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#### Dedication.

To my fellow Zimbabweans, we defeated Mugabe the person but Mugabeism is still intact. We must dismantle this system and bring total democratization of our country Zimbabwe.

My children Lilly, Tanaka and Nkosilathi, Jr you don't deserve to grow up in such a collapsed country which is now a shadow of itself. This is the little contribution I can make towards challenging a regime which is putting your future at stake.

'This is the history of a failure'

(Che Guevara, The African Dream)

#### Foreword.

I feel refreshed and motivated to write this book in this **new-old** political dispensation. New in the sense that, this is the first time ever since I was born to see this country having another President who is not Robert Gabriel Mugabe and old in the sense that those who are now in power are the same people who have been in charge of this country for the past four decades working alongside Mugabe.

Yes Mugabe has gone but the system he created is still intact. Are the Mnangagwas of this world going to reform and become ambassadors of peace, tolerance, democracy and respect of the rule of law? Or they will simply pick up the sjamboks from where Mugabe left them and perpetuate his legacy of brutality? Is corruption going to end considering that a few former Ministers who were arrested by Mnangagwa's administration were being used as scapegoats, most of the criminals and kleptocrats who committed serious crimes against humanity and corruption are still serving in the post-Mugabe ZANU PF government?

The same old people who bled Zimbabwe dry serving in the kleptocratic regime of Robert Mugabe are the same people who are serving under Mnangagwa. They survived jail because of their loyalty to both the old and the new President (Mugabe and Mnangagwa respectively) so does

it mean patronage and impunity which Mugabe was using in this country to protect his cronies will still continue even under the so called new President Emmerson Mnangagwa?

This book shall discuss about the system of Mugabeism recommending that this culture must be totally dismantled if Zimbabwe is serious about total democratization and redeeming this country from this political and economic quagmire.

The argument in this book is that it is going to be very difficult for Mnangagwa's administration to delink from Mugabeism because that is the system which created them and that's their DNA. Zimbabweans must try to avoid the same mistake which we committed in 1980 when we removed a white dictator and replaced him with a black dictator and tried to build the country basing on such a delusional belief that we were free yet there was no freedom, we had only changed the colour of our oppressor.

After a protracted armed struggle which took about fourteen years all we did as Zimbabweans was to change the face of the dictator not the system. Is it not the same thing which we have done removing Mugabe and replacing him with Mnangagwa one of his henchman, the chief architect of horrible atrocities in Zimbabwe and a graduate of the toxic politics of Mugabeism? Remember this is a

system which was built and reinforced for almost four decades, Mnangagwa was there when it all started and when ZANU was formed half a century ago he became Mugabe's confidante until late 2017 when Mugabe's wife Grace came between them and turned their (Mugabe and Mnangagwa) relationship sour.

Mnangagwa was groomed, incubated and mentored by Robert Mugabe and he will always be the custodian of Mugabeism because that is his DNA, **simple logic**.

Mugabeism spread everywhere across Zimbabwe like veld fire or tentacles of an octopus. Things that are deadly quickly spread like Ebola or cholera, so was Mugabeism in all government departments intoxicating and corrupting the way this country was being run. We can change Presidents from one to another but if this system (Mugabeism) is not totally dismantled Zimbabwe will never stop bleeding.

This book also advises President Mnangagwa to stand up, own up and take responsibility of the role he played in the past atrocities which ravaged Zimbabwe. President Mnangagwa owes Zimbabwe an apology for the role he played during the Gukurahundi genocide, 2008 post election violence, Murambatsvina, corruption and other kleptocratic scandals he committed so that the people of Zimbabwe can open a new page.

Not only him, but the entire military junta which is now in charge of Zimbabwe committed a lot of atrocities during Mugabe's era and were part of the same political cabal (ZANU PF) which ruined Zimbabwe for the past four decades.

Yes we all celebrated the role they played in deposing Mugabe but that does not make them saints now that the euphoria is dead we must go back to the drawing board, reflect and ask ourselves fundamental questions about governance issues in this country.

They have a lot to explain to the people of Zimbabwe. The role they played in removing Mugabe through a military coup on November 15, 2017 was just like that of a witch reversing the curse she had sent on you, they are the same people who imposed Mugabe against the will of the people of Zimbabwe in 2008 and massacred hundreds of suspected opposition activists.

That on its own (the June 27 post election violence in 2008) was a coup the only difference is that at that time it was to Mugabe's advantage as he was being reinstated by the army against the will of the people after losing elections to the late Morgan Tsvangirai of the MDC -T.

It was a case of securocrats intervening in civilian politics, Mugabe tolerated it since it was to his advantage and he

refused to implement security sector reforms which the people of Zimbabwe were demanding, not knowing that by so doing he was keeping a cub in his house which later on grew into a big lion and devoured him.

Truth telling and reconciliation is critical for genuine national healing to happen in this country if we are to move forward as a nation because they are a lot of untold stories out there and crimes against humanity committed by ZANU PF and it's partisan army the Zimbabwe Defence Forces.

The wounds are still fresh, bleeding and such issues need closure as victims would like to know what really transpired and give a decent burial to their loved ones whose remains are scattered around unmarked mass graves in Matebeleland and Midlands.

In conclusion this book also seeks to advise the Zimbabwean electorate to make wise decisions when they get into the ballot. ZANU PF regime does not deserve another chance of ruling Zimbabwe considering all the damage it caused on our beautiful country and how it deprived millions of us decent lives and a better future.

All our dreams were shuttered under their misrule. Yes Mugabe is gone but we are not yet in a new Zimbabwe as ZANU PF is still in power with the same kleptocratic cabal which ruined this country with Mugabe since 1980.

The only way to make Zimbabwe rise again is to non-violently remove ZANU PF out of power through the ballot or by any means necessary, especially if they rig elections as usual that must not be tolerated anymore. The next critical step in this struggle for democracy in Zimbabwe is removing ZANU PF and its corrupt system of governance out of power. That is the only way towards dismantling the system of Mugabeism which the army backed ZANU PF under Mnangagwa is trying to maintain and rule us forever.

If we can liken our situation to the biblical Israelites, we are not yet in Canaan we are still wandering in the wilderness, what is now required is a new political order which can take us to Canaan, a Zimbabwe which is not under ZANU PF.

Let's us all join hands and unite as we head towards a new Zimbabwe, a garden with fruits we can all enjoy.

Nkosilathi Emmanuel Moyo, Sr

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#### **CHAPTER ONE:**

#### Conceptualization Of Mugabeism.



Former Zimbabwe President Robert Gabriel Mugabe

#### What Is Mugabeism?

What is termed 'Mugabeism' is a summation of a constellation of political controversies, political behaviour, political ideas, utterances, rhetoric and actions that have crystallised around Mugabe's political life

(S.J Gatsheni, 2009).

Mugabeism as defined by S.J Gatsheni (2009) looks at the ideology, philosophy and political life of Robert Gabriel

Mugabe the former President of the Republic of Zimbabwe. Some relate Mugabeism to 'Pan-Africanism' because of Mugabe's so called stance against Western imperialism and neo-colonialism (something which I believe is a serious misconception) whilst the majority of Zimbabweans interpret it as a form of dictatorship and authoritarianism because of the suffering they went through during Mugabe's 37 year rule.

Mugabeism went beyond being just Mugabe the person but it became a culture and an ideology with tentacles like those of an octopus in all government departments and political structures of ZANU PF which has ruled Zimbabwe for almost four decades.

It became more of a package of toxic politics which intoxicated seventy-five per cent of our former freedom fighters and turned them into oppressors of their own kith and kin. It is a very strong poisonous system of governance which was established and reinforced for almost four decades and can hardly be dismantled overnight.

A new word has been coined in Zimbabwe in the past few days, "Mugabeism". It stands for all that destroyed the "jewel of Africa" over the past few decades: systemic corruption, vote-rigging, human rights abuses, rampant nepotism, looting of state resources by those in power — in

short, a heartless dictatorship that has reduced 90% of Zimbabweans to unemployment and abject poverty.

#### (Wilf Mbanga, 2017).

Mugabeism is an autocratic way of leadership whereby everything is centred around an absolute ruler. It's all about the leader and nothing about the people. In Mugabeism the leader is surrounded by cheer leaders and bootlickers who tell him/her what he/she wants to hear and it seeks to glorify and fulfil the interests of an absolute ruler at the expense of the suffering majority.

It is a self-centred approach to leadership with dictatorial tendencies as all dissenting voices are violently silenced and the leader waters his/her garden with people's tears. Another characteristic of Mugabeism is rhetoric and populists talks which do not produce anything for the country.

Robert Mugabe is an orator who can be given a standing ovation everywhere he speaks but when it comes to action and implementation there is nothing which came out of his rhetoric as Zimbabwe became one of the poorest countries in Southern Africa during his rule.

Mugabeism is glorified by many of the so called Pan-Africanists who were misled by Robert Mugabe to think

that he was fighting for Africa's emancipation yet he was oppressing his own people in Zimbabwe brutally massacring innocent civilians in his own country only to then travel the world masquerading as a Pan-Africanist.

The old adage which says charity begins at home is known by all. In Mugabeism you put on sheep cloth going around the world yet inside you are a hyena devouring your own. Patronage is the order of the day in Mugabeism where one must raise according to his/her loyalty to the leader not by merit or competency.

In 1980 when Mugabe got into office as the first Prime Minister of Zimbabwe he dumped his real and genuine Comrades and surrounded himself with cheer leaders and people who were doing nothing other than singing for him.

That is one of the major characteristic of Mugabeism 'surrounding yourself with cheer leaders, people who tell you what you want to hear and henchmen who can brutally murder on your behalf people with dissenting voices in the country. Even if the people are starving and dying out there in Mugabeism what matters is retaining power, consolidate it and just like Jean Bedel Bokkassa of Central African Republic enjoy it to the fullest with your cronies whilst the majority is starving out there.

It is sad that many of the opposition parties in Zimbabwe in as much as they do not want to associate themselves with Robert Mugabe but they by default or indirectly subscribe to Mugabeism. They copied Mugabe's template of surrounding themselves with cheer leaders, cracking down on dissenting voices in the party, clinging to power even if it is clear that most of them have overstayed their welcome and making sure everything in the party is centred on glorifying them.

The so called **one-centre of power** which is in ZANU PF and in most of the opposition parties in Zimbabwe is a common characteristic of Mugabeism. They borrowed it from ZANU PF and it led to the creation of demi-Gods even in opposition circles.

Zimbabwe political parties borrowed or copied a lot of bad things from Mugabeism the other one is that of too much talking and less action. Powerful oratory skills but suffering from what one writer diagnosed as **implementisis** which is a weakness when it comes to implementation;

- The concept of Mugabeism is precisely comprised of the following;
  - Charisma and oratory skills which does not produce any tangible results in the end.
  - Glorification of the party leader and transforming him/her into a demi-God.

- Lack of tolerance to dissenting voices.
- Violent crackdown on anyone opposing your views.
- Clinging to power and thinking that you are the only person capable of leading the party. (This is becoming common even in opposition parties where it's now about one and only person leading the party as his own tuck shop).
- Nepotism and patronage thus surrounding yourself with people who tell you what you want to hear.
- Impunity to your cronies as long as they remain loyal to you.
- Making yourself a king leader of clowns who can die for you without asking why (clueless henchmen and thugs).
- Hiding behind Pan-Africanism yet butchering your own kith and kin.
- Mugabeism is resistant to change and keeps on recycling old deadwood in the government, it is patriarchal and not youth friendly. It is a system dominated by the grey headed who are very parochial and myopic. It is sad in his first cabinet President Mnangagwa has shown the world that he subscribes to Mugabeism by retaining the same old dead wood which destroyed Zimbabwe for the past four decades alongside Robert Mugabe.

• The culture and system of Mugabeism is very intact in Zimbabwe that to totally dismantle it there is a need for all progressive democratic forces to galvanize their efforts and work towards uprooting it. With the egocentric politics being done by the fragmented opposition movement in Zimbabwe they may fail to dismantle this system (and history will judge them harshly one day) because it needs serious and organized people considering how deep rooted it is in our geopolitics. It is our generational mandate as young people to stand up and take charge because it is our future which is threatened, it is our future which is at stake if this system is not dismantled and uprooted.



Mugabeism is what destroyed Zimbabwe because since 1980 much was invested in building Mugabe as an individual and concretizing his repressive system to enable him to be the life President of Zimbabwe.

Little was done to create a system of governance which would enable democracy and good governance to take root in the post- independent Zimbabwe. Everything was

centred on glorifying Robert Mugabe and watering his leadership flower with people's tears.

The majority was languishing in abject poverty because of one evil dictator with a stiff neck Robert Mugabe and he had an 'I don't care attitude'. Those were the negative effects of Mugabeism to the people of Zimbabwe and they were in that dilemma for thirty seven years.

Mugabeism is an ideology which does not appreciate democracy, respect of the rule of law and human rights. Zimbabwe under Robert Mugabe became the most dangerous countries in Southern Africa where one could get killed for supporting a political party of his or her choice. Ruthlessness, lawlessness, intolerance, violence, dictatorship, corruption and kleptocracy are the characteristics of what entails Mugabeism.



Pic Credit; NewsDay Zimbabwe.Crackdown and violence on protesters is a common thing under Mugabeism. It is an ideology full of force, coercion and ruthlessness.



Under Mugabeism you can lose your life for supporting a political party of your choice. In the photo; members of the opposition M.D.C T mourning Tonderai Ndira who was brutally murdered for supporting a political party of his choice during 2008 post election violence. More than two hundreds suspected opposition supporters were killed by militias linked to the ruling party ZANU PF.

Democracy and the rule of law do not exist under Mugabeism it's a brutal ideology centred on perpetuating bigotry, hegemony and tyranny.



Idle industries dotted around Zimbabwe which have closed due to ill economic policies

Abject poverty is very common under Mugabeism. Joblessness as result of ill economic policies is very common and whilst the majority is wallowing in abject poverty the political elite will be living lavishly and looting state coffers to spend on their extravagant lifestyles. The former First Lady Grace Mugabe was known for her lavish spending in the Far East at a time millions of Zimbabweans were wallowing in abject poverty.

When Zimbabwe got its independence in 1980 it was one of Southern Africa's most developed countries but Mugabeism reduced the once bread basket and jewel of

Africa into a begging bowel. The effects of Mugabeism were very drastic to an extent that it destroyed everything transforming the country into a shadow of itself. The system of Mugabeism is very strong in terms of intolerance and elimination of people with dissenting voices. It is very parochial and myopic to an extent that elimination of dissenting voices through assassination, torture, forced disappearance and violence is very common under this ruthless system.

What Zimbabwe critically needs at the moment is dismantling the system of Mugabeism because it is the major obstacle blocking total democratization of this country.

#### **CHAPTER TWO:**

# An era of Emmerson Mnangagwa's Perestroika and Glasnost; Is It Going To Work?



The President of Zimbabwe Emmerson Mnangagwa poses for a photo with Former Zimbabwe President's portrait.

# Open Letter to President Emmerson Dambudzo Mnangagwa.

It is very difficult for us as Zimbabweans to accept you as our saviour considering the role you played in engineering horrible atrocities in this country and that you were one of Robert Mugabe's confidante and henchman who worked

alongside him for the past 37 years. Millions of Zimbabweans suffered in the hands of a government which you were part of. Thousands died during Gukurahundi genocide, you were the State Security Minister at that time and one of Mugabe's henchmen who was at the forefront of engineering that genocide.

2008 post-election violence happened you were Chief Election Agent of your party ZANU PF responsible for the strategies used by your part in 2008 elections which were marred by violence against your suspected opponents particularly the M.D.C T and more than two hundred innocent civilians lost their lives.

Diamonds were discovered in Marange in the eastern part of Zimbabwe the army was deployed to go and take control of the mining of the precious stones. There were cases of forced labour, rape, child labour, torture of innocent civilians by the army and more than two hundred people lost their lives in the hands of the brutal army which was deployed there; you were the Defence Minister responsible for the army at that time.

Your name pops up at the top of all the horrible atrocities of mass murder which happened in this country. You have a lot to explain to the people of Zimbabwe. Yes I appreciate your effort in trying to show signs of being a reformist but am

sorry Your Excellency you are not the man for the job, there is too much blood on your hands Sir.

Allow me to start by congratulating you for being sworn in as the new President of the Republic of Zimbabwe. I wish you well in your term of office Your Excellency.

The euphoria which Zimbabweans had when you were inaugurated is gone now and people are now back to the drawing board to face reality that nothing much has changed. When we thronged the streets of Harare on November 18, 2018 we were driven by a combination of factors, the majority of the people who marched (me included) were desperate to see Mugabe going by any means necessary.

We were born seeing Mugabe at the helm and seeing him going to us sounded like a step into the paradise and an end to our suffering. That's what motivated thousands of people to get into the streets. Yes Mugabe was deposed and you took over from him only for the people of Zimbabwe to then realize that the more things change the more they remain the same.

#### You owe Zimbabwe an apology.

Your Excellency in the history of mankind it is known that every human being has his/her own shortcomings,

weaknesses and mistakes. What matters is how one picks him/herself up after falling. Mr President you were part and parcel of a repressive regime which made millions of our people suffer since 1980 to date. Your hand can also be easily traced in brutal atrocities which took place in Zimbabwe for instance the Gukurahundi genocide, Murambatsvina ,2008 post election violence and Marange blood diamonds. Your name still invokes fear in the lives of thousands of Zimbabweans out there.

