CDMMAND AGRICULTURE: POST MUGABE AUTHORITARIAN CONSOLIDATION

Zimbabwe's political moral hazard

Zimbabwe Democracy Institute

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Summary of Key Findings

This report presents research findings and discussions on the involvement of the military in agriculture through the Command Agriculture Programme (CAP). The study investigated the underlying political objectives of the securocrats pursued through the Command Agriculture Programme and the consequences of this militarization on human rights, good-governance and investment prospects in the sector. Two main objectives are addressed by the findings in the following order: *(i)* the performance audit of CAP and related challenges and *(ii*) conceptual analysis of the underlying politicking behind Command Agriculture and the attendant political moral hazard problem. Key findings are summarised as follows:

1) The AP performance audit revealed contradictory results. On one hand, maize production and deliveries to the Grain Marketing Board (GMB) have increased in the CAP era compared to the 2015/2016 harvest season before CAP was introduced. On the other hand, household grain production has decreased, food insecurity has increased, and maize imports have increased.

2) Command Agriculture is run through a ZANU PF/Securocrats patronage network that has made it very difficult to translate bumper harvests to food security and maize imports reduction. The proceeds from CAP have been a very powerful means through which regime loyalists are financed, incentivised and rewarded from national to village levels.

3) CAP is seen as more of a political project for the ruling elite and securocrats.Its main aim is to foster a post-Mugabe authoritarian consolidation and augment state capacities for the same through coercion of rivals, extraction of revenue, registration of citizens and cultivation of dependency. The study reveals that the end effect of Command Agriculture will be to render the incumbent ' government immune from transition pressures and possibilities presented by competitive elections.

4) CAP has lubricated, cascaded and consolidated a deep patronage and clientele infrastructure across key farming and rural constituencies and secured them for future use in ensuring electoral victory for the ruling ZANU-PF party. So far, findings indicate that the ruling elite seem to be succeeding in this regard.

5) The authoritarian consolidation approach chosen by the ruling elite has created*a political moral hazard problem* which has proven to be a reliable factor in the overthrow of the system itself.

6) Despite reported bumper harvests and high grain deliveries at GMB associated with the CAP in its first season in 2016/2017, house hold cereal production decreased by an average of 26%, average household maize production decreased by 30% from the gains realized in the 2015/2016 season;

7) There was a remarkable increase in government spending from 48.5% (2015/16) to 76.7% (2016/17) to support the food insecure population.

8) In 2019 Zimbabwe experienced a 60% decrease in average household cereal stocks compared to 2018. In 2018, 28% of the population was classified to be food insecure and this number increased to 39% in 2019;

9) Despite subsidies in form of the CAP inputs, maize deliveries to the GMB have shown a continuing declining trend from the quantity delivered in the 2016/2017 season. In the 2016/2017 season, maize deliveries to the GMB were reported at 1,2 million tonnes, in the 2017/2018 season 1.1

million tonnes while in the 2018/2019 season, Maize deliveries plummeted by 78% to 247,242 metric tonnes as of October of all the farming seasons.

10) Although poor rainfall was cited as among causal factors leading to the decline in maize deliveries to the GMB, most respondents (70%) pointed to the declining purchasing power of the procuring price offered by GMB meaning CAP has failed to entice farmers to deliver grains to the GMB.

11) Beneficiaries have failed to pay back their debt obligations there by accumulating debt for the state. As at 23 November 2017, about 10 053 contracted farmers had not made any maize deliveries to GMB, an indication that these were already defaulting on their 2017 debt obligations.

12) Over 45% of the 50 000 farmers contracted to produce maize under Command Agriculture in the 2016/2017 season had not paid back the loans. Only a "repayment receipts of US$47.4 million in loan recoveries from farmers against an anticipated repayment target of US$72 million" was recorded.

13) Three major explanations emerged: (i) some inputs are given to powerful members of the ruling party and securocrats who have a history of defaulting from repayment of government loans in agriculture; (ii) easily accessible support from CAP does not match the fundamental needs of food insecure households and fail to address causes of food insecurity and need for maize imports (this was observed in 56% of the studied sample) and (iii) farmers have been affected by environmental factors such as poor rainfall, Elnino drought and the fall of army worm among others (this was mentioned by 54% of the studied sample).

14) CAP has failed to prevent use of tax-payers' money to import maize in Zimbabwe. For instance, maize imports increased by an estimated 600% in the 2018/2019 season despite the purported irrigation-based CAP.

15) Since the inception of Command Agriculture, doing business in the sector has been negatively affected by two main factors: scary culture of the military elite and erosion of profitability.

16) The compulsion of beneficiaries to sell their produce to the GMB at a price dictated by government which is ridiculously low, has made agriculture an un-viable, unprofitable and unsustainable business. In the 2018/2019 season, one metric tonne of maize was bought by GMB at ZWL$2100 which translates to 131 US dollars using the official inter-bank exchange rate and 105 US$ on the parallel market compared to regional price of $198.93 USD in Zambia. The US$ 67 to USD 93% difference is a serious loss to business.

17) CAP is perceived to be riddled by corruption by 64% of interviewed respondents, although some respondents considered that corruption to be at limited levels. The 34% 'no corruption' response is in direct contradiction with reports in public data-sets that show corruption in CAP. Respondents were even intimidated to talk about these issues as some (2%) declined to respond to this question.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND RESEARCH DESIGN

1.0 Introduction

This study interrogated the ongoing militarisation of agriculture through "Command Agriculture Programme (CAP)" which has seen the *securocrats* taking charge of almost every sphere of the programme through sub-structures like "command livestock", "command farming", "command irrigation" among others. Millions of dollars of tax-payers' money have been used to fund the CAP. Through this programme, selected farmers are allocated loans, farming inputs and equipment running into millions of dollars to ostensibly support food productivity and self-sufficiency, yet the country continues to suffer a serious food deficit in 2019.The United Nations warned that five million Zimbabweans face starvation. Thus, questions undergirding this study are: how does the military factor in the agriculture sector impact food security, livelihoods, employment creation and the general growth of the economy in Zimbabwe? What are the political outcomes of this military presence in this vital sector?

1.1 Background to the Study

Agriculture as a key sector of the Zimbabwean economy has always been contested since independence. This sector is very critical to livelihoods, food security, employment for the masses and the general growth of the economy as above 70% of the population lives in rural areas.[1]Agriculture is thus the main source of income, livelihoods and employment for more than 90 percent of households.[2] Heavy dependence of the economy on agriculture is testified by its estimated provision of employment to 60-70 % of the population,[3] 60% of raw materials to industry, 40% of total export earnings and around 12.8% share in the country's GDP.[4] Failure of agriculture in Zimbabwe puts livelihoods, incomes, jobs, production and economic growth in jeopardy. It has been viewed by the *securocrats* controlling the ZANU-PF as a strategic economic sector with their vested interests.

The ZANU PF government has put in place many programs and projects in agriculture which are laden with interests to capture this economic sector. For instance, the Fast Track Land Reform Programme, 2001 and Operation T*aguta/Sisuthi*, 2005 which were highly militarised in their implementation, saw *securocrats*(retired or serving) and elements in ZANU-PF enjoy the spoils in form of multiple-farm ownership, government agriculture inputs and subsidies, and the creation of 'command electorates' to vote for ZANU-PF among those given plots courtesy to the ZANU-PF *securocrats*. Operation Taguta/Sisuthi involved the military in the tilling of large tracts of land but resulted in regrettable failure as corruption, inefficiency and incompetence characterised the administration of the programme.[5] The government replaced this programme with the Farm Mechanization Scheme championed by the then Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe governor Gideon Gono. The scheme failed dismally after falling prey to high level

[1]See annual data published by the World Bank at:https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.RUR.TOTL.ZS?contextual=default&locations=ZW

[2] See, facts at: https://www.usaid.gov/zimbabwe/food-assistance.

[3]See for FAO fact sheet at: http://www.fao.org/zimbabwe/fao-in-zimbabwe/zimbabwe-at-a-glance/en/

[4]See statistics by The World Bank available at: https://www.theglobaleconomy.com/Zimbabwe/share_of_agriculture/.

[5]Operation Taguta / Sisuthi: Command Agriculture in Zimbabwe; its impact on rural communities in Matabeleland, Solidarity Peace Trust, April 2006.

corruption; mechanisation resources were distributed largely on political basis and some looted by elites in ZANU-PF and the*securocrats*.[6]

Following these programs, Zimbabwe has faced severe food deficits for consecutive years and lost its "bread basket" status in the Southern African region. More than4,500 experienced and skilled white commercial farmers were evicted from commercial farmland resulting in the plummeting of the volume of total farm output by more than 60% from 4.2m tonnes in 2000 to 1.6m tones and the trend continues . This trend has seen a steady increase in national food insecurity in Zimbabwe.The Vulnerability Assessment Report has recorded an average increase of 12% in 2011 to as high as 42% in 2016 translating to more than 4 000 000 people who were food insecure. Amid this serious decline in productivity, food insecurity, unemployment and worsening standards of living in the agriculture sector, ZANU-PF *securocrats* and the command element in the army enjoy multiple farm ownership which they use to siphon public resources using agriculture as anavenue.

