

Even Before his election as Zambian leader in September 2011, President Sata has been an avowed supporter and admirer of President Mugabe and ZANU PF not withstanding previous policy positions of his predecessors, concerns about lawlessness by SADC, AU and most importantly how Mugabe has abused State institutions to remain in power. President Sata is of the view that because Mugabe is one of the many Zimbabwean nationalists who participated in the liberation of the country from colonial rule, his leadership irrespective of egregious human rights violations, promotion of lawlessness, economic decay and disputed polls, he should not be challenged. Put simply; Sata thinks Zimbabweans should not exercise agency in how they are governed and even they do so and democratically and win elections that should be disregarded. That is his version of democracy, warped indeed.

Sata's view of the Zimbabwean problematic is not based on policy positions but misguided nostalgic delusions of a genuine, legitimate but abused liberation war history and the nationalist struggle. So far, since he assumed power in 2011, Sata has not outlined policy positions that can persuade Zimbabweans to appreciate why he is hurting them by supporting a discredited man who has lost the legitimate right to govern, bar violence and other electoral malpractices. The Zambian President apart from sloganeering sees Mugabe and most recently at the Luanda Summit supporting Mugabe's untenable position of having elections without reforms as agreed under the Global Political Agreement (GPA) and consistently pushed and agreed by various SADC meetings including the 2010 Livingstone SADC Troika Summit in his own country which laid out a road map to the holding of free, fair and credible elections, Sata continue to defy common sense without shame.

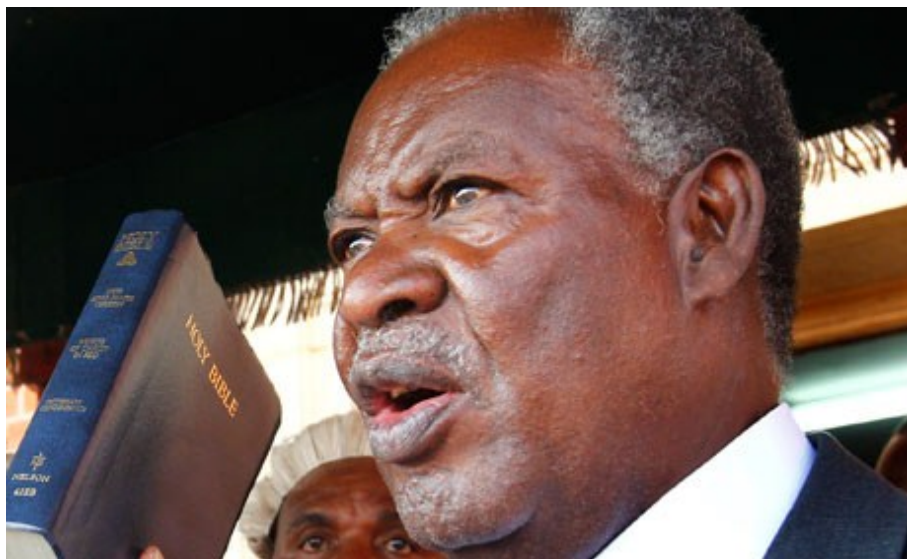
It is not clear why the Zambian leader is defying SADC and the AU position on Zimbabwe and why he continues to spit on democratic political processes in Zimbabwe. There should be a convincing explanation to this political madness. He should know that the Zimbabwean problem has cost lives, the economy and our reputation as peaceful citizens because of the activities of the man he blindly support without contrition. Zimbabweans have been a victim of all sorts of violations under President Mugabe's government. These violations include electoral malpractices, institutionalized political violence, the partisan nature of the security apparatus during the conduct of elections as well as a public media that works as propaganda tool of ZANU PF. These are some of the issues that SADC and the people of Zimbabwe want resolved before the country goes to the next poll.

It is critical to try to examine the possible reasons why President Sata is behaving in a manner that seems to benefit his country nothing but contempt from the majority of the suffering Zimbabweans. If indeed his position on Zimbabwean is bankrupt and turns out to be an assault against the democratic wishes of the citizens of this country then the Zambian President should realize that we reserve to treat him with equal contempt in reckless abundance.

In order to try to appreciate this untenable position, I want to interrogate why States take decisions that they do at the international level or as their foreign policies, what influences such positions. The theory of realism as postulated by scholars such as Benjamin Frankel and Oona Hathaway could assist to unravel the Zambian position on Zimbabwe. These realists scholars make critical assumptions about the world such as; states are

vestment that could lead to the expansion of their economies through foreign investments thereby creating opportunities and employment for their citizens.

It is important to note that there is a major division within the Realist School regarding how states measure the maximization of power. Under classic realist theory states seek to make absolute gains in their power. Under this view, a realist state does not care whether other states gain in the same transaction as long as the state that is acting makes a gain in power. Could this be the position of President Sata? If it is, then it is important for the region and Zimbabweans to know that which Zambia and its President intent to gain from supporting the regime in Harare against all odds. In Zimbabwe, Sata supports what is unacceptable in his country, everything he fought against in Zambia. This is oxymoron behavior by a Head of State.



The President of Zambia , Michael Sata

the primary and most powerful actors in the international sphere; the world is anarchic; since there is no power over states and no state may command another, there can be no order in international relations; states seek to maximize their security power; realists perceive the world as having limited resources that are evenly distributed and so they see states as primarily focused on maximizing power and security and that States behave rationally in their pursuits of security or power.

In the majority of cases, when the States make their foreign policies or sign treaties with other states, they look at those realist assumptions with a view of trying to get the best deals of such relations. If one were to audit the position of President Sata, it is difficult to see what he is trying to get out of the problems in Zimbabwe by lending support to a discredited leader. It is possible to postulate that the majority of SADC leaders have taken a position on Zimbabwe based on attempting to protect their economies and citizens from the influx of Zimbabweans into the region, making the region politically stable and therefore attract in-

Neo-realists argue that states seek relative gains. In this view states will want to know whether they will benefit more than other states based on the existing power structure. It still boggles the mind to appreciate the Zambian foreign policy on Zimbabwe under President Sata. It is something that the Zambian government needs to be clear on in order to avoid political ambiguities in the messages of its President. Based on these assumptions, realist scholars tend to view the world as a series of prisoners' dilemmas. The classic prisoners' dilemma involves two suspects arrested for a crime. The suspects agree in advance not to say anything. The police interrogate them separately and over each leniency in return for a confession. If neither suspect cooperates, they will only face a light sentence for a lesser included offence. If both suspects confess, they will both go to prison for the full crime though they will get some leniency for their cooperation. If only one suspect confesses that suspect will be left off while the other gets the maximum sentence for the full crime. The best overall outcome for both suspects is when both choose not to confess.

For each individual the best outcome is to confess while the other sticks to their agreement not to say anything. If either suspect believes the other will cheat by confessing, it is in their interest to also cheat and confess. Unless the two suspects are incredibly committed to their agreement this prisoners' dilemma should tend to end in both suspects confessing to protect themselves against worst possible outcome and possibly obtain the best outcome.

The basic idea from the prisoner's dilemma can be translated into the international relations sphere. For example, States will follow the Third Geneva Conventions (which protects prisoners of war and wounded soldiers) as long as they believe other states will also comply. Yet if one state suspects or knows that another state is violating the Third Geneva Convention, the other state would be motivated to break the treaty, it has been argued. In the Zimbabwean case, the majority of SADC states support the GPA and the SADC principles and guidelines governing the conduct of democratic elections which ZANU PF opposes. Apparently Sata is opposing these principles by blindly supporting Mugabe. The agenda of Sata should be clear. The problem with realists is that they must find some benefit for states in agreeing to and complying with international human rights norms and other norms of good governance. Even if such a benefit could be found, realists would need to show why there would be a strong incentive to cheat under the prisoner's dilemma. Zambia as a member of SADC and member of the SADC Troika should in the interest of transparent and accountable leadership explain why it has shifted from its prior positions on Zimbabwe particularly the need to embrace human rights and broader democratic ethos as the cornerstones of legitimate governance.

The Zambian political technocrats should face the truth and try to explain the position of Zambia beyond the sloganeering of its President for slogans have never been policies but just slogans that are bereft of content and ideas.

It is critical for this to be done in the broader interest of good relations between the ordinary citizens of both countries not necessarily the parochial interest of Sata and Mugabe. The Zambian leadership should be very sensitive to any outburst and unmitigated support of a yester year leadership in Zimbabwe that has since lost the sovereign, legitimate and democratic right to govern Zimbabwe.

By Pedzisai Ruhanya (PhD Candidate, Media and Democracy, Westminster University, London)

Zimbabwe's Military- ZANU PF's Frankenstein: For How Long Will They Ride the Tiger?

The media is awash with pronouncements by several senior ranking officers within the military that the 'Presidency' is a straight-jacket. The military argue that it is only those with liberation credentials, and understand Zimbabwe's sovereignty and territorial integrity, will it salute. Zimbabwe's military elites have therefore drawn the battle lines for the impending elections and how the military is going to conduct itself.

The most recent pronouncement from Major General Martin Chedondo that; "As soldiers, we will never be apologetic for supporting ZANU-PF because it is the only political party that has national interests at heart," and "As soldiers we must support ideologies that we subscribe to, I for one will not be apologetic for supporting ZANU-PF because I was part of the liberation struggle" equal an undeclared coup. Most interestingly this is not new, but an escalation of the military elite's flirtation with politics in post colonial Zimbabwe. Consequently, Zimbabwe's military elite have become a law unto themselves, a super breed as in George Orwell's animal farm represented by Snowball and the pigs. Interestingly ZANU PF has enjoyed this circus by the military elite and letting it go as they have been perennial and historical beneficiaries of military 'renegadism'. What is not dawning to the civilian ZANU PF leadership is that they have created a military that is now obsessed with its superiority and grandiose. ZANU PF is behaving like the proverbial hunter that fed a baby tiger into a full grown tiger on milk, and enjoying riding the tiger. One day the tiger will taste meat, and sing 'heavens, where was all this delicacy'? The question now is for how long will they ride the Tiger? The writing is on the wall.

Zimbabwe's Defence Policy provisions are apparent that '...civilian military relations refer to the hierarchy of authority between the Executive, Parliament and the Defence Force. A cardinal principle is that the Defence Force is subordinate to the civilian authority...' The Zimbabwe constitution also prohibits the military from active participation in politics and holding office in any political party or political organisation. This does not however limit their right to vote for a political establishment of their choice. It is not that ZANU PF is not aware of these legal provisions and what needs to be done. They are very much aware and this is supported by the quashing of the 'Nhari Rebellion' and ZIPA (*Vashandi*) maneuvers, as the civilian leadership of the liberation movement sought to subordinate the military under its command. ZANU PF has expediently turned a blind eye to these provisions so long as the military says something in its favour.

It is clear from ZANU PF that you may be rogue elements so long as you support us. In return the military elites have been pampered with privileges and goodie goodies that other Zimbabweans have not been enjoying. This explains the highly securitization of the Zimbabwean economy, from parastatals, agriculture to minerals (the Marange Diamonds in particular). A cursory glance of some companies' addresses at the registrar of companies show an increasing number of them being domiciled at Defence House in

Harare. The argument from the military is that the civilian has failed; there is need for strategic and efficient management. Results and coercion are inconveniently conflated with strategy and efficiency. Unbeknown to the military elite is that Zimbabwe's problems are not just bad management but the architecture of the post colonial state. The so called independence of 1980 was a symbolic gesture and still continues so until today without any major fundamental reform of the socio-political and economic structure. What we had in 1980 up until now has been pigmentation of the political leadership and structures of Zimbabwe.

Going back to the subject under debate in this article, the securitization of



From Left, President Robert Mugabe Flanked by the Defence Forces Commanders

Zimbabwe's politics has created a Frankenstein that now threatens even the civilian leadership in ZANU PF through an undeclared coup. This undeclared coup d'état was integrated in Zimbabwe's politics with the 28 June 2008 election run-off in which the military elites clearly subverted all forms of civilian rule and normalized by the Global Political Agreement. As Robert Mugabe remarked in 1976 that "Our votes must go together with our guns; after all, any vote we shall have, shall have been the product of the gun. The gun, which produces the votes, should remain its security officer, its guarantor. The people's vote and the people's guns are always inseparable twins"; clearly in 2008 the military elites went with the vote on 28 June 2008. This aura of invincibility has created super military elites that disdain any form of civilian rule whether from ZANU PF, MDC or any political formation in Zimbabwe. The signs are quite telling as the military elites have started to reinvent and strategically position themselves through:

- The scramble for academic edification, hastened study programmes and splashing of full blown pages of their achievements.

- Spreading of tentacles to all productive sectors of the economy and assuming control

- Subversion and vetoing of Cabinet decisions by the Zimbabwe Broadcasting Holdings through defying Cabinet directives on changing its editorial policy, Arresting of Roy Bennet before

the Swearing in Ceremony of ministers at State House and continued detention of MDC activists and youth chairperson are cases in point.

- Emergence of an aspiring Capitalist Class with attempting to establish sprawling business empires almost in every sector i.e. from parastatals, agriculture, diamonds etc.

- Demands to reserve 25% of elected seats in the House of Assembly and Senate, for retired soldiers (see The Zimbabwe Independent of Friday 01 July 2011)

- Reinforcing supremacy of the military over the civilian. No wonder the worst insult in the army today is 'Unofunga semuCivilian' (You think like a civilian).

- Increasing appearance of military elites at political rallies and subsequently addressing them.

The talk and essence of ZIM2, off course with ZIM1 being Gushungo. Consequently this has created some kind of parallel government that is slowly building itself. To understand this better one would need to read Jonathan Moyo's article since his re-admission into ZANU PF, for they bare all. It is crystal clear that Moyo dances to whose pipes and tunes. It is not ZANU PF's but the Men from Defence House and KG VI.

The 'Bhora Musango' (Kick the ball away from Robert Mugabe so that he won't score) strategy by the Civilian part of ZANU PF in the 'Harmonised Elections' created ripe conditions for Mugabe to distrust his colleagues and opt to go with the Military elites. The Bhora Musango Strategy is corroborated by the results of the Parliamentary Elections showing that collectively ZANU PF candidates had higher numbers than Mugabe's Presidential Election Results. While for ZANU PF it has seemed okay to rely on the military elites they forget that 'Power is sweet' and it is like honey that once you taste it, you won't tire until you grab the jar. In Shona they say 'Kupfumbira gapu muhapwa' as the cunning Rabbit will say in the Folk Tales. You taste power and it intoxicates for life. The reported

emerging fissures between the Mnangagwa camp and the military elites are a case in point. They tasted power and were intoxicated. Power is addictive, and once you sniff the cocaine you will want to have it all to yourself. The addition of the alleged Chiwenga (Military elites) Camp to ZANU PF succession and shifting of alliance by Moyo to be its de-facto spokesperson indicates increasing headaches to the Civilian rule in ZANU PF. Interestingly Moyo was the lead spin doctor and political smith of the Mnangagwa camp until the disbandment of the Tsholotsho-Dinyane misadventure. The military factor's dominance of politics in ZANU PF can also be seen in the unending summer-saults and political u-turns by ZANU PF at every moment on things that they would have agreed and committed to in Cabinet, Parliament, COPAC and even at SADC level. The Civilian leadership of ZANU PF is now like Yoyos of the men in uniforms and has become outsiders not even an audience in a script they wrote.

The writing is now on the wall for ZANU PF. They fed a baby tiger on milk and enjoyed riding it, objecting advice on the dangers a tiger poses. The tiger is fully grown up now and it has tasted blood and meat. It knows beyond milk there are other goodies such as meat. The question is for how long will ZANU PF keep on riding the tiger? Similarly for how long will the military elites want to keep on playing second fiddle to civilian rule? It must be clear that in all cases when ZANU PF prevailed over the military as in the Nhari and ZIPA cases, there was unanimity amongst the civilian leadership, and now that there are deep entrenched divisions and betrayals after Bhora Musango; it bothers the mind for how long will the bubble last? ZANU PF created its own Frankenstein and sooner or later it will have to deal with it. Sooner or later the mantra will shift from saluting only Mugabe but to saluting ZIM2. If Gushungo is ZIM1 and you already have ZIM2 in the military it means the battle lines are drawn. A shona proverb says 'Kupembedza n'anga neino bata mai' (praising a devil that will haunt you). The Frankenstein is roaring and ready to roll.

By Tamuka Charles Chirimambowa
(Political Scientist and Economist).