Precisely you have **a dark past** which makes it difficult for Zimbabweans to suddenly turn around and start seeing as their saviour. What is important is to own up, take responsibilities of all your mistakes and apologize to the people of Zimbabwe.

We all know you were taking instructions from the former President Robert Mugabe and what the people of Zimbabwe expects from you is an apology so that a genuine truth and reconciliation process can start. This is not about exposing or embarrassing anyone but to address pending issues in this country and heal the bleeding wounds on our people.

I would like to thank you for signing the National Peace and Reconciliation Act into law that was a very good move towards achieving national healing and reconciliation in

this country and having it led by Vice President Kembo Mohadi who is also a victim himself.

However Zimbabwe is known for producing very good policies and blueprints which are colourfully written on paper but will never be implemented. I hope it will all start with truth telling so that that act will be fully implemented in a meaningful, inclusive and non-partisan way.

Yes we can have the laws in place but it must all start with a sorry from the perpetrators they must take responsibility and own up their mistakes first. In this case you must lead by example and apologize to the people of Zimbabwe Your Excellency, because honestly you owe this country an apology for your contribution and involvement in all the past terrible atrocities which ravaged this country.

During your interview at DAVOS in Switzerland you refused to accept that you are ready to say sorry for all the atrocities you committed, it was for everyone to see that indeed you are not willing to say sorry at all.

This will hurt the victims more Sir and the wounds on the victims out there will continue bleeding. How can they heal if the perpetrator is not showing any signs of remorse?

Let me tell you the importance of the word **SORRY** 

- i. It saved some marriages which were on the brink of collapse.
- ii. It made magistrates to be lenient with convicts in the courts of law.
- iii. It made some celebrities regain their lost popularity.
- iv. Failure to say it made Mugabe very unpopular in Zimbabwe.
- v. It calms or cools down emotions and flaring tempers.
- vi. It made politicians regain their respect in their constituencies by owning up their mistakes and apologizing to the people.

May I advise you to swallow your pride and apologize to the people of Zimbabwe for your involvement in Gukurahundi, 2008 post-election violence and other past atrocities.

#### The Economy, Stupid.

If only you can fix the economy that is what the people of Zimbabwe want. Our economy is dead, the people are jobless and our graduates are vendors across the streets of Zimbabwe. Zimbabweans are desperately looking for a leader who can fix and resuscitate the economy.

Bill Clinton in his 1992 Presidential campaign in the United States of America ran with the motto **The Economy, Stupid** meaning fixing the economy is all what the people want.

People are tired of charades and cheap politics (rhetoric) what they are desperate for are solutions and strategies of fixing the economy.

What made Robert Mugabe unpopular is the ailing economy which led to abject poverty, equity, inequality and suffering of millions of our people. Companies closed down making Zimbabwe one of the countries with the highest unemployment rate in sub Saharan Africa.

The policies were not investor friendly ie Indigenisation which scared away prospective investors. Precisely Zimbabwe's economy is on the brink of collapse and what is needed right now are new strategies and policies of resuscitating the economy so our people out there can be able to put food on their tables.

What worries me most is that you were part and parcel of the government which bled Zimbabwe dry with corruption, kleptocracy and ill economic policies. You have been in cabinet since 1980 to date, you were out of government for only two weeks (in thirty seven years) when you were fired leading to the military intervention which eventually ushered you in as the new President. Which means you were part of the team which formulated all the ill policies and made wrong decisions which crippled this country for the past four decades leading to the collapse of our economy?

The fact that you were one of Mugabe's top henchman makes us doubt your capacity to generate new ideas of reviving the economy simply because you were there when it was being destroyed. So you are not a new player at all but one of the people responsible for transforming Zimbabwe into a shadow of itself.

## Your first mistake as a President; Retaining same old dead wood in your first cabinet.

The first mistake which you made Cde President was to retain the same old dead wood as your first cabinet. You just copied and pasted Mugabe's cabinet, the same cabal which destroyed Zimbabwe for the past thirty seven years alongside Mugabe. Mugabe must be laughing his lungs out because you just inherited his whole cabinet and it's only him who is missing. This has left the majority of Zimbabweans underwhelmed and disappointed.

Your Excellency by reshuffling Mugabe's cabinet and retaining the same old wine in new bottles has left many people doubting your capacity to bring the much anticipated change in this country. Just like Robert Mugabe you have surrounded yourself with the same old people who failed this country people without any new idea which they can bring to the table.

Your Excellency in as much as you were trying to share the spoils and award the military cabal which helped you to remove Robert Mugabe but you have proved to the world that the system of Mugabeism which is resistant to change is still intact in this country and you are still one of its faithful disciples.

"The first method for estimating the intelligence of a ruler is to look at the men he has **around** him."

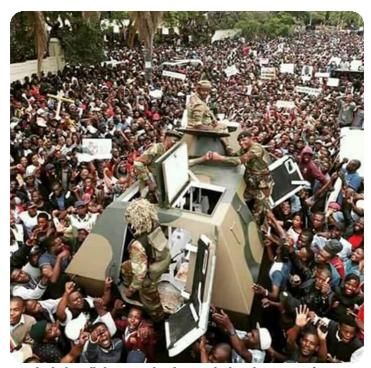
#### Nicollo Machiavelli.

There are many competent people within your party, young and energetic who can bring on new ideas on the table rather than retaining the same old dead wood which failed this country alongside Robert Mugabe.

Besides the best approach would have been an inclusive government thus bringing on board technocrats and representatives from the opposition which also contributed to the downfall of Robert Mugabe. When people got into the street on the 18<sup>th</sup> of November 2017 marching against the dictator Robert Mugabe calling for his resignation, the army and people from all walks of life regardless of their political affiliations united to bring an end to Mugabe's rule.

It was then going to be wise for you to create an inclusive cabinet which could bring together different players from across political divides to help in reviving the economy.

By appointing a 100% ZANU PF cabinet you have shown the world that on the 18 of November when the mass protested in the streets of Harare supporting the military intervention you were just using the people to sanitize the palace coup which you orchestrated. It was not a people's revolution but ZANU PF using the army to solve its succession and internal issues.



To think that all these people who marched in the streets of Harare in support of the military intervention were ZANU PF supporters that is not correct Mr President. Zimbabweans came together from all walks of life regardless of their different political affiliations, they were desperate to see Mugabe going and they were anticipating a great change once he leaves. But your first cabinet (recycled clueless Mugabe's Ministers) have left most of these people underwhelmed and disappointed. What is very painful is to realize that after all this euphoria it's back to zero-NOTHING CHANGED it's still the same old ZANU PF.

In as much as Mugabeism runs in your blood but it won't take you anywhere the people of Zimbabwe are tired of

that system. That system as intact as it is remains the stumbling block to the total democratization of our country Zimbabwe. As young people we are left with no choice other than rising up and non-violently dismantle it either through the ballot or any means necessary.

### Demilitarization of the political and electoral space is critical.



Pic Credit; Metro. Military tanks controlling key institutions of the government in November 2017.

The people of Zimbabwe were very grateful for the midwifery role played by the army in deposing Mugabe. However the army must return to their barracks to avoid

militarization of the political space and electoral processes in Zimbabwe.

Zimbabwe must now return to civilian rule with the constitution being respected as the supreme law of this land. The presence of the army in the political space will make the ground uneven in electoral processes. It is sad that the Zimbabwe Defence Forces (Z.D.F) is more of an extension of ZANU PF as evidenced by the war it waged on defenceless civilians when its preferred candidate Robert Mugabe (then President) lost the elections in 2008.

The army intervened and imposed him after leading a bloody violent campaign which claimed hundreds of lives across Zimbabwe. There is a critical need of security sector reforms in this country so that the army will exercise its duties professionally without interfering in civilian affairs.

In your cabinet you have also appointed senior military men and securocrats as Ministers and the majority of Zimbabwe fears that it's going to be a 'Command Cabinet'. People like Air Marshal Perence Shiri whose role in the Gukurahundi genocide is known by all invokes fear in millions of Zimbabweans and justifies the point that indeed the system of Mugabeism is still intact and we are now being ruled by the junta.

Our fear as Zimbabweans is that even in the coming elections (2018) the military will remain a key influential player and chances are high they can still refuse to hand over power to whoever may be elected by the people of Zimbabwe just like what they did in 2008. There is a need for total democratization of Zimbabwe.

Therefore, Your Excellency I recommend that the security sector be reformed to enable free and fair elections to take place in this country. The securocrats must make public statements informing Zimbabweans that they will salute and recognize whoever is going to be democratically elected by the people. This will help to address the issue of fear which is hovering in the political atmosphere as we draw closer to the 2018 watershed elections.

#### Political Violence and Electoral Fraud.



The founding father of the main opposition Movement for Democratic Change (MDC T) the late Morgan Tsvangirai at a funeral of one of his supporters who was brutally murdered by militias suspected to be linked to the ruling party ZANU PF in 2008. Photo Credit; Desmond Kwande/Agence France-Presse. Getty Images.

Your Excellency in 2008 harmonized election you were the Chief Election Agent for ZANU PF and that election will always be remembered as one of the bloodiest poll in Zimbabwe. People suspected to be supporting the opposition party MDC were brutally murdered, tortured and displaced.

They were being incarcerated for supporting a political party of their choice, exercising their democratic right as enshrined in the constitution of Zimbabwe. As a Chief Election Agent of ZANU PF in that bloody poll it is public knowledge that you were part and parcel of the architects of that atrocity.

You did all you could to defend Robert Mugabe then President and our fear is are you not going to use the same template in the coming polls in an event that the election results are not in favour of your regime? If you failed to respect the will of the people of Zimbabwe in 2008 are you then going to respect it in the coming polls where you will be running as the Presidential candidate yourself?

In 2008 you shed blood to defend President Robert Mugabe who was your boss at that time how much more are you going to shed to defend yourself now that you are the President? In any event that the election result is not in your favour are you not going to repeat what you did in 2008?

Zimbabwe is in need of free and fair elections as well conducive environment where people can freely exercise their democratic and constitutional rights. Now that you are the President MAY PEACE PREVAIL in your tenure.

It also goes back to what I have already mentioned in this letter that you owe the people of Zimbabwe an apology for the scars and the wounds they have right now. At your inauguration on the 24<sup>th</sup> of November in 2017 you promised to uphold the constitution of Zimbabwe.

Bear in mind that in that same constitution which you promised to uphold people have a right to vote for a political party of their choice. So we do not expect any 2008-like election ever again in this country. Be the leader who will create a peaceful and conducive electoral environment in this country even if the election results are not in your favour.

Rigging elections is like rape; forcing and imposing yourself on people. Your government must also find a way of supporting the victims of 2008 post election violence. We have widows and orphans out there who lost their loved ones in 2008 simply because they were supporting political parties of their choice.

You might face the temptation of trying to use the army to consolidate your power against the will of the people. Don't take that route, **Democracy** and **respect of the rule of law** is the best way to go. Zimbabweans must not continue to be brutally butchered, tortured or incarcerated for supporting a political party of their choice that is my humble appeal to you as the new President of Zimbabwe.

2008 (bloody election) must not repeat itself.

Zimbabweans have a right to support a political party of their choice as enshrined in the constitution.

#### Corruption.

"When they call the roll in the Senate, the Senators do not know whether to answer 'Present' or 'Not Guilty'."

Theodore Roosevelt.

Your Excellency corruption is a very serious issue in this country and we lost billions of dollars as a country due to corruption and kleptocracy. During Mugabe's era corruption was tolerated as long as the one committing it is a loyal member of the ruling elite.

Corruption contributed a lot into crippling our ailing economy those who committed it got away with it due to impunity from Mugabe and ZANU PF. It is sad that you followed that same route of tolerating corruption by protecting your cronies who are walking scot free today but are equally as guilty as the G40 which you are persecuting.

When the military intervened, Gen S.B Moyo who announced the coup and is now serving as your Foreign Minister told us that they were targeting criminals around President Mugabe. Less than ten people were arrested are

you telling us that Zimbabwe was bled dry by less than ten people?

Those few former Ministers who were arrested are being used as scapegoats only but the most corrupt people in this country sit right next to you in your cabinet. During Mugabe's days if you were corrupt but loyal to the President you would get away with it and the same is continuing under your rule as a lot of thieves and murderers who are Lacoste (loyal to you) are all walking scot free out there.

If you serious about fighting against corruption in this country then start by coming clean yourself and ask yourself the following fundamental questions;

- How did you accumulate all the wealth that you have Mr President?
- How clean are your Ministers and the people around you when it comes to the issue of corruption? Are you the one protecting them from facing justice?
- One of your cronies Obert Mpofu who is now your Homes Affairs Minister has a lot corruption allegations being made against him have you ever tried to find out why there is a lot of smoke around Mpofu?

 In the post-Mugabe era only those who were loyal to the former First Lady Grace Mugabe in the G40 are being arrested on charges of corruption, does it mean during Mugabe's era when the G40 was stealing from government coffers Lacoste was an All Saints Faction?

Corruption is ZANU PF's DNA and for us to believe that you can really eradicate the scourge of corruption is expecting too much from you because the probability of that happening is zero.

However as citizens we shall continue to advocate for a corruption free Zimbabwe and one day all those criminals hiding behind you shall face justice.

Let justice prevail even if it means taking your own friends to court for corruption let it be. Tolerance to corruption and kleptocracy is what destroyed your predecessor Robert Mugabe if you only you can learn from his mistakes.

#### LAND AUDIT who owns what?

Cde President there is a need for a land audit in this country. When Zimbabwe embarked on the fast track land reform program those in government took it as a chance to haphazardly grab multiple farms for themselves and their families.

If proper investigations are done you will discover that land is in the hands of the political elite not the people of Zimbabwe. Land is the hands of a small group of VIPs not the majority. A land audit must be done by an independent board to find out who owns what and those who got the land on patronage and corruption must be removed from those farms and the land redistributed on merit.

The land issue is irreversible as what you mentioned in your inaugural speech but a land audit must be done to ensure equal distribution of land in this country. Land barons and those who got their farms through unorthodox means must be apprehended.

Land to the people of Zimbabwe not to a political cabal linked to the ruling elite. NO to that Mr President.

### Your Pasi neMhanduuu slogan ought to stop Mr President.

Your Excellency I would like to urge you to shun divisive slogans which perpetuate violence, hatred and discrimination of other people with divergent views. There is a need for a new attitude regarding how you relate with the opposition.

Remember you did not remove Mugabe on your own but the mass came out regardless of their different political

affiliations. So to call them mhandu (enemies) now is not fair and takes us back to politics of hate. We are one people and Zimbabwe is our only home all of us so there are no enemies here but brothers and sisters of our dear motherland.

Your trademark and slogan 'Pasi nemhanduu' (Down with the enemy) ought to stop it perpetuates violence and hatred. You need to coin a better slogan which can unify the people of Zimbabwe and something which can show the world that you are speaking from a fatherly position not a tout.

Still on that I would like to also urge you to stop your 'muchingovukura muchivukura isu tochingotonga tichingotonga' (continue barking and barking, we shall rule you and rule you till the end of time). This kind of talk lacks maturity and carries dictatorial connotations.

We need to create a democratic political space whereby everyone is free to support a political party of his or her own choice. It is our democratic right as enshrined in the constitution of our country Zimbabwe.

Do away with divisive sloganeering and politics of hate. We are bound to have divergent views but that does not mean we are enemies.

#### Disbandment of Militia Groups.

There are some militia groups in Midlands province which goes around terrorizing people especially during elections and other electoral processes. Some of them terrorize people in gold mining areas around Midlands (artisanal miners) claiming to be representing you.

Some even call themselves the Al Shabab going around terrorizing people in your home town Midlands provinces banking on protection from you that they will not be arrested and since they are your men then they have impunity. I do not know if it is true that indeed they are your militias or they are just a gang of criminals abusing your name.

If it is true that they are linked to you Your Excellency may you kindly disband them, violence is not good and let's embrace peace, co-existence and a dialogical culture in this country. There are better ways of dealing with our differences as a nation rather than unleashing thugs on defenceless civilians.

#### Free all political prisoners.

Political prisoners who are rotting in different jails across Zimbabwe must be released. We are all know most of them had charges trumped up against them just to find a way of

throwing them behind bars because of their activism which got misinterpreted as being politically active against the government.

Releasing them that they may go and re-unite with their families will be much appreciated Your Excellency. Most of them were thrown behind bars during Mugabe's era but if we are now in a 'new' era like what you say then why are they still behind bars?

#### Conclusion.

Cde President the most important thing that you have to keep at the back of your mind is that the country belongs to the people. You were just 'given' a social contract to be in charge but that does not mean it is your personal estate. That's the mistake which Mugabe made he ended up thinking that Zimbabwe is his personal tuck shop.

Zimbabwe belongs to us all, so the people can put or remove you from office and they are provisions in the constitution which gives us that mandate.

Uphold the constitution, democracy, good governance and shun corruption. Never use violence or force against the mass it will backfire to you Your Excellency. Respect the will of the people and they shall respect you in return.

One of your slogans is 'The Voice of the people is the Voice of God' and I want to believe that God is a true God who will never bless sham polls or people who rig elections as they will be going against the will of the people which in your own words is the voice of God.

May God bless Zimbabwe.

Nkosilathi Emmanuel Moyo, Sr

Human Rights Defender and Democracy Activist Kwekwe, Republic of Zimbabwe.

#### **CHAPTER THREE:**

#### The Fall Of Robert Mugabe.



Former President Robert Gabriel Mugabe and his wife Grace. Photographer: Jekesai Njikizana/AFP via Getty Images.

PERENNIAL wisdom from divine revelation and human experience dictates that all earthly things great or small, beautiful or ugly, good or bad, sad or happy, foolish or wise must finally come to an end. It is from this sobering reality that the end of executive rule has finally come for Robert

Mugabe who has had his better days after a quarter of a century in power.

(Professor Jonathan Moyo, 2006).

# The most common weakness in African leaders is over staying their welcome in power.

If there is something which was celebrated by Zimbabweans ever since I was born thirty years ago (born in 1987) it is the demise and downfall of Robert Gabriel Mugabe and his wife Grace. Thousands of Zimbabweans thronged the streets across the country celebrating the downfall of the Mugabes.

When Mugabe tendered in his resignation on November 21 millions of people went to the streets celebrating his departure. Others shed tears of joy no one could believe it that 'the mighty and invincible' Robert Mugabe had fallen. One could tell that indeed Robert Mugabe had overstayed his welcome even in the ruling ZANU PF people were just being loyal to him out of fear.

Members of parliament and his cabinet were part of the multitude of people who were celebrating the demise of Mugabe something which showed me that all along they were pretending to support him yet deep down their

hearts they were tired of his rule just like any other Zimbabwean out there.

'Mugabe would have been one of the most respected fatherly figures of Africa but his insatiable greedy for power, fame and seeing himself as a demigod is what made him to have such an embarrassing exit. He spoiled his own legacy by overrating himself only to realize that he is not as invincible as he thought he was'.

#### Borrowings from Cromwell's words;

'It is high time for me to end your sitting in this place which you dishonoured by your contempt of all virtue and defiled by your practice of every vice.....in the name of God GO!'

#### Oliver Cromwell, 1653.

Mugabe mighty feel betrayed or may try to look for regional sympathy as if he is a victim yet he was the perpetrator himself. Yes he was removed through a military coup something which must not be recommended in a democracy but that was the only way of removing brutal dictators like Mugabe.

In the name of God, Mugabe must go and allow Zimbabwe to have a new start. Millions of Zimbabwe suffered in the hands of his brutal regime, the economy collapsed, young Zimbabweans watched their bright future being thrown

into the dustbins and thousands of children were starving. Mugabe made millions of people suffer due to his brutality and misrule.

All he could think about was how to consolidate power and enjoy it for the rest of his life with his youthful wife whilst millions of Zimbabweans were starving. It was all about himself not us (Zimbabweans).

Mugabe got too drunk with power, fame and the spirit of invincibility unfortunately his world crumbled like a deck of cards.



Thousands of Zimbabweans protesting in Harare demanding an end to Robert Mugabe's rule. His end was very embarrassing and humiliating but he is the architect of his own demise due to his insatiable greedy for power and fame.

### How Robert Mugabe failed to read the writing on the wall.



Former First Lady Grace Mugabe chiding one of Mugabe's close ally George Charamba in public at a rally in Chinhoyi. Mugabe then President failed to rein in his motor-mouthed wife and that was what fuelled the military intervention and the 'coup' which brought an end to his rule.

The people of Zimbabwe were all fed up with Mugabe even his own supporters were tired of his rule. His motormouthed wife triggered it all by trying to create a dynasty and succeed her own husband. That's when the people of Zimbabwe stood up regardless of their political or religious affiliations and said ENOUGH!

The then de-facto President of Zimbabwe Grace Mugabe contributed a lot towards the downfall of her own husband Robert Mugabe. She stepped on so many toes that she began to be fought from all angles. Even Mugabe's closest allies could not tolerate it anymore. Yes Mugabe was unpopular at the time of his downfall but failing to rein in his talkative wife Grace is what fast tracked his demise.

He was supposed to stand up and advice his wife to respect the securocrats and his close allies, people who worked hard to keep him in power through unorthodox means. But Grace seemed to be over ambitious, pompous, brainless, arrogant, childish, self-centred and power hungry.

She did all she could to make sure that she succeed her husband and when she was almost to step into the presidency she did not realize that it was near yet so far. Only to wake up finding herself at square one with all the state power she was enjoying gone.

When Grace Mugabe was booed at a ZANU PF rally in Bulawayo this angered President Mugabe triggering him to fire then Vice President Emmerson Mnangagwa the following day.

Mugabe failed to read the writing on the wall that he had over stayed his welcome not only as the President but even

in ZANU PF but he still had that feeling that he is untouchable and invincible. His (Mugabe) attempt to create a dynasty in Zimbabwe became the final nail to his four decades rule. His end was embarrassing and undignified.



People of Zimbabwe celebrating military intervention in Zimbabwe which brought an end to Mugabe's rule. Zimbabweans were desperate to see Mugabe going by any means possible. After 37 years of suffering the people thronged the streets of Harare on November 18 supporting the military intervention and demanding that one of Africa's most long serving dictators Robert Gabriel Mugabe steps down. "Time and time again does the pride of man influence his very own fall. While denying it, one gradually starts to believe that he is the authority, or that he possesses great moral dominion over others, yet it is spiritually unwarranted. By that point he loses steam; in result, he falsely begins trying to prove that unwarranted dominion by seizing the role of a condemner."

Criss Jami, Salomé: In Every Inch In Every Mile.

Mugabe over estimated his power and thought he was untouchable. Firing his close ally and then Vice President Emmerson Mnangagwa was a wrong move which triggered his demise. Mnangagwa served Mugabe for more than five decades did all he could to make sure Mugabe remained in power against the will of the people of Zimbabwe.

It is alleged that all the violence and electoral fraud to save Robert Mugabe against the will of the people of Zimbabwe was crafted and masterminded by Mnangagwa. For Mugabe to then fire him in such an undignified way made the securocrats to sympathize with Mnangagwa and depose Mugabe.

He had decided to axe his close ally and replace him with his own wife in a bid to create a dynasty unfortunately Zimbabweans stood up and showed him the exit door. Mugabe had betrayed his long time Comrades to try and appease his wife but unfortunately it back fired to him and fast tracked his ouster.

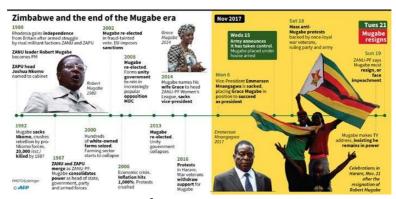


Emmerson Mnangagwa and the late Solomon Mujuru arriving with Robert Mugabe at a rally in Harare, Zimbabwe in 1980. The picture can tell that Mugabe and Mnangagwa came a long way. But due to Mugabe's greedy for power and selfishness he later on betrayed his two Comrades (Mujuru and Mnangagwa) because all he could think about was about power, himself and how to turn Zimbabwe into a dynasty. Feeling betrayed by one of their own this triggered a military coup which deposed him.



If Mugabe is as intelligent as what many people think he would have read the writing on the wall since 2000 that the people of Zimbabwe were fed up of him. But due to his ego he decided to impose himself against the will of the people and started using violence, electoral fraud and political corruption to consolidate his illegitimate power.

His arrogance made him to be out of touch with reality on the ground to an extent that he failed to smell the coffee that he had over stayed his welcome at Munhumutapa building. The whole country was crumbling and his failure to deliver was crystal clear but he was too drunk and intoxicated with power up until the day when his empire collapsed and fell like the walls of Jericho.



Credit; Eye Witness News.

Robert Mugabe will be remembered as a despot who made millions of people suffer because of his insatiable greedy for power. He will be remembered as a seasoned killer and mass murderer, a person who could kill thousands of people all in the name of trying to cling to power. He will be remembered as a man who inherited a functional economy from the colonial administration and destroyed it to ashes.

He negatively transformed Zimbabwe from being the bread basket of Africa into a begging bowel. Mugabe will be remembered as a man who did not want to see power leave his house to an extent that by the time he was deposed he was in the process of trying to appoint his own wife as his successor creating a dynasty in the country.

The geriatric former President left a bloody legacy which will always remain bad news to the people of Zimbabwe. Thinking about Mugabe's rule one would run short of words but borrow Cromwell's words 'In the name of God, go'.



Tears of joy, activist Vimbai Musvaburi breaks after hearing about Mugabe's forced resignation.

#### **CHAPTER FOUR:**

#### **Not Yet Uhuru**

# Mugabe Has Gone But The Culture And System Of Mugabeism Is Still Intact.



ZANU PF Headquarters located in Harare CBD

We defeated Mugabe an individual but the system of Mugabeism is still intact. Men and women who ruled alongside him oppressing the people of Zimbabwe are still the same people who are still in power.

Those who took part in Gukurahundi, Murambatsvina and bloody 2008 post elections violence as perpetrators alongside Robert Mugabe are the same people who are

still in charge of this country. Mugabe is the only person missing but his thugs are still in charge of the country so nothing changed. People who served under Mugabe and helped him destroy this country through corruption, kleptocracy and gross human rights violations are the same people who are still in charge of Zimbabwe.

The new President of Zimbabwe Emmerson Mnangagwa served under Mugabe for five decades and he selfconfessed that he has never worked for or under anyone except Mugabe.

Meaning Mugabe is the one who groomed and mentored him as a result he is a product of Mugabeism and Mugabeism runs in his blood. Whilst Zimbabweans were very desperate to see Mugabe going but nothing has changed yet as it is still the same old ZANU PF which is still in power.

So just like the biblical story of the Israelites' journey to Canaan, Zimbabweans have only left Egypt and they are now wandering in the wilderness they have not yet stepped into Canaan. It's not yet Uhuru meaning we are not yet free and the struggle for a new Zimbabwe is not yet over.



The 'new' cabinet which was appointed by President Emmerson
Mnangagwa in December 2017. This is the same cabinet which destroyed
Zimbabwe serving under the deposed President Robert Mugabe. They are
the same people who Mnangagwa retained. Tried, tested and failed
Ministers. What Zimbabwe needs are people with energy and new ideas
on how to take this country forward not to continue recycling dead wood
like what President Mnangagwa is doing. Old wine in new bottles,
Zimbabweans are not fools.

What Zimbabweans must know is that they have defeated Mugabe the person but the system of Mugabeism is still very intact. It's not yet uhuru but rather ZANU PF is reforming itself so that it can maintain the status quo and remain in power forever.

The war veterans in Zimbabwe many of them thinks that for one to be eligible to rule this country you must have

liberation war credentials and they think that they have the title deeds of this country. The role they played in liberating Zimbabwe shall always be appreciated however they must allow democracy and the will of the people to take place as enshrined in the constitution.

The false sense of freedom which the people of Zimbabwe felt when Robert Mugabe was deposed is now fading. They now see that it's not yet uhuru meaning we have not yet stepped into the real new Zimbabwe.

This is not the democratic Zimbabwe which we were fighting for nothing has changed except that Mugabe as an individual has gone but the system he created is still in place.

Therefore progressive Zimbabweans must continue non-violently advocating for the total democratization of Zimbabwe. Free and fair elections, political, media and electoral reforms, respect of the rule of law and human rights are fundamental issues must be urgently addressed.

We can't call ourselves free under this military junta. In this 'new' political dispensation the KGV1 now known as Josiah Magama Tongogara barracks is the most powerful place where decisions about this country are made and it has become more powerful than the parliament or Munhumutapa (office of the President and Cabinet).

All because the army is in charge so the constitution whatever it says no longer matters that much as long as it is against the will of the army. Zimbabweans appreciates the role played by the army in removing Mugabe now that the dust has settled the country must return to civilian rule.

Having been in power since 1980 ZANU PF has failed this country. We can change from one leader to another but as long ZANU PF remains in power that is not going to work.

Mugabe has gone but he has been succeeded by the same old people who were serving him and helping him to destroy Zimbabwe making millions of us suffer. Precisely there is nothing new we are still in the same bus which is taking this country to a bottom less pit.

### YES MUGABE HAS GONE BUT THE SYSTEM HE CREATED IS STILL INTACT IT MUST BE DISMANTLED.

The mistake which our former freedom fighters committed was to fight Ian Smith as an individual not his system of oppression. That is why even if Smith had gone the system of oppression, racism, nepotism, kleptocracy, corruption and patronage continued.

Zimbabweans must not fold their hands thinking that the struggle for democracy is over simply because Mugabe has gone-NO! The struggle to dismantle the system of

Mugabeism is still far from being over. This is just the beginning.

Whilst I applaud economic reforms being done by President Mnangagwa's government but let's not forget that these are the same people who were working with Mugabe for the past four decades and this is the cabal which turned Zimbabwe into a shadow of itself alongside Robert Mugabe.

#### As long as.....

- The army remains in the streets and controlling other arms of the government and making key decisions for the country.
- The same recycled dead wood continues to make decisions in the cabinet, a cabinet which is free of new ideas.
- Air waves are not yet free (media reforms). The
  national broadcaster Zimbabwe Broadcast
  Corporation (Z.B.C) is still more of the ruling party,
  ZANU PF's propaganda machine and there is no
  equal coverage of political players, Z.B.C is still an
  extension of ZANU PF's information and publicity
  department not a national broadcaster.
- Laws are not yet aligned with the constitution to do away with repressive laws such as POSA (Public Order and Security Act).

- The government continues to pay lip service to critical issues like National Healing and Reconciliation with a particular focus on Gukurahundi, 2008 post elections violence and other atrocities which took place in the postindependent Zimbabwe.
- Political prisoners who were thrown behind bars by Mugabe's brutal regime are still behind bars on trumped up charges.
- The Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (ZEC) remains staffed with state agents and rigging machinations.
- The government continues to pay lip service to corruption, kleptocracy and human rights violations.
- Access to our national resources either in farming or mining remains politicized and controlled on partisan basis.
- Free and Fair elections remain a challenge in Zimbabwe.
- Those who went to the liberation struggle still
  think that they have the title deeds of this country
  and only their cabal is eligible of ruling this country
  thus monopolizing political space in the country.
- People are still afraid to support a political party of their choice. (Freedom of Association).

•••••	then it's Not Yet Uhuru!!
	chanted by those in power.
	'Pasi nemhanduu' (Down with the enemy) are still
•	Slogans which perpetuates hatred and violence like

"He killed my ma, he killed my pa, I'll vote for him." **Charles Taylor's** 1997 Election Campaign Slogan.



# Is this the approach Zimbabweans are going to use in 2018 elections?

After slaughtering thousands of innocent civilians in Liberia in a meangiless civil war, Charles Taylor without even apologizing to the people of Liberia he stubbornly coined

an election campaign cry 'He killed my pa,he killed my ma, I will vote for him'.

He won the elections which took place in 1997 and it is believed that people voted for him out of fear that if he didn't win he was possibly going back to the trenches and continue with the war.

Taylor's victory in 1997 elections under such a notorious slogan was all because of the fear which Liberians had. They knew him as a butcher of his own people who mercilessly slaughtered thousands of people.

The only way to stop the bloodshed was to give Taylor the power which he desperately wanted. He won because he was feared but not loved by the people of Liberia. The same happened to the late Vice President of Zimbabwe Joshua Nkomo who signed the Unity Accord with Robert Mugabe not out of choice but out of fear that if he had not done so his people (ZAPU supporters) were being killed every day.

So to save thousands of lives Nkomo had to sign the Unity Accord and give Mugabe the power which he desperately needed.

Are Zimbabweans going to approach the 2018 elections with the same fear which Liberians had in 1997 elections

considering that President Emmerson Mnangagwa was one of the top architects of the horrible blood atrocities which happened in Zimbabwe under then President Robert Mugabe? Are they going to say 'Mnangagwa killed our parents during Gukurahundi (he was State Security Minister during the genocide),killed our brothers and sisters during 2008 post election era (he was ZANU PF Chief Election Agent during the bloody atrocity in 2008 and hundreds of opposition supporters were brutally murdered) but we will vote for him in 2018?'

Are Zimbabweans going to have that attitude of voting for someone out of fear that if he lose bloody violence may resurface in Zimbabwe just like what happened in 2008? It is very difficult to disassociate Mnangagwa from the bloody atrocities which took place in Zimbabwe under President Mugabe because he was one of the chief architects of all the suffering which Zimbabweans went through.

He has a very dark past which will make it difficult for Zimbabweans to regain confidence in him. In his home province of Midlands there are a lot of untold stories of violence and victimization of opposition supporters especially after Mnangagwa lost parliamentary elections to Blessing Chebundo in Kwekwe there were gross human

rights violations which he committed in his own community in Midlands province.

If the push comes to shove Mnangagwa is likely to resort to violence and he does not fear to spill blood. The fear which Zimbabweans have is what may possibly happen if he lose the elections is he going to hand over power in a peaceful transition or maybe he will resort to what he knows best; **VIOLENCE.** 

Contesting in any election without apologizing to the people of Zimbabwe for his involvement in the past atrocities will make it difficult for Mnangagwa to win free and fair polls unless if he manipulates or rigs the elections like what President Mugabe used to do.

There are a lot of pending issues which Mnangagwa must address for Zimbabweans to regain confidence in him especially on the issue of his involement in past atrocities and the need to implement political and electoral reforms before elections.

People may give him credit for deposing Robert Mugabe but I do not think that is enough to sanitize him from his dark past. It will be very difficult for him to win a free and a fair poll in Zimbabwe he is very unpopular with the electorate.

Muhammad Buhari the President of Nigeria when he contested the 2015 elections apologized to the people of Nigeria for the mistakes he committed when he took over power in the 1983 military coup.

He ruled from 1983-85 and introduced what was then known as Buharism. He took responsibility of everything that happened under his military rule and apologized calling himself a 'converted democrat'.

He won the elections defeating the incumbent President Goodluck Jonathan. Mnangagwa must take that route if he is genuine that Zimbabwe is now in a new era.

That new era will hardly come as long as he is not owning up and taking responsibility of his involvement in Gukurahundi and other atrocities which took place in Zimbabwe. Zimbabweans may forgive him that is if if he apologize and allow genuine reconcilliation to take place.

As long as he wants to sweep the issue of Gukurahundi,2008 post election violence and other atrocities under the carpet the hearts of millions of Zimbabwe will continue bleeding.



Muhammad Buhari apologized and took responsibility for all that happened during his military rule 1983-85 saying he can not change the past. He called himself a 'converted democrat' when he contested and won the 2015 Presidential elections in Nigeria. That is what Mnangagwa must do before 2018 elections, he must publicly apologize for his involvement in blood atrocities which took place in Zimbabwe. Yes he can compensate white commercial farmers giving some of them back their farms to appease the international community but as long as he has not yet addressed the Gukurahundi genocide and the 2008 post elections violence when he was ZANU PF Chief Election Agent and more than two hundred opposition supporters were brutally killed under his nose, then a new era which he is talking about is just a facade.

ZANU PF will always remain ZANU PF and will never change. What can change are the faces of the dictators but ZANU PF and it's system of Mugabeism will hardly change that will never happen remember it's a system which took about four decades to be established so it can hardly change it's modus operandi.

What Zimbabwe needs is a NEW political order which is not under ZANU PF. The system which Mugabe established must be totally dismantled and the first step towards achieving this is to vote for new political leadership which is not linked to ZANU PF.

Dreaming of reforming ZANU PF which does not subscribe to Mugabeism is like washing a cheetah even with milk,it will never change it's spots.

Mugabe the long serving dictator has gone but this must not misinterpreted as freedom (uhuru) we just transited from the hands of one dictator into the hands of another and to add an insult to an injury it is the same ZANU PF which made us all suffer for all those years which is still in power.

# The more things change the more they remain the same.

Mugabeism can only be dismantled by voting ZANU PF out of power and that is the right direction which Zimbabweans must take if they are serious about rebuilding this country and restore it back to it's glory.

'If it happens that as a prisoner you are being transfered from Chikurubi Prison to Khami Prison on an open truck, you have every right to enjoy +300km of fresh air should however

not to be confused for freedom-you remain under arrest. Likewise, there is no need for Zimbabweans to confuse the little sanity associated with moving from a Mugabe rule to Mnangagwa rule for freedom'.

(Discent Collins Bajila,2017).

The music (euphoria) has stopped and the party is over; back to zero, we are not yet free Comrades!.

#### **CHAPTER FIVE:**

# Is that all we fought for? No new dawn after the dust settled.

'Let's not fool ourselves by talking whilst looking at our image in the mirror and conclude that the people have spoken' (Kgalema Montlante).

We were correcting our own mess, we have the majority in Parliament, we can expel the President alone and we are the ruling party, so where does a coalition come in, we don't need them.

The removal of Mugabe and his cabal was to enable us to go to elections as a strong force after

(Patrick Chinamasa, 2017).

some rogue elements had infiltrated the party.

The mass was only used to sanitize the coup but that was not a people's revolution.

Asante sana, iwe neni takashandiswa.



Thousands of Zimbabweans demonstrated on the 18<sup>th</sup> of November demanding the ouster of the despot Robert Mugabe. The mass supported the military intervention which forced President Mugabe to resign on November 21,2017. Little did they (mass) know that their presence in the streets was being used to sanitize the coup but it was not their agenda neither was it a revolution. It was ZANU PF solving it's internal succession issue and this had nothing to do with the people of Zimbabwe and had absolutely nothing to do with national interests.

Robert Mugabe over stayed in power against the will of the people of Zimbabwe because the army protected him and imposed him in office even after loosing the election several times to the opposition.

He lost in 2008 but the army went to out to terrorize people and retained him by force against the will of the people of Zimbabwe. But in 2017 following the fall out

between the Mugabes and the securocrats they then deposed him.

Zimbabwe's politics is run or managed by the military junta that is why our country is need of serious security sector reforms so that the army will not continue to intervene in civilian affairs the country must be run through the constitution not personal interests of the securocrats. What happened in 2008 and 2017 set a wrong precedence in Zimbabwe's politics.

sWhilst the people of Zimbabwe are grateful to the army for playing a pivotal role in deposing Mugabe but they must not forget that it is this same army which terrorized people in 2008 and imposed Mugabe back into office against the will of the people.

The security sector is ZANU PF and ZANU PF is the security sector that's the way it is in Zimbabwe. But if this is not addressed Zimbabwe will risk having coups everytime the securocrats feel unhappy with the President or anyone who will be elected by the people.

In November 2017 when millions of Zimbabwe protested in the streets supporting the military intervention and demanding that Mugabe steps down, people came from all walks of life and united for this common goal of deposing Mugabe.

For the first time in the history of Zimbabwe people united despite of their colours, creed, ethnicity, religious or political affiliations. Former freedom fighters, students, opposition parties, activists, pastors, white Zimbabweans and other different groups of people came together to put an end to Mugabe's thirty seven year rule.

Again for the first time in the history of post independent Zimbabwe people were allowed to protest without the army or the police throwing tear gas at them.

For the first time in the post independent Zimbabwe the people tasted freedom but it was just for a day little did they know that they were being used to sanitize the coup so that before the international community it will look like a people's revolution yet it was the military solving the ZANU PF succession issue and it was not for the people at all.

Vanhu vakashandiswa muchinhu che ZANU PF march iya yanga isinei neruzhinji rweZimbabwe yaive yekusimbisa ZANU PF kuti izotonge nyika ino zvachose.(That march was not for the people,it was ZANU PF reforming itself so that it can emerge stronger and rule Zimbabwe forever).



People of Zimbabwe were too desperate to see Mugabe going by any means possible so they supported the military intervention not because they were in support of Mnangagwa or ZANU PF but they just wanted to push Mugabe out of office.

Seeing opposition activists and ruling party stalwarts sharing the stage addressing the mass and jointly calling Mugabe to step down everyone assumed that it was a people's revolution which would end by the formation of a national transitional government comprised of all these progressive forces.

But after successfully deposing Mugabe,ZANU PF stalwarts claimed the victory and shared the spoils amongst themselves leaving the opposition and other key stakeholders who participated in ousting Mugabe in the cold.

If only the people knew that they were being used in ZANU PF factional fights they wouldn't have participated in that march because that was not a people's agenda but ZANU PF internal issues.

The presence of the mass in support of the military intervention was only needed to give a good picture to the international community that what happened was not a coup so that Mnangagwa will have legitimacy. That's why that march was organized but there was nothing for the people in it.

#### After the march.....

- The military gave the power to their prefered candidate Emmerson Mnangagwa who is now the President of Zimbabwe.
- The junta started sharing the spoils and army generals who helped to stage the coup were given key government positions in the cabinet. Mnangagwa became the President to make

- it look like it's a civilian rule yet all the power is in the hands of the military junta.
- The opposition and other activists who helped in mobilizing the mass to go into the streets and depose Mugabe were left in the cold as ZANU PF claimed all the victory and refused to create an inclusive government to inco-operate other progressive political parties so as to give Zimbabwe a new start.
- The army started terrorizing people in the streets and forcing them to go and register to vote and bashing all those who were found without voter registration slips. If they can beat up people forcing them to go and register to vote then it's most likely that they will also beat up people when election comes forcing them to vote for their (army) preffered candidate.
- Members of the G40 (a ZANU PF faction linked to the deposed President Mugabe and his wife Grace) are being arrested, exposed and incarcerated by the Junta. In as much as most of the G40s were corrupt during the days in government but the junta is using the law to settle personal scores and pursue personal vendettas because they are all (Lacoste included) guilty of the same crimes of kleptocracy, corruption and gross human rights violations which they collectively committed during

President Mugabe's rule. Selective application of the law targerting perceived opponents is still very visible in Mnangagwa's adminstration just like as it was during Mugabe's reign.

- The national broadcaster Z.B.C is still more of an extension of ZANU PF information and publicity department. From the start of the news to the end it's all about ZANU PF and nothing about other political parties or the great work being done by the civil society out there. The only day where there was equal coverage was the day of the march when millions of Zimbabweans thronged the streets of Harare demanding Mugabe's ouster. That was the day opposition activists were given coverage addressing the masses alongside the military and ruling party stalwarts and it was broadcasted live. Now that ZANU PF got want it wanted it's back to square one, Z.B.C is now all about one political party ZANU PF as usual.
- .....now the question is what did we march for that day?
  - we (the mass) were used in solving ZANU
     PF succession issues
  - o and we are now dumped.

The Zimbabwe which we envisioned during the day of that march is not the Zimbabwe we have today. The oneness

which we had on that particular day (November 18,2017 protest) the love and the respect which was being given to the opposition by the war veterans and the ruling party ZANU PF everybody thought that indeed this was the beggining of a new era.

A Zimbabwe which belongs to us all full of love, equality, equity and tranquility. Little did the people of Zimbabwe knew that it was not a people's agenda at all.

The presence of the mass in the streets was critical to cure the coup if I may use Jonathan Moyo's words and to give a good picture to the international community that it was a people's revolution which forced Mugabe to resign yet behind the scenes it was something totally different.

It was a ZANU PF factional fight with the other faction using the army and state security apparatus to seize control of the party and the state.

It is now the turn of the junta to eat and enjoy fine whisky in the corridors of the power and to us the mass it's **suffer continues**.

The act of benevolence by opposition parties and the civil society in helping to depose Mugabe was not rewarded or recognized by the greedy and self centred post-Mugabe ZANU PF. What Zimbabwe now need is to remove Mugabe

the institution (system) because yes Mugabe the individual is now gone but the system is still intact.

The people of Zimbabwe have nothing to celebrate because it's not a new era at all the mass was just used to sanitize the coup. Nothing has changed except the face of the ZANU PF leader. It's like when you are imbibing beer drinking quarts of Castle Lager and you finish all the quarts only to be told that all Castle Lager quarts are finished but pints are available. Then you start drinking Castle Lager pints. Can you call that a change? It is the size of the bottle which has changed but you are still drinking Castle Lager. Yes Mugabe was deposed but ZANU PF is still in power yes that same ZANU PF which ruined this country is the one which is still in power.

When the opposition, the mass and the civil society marched into the streets in support of the military intervention and the fall of Robert Mugabe what the people over looked is the fact that ZANU PF is very good at distorting history especially after achieving what it wanted.

If after fighting alongside ZAPU and it's ZIPRA forces during the liberation struggle, ZANU PF distorted all the history of the liberation struggle in the post-independent Zimbabwe to vilify Nkomo's participation in the struggle for independence. Today's history about Zimbabwe is

dominated by ZANU and it's ZANLA forces and very little is said about ZAPU and ZIPRA.

ZANU PF is very good at distorting history for it's own benefit, it is an institution which believes in propaganda and self aggrandizement. Even the story of the Gukurahundi genocide was not even mentioned in Zimbabwe's history books, in government schools textbooks maybe you can see a paragraph or two about the genocide written in a very biased way to distort the history and not give it the attention it deserves.

In this post Mugabe era ZANU PF is already distorting the history and peddling lies that it removed Mugabe on it's own without anybody's help whereas they incorporated the opposition to help it depose Mugabe.

Statements by Patrick Chinamasa after the fall of Mugabe clearly shows that ZANU PF is already writting a biased story to distort the history of what happened in November 2017 in Zimbabwe. In the next few years that historic moment and the fall of Mugabe shall be told in a distorted and very false way.

Soon after the coup Mnangagwa lost an opportunity to create an inclusive transitional government which would have helped Zimbabwe to rise from it's feet quickly and regain it's glory. He was going to be another Mandela.

But change of attitude which happened soon after Mugabe's fall was clear that ZANU PF is still comprised of people who are power hungry, self centered and only think about themselves not the interests of the people.

......what people have to know is that we are the majority and it won't be wise to have a coalition.

# (Obert Mpofu, Home Affairs Minister2017).

On another note the opposition also got it wrong by coining their message 'Mugabe Must Go' and now that he is gone it looks like they have achieved what they were fighting for yet ZANU PF is still in power.

The correct message was supposed to be 'ZANU PF (the system and all its elements) must go' because removing individuals and leaving the entire system will not help Zimbabwe in anyway.

The post-Mugabe ZANU PF is now giving the people of Zimbabwe a false narrative that only Mugabe was responsible for all those atrocities which happened in Zimbabwe yet in actual fact many of the 'new' leaders of ZANU PF (President Mnangagwa included) were accomplices and perpetrators who (alongside Mugabe) spilt blood of innocent civilians in this country during

Gukurahundi, 2008 post election violence, Murambatsvina only to mention a few.

In as much as ZANU PF will work hard to reform itself but what Zimbabwe needs is a new political order which has nothing to do with ZANU PF.

Now that the people of Zimbabwe have realized that they were used in that revolution only to sanitize the coup but it had nothing to do with them. What matters now is the need to go back to the drawing board ,re-strategize, reconfigure the opposition and develop a new narrative.

The mass must be educated and informed that a complete overhaul of Zimbabwe may only be possible when a new political system (which is not ZANU PF) is voted into power.

With ZANU PF real change will hardly come because the same system which Robert Mugabe established is the one which is still in charge.

'If people are going to fold their hands and expect that they are now in Canaan or they have achieved the goals of the struggle for a new Zimbabwe by removing Mugabe. We have not yet reached Canaan we are on transit it's only a few miles left for the people of Zimbabwe to step into Canaan.

Folding our hands and abandoning the struggle in support of the post Mugabe ZANU PF is betraying the likes of Tonderai Ndira, Kauzani, Bakacheza, Bertha Chokururama and many others who were brutally murdered for demanding democracy in Zimbabwe.

The perpetrators who killed them are still in government in as much as Mugabe has gone. This (Zimbabwe under ZANU PF) is not a new era at all we are like the biblical Israelites who have been allowed to leave Egypt by the evil King Pharaoh but are now stuck in the wilderness on their way to Canaan.

It's Aluta Continua the struggle for a new Zimbabwe must continue unabated because whatever happened was not a people's agenda but ZANU PF reforming itself to rule Zimbabwe and all for us forever.'

When Bishop Abel Muzorewa became the Prime Minister of Zimbabwe -Rhodesia in 1979 many people felt that this is not the Zimbabwe they were fighting for in that protracted liberation struggle.

Therefore they (former freedom fighters) continued with the liberation struggle and Muzorewa's government only lasted for a few months leading to the Lancaster talks which then brought the Zimbabwe which the people were fighting for.

In the same token those who were fighting for a democratic Zimbabwe must not be calmed by the coming in of a reformed post Mugabe ZANU PF. The question which we must ask ourselves is 'Is this the Zimbabwe we want and is it what we were fighting for when our brothers and sisters got killed in 2008?

A Zimbabwe where the perpetrators of past atrocities and those who ruined this country continue to be at the helm of this country claiming to be reformed or we want something better, a totally democratized Zimbabwe not polished old shoes.

If this is the case then the struggle for a new Zimbabwe must continue unabated till Mugabe the system (ZANU PF) is totally dismantled.



Ex Prime Minister Ian Douglas Smith congratulating the new Prime Minister of Zimbabwe -Rhodesia Bishop Abel Muzorewa in 1979. The people refused to recognize Muzorewa's government and continued with the struggle for independence. The same spirit is required in today's Zimbabwe, in as much as ZANU PF may reform itself but what Zimbabwe needs is total democratization and new political order which is not ZANU PF. ZANU PF has now passed its expiry date and Zimbabwe needs something new. Therefore the non-violent struggle for a democratic new Zimbabwe must continue unabated.

#### **CHAPTER SIX:**

#### Tears Of A Crocodile.

'....he that is without sin among you, let him first cast a stone at her.'

(John 8 verse 7, KJV)



(Pic Credit; New Zimbabwe) Innocent Hamandishe former ZANU PF Youth Commissar being taken to court on allegations of kidnapping. Hamandishe is one of the top G40 members who were loyal to the Mugabes. Most of ZANU PF leaders who are pro-Mnangagwa (Lacoste) who have criminal cases of rape and murder which they committed during Gukurahundi, bloody 2008 post election violence, Marange blood diamonds where torture, killings and looting of diamond took place in 2008 are all walking scot free. The law is selectively targeting those who were against Mnangagwa's ascendancy to power. It's all vanity, selective application of the law, retributive justice and political gamenship.

Few hours after Robert Mugabe's fall dozens of his Ministers and close allies had already fled the country. The few unlucky ones who were caught are being incarcerated in various prisons across Zimbabwe. The most creepiest thing in all this is that both Lacoste and G40 were and are all thieves and kleptocrats.

It's a game of a gang thieves arresting or capturing other thieves. Now that Lacoste has state power they are now abusing the law to crush their G40 opponents but both of these ZANU PF factions are all thieves, equally corrupt and kleptocrats who survived prison on impunity from Robert Mugabe.

They are all not in jail because of Mugabe's benovolence and tolerance to kleptocracy. If Mugabe can open up all the files of each and every leader who is in ZANU PF and all the cases which he swept under the carpet when he was President it will be discovered that both Lacoste and G40 members were gangsters, thugs and cartels of thieves, murderers and kleptocrats.

Mnangagwa and his government are using their state power to sacrifiece the 'G40 cabal' only as scapegoats he and his Lacoste elite are equally guilty of the same crimes, they all looted state coffers and amassed wealth abusing their offices during Mugabe's days.

If President Mnangagwa is serious about curbing corruption and arresting all the culprits who have been stealing from state coffers. He must start by coming out clean and declare to the people of Zimbabwe all his wealth and explain to us how he got all the wealth which he has.

Apart from his own wealth the people around him in his new government have serious allegations of corruption and kleptocracy they must all be probed because they are the same people who ruined this country alongside Robert Mugabe. Many government officials and ZANU PF leaders survived all these arrests because they are Lacoste and Mnangagwa's loyalists and sympathizers.

If you are a Lacoste sympathizer you are exempted from the law and all your cases will be swept under the carpet that is why many pro-Mnangagwa kleptocrats are still walking scot free out there.

Whatever is happening has nothing to do with curbing corruption but the law is being used to fight ZANU PF factional fights and finally nail G40 and the tears Mnangagwa is shedding about Zimbabwe are nothing but tears of a crocodile because he has been in government since 1980 and was part of Robert Mugabe's team which ruined Zimbabwe. Ironically his moniker is Crocodile and he is also shedding the proverbial crocodile (fake) tears.

Arresting the likes of Hamandishe and Chipanga for cases like kidnapping and 'publishing falsehoods' but leaving people who killed innocent civilians during Gukurahundi,2008 post election violence and top army officials who looted diamonds at Marange killing more than two hundred people there walking scot free is taking the people of Zimbabwe for granted.

Many of the culprits whose hands are dripping blood of the innocent civilians are now in the 'new' government of President Mnangagwa. They are safe and the arm of the law will not reach out them because they are President Mnangagwa's friends and loyalists.

It is crystal clear that whatever the President (Mnangagwa) is doing has totally nothing to do with curbing corruption he is just using the law to purge his perceived opponents and pursue personal vendattas.



Former Sports Minister Makhosini Hlongwane was arrested for being found in possesion of ten tonnes of sugar beans at his farm. Getting arresting for being found with beans in a farm does not make sense at all,however the police demanded to know where he got the beans. Hlongwane is one of the Ministers believed to be members of the G40 a ZANU PF faction loyal to the deposed President Robert Mugabe and his wife Grace. Vengeful politics and selective application of the law targeting only one faction (G40) leaving the other group of thieves walking scot free. A fact finding mission must be sent to Midlands province and investigate serious crimes against humanity committed by President Mnangagwa's loyalists and not even one of them was arrested because it is believed they have protection from Mnangagwa who is now the President. Not only Midlands province but across Zimbabwe and all who participated in Gukurahundi,2008 post election violence and other atrocities must be brought to book and face justice regardless of their political or factional affiliation. No one is the above the law.

# President Mnangagwa, Don't Major on Minors.



Zimbabwe's President Emmerson Mnangagwa.

President Mnangagwa must be advised not to major on minors or use the law to pursue personal vendattas. The minors the likes of Chipanga and Hamandishe are in prison whereas the majors (post-Mugabe ZANU PF top brass) whose hands are dripping blood of innocent civilians are walking scot free.

If Mnangagwa fails to bring justice to the following atrocities then the people of Zimbabwe must not take him seriously;

- An estimated twenty thousand innocent civilians were brutally murdered during Gukurahundi genocide between 1983-7 in the Southern part of Zimbabwe. The perpetrators of this genocide (Mnangagwa included) are still walking scot free and Zimbabweans are demanding justice.
   Zimbabweans want closure to this issue, genuine truth and reconciliation and justice to prevail.
   Mugabe did not commit that bloody atrocity alone the people of Zimbabwe demand to know all his accomplices and what was done to them for justice to prevail.
- 2. Diamond money went missing from the national treasury, former President Robert Mugabe said it is about \$15bn USD which went missing. No one was arrested or investigated. President Mnangagwa's government is busy investigating people like Makhosini Hlongwane asking him where he got tonnes of beans leaving important issues such this one of the missing \$15bn diamond money. Why majoring in the minor?.
- 3. More than two hundred people were allegedly killed by the army in Marange during the scramble

for the diamonds. No one was arrested and the killings at Marange remains an untold story. Justice must prevail and these are the cases which Mnangagwa's government must prioritize and bring all the top army officers who were at the forefront of these killings to book.

- 4. 2008 post elections violence hundreds of opposition supporters were murdered by militias allegedly linked to the ruling party ZANU PF. The perpetrators involved in that atrocity are all walking scot free to date. Justice must prevail and these are the issues which Mnangagwa's adminstration must look at. It is an open secret that they will not touch on these issues because they (post Mugabe ZANU PF) were involved in those atrocities.
- 5. Every Minister and senior government official must declare his or her assets to the public and explain to us all where they got the wealth that they have. This must start with the President himself, Mnangagwa must come clean on how he accumulated all the wealth that he has.
- 6. It looks like only members of the 'G40 cabal' are being arrested for corruption and other charges. How clean is Lacoste? If President Mnangagwa knows that he is clean why can't he make a public call for people to report to the police any case

which they think has something to do with him and his military cabal. He will be shocked that the following day all police stations will be packed with people who have a lot of cases against him which were swept under the carpet by former President Robert Mugabe.

If the issues raised above can be addressed that is a first step towards getting into a new era. What is happening in Zimbabwe whereby the law is only targeting members of the G40 and the opposition giving an impression that Lacoste (ZANU PF) faction linked to Mnangagwa is clean that is taking the people of Zimbabwe for granted.

The people of Zimbabwe knows the truth that ZANU PF and all it's elements ruined this country and they (both the Lacoste and G4o) are all equally guilty and responsible for all the suffering we went through, hence the need to totally dismantle the entire they system of Mugabeism so that the country can have a genuinely new start.

Lacoste must not throw stones because they are in glass houses and they have skeletons in their closet too. So does it mean G40 kleptocrats must not face justice? No, the point is the entire ZANU PF (and all it's factions) is corrupt, kleptocratic and all them must be

non-violently booted out of office through the ballot for Zimbabwe to breath in fresh air and to be freed from the chains of Mugabeism.

All this noise about corruption, exposing former Ministers and arresting them is just cheap dramma and political gamenship. It is a script well written to give an impression that the new President and his regime are genuinely transparent. If they are really clean why is Mnangagwa still surrounded by a gang of thieves in his cabinet (Ministers) most of them have a lot of criminal cases which were just swept under the carpet.

So arresting a few Ministers who were G40 accusing them of being corrupt leaving thieves loyal to him (Mnangagwa) going scot free shows how biased Mnangagwa's government is.

Seeing the top brass of post-Mugabe ZANU PF shedding tears about Zimbabwe expressing their willingness to serve this country is nothing but tears of a crocodile they were part of the system which ruined this country for the past four decades.



President Mnangagwa is exposing himself by using the law to target his enemies as a result Zimbabweans are now demanding to know how clean he is and why criminals from the Lacoste cabal are still walking scot free.

Does it mean during Mugabe's reign only those from G40 were corrupt and Lacoste was an ALL SAINTS FACTION?

Speak of prisons being places where bigger criminals keep smaller criminals.

# (Makomborero Haruzivishe, 2018).

Mnangagwa must stop shedding tears of a crocodile about corruption and kleptocracy in this country because his government is as guilty as the G40 cabal

which he is incarcerating. Mese muri chikwati chemakororo (both Lacoste and G40 ruined and bled this country dry with corruption. This cosmetic approach to political corruption will not take us anywhere as a country. Selective application of the law must stop; No one is above the law. We expect to see both the G40 and the Lacoste (ZANU PF) filling up our prisons to brim because that where all of you belong.

#### LEST WE FORGET.



Gukurahundi genocide, thousands were murdered and those responsible for the killings are walking scot free and some of them are still in government and are the key figures in post-Mugabe ZANU PF. Justice must prevail.



The body of an MDC driver Joshua Bakacheza who was murdered by suspected state agents in 2008 was found decomposing and dumped in a farm in Beatrice, Harare. Hundreds of innocent civilians were murdered for exercising their right to support a political party of their choice. Many of the perpetrators and murderers responsible for the 2008 atrocity are serving in President Mnangagwa's government and justice must prevail one day. They must all be brought to book.



Zimbabwean farmer Ben Freeth was badly assaulted by militias linked to the ruling party ZANU PF. Mugabe didn't do all this alone, his accomplices are still in government with their hands dripping blood of innocent civilians. Zimbabweans must not allow their story to be distorted by the post-Mugabe ZANU PF which is now putting all the blame on Mugabe yet they were together with him when he was committing these crimes against humanity. Yes Mugabe has gone but the whole system which he left behind (ZANU PF in its entirety) must be dismantled.



Suspected opposition activist burnt by militias believed to be linked to the ruling ZANU PF. No one was arrested or investigated the perpetrators are walking scot free in the streets of Harare singing 'Kutonga Kwaro'. Many of the perpetrators of this atrocity are serving in President Mnangangwa's new-old government and they have not yet come out to own up and apologize. In other words they are not sorry for all this harm they did to innocent Zimbabweans in 2008. Why would you then trust them with your vote? Think twice the entire ZANU PF hegemony and system left behind by Robert Mugabe must be non-violently dismantled for Zimbabwe to have a new start.

#### **CHAPTER SEVEN:**

# Era Of Misery In The Hands Of A Military Junta.

'Zanu PF apologists point to the fact that United States
President Donald Trump has several ex-military officers
in his Cabinet – the difference is that none of those
officers played any role in Trump's election; whereas in
Zimbabwe, President Emmerson Mnangagwa owes his
new role to the very same officers he has appointed to
Cabinet.'

(**David Coltart**, 2018; NewsDay dated January 4,2018-Whither Zimbabwe?).



Pic Credit; Reuters. Zimbabwe is now in the hands of a military junta. It is now crystal clear that what happened in Zimbabwe in November 2017 when the military intervened was a coup .After deposing Mugabe they shared the spoils and consolidated their power. Zimbabwe needs to return to civilian rule not this military rule under civilian cloth. Real power is now at KGVI (now Josiah Magama Tongogara barracks) not at Munhumutapa (Office of the President and Cabinet) and that must be corrected. Just like during Rhodesia-Zimbabwe, Bishop Abel Muzorewa became the Prime Minister real power was with Ian Smith, Mnangagwa is the President but real power is with the army which imposed him. Considering the brutal history of the army in Zimbabwe where you can hardly separate a professional national army and a ZANU PF partisan militia group. Zimbabweans are now in a dilemma. Political and electoral processes have all been militarized and soon democracy will be instinct like dinosaurs.

Zimbabwe needs a real and professional army not a ZANU PF militia.

Zimbabwean army has always been an extension of ZANU PF militia group not a professional army on a duty to protect its citizens. It's there to protect ZANU PF's interests not national interests;

The first coup orchestrated by the army started during the Liberation Struggle when the army (then ZANLA forces a military wing of ZANU fighting against colonial rule) deposed the legitimate ZANU leader Rev Ndabaningi Sithole in Tanzania in what was known as Mgagao declaration of 1975. This was when young army officers decided to overthrow Sithole replacing him with Mugabe. In ZANU PF politics at the end it is the army which decides who becomes President not the people. This started way back in the 70s, Mugabe himself took control of ZANU through the aforementioned military coup during the liberation struggle. The same people who imposed Mugabe through a coup at Mgagao in 1975 are the same people who overthrew him in November 2017. What goes around comes around. However that was the beginning of an error in ZANU PF and Zimbabwe at large where the army controls the politics of the country without any respect of the constitution. Arguably Zimbabwe hardly had a civilian rule it has

always been the army ruling with a puppet civilian at the helm.



www.alamy.com - E1121M

The late Julius Nyerere President of Tanzania and the late Rev Ndabaningi Sithole the first President of ZANU during Zimbabwe's liberation struggle against colonial rule. Sithole was then deposed by Mugabe through a military coup at Mgagao in Tanzania, 1975. The coup which deposed Sithole was firstly orchestrated by young ZANLA military officers who felt Mugabe was a better leader than Sithole. So they overthrew Sithole and replaced him with Mugabe and for Mugabe to have legitimacy to the frontline states (countries which were supporting Zimbabwe's liberation struggle) they organized a special congress for ZANU which took place in Chimoio in 1977 to ratify Mugabe's elevation and cure the coup. This is the same template which was used by Mnangagwa when he overthrew Mugabe in a military coup which was also sanitized by a ZANU PF special congress which took place in November 2017 in Harare and ratified his elevation. The more things change the more they remain the same.

The second coup took place in 2008 when Robert Mugabe then President of Zimbabwe lost elections to the late Morgan Tsvangirai. The army stepped in and prevented Tsvangirai from getting into power killing hundreds of his supporters. Mugabe was defeated by the opposition MDC since 2000 but the seventeen years which followed he remained in power at the army's benevolence. Had it not been the army's interference in favour of ZANU PF the opposition would have been in power since 2000. What happened in November 2017 is nothing new the army has always been the gatekeepers of Munhumutapa building (office of the President) deciding who gets in that office or not, elections were just a formality but everything was determined and decided by the army not the people. Who can forget how the army burnt villages and terrorized civilians to vote for Mugabe in 2008?



In the post-Mugabe ZANU PF,Rugeje a former senior army officer who alledgedly terrorized Masvingo forcing people to support ZANU PF during the 2008 post election genocide is now the National Commissar for ZANU PF. The junta which shed blood in 2008 protecting Robert Mugabe then President is now in full control of the state and the ruling party ZANU PF. Imagine if they lose the elections are they not going to repeat what they did in 2008?It's now Rule by Junta and Democracy will be extinct like dinosaurs.

The third 'coup' took place on 15 November 2017 when tankers moved into Harare, putting Robert Mugabe on house arrest, taking control of the state and government. Mugabe resigned after a few days and Mnangagwa who was supported by the army became the President. When the military intervened people thronged the streets of Harare in support of the army simply because people were desperate to see Mugabe going. However when the dust settled, Mugabe no longer in the picture and the army is now sharing the spoils in the 'new' political dispensation that's when it became clear to the people of Zimbabwe that what happened had nothing to do with them it was just a power grab by the army so that they can share the spoils and mantain the status quo.

To make it more clear to my fellow lay people who are the targeted readers of my writtings Mnangagwa is the TV and the army is the remote control. It's up to the remote control to tune the TV to any channel of its choice. That is the relationship between Mnangagwa and the army that of a TV and its remote control.



Robert Mugabe then President reading his speech from state house under house arrest when the military intervened in November 2017. Whatever happened people might interpret it differently but it was indeed a military coup. Zimbabwe must return to civilian and constitutional rule. Zimbabwe is need of a professional army what is currently there is more of a ZANU PF militia group which is serving and protecting the interests of ZANU PF;



We wish to make it very clear to all Zimbabwean citizens that the security organisations will only stand in support of those political leaders that will pursue Zimbabwean values, traditions and beliefs for which thousands of lives were lost in the pursuit of Zimbabwe's hard won independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and national interests. To this end, let it be known that the highest office in the land is a straitjacket whose occupant is expected to observe the objectives of the liberation struggle. We will therefore not accept, let alone support or salute, anyone with a different agenda that threatens the very existence of our sovereignty.

(The General Vitalis Zvinashave, Commander of the Zimbabwe Defence Forces, 2002.)

General Zvinavashe's statement was interpreted as informing political players that the army will not recognize anyone without liberation war credentials to be President of this country.



Major General Douglas Nyikayaramba.

"No chief was voted for. No son has ever ordered his father to step down from his role as leader of the family, so the same applies to our case with President Mugabe."

"That is what we should remind each other when we meet. Whites want divide-and-rule, and they saw that Mugabe is the nerve centre of the country.

"Let us not sell the country for the love of sugar. We are here to strengthen the relationship between chiefs, the President and the army."

Nyikayaramba said Mugabe's leadership was endorsed by the country's spirit mediums and there was a prophecy of him ruling this country, hence, he was not going anywhere.

(NewsDay, September 12, 2017; **Nyikarayamba orders chiefs to vote for Mugabe).** 



The current purging (in ZANU PF) which is clearly targeting members of the party with a liberation background must stop forthwith. We must remind those behind the current treacherous shenanigans that when it comes to matters of protecting our revolution, the military will not hesitate to step in.

(General Constantine Chiwenga's presser at Josiah Magama Tongogara barracks in Harare, November 2017).

When the military intervened in November 2017 in what the world can call a peaceful and bloodless coup. Many things were happening behind the scenes, pro-Mugabe government leaders captured, tortured and shootings at their houses.

There are a lot of untold stories and human rights violations which took place during the coup. The junta in Harare will make sure all those cases of human rights violations and torture which took place during the coup remains hidden under the carpet.

The civil society must play its watchdog role in investigating cases of human rights violations which happened when the coup was being executed and afterwards. Those human rights violations must be documented and victims must be assisted to seek redress.

But a critical question which Zimbabweans must ask themselves is that is the same junta which terrorized Zimbabweans in 2008 going to allow free and fair polls this time around? If the army (together with ZANU PF militias) butchered hundreds of suspected opposition activists in 2008 when their favourite candidate Mugabe lost to Tsvangirai, what more are they likely to do when Mnangagwa and Chiwenga lose the elections?

Is the Junta going to accept defeat graciously and just leave? That is not likely to happen. The military is likely to intervene again if people vote against their preferred candidate, whether the barrel of the gun will accept to be

defeated by the ballot, which is the litmus test awaiting Mnangagwa's regime.



Former Minister Ignatious Chombo's bullet riddled house when he was arrested by the army.



The former Commander of the Zimbabwe Defence Forces General Constantine Chiwenga who led the bloodless coup which deposed Mugabe being sworn in as the new Vice President of Zimbabwe. After ousting Mugabe the army began to feast and share the spoils grabbing key positions in government and in the ruling party ZANU PF. Under such a political order democracy is really at threat and a serious crackdown on dissenting voices is on its way especially if people vote against the junta in 2018.

Whether the junta is going to level the ground to allow free and fair elections (which is not likely to happen) the opposition and civil society must brace up for a more difficult political environment ahead.

This has already been shown by incarceration and imprisonment of most of the ZANU PF senior members who were against Mnangagwa's faction. They are being arrested and incarcerated across Zimbabwe and the same approach is likely to be used against the opposition and civil society activists once they start raising their voices against the junta.

People were also being beaten by soldiers in the streets being forced to go and register to vote. Why would an army force people to register to vote? It is a clear sign that the army has an interest in the coming polls and it would possibly manipulate it.

Whilst some Zimbabweans are still in the euphoria of celebrating Mugabe's fall to an extent of thinking that they have stepped into Canaan the land which flows honey and milk.

They do not know that they are now in the hands of the military junta which will fight hard to maintain the status quo and possibly cling to power forever. After all is said and done, the army and the securocrats were the biggest winners not the people of Zimbabwe.

Time will tell, you think you are in heaven but you are living in hell.

#### (Bob Marley)

#### COMMAND ELECTION.

Zimbabwe is heading towards a Command Election in 2018, because the political environment is very militarized and not free at all. The constitution has not yet been fully implemented and laws that must be aligned to create an atmosphere which will enable a free and fair election are not yet put in place.

Those who are believed to be pro-Mugabe, the young turks who were against the old guard in ZANU PF (G40) are either in exile or in prison. Why are they not being given equal opportunities in the political terrain with those who are pro-Mnangagwa?? Those belonging to the G40 must be allowed to freely campaign in the coming polls without fear of political persecution.

It is up to Zimbabweans to vote for them or not. Many of the G40 members are already disadvantaged in the coming

elections because of the crackdown on them by the new administration. The chairperson of the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (ZEC) who was believed not to be loyal to the junta resigned.

Many people suspect that this was a forced resignation. If they (Mnangagwa's administration) knows that they can win elections free and fairly then what's the fear and why trying to manipulate the electoral commission?

To add an insult to an injury the opposition is already being disadvantaged by the partiality of the national broadcaster ZBC which is more of an extension of the ruling party ZANU PF.

ZANU PF is the only party being given coverage on the national broadcaster and from start to end of the news it's all about campaigning for Mnangagwa. The opposition has already been disadvantaged because there is no equal coverage on the national television a few months before the elections.

Mtwakhazi youths who staged a peaceful protest against Mnangagwa's involvement in Gukurahundi genocide were arrested and tortured by the army in a military base.

Traditional Chiefs are known for the role they played in intimidating villagers and some banishing people who were opposition party members away from their villages. 2008 post election violence happened in most parts of Zimbabwe with the blessings of the traditional chiefs.

Most of these traditional chiefs became Mugabe's gatekeepers across the country oppressing and intimidating people in their villages in return of goodies from the government. That is the same template which will still be used by the post-Mugabe ZANU PF.

The government has already procured vehicles to give to the Chiefs as a way of buying their support in the coming 2018 polls. This has been previously happening that towards elections Chiefs will be given all these goodies and then later on instructed not to open the political space to the opposition parties in their villages.

ZANU PF manipulates these traditional leaders and uses them during elections to secure the rural vote using force and intimidation. Traditional Chiefs are critical stakeholders often abused by ZANU PF to win the rural vote.



President Mnangagwa congratulating Chief Sikalenge from Binga after handing over a car to him. More than fifty cars which were imported from South Africa were distributed to traditional Chiefs. Most of these Chiefs are from communities where people are dying because there is no ambulance to rush them to the nearest hospital in cases of emergency and the children in those communities are going to school barefooted learning in thatched classrooms sitting on bricks. But what matters to Mnangagwa's regime is winning elections hence the need to use this vote buying gimmick and entice Chiefs with these cars. Traditional Chiefs are very important people in our communities but we all know how ZANU PF has been manipulating them.

Already President of Chief's Council Chief Fortune Charumbira is on record calling all traditional Chiefs to mobilize people in their communities to vote for ZANU PF in 2018 elections. Chief Charumbira is already showing his bias towards ZANU PF and calling all the Chiefs to campaign for ZANU PF something which is not only wrong

but dangerous for the polarized rural communities out there.

Chiefs must be non-partisan custodians of our tradition and culture not commissars of political parties as this will divide their communities causing unnecessary tensions.

Villagers have different political opinions and the duty of the Chief is to make sure the rights of each and every person under his or her jurisdiction is protected regardless of his or her political affiliation.

Unfortunately most of these Chiefs are reducing themselves to be ZANU PF gatekeepers.



Chief Fortune Charumbira.

Zimbabwe must retain to civilian rule where the people must elect their own leaders through a free and fair election. Democracy must prevail and the constitution respected which clearly states that the army must not intervene in civilian politics of the country.

When election comes the electorate must also be wise enough to know what is good for the country and vote wisely. Thinking that the much anticipated change in Zimbabwe will come from the junta which brutally violated

our rights for the past three decades will be building a castle in the air.

We are twenty to thirty years backwards from where this country is supposed to be therefore Zimbabwe is a need of government which is democratically elected by the people, with new ideas, vision and the energy to make Zimbabwe work again.

'The celebration of Mugabe's fall by many Zimbabweans, African elites and Western media is misinformed. Mnangagwa and his conspirators do not represent a transition of power but maintenance of the status quo'.

(Mwendi Wade, 2018).

#### **CHAPTER EIGHT:**

## Hard Road To Democracy; The Struggle For a New Zimbabwe Must Continue Unabated.

'When the biblical Israelites were set free from slavery by the oppressive King Pharaoh they did not go straight into Canaan they had to struggle for a few more years wandering in the wilderness. Zimbabwe is no longer under Robert Mugabe but it is not yet free, it has not yet reached Canaan (the much anticipated new Zimbabwe).

It is still wandering in the wilderness under the military junta (the militarized post-Mugabe ZANU PF) so Zimbabweans must not fold their hands and remain in this wilderness they must finish their journey and step into Canaan which is a ZANU free Zimbabwe.

Let's take stock of the road we have walked so far and reflect, asking ourselves fundamental questions about all the torture we went through, all the pain, all the blood of our Comrades which was spilt for this cause, think about Itai Dzamara, Patrick Nabanyana, Paul Chizuze all those Comrades who disappeared, villages which were burnt down, women who were raped by ZANU PF sponsored militias in 2008......the list goes on and on.

After all that, we are now in a boat sailed by Emmerson Mnangagwa (the Chief perpetrator of those atrocities) is that what we fought for?

**NO!** Zimbabwe deserves better. To be more candid the struggle for a new Zimbabwe must continue unabated we can't retreat because of a reformed ZANU PF the same regime which made us suffer for almost four decades. Our brothers and sisters who paid the price for a new Zimbabwe with their own lives are rattling in their graves feeling betrayed.

IT'S NOT YET UHURU this is a message which all Zimbabweans must know. Abandoning this struggle before we step into a real new Zimbabwe will be a betrayal of our Comrades who lost their lives in this struggle. Just think about all innocent civilians who lost their lives in 2008, Gukurahundi, Murambatsvina and all other atrocities which were committed by the junta which is now in charge of this country.

ZANU PF has been in power for almost four decades and it is the custodian of Mugabeism, a system of misrule and repression. Before dismantling this system it is not possible to have a new democratic Zimbabwe, Mugabeism will

always be an obstacle towards stepping into the much anticipated new Zimbabwe.

The first step towards dismantling Mugabeism is voting ZANU PF out of office and putting in place a new political order which is under a progressive political structure.

# 'Seek ye first to dislodge ZANU PF and all the development shall be added unto you'

Scholars and academics might go left, right and centre trying to look for an academic solution or strategy of dismantling Mugabeism. But the answer for this equation will come from the peasants and the lay people. Yes the commoners are the vanguard of this revolution and the answer to this problem.

If only they can come out in their numbers on the voting day and vote ZANU PF out of office replacing it with a political party which values democracy, human rights, good governance and respect of the rule of law. As long as the military junta and ZANU PF remains in power, Mugabeism will continue, democracy will remain a white elephant and we will remain stuck and stagnant in this status quo.

In respect of our fellow brothers and sisters who were killed in the fight for a new Zimbabwe we must not betray them by allowing ourselves to be charmed by the same people who murdered them. The non-violent struggle for a new democratic Zimbabwe must continue unabated it is our generational mandate.

Our former freedom fighters must always be acknowledged for the great role they played in liberating Zimbabwe from colonial rule. However ZANU PF had its own chance for four decades, it failed us and it has over stayed its welcome in power. Zimbabwe is now in need of a new political order which is based on new ideas which values democracy and national interests.

It is regime change stupid, changing the regime totally and putting in place something new is the only way to step into the much anticipated new Zimbabwe. What is happening under Mnangagwa is not a new era at all but rather a new error as they are busy reforming ZANU PF trying to give it more strength and capacity to maintain the status quo and rule Zimbabwe forever. We are fed up of this regime, we need change.

# President Mnangagwa how long do you think you can keep this charade?



First Lady Amai Auxillia Mnangagwa buying tomatoes and fruits from vendors and this was all over state news to show the world that the Mnangagwas are very humble and down to earth'. Whereas in actual fact this was more of propaganda and a Stalinist charade. There are a lot of human rights violations and torture of people who are perceived to be against Mnangagwa especially those who were members of the G40 a ZANU PF faction which was loyal to the deposed President Robert Mugabe and his wife Grace. Whilst the world is being shown these good pictures the military junta is oppressing and violating the rights of hundreds of people behind scenes. The Mtwakhazi youths peacefully protested demanding that Mnangagwa apologize for his alleged involvement in Gukurahundi genocide, they were taken to an army base where they were thoroughly beaten by soldiers yet the constitution gives every Zimbabwean the right to peacefully protest and petition. Whilst the international community is being shown these good pictures a lot of untold human rights violations are being carried out by the junta in Zimbabwe. It's high time Zimbabweans stand up and ask 'Mr President how long do you think you will keep this charade?'

Nothing is being said about the incarceration of former government officials who were against Mnangagwa's military backed coup. Many of them were fired from government, arrested and a few who were lucky skipped the country in fear of their lives.

Nothing is being said about electoral, media and security sector reforms which must be put in place to enable free and fair elections and government's lack of political will to have them implemented. Nothing is being said about political prisoners who are still wallowing in prisons across the country.

Nothing is said about criminals who are around President Mnangagwa, murderers and thieves who are not in prison simply because they are Lacoste. Nothing is said about all the genocides and atrocities engineered and orchestrated by Mnangagwa during his days as Mugabe's chief ally.

If you look at it you can see that this impression which is being created by state news is cheap propaganda and a Stalinist charade.



What is happening in Zimbabwe is a replica of Joseph Stalin's propaganda in Russia in the 1930s. The state news could tell the world about economic development, industrial growth and production increase in the agricultural sector under Stalin's leadership. Yet in actual fact it was the opposite. Z.B.C is all about Mnangagwa portraying him as a saviour yet he was alongside Mugabe throughout the 37 years of his rule and they destroyed Zimbabwe together.



Think of the press as a great keyboard on which the government can play.

(Joseph Goebbels)

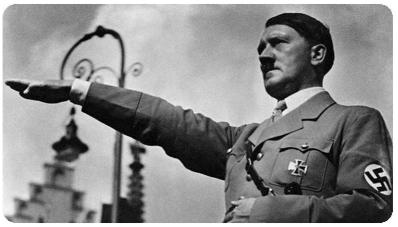
Zimbabweans must not trust state news it is diluted with propaganda to serve the interests of the incumbent military regime. Nothing has changed in Zimbabwe the same abuse of state apparatus which used to happen under Mugabe is still happening even in the post-Mugabe era under Mnangagwa. Therefore this clearly shows that we are not yet in a new Zimbabwe only the driver changed but we are still on the same bus driven by despots, so the struggle for democracy must continue unabated.

Thousands of ZANU PF agents are going around villages in the rural constituencies demanding to see voter registration slips from people, taking down their serial numbers and intimidating them that they will technically see which party they are going to vote for. Knowing what ZANU PF is capable of doing that is enough to make people in rural areas vote for ZANU PF out of fear. 2008 is still fresh in their minds.

The rigging machination which Mugabe left behind at Z.E.C is still intact. Yes they might be no violence at all and international observers will be invited to give an impression that indeed elections were free and fair. But in this preelectoral period many things are being done behind scenes to smartly manipulate the elections to Mnangagwa's advantage.

Also power of incumbency gives him an added advantage to control state apparatus and appoint his Lacoste protégés into key positions in government to manipulate the elections, purges at the Zimbabwe Republic Police and other state departments show that military junta is consolidating its power and preparing to be in charge of Zimbabwe for a very long time.

## Let bygones be bygones?; Taking a leaf from the Nazi Germany Holocaust.



Adolf Hitler the Nazi German leader during World War II massacred millions of Jews during what is now known as the Holocaust. In today's German this history is fully written everywhere in their museums and can be freely accessed by everyone. The Germans took full responsibility of the Holocaust and this was a major step towards truth and reconciliation in Germany and Europe at large. Unlike in Zimbabwe where the issue of Gukurahundi and 2008 genocides remains hidden and untouchable subjects.

President Mnangagwa's **let bygones be bygones** statement is a clear refusal and fear to take responsibility of the role he played as Mugabe's chief ally in massacring thousands of Zimbabweans during Gukurahundi genocide and 2008 post-election violence as well as other atrocities such as Murambatsvina and the chaotic land reform.

Mnangagwa owes Zimbabwe an apology and just like how the Germans took responsibility of the holocaust he (on ehalf of the post-Mugabe ZANU PF) must stand up and take responsibility of the atrocities they committed. ZANU PF committed those atrocities, it's a fact and it must own up just like how the Germans took responsibility of Holocaust committed by Hitler's Nazi regime.



During Holocaust Jews were murdered in millions just because they were Jewish. The same way people in Matebeleland and Midlands province in Zimbabwe thousands were murdered during Gukurahundi simply because they were Ndebeles or ZAPU. In 2008 hundreds were also killed just because they were suspected to be members of the opposition party. Mugabe did not do all that alone many of the leaders in the post-Mugabe ZANU PF the likes of Mnangagwa (President) and Perence Shiri (Agriculture Minister) are allegedly the chief architects of the Gukurahundi genocide. They must own up, take responsibility and apologize to the people of Zimbabwe.



"As I stood on the edge of the Germany's historical abyss, feeling the burden of millions of murders, I did what people do when words fail"

#### German Chancellor William Brandt, 1970.

Chancellor Brandt knelt before the monument of the victims of the Nazi-era Warsaw ghetto uprising where Germans murdered thousands of Jewish people in the then German occupied Poland during World War II. Brandt knelt as a way of asking for forgiveness on behalf of his country for the atrocities they (Germans) committed.

Such a humble gesture is important towards bringing healing to the victims, peace and reconciliation. If ZANU PF can take such an approach towards Gukurahundi and other atrocities (2008 post election violence, Murambatsvina, Marange blood diamonds etc) it committed this will be the first step towards healing and reconciliation in Zimbabwe.

If the perpetrator is refusing to accept responsibility (like what Mnangagwa is doing) and apologize the wounds will always remain fresh on the victims.

#### Zimbabwe At Crossroads; The Way Forward.

You can't send a mosquito to fight malaria.

### (Nelson Chamisa, 2018).

For Zimbabwe to have proper change ZANU PF must be removed from power replaced by a new political order. Expecting Mnangagwa and ZANU PF to dismantle Mugabeism is like sending a mosquito to fight malaria in Nelson Chamisa's words.

Rather the mosquito will spread it (malaria) more so Mnangagwa's regime will strengthen Mugabeism, maintain the status quo and make ZANU PF rule Zimbabwe forever.

Granted, there is absolutely no shortage of blemish and dark side to this government administration and, as many critics would put it, ZANU (PF) can never change and no tonnage of detergents can successfully sanitise its current illegitimacy and the cumulative historical damage they have visited upon Zimbabweans for close to half a century. Granted, how could the celebrated manufacturers of our decimating poverty deem themselves qualified to save us from their proud product and chief campaign tool? Granted, how can a criminal cabal of looters and perennial fugitives of the law claim sudden faith in the rule of law and embrace zero tolerance to the very corruption that made them?

(**Mathabelazitha he Anvil;** The Standard Newspaper, 28 January 2018)

As Zimbabwe head for elections in 2018 what is critical is;

1) To have an opposition which is organized and united. We can't all be Presidents at the same time. Politicians from the opposition must swallow their egos and field one candidate to avoid unnecessary splitting of votes which will be to ZANU PF's advantage. When ZANU PF is out of power there are many opportunities which will arise for every Zimbabweans regardless of our different

backgrounds, a real new Zimbabwe has it for us all so there is no need for people to jostle for low hanging fruits at the fence of an orchard, why not fight to take the entire orchard. No need to scramble for parliamentary seats or a few cabinet positions offered to you in a ZANU PF led inclusive government, your aim must be to take charge of the government itself so that you start sailing the point into your own direction. Most importantly into the direction where the interests of the people are.

- 2) Mobilize people to register to vote and motivate them to go out in their numbers to vote with a clear vision of removing ZANU PF out of power. In Professor Arthur Mutambara's words what happened in November 2017 (when Mugabe was deposed) was part one removing Mugabe the person. Part two is now the removal of Mugabe the system......
- 3) Let the security sector (the army and the police) know that they are national institutions as stipulated in the constitution and that they must not reduce themselves to be drawn into internal civilian politics. Their duty is to protect the country, maintain peace and work with any government

which will be elected by the people of Zimbabwe. Reforming the security sector starts with changing the mindsets of our securocrats that they may know that they belong to the state not to any political party.

- 4) Constitutional alignments which Mugabe did not what to put in place must be done to enable a free and fair election. This includes repealing AIPPA and POSA so that people will have freedom of assembly and association without fear. Media reforms must also be put in place so that state news does not sound like a ZANU PF feedback channel. All political parties must be given equal coverage on ZBC.
- 5) The Zimbabwe Independent Commission must be de-Zanufied and de-lacosticized meaning it must be weaned from being a ZANU PF and a Lacoste rigging machination but rather it must be an independent electoral board working to protect the vote and the voice of the people of Zimbabwe. The CIOs and ZANU PF elements which Mugabe staffed in ZEC to help him steal elections for him every time are still there and they have now switched their loyalty to Mnangagwa meaning rigging continues. ZEC must be independent and the opposition must fight for a real independent

electoral commission before going into an election. Otherwise it's the same old story of a stolen election.

"It is enough that the people know there was an election. The people who cast the votes decide nothing. The people who count the votes decide everything."



ArmstrongEconomics.COM

Joseph Stalin (1878-1953)

- 6) Provide the mass with enough political education that we are not fighting against President Mnangagwa as an individual but against the system of Mugabeism which he is presiding over. For Zimbabwe to be really free and get into a **NEW** political dispensation the system of Mugabeism must be totally dismantled. The mass must be engaged and enlightened that this is what must be done for Zimbabwe to be totally free from the chains of Mugabeism; ZANU PF must be voted out of power.
- 7) Former freedom fighters popularly known as war veterans must know that we respect the role they

played in liberating this country from colonialism and we respect them as fathers and mothers of this country. Yes we want to remove ZANU PF out of power to replace it with a new culture which values democracy, human rights and the rule of law. In that new political order they will remain respected figures in this country because of the role they played in the liberation struggle.



Freedom fighters during Zimbabwe's liberation struggle against British colonialism. They remain key figures and pillars of our history as a country. However they must know that Zimbabwe is now in need of emancipation from the chains of the system of Mugabeism and ZANU PF.

#### It's ALL VANITY.



Obert Mpofu a self-confessed Robert Mugabe's most obedient son was the Mines Minister when \$15 billion USD diamond money went missing. He is now the Homes Affairs Minister in Mnangagwa's government responsible for the police in the country. He is busy ordering arrests of other politicians on charges of corruption but is he going to arrest himself because the missing \$15bn diamond money and the \$10 million USD bribe which he allegedly demanded from Lovemore Kurotwi are serious issues which must be investigated?



President Mnangagwa was asked at Davos if he will say sorry to the people of Zimbabwe for the role he played in atrocities like Gukurahundi genocide and 2008 post elections violence. He stammered and did not give a clear answer a sign that he is not willing to say sorry at all. He is willing to show some reform in engaging Western countries and mend relations with the global powers but he is not willing to say sorry to his own kith and kin for the wounds and scars he inflicted on their lives.



Pic Credit; Nehanda News. A joint patrol of the army and the police chasing vendors from the streets of Harare. In November 2017 when the army staged a coup in the country they were supported by the mass especially the vendors who wanted to see Mugabe the architect of their suffering going. Even the biggest demonstration which then took place on November 18 was supported by vendors from all over Zimbabwe and the mass. The presence of the mass in that script helped to sanitize the coup. But soon after getting what it wanted the junta is now harassing the poor vendors, chasing them from the streets and confiscating their wares. They really know that vendors in Zimbabwe are a result of ZANU PF's failure to create jobs so chasing them from the streets yet knowing that that's their only way of survival is ruthless.



Vendors protesting holding placards pleading with soldiers and the police to stop beating them and chasing them from selling their wares on the streets as it is their only way of survival since there are no jobs in the country. Persecuting poor vendors was the trend during Mugabe's rule and even under Mnangagwa the junta is still being deployed to beat up and chase the vendors a sign that nothing has changed, ZANU PF will always be ZANU PF that's why for Zimbabwe to have proper change this party must be voted out of power.



News from state broadcaster Z.B.C from the beginning to the end it's all about ZANU PF. Even a ZANU PF district meeting is given national coverage on ZTV yet opposition star rallies are not covered at all. There is a critical need for media reforms. Political parties must be given equal coverage on state media.

Nothing has changed in Zimbabwe, it's the same old ZANU PF trying to reform itself and maintain the status quo.



Post-Mugabe ZANU PF under Mnangagwa is just like a wolf in sheep clothing, Zimbabweans must be careful of getting attracted to a dummy being sold in the ballot box. It is still the same old ZANU PF.

#### **CHAPTER NINE:**

#### Zimbabwe Must Be Liberated From ZANU PF.



Former President RG Mugabe and Presidennt ED Mnangagwa

President Robert Gabriel Mugabe and his closest henchman Emmerson Mnangagwa in 1980 celebrating the independence of Zimbabwe. Mnangagwa is a graduate of Mugabe's toxic politics he has been his right hand man for almost half a century.

Mnangagwa is fighting to maintain the status quo and extend ZANU PF's tenure, whither the youths whose future is at stake as long ZANU PF remains in power.

Mugabe's plundering wasn't alone. While the regime talks about business, it is the same cabal that systematically destroyed Zimbabwe's economy. Mnangagwa and his allies have enriched themselves for decades by seizing farms, mines and businesses.

Zimbabwe reportedly has \$15 billion in missing diamond mining revenues. The notion that these same people are suddenly reformers who can engineer a robust recovery is farcical.

Finally, there are the war crimes. In the early 1980s, government forces murdered an estimated 20,000 civilians, including women and children, in the operation known as Gukurahundi, or in the local Shona language, "the rain that washes away the garbage." A chief architect of the massacres was Mugabe's state security chief at the time:

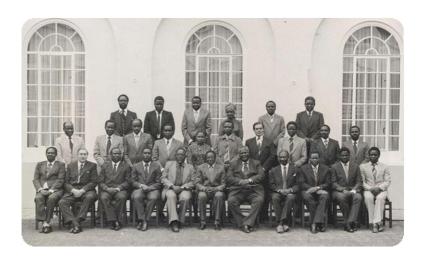
Emmerson Mnangagwa.

To this day, not a single officer or politician has been held to account. Mnangagwa, who publicly dismissed its victims as "cockroaches," was asked about the massacres in Davos. He played down the events and refused to apologize.

Whitewashing the junta serves only to deny Zimbabwe a genuine democracy. Lending new money to a kleptocratic cabal only strengthens the forces of corruption. And embracing a war criminal abets crimes against humanity and turns our backs on the survivors who are yearning for justice and accountability.

Zimbabweans, after suffering for so long, deserve better from the international community.

(Jeffrey Smith and Todd Moss, **Don't Whitewash Mugabe's Henchmen;** Washington Post, February 1 2018).



Zimbabwe First Cabinet soon after independence in 1980, seated far right is Emmerson Mnangagwa who at that time was State Security Minister. He was in cabinet since 1980 to date, he was only out of government for two weeks prior to the coup which then deposed Mugabe installing him.

Expecting any new idea to come from Mnangagwa does not make sense considering that he was part of the cabal which destroyed Zimbabwe for the past four decades executing horrible atrocities and gross human rights violations on behalf of Mugabe.

That is why Mnangagwa's reign does not deserve to be called a new dispensation because it is just a continuation of the same old ZANU PF regime, only Mugabe is missing in the picture.

Zimbabwe must be liberated from ZANU PF.

## The Biggest Threat to the Republic of Zimbabwe is ZANU PF.



President Emmerson Mnangagwa at an extra ordinary ZANU PF congress in 2017 which ordained him as the new leader of ZANU PF.

Zimbabweans may look West, East, North and South searching for answers, scholars and academics may write different papers about the Zimbabwean question. However the answer is right on the surface and does not need a rocket scientist.

Zimbabweans must just remove ZANU PF it is the biggest threat to this country. For the past four decades under ZANU PF Zimbabwe was exposed and vulnerable to;

- ✓ Genocides and butchering of innocent civilians as the despotic ZANU PF cabal tried to wipe away and silence all dissenting voices.
- ✓ Kleptocracy and primitive accumulation of wealth by the ZANU PF political elite which bled Zimbabwe dry for four decades. They came from the liberation struggle holding their AK47s as their only possessions after being in the jungle fighting against colonialism for fourteen years. Today they are millionaires and billionaires. Instead of developing the country and transform lives of its inhabitants they were busy looting and siphoning everything into their fat pockets.
- ✓ Corruption is the DNA of ZANU PF and this has destroyed Zimbabwe. A commission namely the Zimbabwe Anti-Corruption Commission was established but it is equally corrupt, partisan and a waste of taxpayers' money since it only targets people who are against the government leaving ZANU PF thieves walking scot free with impunity.

- ✓ They have failed our **ECONOMY.** Zimbabwe used to be the bread basket of Africa but we are now a basket case. Even if Mnangagwa may try to resuscitate the economy but just think about all the years they wasted, the future and marriages they destroyed due to economic meltdown especially in 2008. People flocked into the neighbouring South Africa, women were raped and some infected with HIV as they tried to illegally cross into South Africa, some were killed during various xenophobic attacks and Zimbabweans were scattered all over the world and families were broken. Have we all forgotten that? To add an insult to an injury when Zimbabweans decided to vote ZANU PF out of office in 2008 as they were starving. Mugabe backed by the military waged a war against them and more than two hundred innocent civilians were killed for exercising their democratic right of voting for a political party of their choice. The scars and the wounds inflicted on Zimbabweans by ZANU PF are still too fresh and painful that if only Zimbabweans knew what's good for them they will just remove ZANU PF out of power and totally dezanufy Zimbabwe.
- Electoral Fraud; It has become a norm that ZANU
   PF rigs elections and that's how it survived to this

day. It does not have political will to implement key electoral reforms to enable a free and fair election. What this means is that ZANU PF would like to rule Zimbabwe forever through hook and crook. Zimbabweans must put in place mechanisms to counter electoral fraud otherwise ZANU PF will continue stealing the elections and not respecting the will of the people. ZANU PF sees itself as a stockholder of Zimbabwe but alas Zimbabwe belongs to us all regardless of our political affiliations.

Painful lessons must be learnt from ZANU PF's brutality since 1980 to date and Zimbabweans must not be fooled by this cosmetic tolerance and charade being done by Mnangagwa to appease the international community. We need real change in Zimbabwe, a radical shift to a new political order. The Zimbabwe we dreamt of in 2008 and hundreds of our Comrades got killed for it is not the one that we have. Mnangagwa is there to maintain the status quo of a ZANU PF rule. We must not be afraid to tell ZANU PF that we are fed up.

We moved from a police state (under Mugabe) now we are under a military state under Mnangagwa precisely this is from bad to worse.

We have been enslaved by ZANU PF for a long time Comrades. Leaders from all walks of life in Zimbabwe must inspire and enlighten the mass that this country is no longer in need of ZANU PF if we are really serious about our lives and the future of our children. A new Zimbabwe will not come overnight everyone knows it's a process but what we have now (Mnangagwa's regime) is not a finished product hence the struggle must continue till we totally democratize Zimbabwe. A new Zimbabwe is the final product we want out of this. I don't doubt our capacity to remove ZANU PF, young people it is our generational mandate to do so.

ZANU PF has been enjoying for four decades because young people were asleep but we are now awakening and we will not sit back and wait for the future because we know they will never allow the future to come you can tell by the way they cling to power. We must take charge now.

Zimbabwe has suffered for a long time and something must be done to liberate our people from ZANU PF.



People sleep at bank queues to access their hard earned cash in Harare and this is happening all over Zimbabwe. You have to brave the rains and the cold to sleep in the queue at the door of the bank so that you can access little cash the following day. ZANU PF must not be given another chance our people have suffered for a long time.

Zimbabwe has been in the hands of dictators and butchers of humankind for more than half a century it's high time the governance issue in this landlocked country is seriously addressed;

Ian Smith (Prime Minister during colonial era 1964-1979).

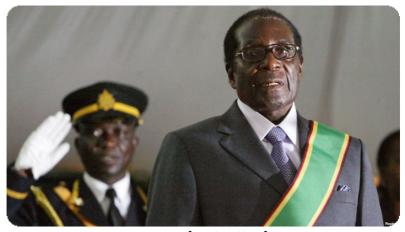


lan Douglas Smith

The late Ian Douglas Smith who ruled Zimbabwe then Rhodesia from 1964-1979 was a brutal dictator who massacred thousands of our people, tortured and incarcerated freedom fighters who were demanding majority rule during the liberation struggle.

A fourteen year armed struggle was waged against his colonial rule and thousands of lives were lost simply because Smith was refusing to give Zimbabweans their freedom. Thousands of innocent civilians were brutally murdered in Zimbabwe during Smith's colonial rule.

# Robert Gabriel Mugabe. (Zimbabwe's Prime Minister 1980-7 and eventually Executive President 1987-2017).



Former President, R G Mugabe

Robert Gabriel Mugabe ruled Zimbabwe since its independence in 1980 to 2017. During his 37 year reign he committed horrible atrocities (Gukurahundi genocide, 2008 post election violence, Murambatsvina etc).

Opposition activists and human rights defenders would either disappear, or brutally murdered, tortured or imprisoned. He ruled Zimbabwe with an iron fist and his kleptocratic government ruined Zimbabwe and made it one of the most poorest countries in Southern Africa. He was deposed in a military coup in November 2017.

# Emmerson Dambudzo Mnangagwa (Zimbabwe's President 2017 -)



President E D Mnangagwa

Emmerson Mnangagwa is the President of the Republic of Zimbabwe who got into power after deposing his long time

ally Robert Mugabe in a military coup. He is popularly known for his brutality after being at the forefront of implementing horrible atrocities on behalf of Robert Mugabe after serving in his cabinet for almost four decades.

His name comes at the top of almost all the bad things which happened to Zimbabwe i.e. on the list of chief perpetrators of Gukurahundi genocide, 2008 post election violence, Murambatsvina etc.

He was Robert Mugabe's right hand henchman doing all the junky work for Mugabe and mercilessly killing for his master. He is now the President after overthrowing Mugabe and is now working to try and whitewash ZANU PF, all its bloody legacy in Zimbabwe, reform it and keep it in power.

This means for the past 54 years Zimbabwe was only transiting from one dictator to another. This country must be given a chance to taste democracy, heal and rise again. It was seriously affected by moving from one dictator to another. A new start is critical for Zimbabwe that it may realize its full potential as a country.

#### Conclusion.

We have love and respect for the international community, the Western global powers in particular. We really appreciate their support and contributions in our struggle for democracy in Zimbabwe. But if they quickly become satisfied with engaging and working with these whitewashed Mugabe's henchmen and this genocidal ZANU PF government led by Emmerson Mnangagwa, we the commoners and peasants of this land shall continue with our struggle for democracy and a real new Zimbabwe with or without their support. Most of the much needed critical reforms to ensure that Zimbabwe will have a free and fair election are not yet implemented and repressive laws left behind by Mugabe which infringes citizens' rights to freedom of association and freedom of expression are still in place. It is therefore premature for the international community to buy into the lies, propaganda, this political cosmetic reformist and Stalinist charade being done by Emmerson Mnangagwa and the junta.

Zimbabwe is now in a very important and historical phase of dismantling the system of Mugabeism a culture which has been ravaging this country for the past four decades. In summation the argument being put forward by this writer is:

What happened in Zimbabwe in November 2017 was more of a military coup. We (the mass) thronged the streets in support of the army intervention because we were all desperate to see Mugabe going after being at the helm for 37 years. The junta and the mass became friends of convenience that week because we had one common goal of deposing Robert Mugabe something which successfully happened. Most of us, who joined that protest march on November 18, did so to call for Mugabe's ouster only and our participation had nothing to do with backing Mnangagwa's ascendancy. We (the army backed by the mass) jointly deposed Mugabe in as much as the junta took all the glory and credit for it but had it not been the participation of the mass in that protest it was going to be very difficult for their intervention to have 'legitimacy'. Precisely we were cheated to think that it was a people's revolution whereas it was a partisan military intervening into the internal affairs of ZANU PF so that they can solve the succession issue by grabbing power and share it amongst themselves. This had nothing to do with the people it was ZANU PF reforming itself so that it can maintain the status quo. In other words we were used to sanitize a coup and there was nothing in it for us. Now that the euphoria is

gone we are now seeing reality that we were used and that was not a people's agenda chinhu chavo.



Thousands of Zimbabweans marched on November 18 in support of the military intervention calling Mugabe to step down. Little did they know that this was not a people's revolution but a ZANU PF internal issue. However the presence of the mass was critically needed to endorse and sanitize the coup before the international community. Pic Credit eNCA

 Removing Mugabe was the first step towards total democratization of Zimbabwe but this not the final product it is still half backed because ZANU PF is still in power and the system which Mugabe created is still in total control of Zimbabwe. We are still under ZANU PF and a military junta which killed

our brothers and sisters in the past horrible atrocities which they orchestrated. Have we forgotten Gukurahundi, Murambatsvina, 2008 bloody post election violence etc this is the same junta which committed those crimes against humanity and grossly violated our rights. To squeeze salt to a wound they inflicted on us these are the same people who bled Zimbabwe dry looting everything into their pockets and brought Zimbabwe to its knees economically. They are not in jail because of Mugabe's impunity but history will judge them harshly for destroying Zimbabwe economically, butchered innocent civilians and made millions of us suffer. What is now required is to totally dismantle this system of Mugabeism by removing ZANU PF from power non-violently and through the ballot so that a new political order can be put in place. Without dismantling Mugabeism and this ZANU PF culture left behind by Mugabe we are not going anywhere as a country. It's not only Mugabe who must go but the system in its entirety that's only way to reclaim democracy in Zimbabwe. Zimbabwe has been in the hands of this failed political leadership for a long time. The junta which is now in charge in as much as the people celebrated the military overthrow of Mugabe but

this army backed ZANU PF is not our saviour. As highlighted above have we forgotten;

- Gukurahundi Genocide-the army massacred more than twenty thousand civilians.
- 2008 post election violence-the army together with ZANU PF militias brutally murdered more than two hundred suspected opposition supporters.
- Marange -the army looted diamonds, brutally killed more than two hundred civilians and there were serious cases of forced labour and rape.
- The top plotters of the coup which deposed Mugabe were also implicated in the diamond looting which took place during a bloody conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo.
- Anything to do with ZANU PF must not be tolerated by any progressive Zimbabwean. ZANU PF legacy evokes fear, emotions and sad memories in many lives why not remove it from power and all

its protégés so that Zimbabwe can have a new start. The military junta (Lacoste), G40 if it is still there and the newly formed New Patriotic Front which is fighting to restore Mugabe's rule in Zimbabwe are all ZANU PF projects fighting to maintain the status quo and keep ZANU PF in power. ZANU PF thinks it is the stockholder of Zimbabwe simply because they liberated us from colonial rule. Yes we appreciate their contributions but if Zimbabwe is to move forward it must get rid of ZANU PF first. New political formations which values democracy and human rights must be given a chance to take Zimbabwe forward.

which is causing a serious apathy in the country as people are giving up on voting because they know ZANU PF will steal the vote as usual. First and foremost it is critical to advocate for implementation of key electoral reforms which will level the ground to enable a free and fair polls in Zimbabwe. This must be done before the elections so that on the day of the plebiscite the ground will be level. Encourage Zimbabweans especially young people to participate in electoral processes (they are the majority) and come out in their numbers to build their future by voting for the right people.

Makudo haaramwirwe munda (we must not give up, soldering on is what we must do in this fight for a new Zimbabwe).

If elections are stolen again the people must nonviolently take it to the streets to demand respect of their vote because this culture of electoral fraud must no longer be tolerated anymore. It's like rape. Zimbabweans must demand free and fair polls and respect of the outcome even if it does not suit the interests of the military junta governing Zimbabwe. The military must not interfere in civilian politics what happened in 2008 when the army imposed Mugabe against the will of the people of Zimbabwe must not be allowed to happen again. When the junta tries to impose a leader of its own choice against the will of the people, we must throng the streets, make this country ungovernable and nonviolently demand our freedom don't doubt your capacity no army is stronger than an idea whose time has come. The junta in Harare must know that we are fed up of ZANU PF. Regime change is the best way to go and it is our constitutional right.

As ZANU PF is still in power, I fear the future and doubt the present. The only answer to the Zimbabwean question is Regime Change.



Comrades if we are serious about making Zimbabwe work again then let's unite, galvanize our efforts and dismantle the system of Mugabeism. How? By removing ZANU PF out of power and replace it with a new political order.

Therefore may God give us courage and strength to remove ZANU PF and dismantle the system of

Mugabeism. Comrades a Zimbabwe which is not under ZANU PF is all we need as a country.

Dismantling Mugabeism and the ZANU PF culture (system) is an idea whose time has come.

## Aluta Continua

#### **CHAPTER TEN:**

## Rhetoric For Patriotism And The Need For New Political Ideas In Zimbabwe.

# (Down With Egocentric Politics Of Personalities!!!!).



'Africa does not need strong men, it needs strong institutions'

(Barack Obama, 44<sup>th</sup> President of the United States of America).

Looking at the great words which were said by the 44<sup>th</sup> President of the United States of America, Barack Obama that 'Africa does not need strong men but strong

institutions' and putting them into the political context of Zimbabwe that is exactly where we missed it.

Zimbabwe has very strong men and women but not strong institutions especially politically, our politics is centred around personalities and individuals not policies or ideologies. The ruling party ZANU PF spent four decades investing in building up an individual former President Robert Mugabe and it invested all its energy in getting a strong man out of him not a strong institution which is responsive to the aspirations of the people of Zimbabwe. It is sad that even opposition parties in Zimbabwe inherited or copied this from ZANU PF and we have strong opposition leaders not strong opposition parties.

The intra-party violence and tensions which erupted even in the main opposition party the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC T) led by the late Morgan Tsvangirai over the succession issue clearly shows that political formations in Zimbabwe exert all their energy and resources building strong men and women not institutions.

Our political institutions in Zimbabwe are very weak. That is why when it comes to the issue of succession most of the political parties in Zimbabwe do not have clear policies or procedures on how to address it because we rarely plan or build our movements with the future in mind.

We are so obsessed with just grabbing power to an extent that we forget to even put in place policies which will help us address our house keeping issues.

Egocentric politics of personalities is what weakened our politics in Zimbabwe, it's all about individuals not policies or ideologies that is why the issue of succession is thorny and contentious in Zimbabwe across political divides. Political parties in Zimbabwe have no clear succession plans that is why this issue is a big challenge across political divides.

We overrate and idolize our leaders to an extent that we don't want to think about what will happen if they are no longer there or if they are incapacitated. We rarely think about the future of the party beyond the incumbent leader. In essence Zimbabwe is need of new political ideas, structures, strategies and ideologies that are not centred on personalities but on the building of strong institutions.

Sadly we have leaders who think their ideas are the only ones that work, unfortunately these are usually found in the opposition terrain where they claim to advocate for democracy yet they are not democratic themselves.

A good case study is what was happening in the main opposition Movement for Democratic Change (MDC T) the tensions and friction about who will take over from the late

Tsvangirai as the leader of the party clearly showed that the party has a weak and an incomplete constitution regardless of strong men and women who are leading it since its formation in 1999.

There is no need for any fight if people can follow procedures and policies (their constitution) but in this case it is a result of a strong man who was at the helm of a weak institution. It is sad to discover that people who are expected to be custodians of democracy in a country which is suffering from authoritarianism are not democratic themselves and most of them are pursuing personal not national interests.

In a strong institution they are procedures of doing things which are clearly written down and policies which must be followed but political parties in Zimbabwe do their things haphazardly that is why we (as a country) have this leadership crisis.

In South Africa the African National Congress (ANC) was formed in 1912 and Dr John Langalibalele Dube was it's founding President. To date that party is still strong and alive one hundred years after. Unlike in Zimbabwe where the ruling ZANU PF is struggling to survive after Robert Mugabe and the same applies to the opposition MDC T which is also struggling to find its way beyond the late Morgan Tsvangirai.

This is a result of political movements that are built basing on personalities not ideologies. In A.N.C Presidents come and go. Some of its Presidents were challenged at their congress and lost the elections stepping down to the newly elected leadership.

That can hardly happen in Zimbabwe either in the opposition or in the ruling party. Declaring your interest to contest the Presidency is still a very dangerous thing to do you risk getting expelled from the party or even getting physically harmed by hired thugs within your party.

Yes the A.N.C has its own problems but it can manage its succession better than political parties in Zimbabwe. Political parties in Zimbabwe have constitutions that are colourfully written on paper which they can't follow or implement.

It is common in almost every constitution that every position is open for a challenge at the congress but alas in reality declaring your interests to contest for Presidency in any political party in Zimbabwe is usually not tolerated by the top leadership which in most cases is comprised of clowns and bootlickers of the sitting President.



Dr John Langalibalele Dube (1871-1946) the first President of the South African Native National Congress (S.A.N.N.C) formed in 1912 which later on became the African National Congress (A.N.C) in 1923. Political parties in Zimbabwe can hardly survive this long because they belong to individuals (politics of personalities) and once that individual is gone he/she goes with that brand. Zimbabwe must build political parties that have strong foundations in ideologies and policies not personalities. Leaders will come and go but the backbone of the party must be its ideology not an individual.

This Country Needs New Political Consciousness, Ideas and Lets Do Away with Rhetoric Patriotism.

In as much as it has been discussed in this book that Zimbabwe is no longer in need of ZANU PF (which is true) and a recommendation was given that the system of Mugabeism must be dismantled. Yes this is true it is difficult for Zimbabwe to move forward if ZANU PF is still in power because that party is allergic to political, social and economic progress in this country and it is the custodian of Mugabeism.

Therefore you can't dismantle Mugabeism without removing ZANU PF first that system is like yoke inside an egg and ZANU PF is that outer part of an egg which must be destroyed first for us to get to the yoke. Once ZANU PF is deposed then Mugabeism can be totally dismantled.

However in the post ZANU PF era Zimbabwe needs to change the narrative and stop this system of confining themselves to political parties but rather to ideas, new political consciousness and ideologies. Political patronage must be replaced with meritocracy and this country must be in the hands of people who have ideas to take it further not just orators who rely on propaganda and rhetoric.

The civil society must play a critical role of sensitizing and conscientizing the people and create in them a sense of responsibility about building their country. We must restore confidence in Zimbabweans that they may be

proud of their country, love it and contribute in re-building it.

Gone are the days when we had to bank it all on politicians because one thing common in all of them is that once they get into power they start thinking about their own stomachs only. So we need to ask ourselves fundamental questions as citizens and the povo about what we can do to take this country forward and change this narrative of politics of personalities which is taking Zimbabwe miles backwards.

We need to get to a point where we debate about policies not personalities. If political parties are splitting the cause of the split must be about policy directions not about personalities or who to follow. The 'ndiri munhu wanhingi politics' (the politics of sheepishly following individuals not policies) is becoming too cheap in this modern day world.

This trend of sheepishly following individuals simply because we like their personalities but without even digesting or looking at their policies must stop if we want to take Zimbabwe to another level.

If young Zimbabweans out there can innovate new ideas that are not rooted in cheap party politics we (as a people) will be able to create strong institutions that can take this country forward.

After dismantling Mugabeism Zimbabweans must shift their focus to the building of strong institutions that are rooted in new political ideas, ideologies, structures and policies that can sustain meaningful change.

Zimbabwe must do away with the rhetoric of patriotism where people claim to be pursuing to defend the interest of the country yet they are pursuing their own selfish agendas that have absolutely nothing to do with national interests.

ZANU PF is good example of a party which is hiding behind patriotism and protecting the national sovereignty yet it's just a kleptocratic elite looting national coffers and destroying our national purse with their gluttony hiding behind the so called Pan-Africanism.

You can't be a patriot, Pan-Africanist and a kleptocrat at the same time the two CAN'T mix. Genuine patriotism must be given a chance in the post ZANU PF era where men and women who have new political ideas to defend the interests of the people of Zimbabwe must rise up and take charge.

Men and women who are driven by the desire to see meaningful change in this country not opportunists who are just fighting for their political parties to be in power so that they can get chance to loot and accumulate wealth.

Men and women who can sacrifice their personal resources to build a strong movement with pillars that are centred around creating strong systems of governance which are resilient to corruption, kleptocracy, human rights violations and tyranny.

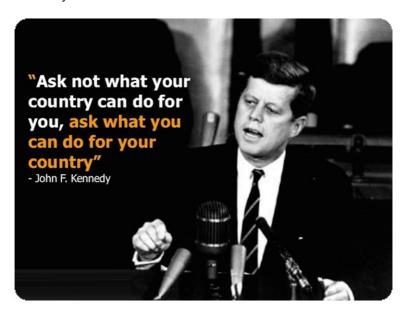
Not opportunists who just join the struggle so that they can access donors funds and divert them into their own personal pockets.

The struggle for a new Zimbabwe is not an opportunity for some greedy people to come and make money through it. It is a genuine struggle to liberate our country from ZANU PF and hundreds of people lost their lives paying the price of redeeming this country from tyranny. So this struggle must be treated with the seriousness it deserves.

Zimbabwe in Rachel Nyaradzo Adams words lacks a critical mass of courageous youths. Young people who are not reactionary but who can cultivate different thoughts and new ideas to take their country forward. A generation of young people who are not cry babies but people who can dissect the problems their country is facing and profer solutions.

As long we fold our hands, stand aloof and wait for the government to do everything for us then we will die waiting because with this calibre of politicians in Zimbabwe

all they can think about are their selfish greedy interests and they don't care about us.



Let's wean ourselves off cheap party politics where we are treated as hired thugs for toyi toyi (street protest) that we may provide leadership to our country, organize and fill the gap of thought leadership which is missing in Zimbabwe. Zimbabwe is in a famine of new political ideas what most people have are just slogans and chants which lacks substance when it comes to policy formulation, ideologies and governance.

What is needed in Zimbabwe are young people who can stand up and provide leadership in their country, youths with political principles and a vision for their country.

Young leaders who don't get easily swayed or manipulated by goodies from the fat cats, but a generation which is politically conscious.

Precisely we must ask ourselves these fundamental questions;

- What kind of a Zimbabwe do we want to see?
- What contributions can we make or how can we change or influence the politics of our country and transform it into the Zimbabwe that we want?
- How can we change the political narrative of this country and throw in innovative new political ideas which are pregnant of solutions to the complex challenges our country is facing?
- How can we establish new structures and systems which will not tolerate corruption, kleptocracy and dictatorship in our country and how can we move from running the country relying on political patronage and introduce meritocracy.
- There is serious voter apathy when it comes to electoral processes in Zimbabwe because people especially the youths are tired of the obvious thus wasting their time in the queues to vote and

nothing changes afterwards. How can we go out there and reignite the dying fire in them that they may come out and participate in electoral processes? How can we organize and mobilize young people who are not participating in electoral processes? How can we put an end to this voter apathy and bolster youth participation in political processes?

 How can we put to an end to politics of personalities and create an environment where our people debate policies and ideas not individuals? How do we develop ourselves to be young leaders who participate in political processes being influenced or politically appetized by ideologies not personalities?

Let's move away from the rhetoric to reality and action. Zimbabwe is in need of new ideas, strategies and our system of governance critically need to be re-configured.

Our mindsets also need to be changed that they may become fountains flowing with answers and solutions to the complex challenges facing our country not x-rays of political problems capable of diagnosing damage made to the country but without the capacity to profer solutions and remedies.

For a long time we have been political x-rays spending most of our time diagnosing how the political leadership is destroying the country but why can't we stand up, fill in the gap, profer solutions, remedies and provide leadership?

'Each generation must, out of relative obscurity, discover its mission, fulfil it, or betray it.' - **Frantz Fanon.** 

### Poem: Freedom.

(This poem was written by **Nkosilathi Emmanuel Moyo,Sr** in February 2016 in hiding after surviving an assassination attempt. Moyo sent Robert Gabriel Mugabe then President of Zimbabwe a prison garb marked **Crimes Against Humanity** as a birthday present when Mugabe turned 92 years. The issue went viral on social media and he was hounded by state security forcing him to flee the country going into hiding in the neighbouring South Africa.)



#### Freedom

They say a lot about you like a mermaid
But who has ever seen you
You are written all over the books like verses of the bible
But how many obey your rules
Millions are spent every year celebrating something which
looks like you
But your presence has never been felt
Where are you Freedom, do you exist?

Stories of colonisation and slavery were our daily bread Politicians at Munhumutapa building claim they liberated us
But oppression flows all over the country like Zambezi river Flooding all our democratic rights
My life is endangered like a rhinoceros
Because of my love for you Freedom
Where are you Freedom, do you exist?
I am yearning for you.

When I was born my mum told me I am free

# Glossary

**G40 or generation 40** - ZANU PF faction which was linked to the former first Lady Grace Mugabe.

**Lacoste** – ZANU PF faction linked to President Mnangagwa. It is the faction which is backed by the military and it's now in charge of both the party and the government.

**Junta** - military group which rules the country after taking power by force.

**M.D.C** - **T** - Movement for Democratic Change the main opposition party in Zimbabwe which is linked to the late former Prime Minister Morgan Tsvangirai.

**Uhuru** - Swahili word for freedom.

**Z.B.C** - Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation. This is state controlled broadcaster for the Republic of Zimbabwe.

**Z.E.C** - Zimbabwe Electoral Commission.

**ZANLA** - Zimbabwe National Liberation Army it was a military wing for ZANU during the liberation struggle against British colonial rule.

**ZANU PF** - Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front a political party which ruled Zimbabwe since its independence in 1980 to date.

**ZAPU** - Zimbabwe African People's Union a political party which was led by the late Dr Joshua Nkomo during the liberation struggle. It had a military wing called ZIPRA (Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army) which was also fighting against British colonial rule.



The dancers have changed but the music is still the same, wake up Zimbabwe emancipate yourself from ZANU PF



Nkosilathi Emmanuel Moyo, Sr is a freedom fighter based in the small mining city of Kwekwe in the Republic of Zimbabwe. He is a prominent democracy and human rights activist using arts (protest music, poetry and non-fiction books) to challenge government oppression and political corruption in Zimbabwe. His other books are:

ZIMBABWE A REVOLUTION WAITING TO HAPPEN
THE RISE OF GRACE MUGABE, THE FALL OF ZANU PF
ROBERT MUGABE FROM FREEDOM FIGHTER TO THE PEOPLE'S ENEMY

He also composed a protest musical album titled Pisarema raNkosilathi. Through non-violent means Moyo continues to advocate for democracy in his country through his writings and protest music. He is reachable on WhatsApp +324 858 500 59

IT'S NOT ONLY MUGABE WHO MUST GO BUT THE SYSTEM IN ITS ENTIRETY