In the 2016/2017 farming season, the government introduced the Command Agriculture Programme (CAP) – one of those top-down development models purported to improve food security, production, employment and development through Statutory Instrument 79 "Agriculture Marketing Authority (Command Agriculture Scheme for Domestic Crop, Livestock and Fisheries Production) Regulations, 2017."[7] The programme came after the government in February 2016 declared a state of national disaster as 42% of the population was food insecure.[8]Command Agriculture Programme targets domestic crop, livestock and fisheries production sectors. Under the programme, farmers are given seeds, fuel coupons, fertilisers, chemicals and tillage services.In return, beneficiaries are expected to deliver five tonnes per hectare to the Grain Marketing Board (GMB).[9] Section 4(1) of the Statutory Instrument (SI) 079 of 2017 states that under CAP, a farmer signs a contract with the government wherein the government supplies inputs and in return the contract farmer delivers produce to the Grain Marketing Board.[10] The programme was first spearheaded by President Mnangagwa in 2016, during his tenure as Vice President. Some believe this to be a critical move he took to put in place his own structures of patronage and support in preparation for takeover of power from his predecessor. Mnangagwa hailed the scheme as a special programme having improved food security in Zimbabwe.[11]

In the 2016/2017 farming season, the programme focused on maize production and was expanded to include other crops such as wheat, soya beans and livestock. This US$500 million scheme was set to benefit farmers near water bodies who are expected to put a minimum of 200 hectares under maize per individual. Each participating farmer would commit 5 tonnes per hectare towards repayment of advanced loans in the form of irrigation equipment, inputs, and chemicals, mechanized equipment, electricity and water charges. Farmers would retain a

[6]Ben Freeth, Command Agriculture – the latest "plan" to resolve Zimbabwe's hunger problem, The Zimbabwean, August 2016,
[7]Statutory Instrument 79 of 2017 Section 3.

[8]President E.D Mnangagwa on Facebook. Available at:https://www.facebook.com/presidentmnangagwa/posts/command-agricultural-program-2016-17-summer-cropping-seasonfood-insecurity-has-r/1058249554265675/
[9]See AgroChart. Available at; https://www.agrochart.com/en/news/6500/zimbabwe-will-not-have-to-import-any-corn-in-the-2017-18-my.html
[10]See section 3 of SI 79.

[11]The Zimbabwean. Mnangagwa blames G40 for Command Agriculture failure. Published 8 February 2018. Available at: https://www.thezimbabwean.co/2018/02/mnangagwa-blames-g40-for-command-agriculture-failure/

surplus product produced in excess of the 1,000 tonnes expected and ensure self-food sufficiency both at family and national levels.

Complementing the food self-sufficiency thrust, government further introduced the National Livestock Strategy with the aim of resuming beef exports. This component of Command Agriculture would ensure the irrigation of pastures. A total of 2000 hectares of irrigation at Arda-Ngwezi Estate in Matabeleland South province was set to reportedly support 60, 000 beef cattle.[12]

In 2017, President Emmerson Mnangagwa appointed retired Air-Marshal Perence Shiri (former commander of the notorious 5 Brigade) Minister of Lands Agriculture and Rural Resettlement responsible for the implementation of the CAP. This move has been seen as a deliberate act of retiring army bosses for the purpose of covertly deploying them in the military capture of the economy. He used to chair the agriculture committee in charge of Command Agriculture way before being promoted into being a minister. Many challenges and controversies have arisen in the sector thereafter. Reports of abuse of government fuel, government agriculture inputs and marginalisation of other players and related human rights abuses have been on the rise.[13]

Zimbabwe's domestic debt has ballooned by $3billion in the last three years largely because of the billions that have been poured into Command Agriculture through Treasury Bills as farmers have failed to repay funds availed under the CAP. There is a link between Zimbabwe's Command Agriculture, treasury bills and rising debt stock.This research will get to the bottom of where the billions have disappeared to and use this information to have conversations on accountability.

1.2 Justification of the Study

In the context of increased military presence, interests and involvement in the agriculture sector through government programmes like Command Agriculture and through oversight by a recently retired general (with a history of heinous human rights violations) deployed as minister in the sector, there is need for empirical examination of the role, interests and effects of the military elite in this sector. What are they doing in agriculture? To whose benefit? How do these factors impact lives of ordinary citizens and doing business in the sector? Answers to these questions have neither been given in literature nor demanded by advocacy groups or given enough media coverage. Yet, such knowledge is vital in coalescing advocacy around equality, justice, transparency, accountability, freedom and other human rights in the agriculture sector. The fact that citizens' tax payments is used to fund the programme raises the need for transparency of how tax is deployed to development programmes and accountability for how it ends up being used and doing this is part of the aims of this study.

It should be noted that democratic and free economic participation is not an area of competency for soldiers. There is need to audit the actions, interests and impacts of the securocrats/ZANU-PF complex in agriculture and how this impacts livelihoods of ordinary citizens, their access to agriculture inputs, and their free political and social lives in this sector and the nexus between the military capture and doing business in the area. Overall, findings of a study of this nature are germane in understanding the role of the military in improving productivity, investment and benefits in this sector and its general impact on the wider economic growth in Zimbabwe. Such findings will enhance advocacy on poverty

[12]The Financial Gazette, Government introduces Command Agriculture, July 19, 2016

[13]2018 Budget Statement by the Minister of Finance and Economic Development. See, for instance Budget Statement (2018) online. Accessible at: https://img.bulawayo24.com/pdf/2018_Budget_Statement_Final.pdf

reduction, food security, economic freedom and equality by civic society organisations. The bigger intent is to contribute towards policy reform to entrench interests of ordinary citizens in the farms, entrench economic and social justice in agriculture and create a conducive, free and secure environment for livelihoods to flourish.

Command Agriculture as a government program has been surrounded by secrecy and negative speculation. Nothing has been done to either demand accountability, transparency or showcase the advantages of militarising the sector as far as its contribution to livelihoods, economic growth and employment is concerned. Absence of reliable information has dangers of scaring prospective investors in this area even if business is doable despite militarisation. This study sought to fill this lacuna.

1.3 Research Objectives and Questions

The main objective of this study was to audit some outputs of the CAP and the outcomes of involvement of ZANU-PF securocrats in the agriculture sector via this programme. The subject matter is evidently very broad, touching a plethora of economic and human development questions. Zimbabwe Democracy Institute (ZDI) is committed to unpacking all these questions one at a time. In this issue, focus is narrowed to the impact of CAP on food security, livelihoods, political freedoms and investor confidence. Specific research objectives and their corollary questions were:

1) To investigate the extent to which the military is at play in the agricultural sector and reveal the impacts on food security and maize imports reduction in Zimbabwe;

Research Questions

(i) How is the military involved in agriculture and CAP?
(ii) How has the involvement of *securocrats* in CAP impacted food security?
(iii) How has the CAP impacted maize imports in Zimbabwe?

2) To interrogate the corruption, transparency and accountability perception in the CAP;

Research Questions

(i) How has CAP affected accountability and transparency in the sector?
(ii) In what ways has corruption in the sector affected the CAP?

3) To interrogate the political outcomes of this military presence in this vital sector and how this impacts doing business in the sector.

Research Questions

(i) How has involvement of securocrats in CAP impacted rights and freedoms among farming communities?
(ii) How has the involvement of securocrats in CAP impacted investor confidence and doing business in the agriculture sector?
(iii) Has the involvement of securocrats increased the level of corruption in CAP?

1.4 Research Design

Apart from answering the 'what' and 'how' questions about the involvement of securocrats in CAP, the study also sought answers to the 'why' questions. It

sought exploratory data which required quantitative and qualitative research methods respectively. Therefore, the research was carried out through a mixed-methods research design. A mixed methods research design "is more than simply collecting and analyzing both kinds of data; it also involves the use of both approaches in tandem so that the overall strength of a study is greater than either qualitative or quantitative research" (Creswell, 2009:4). It was chosen for its ability to collect diverse data and "collecting diverse types of data best provides an understanding of a research problem" (Creswell, 2003: 2). As presented in subtopics below, qualitative and quantitative research tools and techniques were alternated and sometimes used concurrently.

1.4.1 Population Definition

A population is defined as all the 'subjects' of an intended study such as objects, persons, events or cases that makeup a known whole (Ary *et al* 1972; Gay, 1987). In the context of this study, the population entails all persons, natural or juristic with valid information and knowledge of the Command Agriculture Programme. It should be noted here that CAP has been shrouded in too much secrecy and the fear factor brewed by military involvement has ensured that not all Zimbabweans are aware of the programme; only those working in close contact with it have valid knowledge about it. Thus, to define the population of the study, this study leaned towards its qualitative aspect of the research design in that it focused on those persons with valid knowledge on the research problems. Beneficiaries of the CAP, and persons involved in the administration and implementation of CAP, and Civic Society Organizations (CSOs) working in the agriculture sector were defined as the population of the study.

1.4.2 Sample and Sampling Procedure

The study used purposive sampling to select 200 respondents from among CAP implementing and financing partners, beneficiaries of CAP and CSOs working in the agriculture sector in farming communities of Zimbabwe as presented in Table 1.1. Since the population of the study is diversified, the research used stratified sampling to ensure it captures insights from all the corners of the target population as shown in table 1.1 below. The study also sampled 25 archives from online public data sets based on subject matter search on Google search.

Table 1.1 Stratification and Distribution of the Sample

Stratification	***Gender Considerations***	***% in the Sample***
CAP beneficiaries	Stratified equally by gender	75%
CAP implementing & partners	Stratified equally by gender	15%
CSOs working in the sector	Stratified equally by gender	10%

Sample composition was purposive and goal oriented. The study needed knowledgeable persons with reliable information more than anything else. The study ensured that respondents were stratified according to gender to ensure that perceptions of both women and men are captured since government's programmes impact livelihoods, jobs and productivity of men and women differently due to their differing socio-economic circumstances in communities. The study also considered beneficiaries of CAP as primary targets of the study since

capturing perceptions and emotions about the programme was of primary importance. Beneficiaries were thus given a 75% share in the total population. Implementing and financing partners were considered as a second priority since they also have insider and first-hand information. Representatives of CSOs in the agriculture sector were chosen for their hands-on experience and everyday interaction with the CAP. They were included to widen the people's voice and also counterbalance the narrative given by implementing and financing partners. They were needed for their critical voices. The distribution of the research sample across sampled farming communities which serve as the research area of the study was as shown in table 1.2 below.

Table 1.2: Sample Distribution across Research Areas

Research Area	***Number of Interviews***
Mutare & Marondera	25
Matabeleland North	25
Midlands	25
Bulawayo	25
Matabeleland South	25
Mashonaland Central	25
Beatrice & Mashonaland West	25
Harare	25
Total	***200***

The choice of these research areas was influenced by the purposive sampling of the study; it tracked the CAP only to those communities where it is implemented and known.

1.4.3 Data Collection Procedures

Data were collected through a mix of qualitative and quantitative data collection tools. The study used semi-structured interviews and analysis of archives that were purposively sampled from readily accessible public data sets as presented below.

1.4.3.1 Semi-Structured Interviews

The study conducted 200 semi-structured interviews guided by a fill-in interview guide which was used to interview all sampled respondents. The interviews guide had a mix of qualitative and quantitative questions to gauge the depth and breadth of the problem. As a data collection tool, the interview guide was manually completed by the ZDI team of eight researchers deployed in each of the eight research areas presented above. Interviews were audio recorded to facilitate cross examinations and re-analysis during data analysis.

1.4.3.2 Analysis of public data-sets

The 25 sampled public data-sets were interrogated for critical information answering the research questions of the study. Sampled archives included legal protocols, scholarly articles, reports and social media blogs. It also included newspaper articles. These archives were collected using subject matter search on Google search engine. Many articles and archives were downloaded and sieved using the quality and relevance assessment tool of the study which was derived from research objectives and questions of the study.

1.4.4 Data Analysis and Presentation

Data were analysed using quantitative and qualitative data analysis strategies. Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) was used as the quantitative data analysis tool that analysed answers to quantitative research questions in the semi-structured interviews while thematic analysis analysed answers to qualitative questions. These two tools were also used to analyse data in archives as described below.

1.4.4.1 Descriptive analysis on SPSS

The study conducted descriptive analysis of quantitative data collected through semi-structured interviews and analysis of public data sets using SPSS. The aim was to describe the involvement of securocrats in CAP, how it has impacted livelihoods, employment, investor confidence, doing business and productivity in the agriculture sector. It also helped in ascertaining whether there are any gendered impacts of CAP across the farming communities. This kind of analysis only dealt with data collected through quantitative questions in the interview guide and quantitative data from archives. Data from this analysis strategy were presented in graphs, charts and tables to aid to in giving a descriptive illustration of the problem under study.

1.4.4.2 Thematic Analysis

Data collected through qualitative questions of the interview guide and qualitative data in sampled archives and public data-sets were analysed using thematic analysis. Under this data analysis strategy, data were cross-examined for recurring content, coded according to recurring content, broken down into groups of recurring issues which were further digested into thematic topics that helped in answering the “why” questions about CAP. Data from this kind of analysis were presented in textual summaries that aid in providing explanatory data about the problem understudy.

1.5 Chapter Summary

The study interrogated how the militarisation characterising the implementation of the programme has impacted livelihoods, freedoms, doing business, investor confidence and productivity in the sector. Semi-structured interviews and archival of public data-sets were used to collect data. The following chapter presents the previous theoretical and empirical studies on militarised governments undergirding this study and the conceptual framework of analysis adopted by this study.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.0 Introduction

This chapter engages previous theoretical and empirical studies on military involvement in government. The theoretical framework adopted by this study is the 'authoritarian consolidation' theory associated with the works of Slater and Fenner (2011) which posits that recently born autocratic regimes pursue authoritarian consolidation policies and invest so much energy in building their 'capability infrastructures' that give them long life expectancy and immunity from transition possibilities and pressures. Four areas of regime consolidation capabilities and/or mechanisms that are built and given particular importance by newly born autocrats are: infrastructure for coercion of rivals; infrastructure for the extraction of revenues; infrastructure for the registration of citizens; and infrastructure for the cultivation of dependence.

A 'political moral hazard' problem develops when all these four areas of state capacity are deployed using the military. Thus, this chapter will present literature that show how the Command Agriculture Programme (CAP) has been born and developed to fulfill these four primary regime consolidation capabilities and how such authoritarian machinations impact the consolidation of democracy and or transition. The chapter also presents an analysis of sampled case studies from previous militarised governments to draw lessons that help understand the military involvement in agriculture and related problems.

2.1 Theoretical Framework of the study - Authoritarian Consolidation

Previous transitology studies have theorised about the impact and objectives of military involvement in domestic politics and governance of a nation-state. Among those theories, this study adopted the 'authoritarian consolidation' theory as its theoretical lens and used it to interpret and explain military involvement in government CAP in Zimbabwe. This is mainly because the theory explains the regime consolidation strategies adopted by authoritarian governments in their early stages after emerging from an undemocratic transition such as a coup d'etat, the situation Zimbabwe finds herself in.

2.1.1 Four Authoritarian Consolidation Capabilities

A seminal study by Slater and Fenner (2011) notes that autocratic governments that emerge from undemocratic power transition have, as their priority, the pursuit of the acquisition of 'high levels of state capacities' which enable longevity of autocratic rule despite transition pressures from the opposition, civic society, pressure groups and external forces. They emphasised that, "state power is the most powerful weapon in the authoritarian arsenal" (Slater and Fenner, 2011: 15). Seeberg (2014) adds that autocrats with 'high levels of infrastructure capacity' have a better chance to win elections and retain power while those with weaker infrastructures create a possibility of electoral defeat and transition. What these studies entail is that governments that came into being through autocratic means such as military overthrow of their predecessors will take any measures accessible to them to build an infrastructure that ensure their long stay in power and render them immune from power transition threats.

Slater and Fenner (2011) identified four key areas or 'infrastructural mechanisms' of power consolidation pursued and deployed by newly born autocratic governments: (i) the coercion of rivals; (ii) the extraction of revenues; (iii) the registration of citizens;

and (iv) the cultivation of dependence. Thus, autocratic regimes that invest energy in the successful development of high levels of capacity and/or power in these four mechanisms and deploy a correct mechanism at a correct time have a longer life expectancy despite pressure from the opposition, electoral competition and economic fissures. Zimbabwe being under a newly born autocracy or a new autocratic regime that emerged from undemocratic power transition after the coup d'état that deposed former president Robert Mugabe in November 2017, the military involvement in politics in Zimbabwe through Command Agriculture programme is best identified with all the four mechanisms as the findings of the study shall show.

Following an undemocratic power transition, Acemoglu *et al* (2008: 2) state that, the elite have three strategic options for survival going forward: (i) desist from repression and allow a smooth transition to democracy; (2) use repression while also paying soldiers wages to prevent military takeovers; (3) rely on repression without significant concessions to soldiers, thus opting for non-prevention or facing the risk of a military takeover. The Zimbabwean transition shows that the elite have taken route two (2) where repression and concession to the military is used as a central lynchpin of regime consolidation.

Since 'coercion of rivals' is the most needed facet of power consolidation in nondemocratic regimes that seek not the transition like Zimbabwe, 'a political moral hazard' problem emerges as "a strong military may not simply work as an agent of the elite but may turn against them in order to create a regime more in line with their own objectives" (Acemoglu, *et al,* 2008:49). In such a situation where an autocratic regime creates conditions for the proliferation of a political moral hazard problem, the regime finds itself in a very costly affair that hinders regime flexibility as repression will lead to payment of high wages to the army and policy concessions to ensure satisfaction of their interests.

2.1.2 The Political Moral Hazard Problem

Fear of the fact that the military typically intervenes in politics to defend its interests that are in most cases opposed to desires of citizens (Needler, 1987: 59) has made ruling elites that chose transition route two likely to face the inescapable effects of the political moral hazard problem. This explains the reason behind policy inconsistencies and use of state resources to support policies that clearly go opposite to the problem besetting the nation. By so doing, the regime will be trying to preserve the interests of the military in exchange for long life expectancy. In the event that the regime fails to make sufficient concessions, military overthrow of the regime and replacement by the military's own dictatorship will be inevitable (Nordilinger, 1977: 78, Acemoglu *et al*, 2008). Thus, the loyalties and commitments of the ruling government in such circumstances are towards satisfaction of military interests than national interests as repression will be resorted to if citizens try to remind the government about the need to address the national problem.

As a result of the political moral hazard problem, dark traces of corruption, inequality and human rights injustices are always covered up by deploying the army to intimidate citizens (Acemoglu *et al*, 2008).[14] Oyewale and Osadola (2018) describe this 'ugly culture' as a threat to economic development and human survival.[15] Oyewale and Osadola (2018) explain how the Nigerian economy from 1960 to 1999 was plundered by the Nigerian military regime whose rule was characterised by corruption and state failure. These studies reveal that militarised government programs are typified by: (i) bad-governance (lack of transparency, corruption, human rights violations); (ii) poor performance and (iii) lack of accountability. These

[14] Acemoglu, D, Ticchi, A and Vindigni, A. (2008). The theory of military dictactorships. Available online at: https://www.nber.org/papers/w13915.pdf.

[15] Oyewale .O. P and Osadola. O, S, (2018). Military Regimes and Nigeria's Economic Development, 1966-1999.
Available at: https://ideas.repec.org/a/pkp/josere/2018p29-38.html.

are part of the political moral hazard problem which is very difficult to cleanse in military governments.

Engendering democratic norms among which are good-governance, transparency, accountability and an apolitical military which enhance economic growth and development by improving doing business and investor confidence measures (Heo and Tan, 2001) is not an area of expertise for the military.[16]"The military man cannot be a good man", (McAlister, 1965:86), thus a standing army, when allowed to get into government programmes is always dangerous to the liberties of the people (Adams, 1907:250).

Huntington's (1957:7-8) concept of the military professionalism in *The Soldier and the State*, stresses that civilian control mandates that no political role, no matter how responsible should be allowed for the military. Engaging the military for political purpose is in most casesdetrimental to the spirit and will of democracy as this compromises the levels of political neutrality, competence, social responsibility and constitutional obligation of the military. Legitimisation, non-coercive rule, minimisation of violence, and responsiveness to popular wishes, remain significantly and almost consistently poorer in militarised governments than in civilian governments as deficits in accountability, transparency and upholding of civil liberties are rampant (Nordlinger, 1977:197). Involvement of the army and worse an army with an ugly history of human rights violations in sectors such as agriculture erodes the doing business and investor confidence in the economy which must be the most chided 'ugly culture' in a country hunting for investors and claiming to be 'open for business.' For instance, Kramer (2008) found that the military involvement in economic development projects scares investors away. He explored the military, political and economic implications of postSoviet conversion and stated that military involvement in politics can lead a country into debt if military spending is not accompanied by radical measures. This study also interrogated how participants and prospective investors perceive militarisation in agriculture and how it relates to efforts to build investor confidence and doing business.

[16]Heo and Tan (2001). Economic Growth and Democracy in Africa. Available athttps://www.jstor.org/stable/25166030

2.2 Performance History of Militarised Governments

Using Pakistan, Ghana and Nigeria as case studies of states that have undergone both military and civilian rule, this study interrogated the performance of militarised regimes in development indicators such as human development scores, corruption, political freedom scores, civil liberties score and political stability. These cases were chosen due to their spectacular history of successive military governments which can be very useful in informing transition players about the road ahead of Zimbabwe transition. The intention was to highlight theoutcome of Command Agriculture given its militarisation.

2.2.1 Pakistan Case study

Since 1947, the military has captured the civilian government of Pakistan on four occasionss. The first military intervention was led by General Ayub Khan in October 7, 1958, which continued up to 1968. The second military overthrow was led by General Yakhya Khan and held power for two years from 1969 to 1971. The third military coup d'état' was led by General Zia-ul-Haq on 5th July, 1977 and he remained a powerful dictator in the country up to 1988 for eleven years and died in an air-line crash on 18th August 1988. The fourth military take-over was led by General Pervez Musharaf on 12th October 1999 and he ruled in the country up to 2001, for twelve years. Since 1947, no civilian government has completed a full term in Pakistan due to corruption with administrations being replaced by the military rule. In line with Nordlinger's (1977:78) concept of personal and institutional economic interests, the military's involvement in politics has been a means to enrich themselves. While involvement was a result of rampant corruption, the military establishments failed to rise above the reproach.[17] The Pakistan scenario reflects a

[17]https://bylinetimes.com/2019/07/15/is-pakistan-winning-its-fight-to-tackle-corruption/

military that is entrenched in the corporate sector of the country as the country's companies are in the hands of senior army officials.

During the 1999 military rule in Pakistan, political rights indices published by Freedom House were far from being satisfactory. However, the trend remained substandard even in 2001, under the administration of a civilian leader who was however under military capture as concession to the military were pervasive. While this could be attributed to a raft of harsh reforms instituted in 2000, Pakistan surprisingly presents a situation whereby political rights where worse under a civilian leadership when compared to military rule.

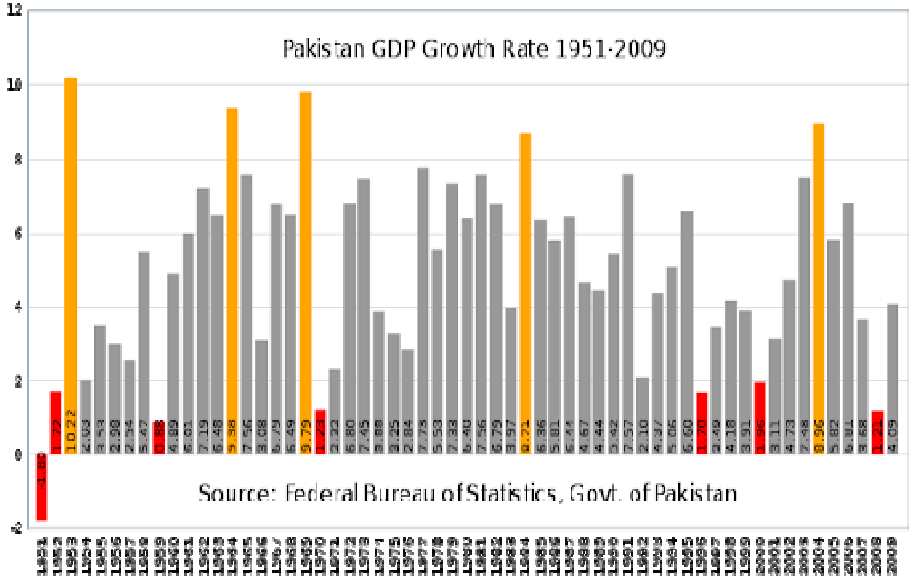
Table 2.1: Pakistan Political Rights and Freedom scores for 1999 and 2001

	1999	2001
Status	Partly Free	Not Free
Freedom	4.5	5.5
Civil Liberties	4	5
Political Rights	5	6

Source: Analysis of scores from Freedom House data-sets

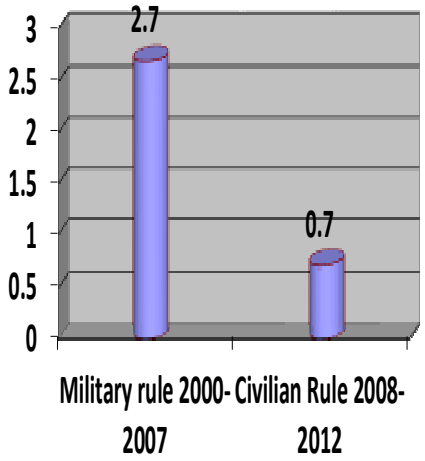
While the military era saw rampant corruption and minimal political rights satisfaction, Pakistan's economic growth profile was progressive and reveals relatively high GDP growth rates mainly during the three military regimes. All the low growth years occurred during the civilian rule. For example, low growth rates of 1950s, early 1970s and 1990s were coincidental with the democratic eras while high growth rates were achieved during 1960s, late 1970s and 2000, when the country was under military rule.

Figure 2.1: Pakistan GDP Growth Rate 1951-2009



According to the 2013 Human Development Report, Pakistan experienced yet another confirmation of economic and human development under military rule between 2000 and 2007. The country's HDI grew at an average rate of 2.7% per year under Musharaf's military rule. The pace however slowed to 0.7% per year in 2008 to 2012 under elected politicians.

Figure 2.2: Pakistan HDI during military and civilian rule



It is important to note that the Pakistan scenario was rather strategic military rule that ensured economic boom but at the same time stifling seeds of democracy. According to Shafi Azam, Pakistan army has governed the country overtly and covertly during most of its fifty-eight year history. The seeds of democracy have never been sown due to the continuous political interventions by armed forces.[18] Similarly, Akbar Zaidi states that when in power, military regimes have not worked either to establish effective conditions for the return to civilian rule or to develop institutions that might make military usurpation impossible and unnecessarily in the future. Rather they have focused on immunizing themselves against criticism and deflecting any popular challenges that might arise. More dangerously in an effort to ensure their survival and mitigate perception of their illegitimacy, military regimes have repeatedly undermined centrist social forces and political parties in Pakistan by encouraging radical political groups opposed to democracy.[19]

2.2.2 Ghana Case study

Ghana's first military overthrow took place in 1966. This administration claimed legitimacy based on a list of grievances many of which were directly related to the resilience of the military. However, the critical public justification of the military involvement was the increasingly personalized rule by Nkrumah, most evidenced by the change of the state to a one-party system in 1964 which had tendencies of repression and concession to the military. According to Gutteridge (1975:66-72), upon assuming power, the first military regime and those which followed continuously took up the same infrastructure and institutions used by their civilian predecessors and largely remnant from the colonial rule of oppression. Thus Boafo-Arthur (2005:111) argues that all four military regimes which ruled Ghana between 1965 and 1990 "trampled and subverted the fundamental rights of the citizenry". With no institutionalization of good governance and state power heavily restricted to the head of state, Ghana's military regime is accused of illegal confiscation of property and purposeful exclusion of the citizenry from the governance process (Jeffries 1989:95). In as far as corruption is concerned, Decalo (1973:117) states that diversion of public funds to expanding military interests and redistributing political and economic power amongst political elites was rampant.

[18] Journal of Independent Studies and Research (JISR) Volume 4, Number 2, July 2006

[19] Zaidi S. Akber, 2005, 'Issues in Pakistan's Economy', 2005, Oxford University Press, Karachi

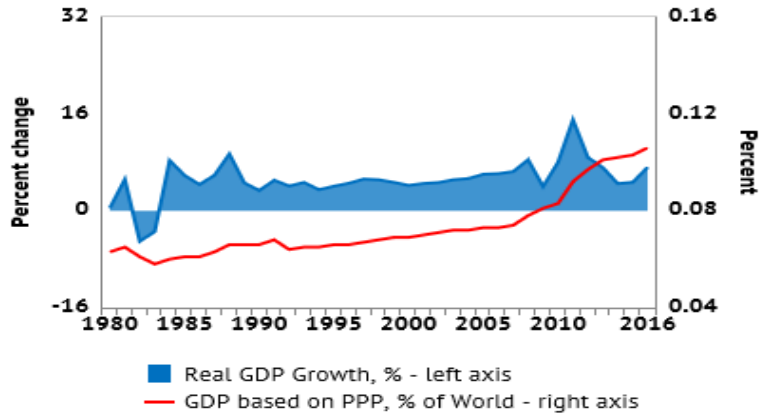
Table 2.2: Ghana Political Rights and Freedom scores for 1998 and 2017

	1998	2017
Status	Partly Free	Free
Freedom	3.0	1.5
Civil Liberties	3	1
Political Rights	3	2

Source: Analysis of data-sets from Freedom House

The table above illustrates that emerging from military rule, Ghana's political freedoms were still very fragile but as it progressed with the civilian rule, there is an increase in security of citizens' civil and political rights and the status changed from being partly free into being free. On the economic front, Ghana's GDP growth presented a sharp contrast to that of Pakistan as it was stunted during the military rule when compared to the civilian rule.

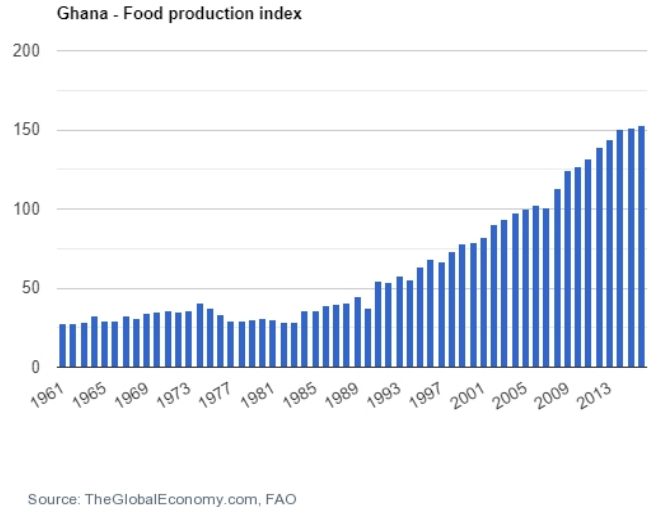
Figure 2.3: Ghana GDP Growth Percentage



Source: Ghana Data Profiles

There were also reductions in food production during military governments in Ghana which directly speaks to a likely failure of Zimbabwe's Command Agriculture scheme. Figure 2.4 below illustrates the performance of the military governments in Ghana in the food production index.

Figure 2. 4: Comparison of Ghana's Food Production Index during military (1966-1990) and civilian rule (1991-2016)



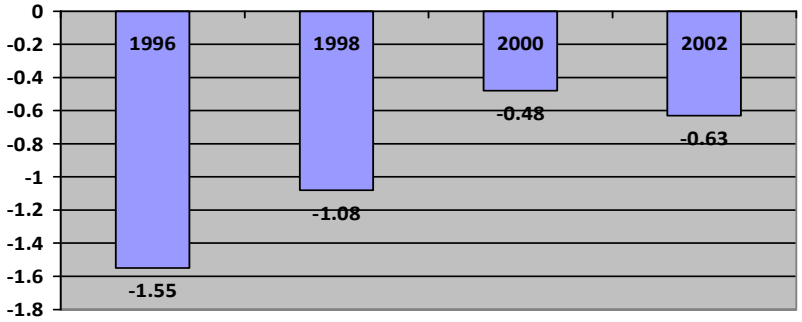
Source: TheGlobalEconomy.Com, FAO

2.2.3 Nigeria Case study

Nigeria has also experienced coups and counter coups as military elites positioned themselves for greater involvement in politics. The military has made six successful interventions into the Nigeria government; 1966-1975, General Gowon led government; 1975-1979, General Murtala/Obasanjo led government; 1983-1985; Buhari/Idagbon, led military government; 1985-1993, General Banbagida led military government, 1993-1998, Abacha led the military government till his death and 1998-1999 Gen. Abdusalami led the military government and handed over power in May 1999 to a democratically elected president and commander-in-chief of the Nigeria armed forces.

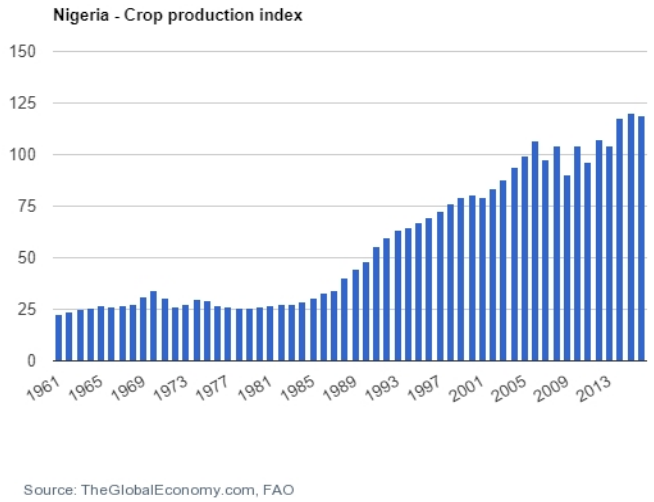
For the years that Nigeria was under military rule, it was extremely difficult for citizens to enjoy their rights and they could not hold the state to account for use of tax-payer's money. The Voice and Accountability Index (-2.5 weak; 2.5 strong) on the Global Economy indicators shows that severe restrictions during military rule was eased under civilian rule.

Figure 2.5: Nigeria Voice and Accountability Index for 1996, 1998, 2000 and 2002



Military politicians in power from January 15, 1966 until 1999 destroyed Nigeria's economy, ruined the currency, desecrated the civil service which was the best in the continent then and killed education, which was one of the world's best. They ruined a culture of honesty and institutionalised corruption that has become public enemy number one.[20] Under military rule, operation through decrees became the order of state business, combat rather than dialogue, disregard of court orders and violation of human rights became the tenets of militarized civic culture in a democratic dispensation[21] and food security for Nigerians was dismally low when compared to what transpired during civilian rule. Military rule did not manage to boost crop production and provide nutritious food to everyone at all times.

Figure 2.6: Crop Production Index for Nigeria from 1961 to 2016



[20] https://guardian.ng/opinion/nigeria-and-the-ruins-of-military-rule/

[21] The Impact of Military Rule on Democracy in Nigeria Etim O. Frank* and Wilfred I. Ukpere p 287

On political freedoms, Nigeria's military ruined people's liberties but the trend was not divorced from what transpired even under civilian rule. Table 2.3 reflects that in 1999 when Nigeria was under military rule, it scored badly in terms of Freedom House ratings and still performed dismally in 2015, a randomly selected year whereby the country was under civilian rule.

Table 2.3: Nigeria Political Rights and Freedom scores for 1999 and 2015

	1999	**2015**
Status	Partly Free	Partly Free
Freedom	4	4.5
Civil Liberties	3	5
Political Rights	5	4

Source: Analysis of data-sets from Freedom House

During the military rule, corruption in Nigeria reached unprecedented levels. According to Ribadu (2006: 19) successive military regimes subdued the rule of law, facilitated the wanton looting of the public treasury, decapitated public institutions and free speech and instituted a secret and opaque culture in the running of government business. Corruption rose to become the dominant guiding principle for running and conducting affairs of state. The period witnessed a total reversal and destruction of every good thing in the country and indeed, the military took corruption to its highest levels ever. While corruption was higher during the military rule, it has been noted that there was not much decline when compared to civilian rule. Data from the Global Economy for the period 1996 to 2017 reflects that corruption was high in 1996-1999 (military rule phase) as was in subsequent years after 1999. The Global Economy states that the average value for Nigeria during that period was -1.16 points with a minimum of -1.43 points in 2002 and a maximum of -0.89 points in 2008.

2.2.4 Key Take-away Lessons

The three case studies are rooted in the discussed conceptual frameworks that reflect military involvement in politics and how regime's power consolidation created the political moral hazard problem and its effects. Chief among them is the desire by the military to pursue self-interests, defense of the institutional interests of the military, weak political institutions economic turmoil, corruption and the professionalisation of the soldier who endeavours to protect the nation from internal stress. It is however significant to note that involvement in politics is a recipe for disaster in most scenarios as reflected in the case studies. Involvement, no matter how trivial it might seem, poses great challenges to democracy, accountability, transparency and the ultimate realisation of socio-economic rights by the citizens. By and large, military rule has negative effects such as thwarting of civil liberties, ruthless system of horror, torture and coercion of the citizens but rarely has positive impact as reflected by the Pakistan economic growth that is chiefly associated with military rule.

2.3 Chapter Summary

The chapter presented the theoretical framework of the study derived from reviewed literature. The adopted theory is the authoritarian consolidation theory which states that newly born autocratic governments prioritise such policies and programmes that ensure it accumulates and develops power capabilities in four areas such as: Coercion of rivals, extraction of revenue, registration of citizens and cultivation of dependence. These four zones of capacity once established, the authoritarian regime is rendered immune from transition pressures. Within the same theory, it is stated that after staging an undemocratic power transition, elites are faced with three transition routes, the democratic, the autocratic with concessions to the military and the autocratic with risks of recurrence of a coup d'etat. It was revealed that the Zimbabwean CAP falls under the second route which is very costly, very injurious to democracy, investor confidence, business and human rights. This route creates what is conceptualised as a 'political moral hazard problem' which makes military

interests superior to national interest and result in policies that counter the interests of citizens in the event that they do not intersect with those of the military elite. In addition, reviewed case studies show that in most cases when this route is taken and the incumbent presides over a massive and unsustainable economic decline, the result is usually another military overthrow. This is a very likely possibility in Zimbabwe given the current economic challenges. However, prevalence of elite discohesion (which seems to be at a germination period in Zimbabwe) than elite cohesion makes this posibility most likely and foreseeable. Case studies were reviewed, and lessons drawn were that military governments have failed to improve the food security, human security and socio-economic situation of citizens. The following chapter will present the findings of the study which prove to confirm the findings in previous studies cited in this chapter.

CHAPTER THREE

AN AUTHORITARIAN CONSOLIDATION PROJECT & ATTENDANT POLITICAL MORAL HAZARD PROBLEMS

3.0 Introduction

This chapter presents research findings and discussions on the involvement of the military in agriculture through the Command Agriculture Programme. The study investigated the underlying political objectives of the securocrats pursued through the Command Agriculture Programme and the consequences of this militarisation on human rights, good-governance and investment prospects in the sector. Thus, two main objectives are addressed in this chapter in the following order: *(i)* the performance audit of CAP and attendant challenges and *(ii*) conceptual analysis of the underlying politicking behind Command Agriculture and the attendant political moral hazard problem.

The Command Agriculture Programme performance audit done pursuant to the main objective one (i) revealed contradictory results. On one hand, maize production and deliveries to the Grain Marketing Board (GMB) have increased in the CAP era compared to the 2015/2016 harvest season before CAP while on the other hand, household grain production has decreased, food insecurity has increased, and maize exports have increased. To explain these contradictions, the study found that Command Agriculture benefits mostly the ZANU-PF/*Securocrats* patronage network that has made it very difficult to translate bumper harvests to food security and maize imports reduction. The proceeds from CAP have been a very powerful means through which regime loyalists are financed, incentivised and rewarded from national level to village level. The generality of the populace remains subject to the harsh realities of food insecurity prompting government to import more maize. To a general tax payer, CAP has not helped in resolving the food insecurity crisis but has remained largely a political project whose results are felt and enjoyed by the ruling elite and its corrupt patronage syndicate in the sector.

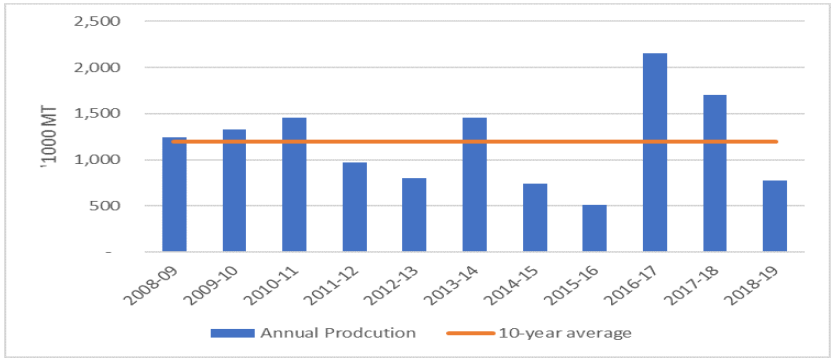
Findings presented in response to main objective two (ii) indicate that the CAP is more of a political project of the ruling elite and securocrats whose main aim is to foster a post-Mugabe authoritarian consolidation and augment state capacities for the same through coercion of rivals, extraction of revenue, and registration of citizens and cultivation of dependency. The study notes that the end effect of Command Agriculture will be to render the incumbent 'military assisted' government immune from transition pressures and possibilities presented by competition elections. As shall be shown below, it has lubricated, cascaded and consolidated a deep patronage and clientelism infrastructure across key farming and rural constituencies and secured them for future use in ensuring electoral victory for the ruling party. So far, findings indicate that the ruling elite seem to be succeeding in this regard. However, findings indicate that the authoritarian consolidation approach chosen by the ruling elite is the one that creates a political moral hazard problem which has proven to be a reliable factor in the overthrow of the system itself.

3.1 Performance Audit of the CAP

The performance Audit of CAP was premised on the government notion that the reason for the existence of the CAP is: *(a)* to reduce food insecurity; *(b)* to boost maize production and improve maize deliveries into the Grain Marketing Board by farmers and *(c)* to reduce grain imports. In fact, the food insecurity and reduction of maize imports depend on the extent of maize production and delivery to the GMB. Thus the study looked at the performance of the agriculture sector in terms of these three targets.

3.1.1 Food Insecurity Defying CAP

In terms of fighting food insecurity and boosting cereal (staple food) production at household level, this study found that Command Agriculture has failed. Household food production levels have been decreasing despite claims of increased distribution of farming inputs under CAP. For instance, despite reported bumper harvests and high grain deliveries at GMB associated with the CAP in its first season in 2016/2017, household cereal production decreased by an average of 26%, average household maize production decreased by 30% from the gains realized in the 2015/2016 season.[22] The annual maize production increases in the first two years of CAP have been linked to coincidental causes.



Source: Ministry of Land, Agriculture, Water Climate and Rural Resettlement cited in FEWS NET.[23]

As can be seen above, good harvests have not been sustainable and thus making the argument that such bumper harvests were coincidental since during these periods of bumper harvests, Zimbabwe received best rains than in the pre-CAP period that was bedeviled by serious drought spells. The 2018/2019 season returned Zimbabwe back to the usually 'unfavourable' climatic conditions that were prevalent in the pre-CAP period and productivity declined sharply (-34 percent) by proportions greater than in the pre-CAP performance declines. Citizens expected to see resilience owing to irrigation system they have been financing with billions of dollars for three years.

The proportion of households that received support in the 2016/2017 consumption year increased compared to the previous one. There was a remarkable increase in government spending from 48.5% (2015/16) to 76.7% (2016/17) to support the food insecure population.[24] An increase in government support to households testifies failure of Command Agriculture to end real hunger effects in communities. In 2019 the country experienced a 60% decrease in average household cereal stocks compared to 2018.[25] In 2018, 28% of the population was classified to be in a food crisis and this number increased to 39% in 2019.[26] In light of these figures, it can be seen that CAP, and its design is not the best way to deal with food insecurity under current circumstances in Zimbabwe. It is more of an "elite food security" and money

[22] See ICP report online accessible at: http://www.ipcinfo.org/fileadmin/user_upload/ipcinfo/docs/IPC_Zimbabwe_AcuteFI_Situation_2016May2017Mar.pdf

[23] See article online at: https://fews.net/southern-africa/zimbabwe/food-security-outlook/june-2019.

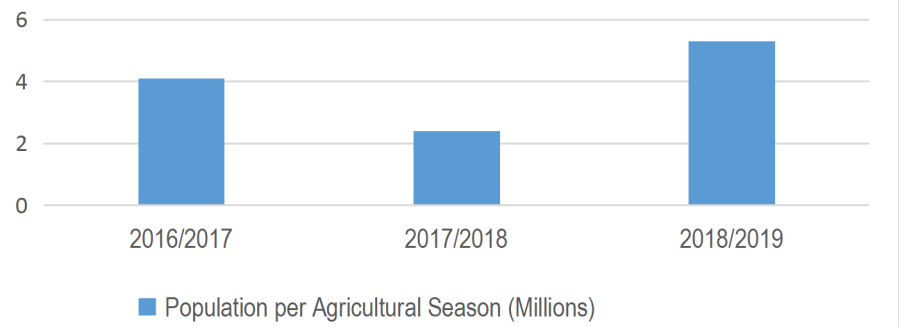
[24] Zimbabwe Vulnerability Assessment Committee (ZimVAC) 2017 Rural Livelihoods Assessment Report.

[25] See Relief Web report online accessible at: https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/ZimVAC-2019-Rural-Livelihoods-Assessment-Report.PDF.

[26] See Relief Web report online accessible at: https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/ZimVAC-2019-Rural-Livelihoods-Assessment-Report.PDF.

making mechanism because it hardly address the hunger problem in the masses most of whom cannot access the benefits in CAP.

Figure 3.1: Food Insecurity Situation in Zimbabwe in the CAP Era



Source: World Food Programme[27]

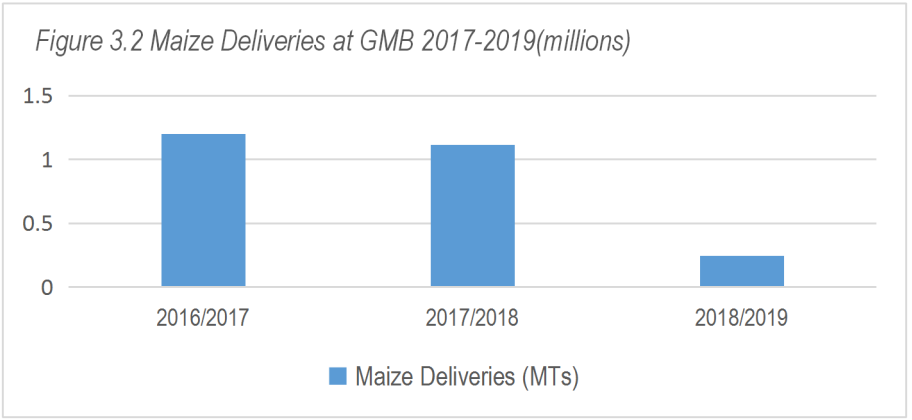
From these findings, it can be seen that food insecurity at national and household levels has been continuing to increase despite pouring of taxpayers' money towards the programme. Where is the bumper harvest going after being delivered to GMB if households continue in the hunger crisis? Although poor rainfall and other natural factors cannot be ignored in influencing the failures of CAP, it should be noted that this programme was designed specifically to deal with food deficits through means such as irrigation that do not rely on rainfall. The programme has failed to deal with effects of poor rainfall on productivity and food insecurity.

[27]World food programme. Available at: https://www.wfp.org/countries/zimbabwe. Part of the data was take from - FAO. Available at: http://www.fao.org/countryprofiles/index/en/?iso3=ZWE.Also see ,Vulnerability Assessment Committee results 2018. Available at:: https://reliefweb.int/report/zimbabwe/zimbabwe-vulnerability-assessment-committee-results-2018erald. (Online). Available at:https://www.herald.co.zw/command-agriculture-boosts-wheat-production/.

3.1.2 Declining Maize Deliveries to the GMB

Despite subsidies in form of the CAP inputs, maize deliveries to the GMB have shown a continuing declining trend from the quantity delivered in the 2016/2017 season. Figure 3.2 illustrates how grain deliveries to the GMB have been declining.[28]

Figure 3.2 Maize Deliveries at GMB 2017-2019(millions)



In the 2016/2017 season, maize deliveries to the GMB were at 1,2 million tonnes,[29] in the 2017/2018 season 1.1 million tonnes[30] while in the 2018/2019 season, maize deliveries plummeted by 78% to 247,242 metric tonnes as of October

[28]The figures reflect total reported figures in October of each season as found in available public data-sets.

[29]The Herald (Online). Grain deliveries to GMB top 1,5m tonnes. Published on 29 March 2018. Available at: https://www.herald.co.zw/grain-deliveries-to-gmb-top-15m-tonnes/

[30]The Herald (Online). Bye bye to maize imports as grain deliveries top 1.1 million tonnes. Published on 25 October 2018. Available at: https://www.herald.co.zw/bye-bye-to-maize-imports-as-grain-deliveries-top-11m-tonnes/

2019.[31]Although poor rainfall was cited as among causal factors leading to the decline in maize deliveries to the GMB, most respondents (70%) pointed to the declining purchasing power of the procurement price offered by GMB. This means CAP has failed to entice farmers to deliver grains to the GMB.[32] The ministry of finance in the 2018 Budget Statement (2017:99) reported that:

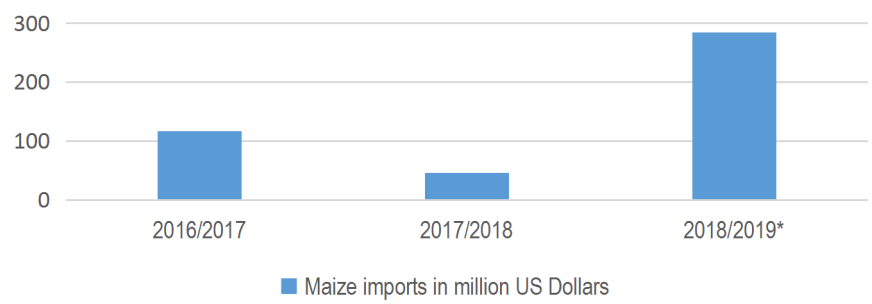
> ... as at 23 November 2017, about 10 053 contracted farmers had not made any maize deliveries to GMB, an indication that these were already defaulting on their 2017 debt obligations.

This has serious implications on the creation of investor confidence and ensuring profitability of investor and taxpayer's money. This kind of behaviour is not new in the agriculture sector. Many of these defaulting farmers are ZANU-PF stalwarts and they are used to this abuse of state resources.

3.1.3 Increasing Maize Imports

The Command Agriculture Programme has been popularised as an 'maize import substitution programme' but it has not reduced the extent of maize imports per season. As shown in figure 3.3 below, maize imports have been increasing during the life of CAP.

Figure 3.3: Maize imports per Season



Source: UN Comtrade (2018: 367)[33]

As shown above, maize imports continued very high despite the reported bumper harvests in the first harvest season of CAP in 2016/2017 and 2017/2018. Despite increased expenditure which ought to have built a dependable and resilient irrigation infrastructure by now, the 2018/2019 season saw imports increasing by above 500% from the 2017/2018 season. A controversial finding here is: why have maize imports increased at a time when CAP has siphoned billions of tax payers' money to boost irrigation and self-sufficiency? Were bumper-harvest a result of good funding or a results of good rainfall?

[31] See The Business Times 24/10/2019 online. Accessible at: https://businesstimes.co.zw/maize-deliveries-plunge/.
[32] Interviews, September 2019.

[33] See report at: https://comtrade.un.org/pb/downloads/2018/VolI2018.pdf. Figures for the 2018/2019 season were taken from 'Maize import expenditure' set aside by the GMB from its Grain Importation Operational Taskforce, see report online at: https://www.hararepost.co.zw/en/the-news/local-news/2375-govt-sets-up-taskforce-to-import-maize.

3.1.4 Explaining CAP Performance Contradictions

As highlighted above, the CAP has recorded contradictory performance results. It has been associated with a grotesque spectacle of an increase in maize production that resulted in increased maize imports and intensified household food insecurity. Thus, the study interrogated the question "why" and findings were as presented in figure 3.5 below.

Figure 3.4: Some beneficiaries of the Farm Input Scheme

Source:*THE INSIDE. Accessible at: http://www.insiderzim.com/no-christmas-for-those-involved-in-zimbabwe-inputs-distribution/.*

Three major explanations emerged:

(i) most inputs are given to powerful members of the ruling party and securocrats who have a history of defaulting from repayment of government loans in agriculture[34] (74% of the studied sample had some traceable affiliations to ZANU-PF and/or securocrats);

(ii) easily accessible support from CAP does not match the fundamental needs of food insecure households and fails to address causes of food insecurity and need for maize imports (this was observed in 56% of the studied sample); and,

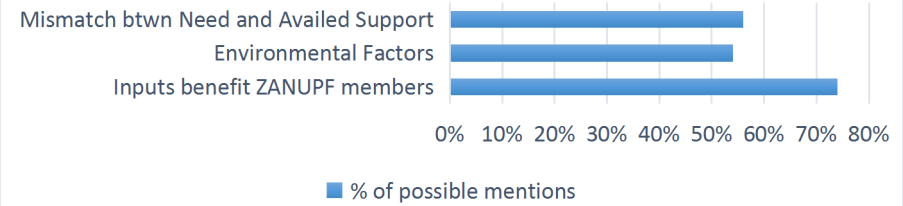
(iii) farmers have been affected by environmental factors such as poor rainfall, Elnino drought and the fall of army worm among others (this was mentioned by 54% of the studied sample).[35]

However, politicisation of the CAP beneficiary selection process was observed as the most prevalent draw-back followed by the provision of inputs that do not resolve causal factors.

[34]See, for instance the World Bank Report (2019: 23) which details that most farmers have a history of failing to pay back for the support received – which was the same case under previous input support facilities in 2004-2007 and 2009-2014. Accessible at:

[35]Interviews, September-November 2019.

Figure 3.5: Explaining Food Insecurity despite CAP



Research Question: How does data explain the continued food insecurity and Maize imports despite CAP intervention?[36]

Findings show that the continuity of household food insecurity and maize imports despite pouring of billions of tax payers' money to Command Agriculture is mainly because most inputs are given to influential ZANU-PF members and securocrats at the expense of thousands of largely rural households who find it very difficult to overcome drought stresses without enough or relevant inputs. It was also revealed that most inputs received do not resolve the farming problem faced by farmers, that of expensive land tilling and irrigation. Some respondents argued that inputs in form of seeds and fertilizer do not help a farmer who lost livestock that were relied upon as source of tilling power in the Elnino drought that ravaged the agriculture sector since 2015.[37]

Inputs distribution is not fact based, different provinces and farmers have different inputs needs. Easily accessible support from CAP do not quench the effects of the causal factors exacerbating food insecurity and maize import needs for some beneficiaries. It should also be noted that breadwinners in most households that are in a food insecurity crisis are largely unemployed rural villagers who are in dire need of irrigation and land tilling support than what CAP usually offers - seeds and fertilizer.

[36] Findings were derived from an assessment of mentioned and observed causal factors, and background assessment of sampled beneficiaries.

[37] Analysis of Interviews, September -November 2019.

3.2 Perception of the Consequences of Militarisation in Agriculture

For agriculture to fully explore its potential as a vital economic sector in Zimbabwe, it needs to attract more investment. It needs to have the attractive 'doing business' indicators and earn investor confidence. Transparency, human rights and corruption indicators must be such that investors from anywhere in the world feel attracted to put their money in the sector. Government programmes which involve the military in this economic sector such as the CAP have a serious impact on these aspects of the economy. The study surveyed perceptions of sampled respondents in the farming communities on the consequences of military involvement in the sector on the following fundamental aspects of a healthy economy: (i) investor confidence; (ii) state of freedoms; (iii) corruption and (iv) transparency and accountability. An improvement in these indicators is believed to strengthen the prospects of this economic sector.

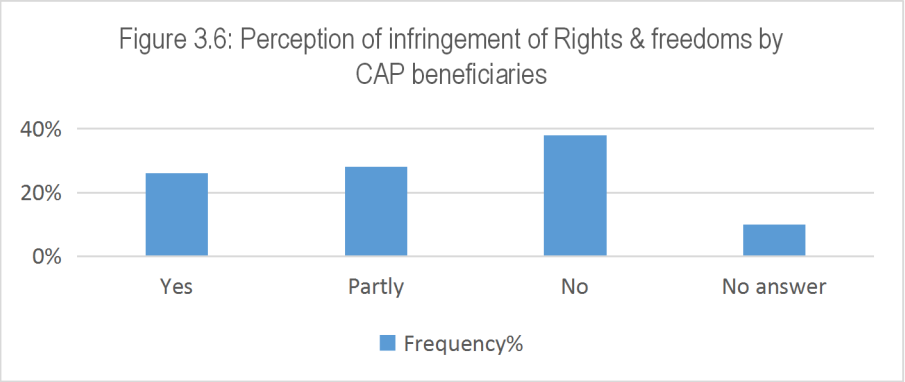
3.2.1 Mutilation of Investor confidence

The findings of the study revealed that since the inception of Command Agriculture, doing business in the sector has been negatively affected by two main factors: scary culture of the military elite and erosion of profitability.[38] First, the involvement of the military and ZANU-PF patronage network as the main beneficiary and a mechanism

[38] Interviews, September-November 2019.

of intimidation has repelled many prospective investors from injecting their investment into the sector. The dark human rights and violence history associated with the military, corruption and failure to repay loans by associates of the ruling elite dominating the most productive areas in agriculture has made working in this sector risky and unattractive.[39]

The 2018 budget statement noted that over 45% of the 50 000 farmers contracted to produce maize under Command Agriculture in the 2016/2017 season had not paid back the loans and only a "repayment receipts of US$47.4 million in loan recoveries from farmers… against an anticipated repayment target of US$72 million" was recorded.[40] In addition, contract farmers are supervised by co-ordinating committees at national, provincial and district levels from the Ministry of Agriculture and their 'team leaders' from the Ministry of Defence. Team leaders from the Ministry of Defence are very key in coordinating the distribution of inputs. Farmers are not comfortable with being followed around by these so called team leaders some of whom are suspected to be state agents and this is scary to farmers. As shown in figure 3.6, sampled beneficiaries (54%) involved in CAP perceived that their rights are being violated and most of these cited violations of their privacy and economic freedom.



Respondents were Asked: Question 2: *Have your rights as a citizen and farmer been affected by the Command Agriculture Programme in any way? Yes/Partly/No*

Business ought to be free and allow farmers to freely engage in business in the sector and enjoy profits. The government in 2017 deployed the army in the name of encouraging farmers to pay back stop orders but farmers, particularly ZANU-PF elites continue to loot inputs without paying back.[41] In August 2017, nine lieutenant-colonels and 65 majors from the Zimbabwe National Army and other senior Zimbabwe Defence forces officers were reportedly deployed under CAP[42] resulting in the programme being described as a 'Command -Ugly- Culture' and

[39]Interviews, September-November 2019.

[40]See, for instance, p98 of the 2018 Budget Statement online. Accessible at: https://img.bulawayo24.com/pdf/2018_Budget_Statement_Final.pdf.

[41]The Herald (Online). Command Agric fuel, the facts. Published on 3 July 2017. Available at: https://www.herald.co.zw/command-agric-fuel-the-facts/

[42]New Zimbabwe Vision (Online).Nine ZNA lieutenant-colonels,65 majors and other senior ZDF officers to supervise the harvesting of maize produced under the Command Agriculture programme. Published on 22 August 2017. Available at: http://newzimbabwevision.com/nine-zna-lieutenant-colonels65-majors-and-other-senior-zdf-officers-to-supervise-the-harvesting-of-maize-produced-under-the-command-agriculture-programme/

'corrupt' scheme.[43] Thus the perception of fear, intimidation and deprivation of freedom of economic choices in the sector highlighted by some beneficiaries. The prevalence of "no answers" indicate the level of fear rampant in the CAP. It should be noted that 38% of the beneficiaries claimed that they do not feel any of their rights being infringed by military presence in CAP. This should be understood in the context of over concentration of ZANU-PF members among sampled beneficiaries caused by patronage selection of beneficiaries.

Second, the compulsion of beneficiaries to sell their produce to the GMB at a price dictated by government, which is ridiculously low, has made agriculture an un-viable, unprofitable and unsustainable business.[44] For instance, in the 2018/2019 season, one metric tonne of maize is currently bought by GMB at ZWL$2100 which translates to 131 US dollars using the official inter-bank exchange rate[45] and 105 US$ in the parallel market compared to regional price of $198.93 USD in Zambia. The US$ 67 to USD 93% difference is a serious loss to business. This partly explains why respondents in figure 3.5 perceived that their freedoms are being infringed. What this means is that there is no free competition in the sector and investor see better investment destinations in neighbouring countries than Zimbabwe. The reports of securocrats and ZANU PF elite involvement with their history of failure to pay back loans and intimidation in the sector destroys investor confidence.

[43]NewsDay (Online). Moyo scoffs Command Ugly Culture. Published on 19 June 2017. Available at: https://www.newsday.co.zw/2017/06/moyo-scoffs-command-ugly-culture/

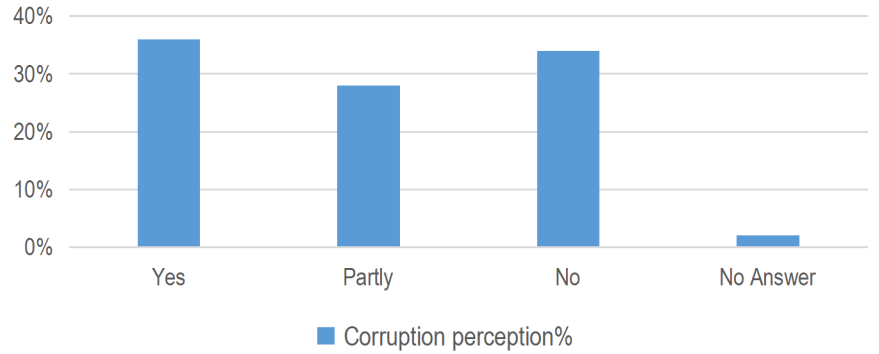
[44]See, for instance p86-87 of the 2019 Budget Statement accessible online at: https://veritaszim.net/sites/veritas_d/files/Zimbabwe%202019%20National%20Budget%20Statement%2022%20Nov%202019.pdf.

[45]See, the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe October 2019 Exchange rates at:https://www.rbz.co.zw/documents/Exchange_Rates/2019/October/Rates-01-October-2019.pdf

3.2.2 Creation of Safe Havens of Corruption, Clientelism and Nepotism

The study also found that there are cases of serious corruption going on in the CAP administration, input distribution and tendering process. As presented in figure 3.6 below, a significant number of respondents perceived CAP has created a safe haven for corruption.

Figure 3.7: Perceptions on the incidence of Corruption in the CAP



Respondents were asked:*Question - With what you have experienced, do you feel and/or think there is corruption in the CAP ? YES/ Partly/No (probe) Why do you think so?*

When the 'partly' (28%) responses are added to the 'yes' (36%) responses, a 64% response rate identifying corruption is obtained. This entails that CAP is perceived to be hit by corruption although some respondents considered that corruption to be at limited levels. The 34% 'no corruption' response is in direct contradiction with reports in public data-sets that show corruption in CAP. For instance, Vice President Chiwenga has been recorded to have used funds intended to finance the CAP to buy himself expensive cars which he allegedly used to supervise the CAP. One

wonders why CAP had to procure a new and expensive vehicle when the Vice President already has a government service bought for him to do such government duties. The main funder of CAP Kudakwashe Tagwirei has been on record for buying the former and President Emmerson Munangagwa similar cars.[46] This makes the whole financing and administration of CAP tainted with corruption as the top leadership of the country and the army has already received favors that compromise the tendering process going forward.[47] This Respondents felt intimidated to talk about these issues as some (2%) declined to respond to this question. Three factors were observed as key causes of corruption in the programme: patronage and politicisation, lack of accountability and transparency.

Corruption in the CAP has been expressed through: (i) traceable nepotism and patronage networks in the input provision partners; (ii) issuance of inputs to farmers without farm/land offer letter to collect inputs, resulting in no recoveries; (iii) some beneficiaries of Command Agriculture inputs supplies being paid in full for grain delivered to GMB despite having loan obligations under CAP; (iv) issuance of fuel coupons that are not commensurate to farmer requirements.[48] Traces of corruption observed in the nepotism and clientellism that characterise the tendering and/or contracting of input suppliers and/or implementing partners in the CAP were shown when a group of ZANU-PF ministers and MPs went on leave to attend the burial of the father of the major shareholder of Sakunda Holdings, Kudakwashe Tagwirei who is the major funder of CAP inputs. This shocked many Zimbabweans as shown in comments by Maxwell Saungweme who exclaimed that so powerful was the "lure of money that even Parliament business was set aside at a critical juncture where the country will stage elections in two months because lawmakers and Cabinet ministers had gone to attend a private function."[49] Commenting on this government and ZANU-PF conduct, Masunungure, a political analyst stated that:

> Mnangagwa's is a case of party-state capture and it is worth investigating the extent to which the Sakunda tentacles have spread both in government and in Zanu PF given the State-party conflation in the country's political economy….The attendance by ministers is also to make sure that they are seen to be following the president lest they will be viewed as disloyal and be dumped when the time to select ministers comes, this being an election year.[50]

Speaking at this burial, president Mnangagwa disclosed these patronage-based relations when he stated that "your burden is also ours. You worked for the Government and party and we will also be together during this difficult time."[51] He went on to disclosed that:

> "He (Mr Tagwirei) is my nephew, so is the deceased. But we are here as Government mourning the loss because of the contribution that the Tagwirei family is making to our economy. Yes, we must mourn and curse death, but we must also celebrate life and the good job that this family is doing to the country."[52]

Since its introduction in the 2016/2017 season, the programme has been mainly financed by Sakunda holdings, co-owned by a nephew of President Mnangagwaand

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[46] See for instance, point (i) and point (ii) in VP Chiwenga's "Notice of Opposition" in the High Court Case of Marry *Mubaiwa-Chiwenga vs Constantino Guveya Dominic Chiwenga, HC 127/20* indicating that the VP owns a Toyota Lexus and a Mercedes Benz E350 bought using CAP money and deals therein.

[47] See for instance the NewsDay 29/10/2018 online available at: https://www.newsday.co.zw/2018/10/fuel-mogul-spoils-ed-chiwenga/.

[48] Findings in point (ii) to (iv) were presented in the 2018 Budget Statement by the Minister of Finance and Economic Development. See, for instance Budget Statement (2018) online. Accessible at: https://img.bulawayo24.com/pdf/2018_Budget_Statement_Final.pdf.

[49] See, for instance Nehanda Radio (19/05/2018). Tycoon Causes Government Shutdown. Accessible online at: https://nehandaradio.com/2018/05/19/tycoon-causes-govt-shutdown/

[50] See, for instance Nehanda Radio (19/05/2018). Tycoon Causes Government Shutdown. Accessible online at: https://nehandaradio.com/2018/05/19/tycoon-causes-govt-shutdown/

[51] See, for instance The Herald (14/05/2018) President Consoles Tagwirei Family. Accessible online at: https://www.herald.co.zw/president-consoles-tagwirei-family/.

[52] See The Herald (17/05/2018) Zim to Regain Bread Basket status - ED. