

ZIMBABWE BRIEFING

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Attempts to Distract Zuma/SADC Must be Countered

On Thursday 8 June, a policy and civic research institute, Sapes Trust, hosted a public discussion that included as speakers, three of the Government of National Unity (GNU) negotiators and government Ministers Tendai Biti, (MDC-T), Priscilla Misiha-rambwi-Mushonga (MDC-N) and Patrick Chinamasa (ZANU PF) to speak on the on-going SADC mediation process and status of the GNU. Also in attendance was South Africa Ambassador to Zimbabwe Vusi Mavimbela. The discussion was meant to focus on the future of Zimbabwe in light of the recent SADC Luanda summit at which SADC spoke with one voice on the need for the three GNU parties to complete the constitutional review process, agree on an election roadmap and thereafter hold a general election.

The decision by SADC has not gone well with hawks in ZANU PF who were hoping for SADC support for a 2012 election. This frustration is boiling over as seen by a frontal attack on the South Africa Ambassador and President Zuma by ZANU PF Politburo Member Jonathan Moyo and others like Goodson Nguni. The two were puffed by the Ambassador's explanation that the SADC Heads of States Summit had essentially adopted the SADC Troika report which explains in detail the steps the Zimbabwe GNU parties must take towards getting SADC endorsement for an election.

Jonathan Moyo accused the Ambassador of not only being unschooled in diplomacy but failing to read the SADC communiqué well. Twice the clearly irritated South African Ambassador explained that the SADC Communi-

qué does not have to be a ten page statement and that if the Troika report is not disputed either in part or whole then it is officially adopted as part of the SADC summit resolutions. ZANU PF representatives at the meeting went overboard in their attacks on South Africa. Minister Chinamasa was the first to state that South Africa's President Jacob Zuma is merely facilitating and cannot dictate to the GNU



Minister of Justice and Legal Affairs Patrick Chinamasa[Zanu PF]

parties what to do. In the public discussion Moyo and Nguni went for Zuma and South Africa, declaring Zimbabwe's sovereignty and right to self-determination. Nguni who Chinamasa later disowned in the same meeting was particularly scathing on Zuma and South Africa, openly accusing the South Africans of siding with the MDC parties and being biased towards western powers views on Zimbabwe.

Chinamasa who felt embarrassed by all this later attempted to reverse his statements saying that he had not attacked President Zuma nor South Africa. The question is what does ZANU PF's open attack on South Africa mean for Zimbabwe, the SADC mediation process and Zimba-

bwe's relationship with South Africa? President Robert Mugabe set the tone a few months ago when he stated that his party could reject Zuma and ask SADC to nominate a new mediator. The attacks on Zuma and South Africa by ZANU PF are the execution part of Mugabe's call. The likes of Moyo and Chinamasa are well aware that it is only South Africa that stands between them and stampeding Zimbabwe into

well known and rehearsed strategy of violence and manipulation of electoral systems. The other strategy by ZANU PF is to minimise the influence of South Africa not only on SADC but in China and Russia by labelling South Africa a lackey of western powers and a regime change advocate in Zimbabwe. The support of these two international powers is key to ZANU PF's international strategy and survival.

While ZANU PF is sticking to its script of a demand for an election, this script has nothing on electoral reforms nor a guarantee of peace. ZANU PF will continue making this demand and even more vociferously so in the coming few months in an attempt to elevate elections as the only issue that SADC and the GNU must deal with ignoring the reform agenda. There is need for civil society and the MDC parties to ignore ZANU PF on its election call and demand and concentrate on the demand for reforms whether elections will be in 2013 or whatever period. The underlying issue is that there should be far reaching reforms before elections are held. There is equally a need to bolster the South African mediation with support as well as awareness raising and advocacy with other SADC member states, more so targeting unhinged leaders like Zambia's Michael Sata. There is need to support Zuma/SADC to stay the course on Zimbabwe.

By David R Mutomba, he is a journalist and human rights activist

ZANU PF is throwing everything at Zuma in an attempt to continue widening divisions in SADC on the question of a 2012 election more so with a view at getting SADC to endorse that election demand under the barest of electoral reforms. The push by SADC for far reaching electoral reforms is not going well with ZANU PF as this will threaten its

Three Scenarios

Coordinator's Note 78



dewaMavhinga

That within twelve months Zimbabwe will institute desired reforms leading to non-violent, free and fair elections acceptable to all is a desirable scenario (**scenario A**) which, unfortunately, is not likely to occur given the various dynamics and factors on the ground that have prevented such reforms from taking place over the last 40 months that the inclusive government has existed. Instead, other less desirable scenarios are more likely to occur over the next twelve months unless there is concerted effort from various players inside Zimbabwe and outside, including SADC, to make sure scenario A takes place.

Various political analysts including Professor Eldred Masunungure have raised concern at the fragility of Zimbabwe's transition and the uncertainty of the future arising from the internal contradiction of the inclusive government that has multiple fault lines and Zanu PF's determination for regression buoyed by the Marange diamonds bonanza. An example of a push to reverse reforms is found in the stalled Constitution Parliamentary Select Committee (COPAC) constitutional reform process where Zanu PF has suddenly come up with a 29 page document of amendments to the first draft constitution notwithstanding Zanu PF's participation in the COPAC process all along.

These political shenanigans, coupled with the army's reckless and irresponsible statements at senior levels recently, show clearly that for elections, practically, there is no significant difference between October 2012 and June 2013 because in both cases the political field will still be tilted in favour of Zanu PF. With the mysterious death in a fire last August of general Mujuru who was regarded as a moderate, it appears other moderates will retreat from pushing



Police dispersing people who had attended a police sanctioned MDC-T rally in Harare, March 2012

for reforms within Zanu PF.

This brings us to the most likely scenario (**scenario B**) where Zimbabwe goes to elections pretty much

under current conditions of serious characterized by lack of reforms, intimidation and some violence which would lead to another round of negotiations and a second inclu-



President Robert Mugabe with army generals

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A woman casting her vote during the March 2008 harmonised elections in Zimbabwe

sive government where both the MDC and Zanu PF are key players. Zanu PF will then try to deal with its internal succession issues.

The most frightening scenario (**scenario C**) which is becoming increasingly likely by the day is that of an overt military takeover once it becomes clear Zanu PF is headed for defeat at the polls. Under this scenario, whatever reforms we have witnessed under the inclusive government will be set aside under the pretext of defending the country's sovereignty against so-called imperialist aggression. It is unlikely that leadership of the military that is so blatantly partisan and politicized would accept the outcome of democratic elections that take Zanu PF out of power – and they have said as much in recent days.

The only way to prevent scenario B and C from occurring is for civil society and all pro-democracy political actors to strongly push, within Zimbabwe and within SADC, for urgent reforms and insist, not on empty timelines, but on credible reforms that separate the central intelligence organization and the army from political and civilian affairs. It is heartening to note that, while president Mugabe and Zanu PF saw 'imperialist forces' in the South African High Court decision to investigate torture committed in Zimbabwe, the ANC through its Secretary General insisted it would respect decisions of the courts.

Pro-democracy forces must be warned that reforms will not come easy, there is a lot of work to be done to ensure that Zimbabwe does not slide back to chaos.

Dewa Mavhinga, Regional Coordinator, Crisis in Zimbabwe Coalition

The Mugabe Presidential Scholarship Programme Undermining Zimbabwe Education

Every year since 1995 the Zimbabwe government sends students to study at various South African universities under the presidential scholarship programme. Up to US\$40 million is being paid to foreign universities to enable a few students to study under the presidential scholarship at the expense of heavily underfunded colleges and universities. The scholarships which were initially for studies at Fort Hare University have been extended to over 14 universities including expensive universities such as Witwatersrand in Johannesburg. An international student studying Bachelors of Science at Witwatersrand pays a minimum of R30 000, [close to US\$4 000] a year without accommodation. Studying the same degree costs US\$620 at Midlands State University whilst at Na-



The Executive Director of the Mugabe Presidential Scholarships, Chris Mushowe

tional University of Science and Technology [NUST] costs US\$400. The scholarship appears to be operating on patronage lines. Whilst the scholarship is meant to target disadvantaged students this is not the case

in practice for instance, the daughter of Mugabe's spokesperson George Charamba, Rukudzo Charamba is benefiting from the scholarship and is studying LLB with Fort Hare University. Tertiary institutions in

Zimbabwe are facing many challenges which are directly related to poor funding. According to Finance Minister Tendai Biti, University of Zimbabwe has an enrolment of close to 10 000 but only accommodate 4 287 in residence, National University of Science and Technology only accommodates 104 students in residence against the enrolment of close to 4 000 students and with an enrolment of close to 6 000 students, Midlands State university accommodate only 200 students. The three mentioned universities are not the only tertiary institutions in Zimbabwe as there are Polytechnic colleges, Teachers Colleges, Agricultural colleges Nursing institutions and many others that fall under the same ministry. According to the Zimba-

bwe National Students Union, the majority of students in Zimbabwe have been forced to defer or drop out of studies due to failure to pay tuition fees. In the current financial year tertiary institutions in Zimbabwe received a total of US\$29,11 million while 596 students for the presidential scholarship were allocated US\$3million. *By Tafadzwa Maguchu*

Inbrief Around Zimbabwe

President Zuma's Facilitation Team Visit Zimbabwe

President Jacob Zuma's facilitation



South African President and Sadc facilitator on Zimbabwe, Jacob Zuma

team was in Zimbabwe on Monday the 11th of June. The facilitation team led by Marc Maharaj, President Zuma's spokesman and Charles Ngqabula. Also in attendance was the South African Ambassador to Zimbabwe Vusi Mavimbela. The team met with MDC-T, MDC-N and ZANU PF. The team also convened meetings with small political parties not in the government including Simba Makoni's Mavambo/Kusile/Dawn, Job Sikhala's MDC99, Zanu Ndonga and Zimbabwe African Peoples Union (ZAPU).

The meetings are a follow-up by the facilitation team on SADC's recommendations at the Luanda Summit that parties must set out time frames for the full implementation of the roadmap to election-sand finalize the constitution-making process and subject it to a

referendum. In the spirit of ensuring implementation of the Global Political Agreement provisions, SADC has seconded two representatives to Zimbabwe's Joint Monitoring and Implementation Committee (JOMIC), Ambassador David Katye from Tanzania and Colly Muunyu, a Zambian national.

MDC Activists Trial

The trial of the 29 MDC-T activists who were arrested last year for allegedly murdering a police officer is underway at the High Court in Harare. The state has 20 witnesses and 4 have testified so far. One of the 29 activists has been identified by one of the witnesses. The other witnesses cross examined so far have given conflicting statements during cross examination by both the state and defense lawyers. The 29 MDC activists have not yet been granted bail.

Malawi cancels Hosting AU Summit

Malawi's President, Joyce Banda, announced on Friday the 9th of June that Malawi will no longer be hosting the AU Summit that was scheduled for next month in Lilongwe, Malawi. The AU had insisted that President Omar al-Bashir of Sudan, who is wanted by the International Criminal Court (ICC) for genocide, war crimes, and crimes against humanity committed in Darfur, be permitted to attend African Union summit, scheduled for July 9 to 16, 2012.

Malawi is a state party to the Rome Statute, which created the ICC. The Rome Statute requires member states to cooperate with the court, which includes executing arrest warrants.



Omar al-Bashir, Sudanese President

Judge Reserves Ruling on Lawyer's ZINARA Challenge

HIGH Court Judge, Justice Andrew Mutema, on Tuesday 12 June 2012 reserved his ruling on an urgent chamber application filed by human rights lawyer Roselyn Hanzi seeking to stop the police and the Zimbabwe National Road Administration (ZINARA) from targeting motorists. Justice Mutema heard arguments from Hanzi and ZINARA's lawyers before reserving his ruling on the matter.

Kimberley Process Meeting Ends Without Consensus on Reforms

The Kimberley Process interces-

sional meeting in Washington D.C.was concluded on the 7th of June 2012.The Chairwoman Gillian Milovanovic commended participants, including member countries and non-governmental groups, to work hard towards developing an agenda for the watchdog's November plenary meeting.

The most contested subject debated was the issue of expanding the organization's definition of "conflict diamonds" to include human rights. The original definition only focuses on rebel groups using diamond proceeds to fight sitting governments. Zimbabwe is leading other African and Asian nations in resisting the proposed changes. Milovanovic, representing the U.S, said the reform agenda was not solely based on a Western agenda, but a part of a broader review of the Kimberley Process that was agreed to last year. Nothing was finalized at the intercessional meeting with decisions expected to be taken at the November plenary.



Democratic Forces Should Seize the Moment as ZANU PF Remains Cornered

After the 29 March 2008 relatively free and fair general election won by the then opposition MDC, ZANU PF engaged in violent political repression against pro-democracy activists especially after its leader Robert Mugabe lost to MDC leader Morgan Tsvangirai in the presidential poll. When this history of the fall of ZANU PF is written, this remains a critical phase and moment in the political demise of the former liberation party. The regime enlisted the support of the army to run the presidential run-off against unarmed civilians whose only crime was to choose a leader and party of their choice. The result of that 27 June 2008 poll is what brings Zimbabwe to the sad state it is today, a country governed by an illegitimate ZANU PF elite that derives its powers from the coercive apparatuses of the State, the army, police and the secret agents.

Dismissing Mugabe's sham electoral victory were the AU and SADC observer missions joined by the EU the Confederation of South Africa Trade Unions (COSATU) and individual countries such as Botswana and Zambia who were very clear on the illegitimacy of the Harare regime. SADC has met four times in Zambia, South Africa, Namibia and Angola and discussed the Zimbabwean problems among other issues. At all these occasions, President Mugabe has been reminded to respect the GPA and allow the implementation of necessary reforms that could lead to free, fair and credible elections.

The last meeting in Angola insisted on previous positions of the regional group basically telling Mugabe that the period electoral unilateralism and the dictatorship of the past 30 years is no longer acceptable to SADC especially after Zimbabweans have made it clear to the ZANU PF leadership that they are now an expired and irrelevant lot. Instead of taking hid, ZANU PF is slowly returning to the pre-GPA situation as it prepares for a violent election. The spate of arrests of pro-democracy forces, assaults on political activist including two alleged murders of MDC activists in Mutoko and Zaka districts as well as the continued abuse of the armed forces indications ZANU PF electoral strategy; the use of violence for political ends.

ZANU PF needs to appreciate that world leaders and leading democracies will refuse to legitimize a violent electoral process and outcome and his situation will be more difficult after the fall of his regional ally Thabo Mbeki of South Africa. The message across the Limpopo from the President Zuma's administration clearly indicates that business would not be as usual until Zimbabwe has a legitimate government. The call by President Jacob Zuma to have a democratic road map to the holding of future elections sends a clear message to ZANU PF that a rigged poll is unacceptable.

Meanwhile ZANU PF has already identified its enemies as civil society, the political opposition mainly the formations of the MDC and foreign companies through a bogus but politically-driven indigenous program meant to widen the clientele base of the regime. It is clear that ZANU PF's Look East Policy has failed hence its continued cries to re-engage the West by removing the targeted sanctions it claims were imposed on the country although the sanctions regime deals

with individuals in ZANU PF, government and business who aide and abate political and human rights violations in the country. The doors to re-engagement with the West are also shut by virtue of the fact that the West still feels that the Mugabe regime has not complied with set conditions to restore the rule of law, improve its

sistently asking the parties to implement.

The academic cabal in ZANU PF is misleading their political handlers against reforms yet both at home and abroad that decision is exposing Mugabe's leadership as it seems to send a message that the violent political misconduct of his leadership is the basis



Left, President of MDC-T and Prime Minister of Zimbabwe, Morgan Tsvangirai and President of MDC-N, Welshman Ncube

human rights record, and ensure genuine freedoms of the people of Zimbabwe through repealing repressive legislation, and disbanding youth militias. Clear pronouncements to that end have

for future electoral and political organization of Zimbabwe. Instead of bowing down to popular domestic, regional and international sentiments by repealing these laws, the ZANU PF ele-

The unanimous decision by the UN Security Council in 2011 to impose sanctions on ZANU PF's long time ally the late dictator, Muamar Gaddafi leaves the regime in a serious political quandary. It was the Security Council's decision to refer Gaddafi's criminal conduct in the uprising in Libya to the International Criminal Court (ICC) that unsettles ZANU PF most especially because that decision was taken with the consent of Russia and China, countries that usually block such moves.

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For the last 10 years civil society and the political opposition in Zimbabwe have been advocating for the repealing of POSA, AIPPA and other such repressive legislation reminiscent of colonial and apartheid times. Consistently ZANU PF has stood in defense of these repressive laws as necessary to maintain law and order in Zimbabwe, a euphemism for its illegitimate stay in power. These reforms are contained in the GPA that SADC is con-

ments in the government continue to selectively use these laws to further their narrow political interests by applying laws such as the Criminal Law (Codification and Reform Act) to demean the substance and social fibre of the justice system in Zimbabwe.

Indications are that the POSA, a worthy successor to Rhodesia's Law and Order Maintenance Act, is a favored tool of rule by ZANU PF and its use might be heightened if the political impasse continues. It should not be forgotten that the central objective of promulgating these laws and the setting up of other institutions and infrastructure of repression, was to silence the democratic forces in Zimbabwe, and for as long as ZANU PFs legitimacy is questioned, it will continue to use these draconian laws as safe guards to its illegitimacy. This political intransigency by ZANU PF because of its failure to democratize its internal politics and the future of a life outside the reach of looting the national coffers and genuine fears of prosecution for their continued alleged criminal misconduct makes the regime feel cornered. The political cabal doesn't see the incentives for democratization.

As a result, Zimbabwean politics reads like a nomad's diary. Fraught with promises of a better future, every election has been read as a unique opportunity to set the pace for development

through creating a new vision that people must rally behind. All these hopes are dashed by an increasingly stubborn political elite. The result has been increased commercialization of democratic processes at the expense of genuine people's interests. The hunger for power has seen the emasculation of the citizenry as politicians continuously see themselves as the "be all" and the "end all" of the crises affecting the country.

Adorned in robes depicting economic and social salvation, many of the country's politicians from the ZANU PF regime have cajoled the country's citizenry into believing that the greatest enemy is outside the country, and anyone averse to their principles is selling out. ZANU PF's loss in the 2008 general election has a number of ramifications in terms of governance and democracy. The first inclination for the party is its increased sense of fear and threat against the country's independence by outsiders who it accuses of supporting the opposition through sanctions.

The regime is using this warped thinking to abuse human rights on the misguided view that they are safeguarding the national interest when it is clear that the citizens are no longer interested in the hollow and bankrupt politics of a tired liberation discourse wrapped in a farce of oppression. In this regard, civil society organizations and the democratic opposition have huge challenges. They have to continue to guard against complacency by not believing that the Inclusive Government made up of three political parties alone can resolve the crisis.

It is at this juncture of a possible political transition build on SADC consistency on creating political normalcy in Zimbabwe premised on fulfilling the GPA reforms and the outcome of the 29 March 2008 general election that civil society groups should remain independent and continue to push for the full democratization of the country premised on the rule of law.

Half baked measures such as the government of national unity should be left to politicians while civil society groups continue to push for the total dismantling of the infrastructure of violence build over the years by ZANU PF, media reforms especially a democratic process that leads to the liberalization of the airwaves not the face powder process being organized by the Broadcasting Authority of Zimbabwe that is awarding television and radio licenses to surrogates of ZANU PF.

Democratic political forces in Zimbabwe should ride on the current moves by SADC, AU and the international community to refuse to legitimize the ZANU PF regime's call for elections without reforms and continue to lobby the national, regional and international communities for a fully fledged democratic process leading to credible electoral processes in Zimbabwe.

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

The Historical Roots of Militarising Public Affairs in Zimbabwe

Zimbabwe's military elites dabbling into politics is historically rooted. This paper will seek to shed more light on the historical roots of militarizing public affairs during the war of liberation and how this trend continued post independence. Most particularly it will seek to enunciate the evolution of military politics and how that has shaped and influenced events in post-independent Zimbabwe. In both the colonial and post-colonial epochs the military was seen as an interlocutor to prevailing crisis. Therefore, it is argued in this paper that the continued utterances by the military elites of not willing to subject themselves to civilian control and of late pronouncements by the Minister of (in)Justice Patrick Chinamasa, that Zimbabwe risks going the Libya route is an attempt by ZANU PF to militarize public affairs.

The adoption of the socialist ideology and link to China (ZANLA) and Russia (ZIPRA), which were the two main military wings of ZANU and ZAPU, had far reaching impact of creating a politicized military. In both liberation movements there was a political commissar, whose main task among others was to make sure that the freedom fighters understood the ethos of the war of liberation. In this case the ZANLA and ZIPRA cadres were not just ordinary soldiers from the barracks but highly politicized combatants heavily imbibed by Socialism (Gutsaruzhinji/ijেকেলে). The politicization of the freedom fighters is evident in Wilfred Mhanda's Book, Dzino: Memories of a Freedom Fighter, where the first module learnt by fighters in training was Political Orientation with the following topics

- (i) Pouring out of national grievances
- (ii) The people's army and
- (iii) The people's war.

This module was the second lengthy in duration after the weapons handling module and thus the outcome was what Sabelo Gatsheni Ndlovu called guerilla armies that operated as military-cum politicians. Therefore, political education meant a highly politicized military and it partly explains why *Pungwes* (the night meetings that the freedom fighters had) were quite popular with ZANLA. This observation is corroborated by Sabelo Gatsheni Ndlovu who observes that, "Thus (ZANLA and ZIPRA), even though they were not directly involved in the political direction of the nationalist movement, some of them tried to assume the role of umpires – the *ultima ratio regum* – of how the nationalist movement was to operate and under what conditions and terms". Therefore ZIPA was a clear attempt by the military to dominated civilian affairs despite the positive intentions. Sabelo Gatsheni Ndlovu thus further observes that "ZIPA guerrillas (an out-fit of both ZIPRA and ZANLA) tried to vigorously embrace the Marxist- Leninist philosophy ahead of their leaders, discarding factionalism and fight as a united force, and to embrace the armed liberation option as the only solution to the Rhodesian problem". Similarly the 11th March Movement in ZAPU of 1971 and Nhari Revolt are other cases in point where the military sought to be the *ultima ratio regum*.

A careful reading of Wilfred Mhanda's book *Dzino: Memories of a Freedom*



From right, Augustine Chihuri, Police Commissioner General, Constantine Chiwenga, Zimbabwe Defence Forces Commander, Perence Shiri, Commander of Air Forces of Zimbabwe and Paradzai Zimondi, Prisons Commissioner General.

Fighter gives credence to the observation by Sabelo Gatsheni Ndlovu, as there are many instances in which the military took direct involvement in the affairs of Civilian ZANU, for instance the ZANU Biennial Conference of August 1973 held in Lusaka first saw Tongogara subverting electoral procedures into DARE to accommodate soldiers to vote in elections that they were not supposed to and secondly the election saw a number of military cadres entering the policy making body of the party. More so, the fall out between Ndabaningi Sithole and the ZANLA High Command and subsequent elevation and acceptance of Robert Mugabe as ZANU leader were orchestrated by the military. The mili-

ties cross the boundaries of the barracks and step into public affairs/ civilian affairs they act like sponges and soak up all social conflicts. Liberation narratives both written and oral are awash with stories of how the fighters (ZANLA and ZIPRA) executed punishment on civilians such as canning and at times summary executions. Similarly the Rhodesian forces were indoctrinated with heavy doses of propaganda of the freedom fighters as terrorists. Sabelo Gatsheni Ndlovu also observes that General Peter Walls also accumulated immense powers within the Rhodesian Front as the military elites became central in determining responses to the armed struggle by the nationalists. Thus, the trend of military

It is this unresolved history of the military elite's excursion into civilian affairs that calls for the reform of the security sector. Thus, calls to reform the security sector in Zimbabwe are not only necessitated by current renegadism within the army but by an unfulfilled historical necessity. The exalting of force/ coercion over rationality and persuasion in a time of no known or any declared war on Zimbabwe needs to be nipped in the bud.

tary thus has been a significant player in public affairs. Sabelo Gatsheni Ndlovu makes three interesting observations about the war of liberation armies:

- (i) Guerrilla armies of ZAPU (ZIPRA) and ZANU (ZANLA) like other armies enjoyed the monopoly of applying force on civilians.
- (ii) Guerrilla armies were different from conventional forces in that they were highly politicised if not indoctrinated to the extent that they operated as military cum political units. They carried in their heads nationalist movements' ideologies and they were the active recruiters of the masses on behalf of their nationalist parties. They had access to the masses and they played a fundamental role in politicising the peasants in rural Zimbabwe
- (iii) Guerrilla armies were not confined to the barracks; rather they existed like 'fish in water' among the public, to borrow Mao-Tse Tung's words.

Therefore, liberation armies had never been armies confided to the barracks which creates a cause for concern as observed by Ruth First that once ar-

militia that terrorized villagers made sure that they were not lost from *Gwara Remusangano* (ZANU's Path).

The terrorization of villagers by the Korean trained 5th Brigade in Matabeleland was another attempt by the military elites in ZANU to deal with a political issue that could have been solved through civil means. In the ultimate a significant number of Ndebele communities suffered and till bear the scars of militarising public affairs.

The excessive reliance on the supremacy of the bullet and gun by ZANU's ruling elite is a phenomenon rooted in history. The heavy handedness of the army in the 1998 food riots in Chitungwiza is a case in point. The then minister of Home Affairs Emerson 'Ngwená' Mnangagwa invoked the state of emergency powers provided for under the Law and Order Maintenance Act (LOMA) and this saw the army displaying extreme force such as the use of tankers to quell angry and rioting unarmed citizens. When quizzed in the film 'Never the Same Again', on the use of LOMA a colonial piece of legislation that was used to suppress freedom fighters and Africans' quest for democracy, Mnangagwa retorted that 'I do not like the Law and Order Maintenance Act but sometimes it is handy, it is handy'. This clearly shows that for the securocrats force/coercion solves everything just like a carpenter would think that everything needs a hammer for he/she sees nails only. The involvement of the army in collaboration with the War Veterans to execute the Jambanja on the farms, Operation Restore Order (Murambatsvina dubbed gukurahundi 2) and recently the June 2008 runoff are further cases in point of the military elites trespassing from the barracks into civilian affairs.

It is this unresolved history of the military elite's excursion into civilian affairs that calls for the reform of the security sector. Thus, calls to reform the security sector in Zimbabwe are not only necessitated by current renegadism within the army but by an unfulfilled historical necessity. The exalting of force/coercion over rationality and persuasion in a time of no known or any declared war on Zimbabwe needs to be nipped in the bud. More, so pronouncement of a second Libya or Ivory Coast in Zimbabwe by the likes of Chinamasa are a form of propaganda and blackmail attempts on SADC and AU in case the military elites try to subvert the will of the people as has been the case. The strategy is clear, trumpet to the Africans that the West intends to bomb Zimbabwe and install a puppet government, and consequently avoid sanction from the mentioned bodies. It is an attempt to write its own blank cheque and at the same time cash it. However, this time SADC has been up to the game and hence the call for sticking to the reform agenda before the elections. The military elites know it that without force/coercion ZANU PF will quickly fast-tracked to the national archives and dustbins of history. Their audit clearly showed them that the party is in tatters and in shambles, with no clear structures at the grassroots.

Tamuka Charles Chirimambowa
Political Economist

elites being involved in public affairs continued until up to 1980 and present day. However in post independence Zimbabwe, the role of Military elites in public affairs was perfected, though with an aim of creating a one party nation and party state by ZANU PF as observed by Norma Kriger. This was epitomized by the *Gwara reZANU* (ZANU's Path) concept. To this effect that national narratives that ensued were to exalt the supremacy and invincibility of ZANLA exploits within the struggle. The army continued to be used to deal with political adversaries in Zimbabwe and one interesting tale is the mystery of the Puma Accidents (Puma is the name that was given to the military vehicles and a lot of them were famed of having accidents with politicians) in the eighties and nineties that claimed the lives of various politicians including William Ndangana among others. The security sector was also heavily involved in Operation Chinyavada that was carried out in the early years of independence in a bid to wipe out the streets of prostitutes. More so, at this time were the youth brigades (remnants of the liberation war who failed to be integrated in the army) who went about in Khaki uniforms and acted as a ZANU defacto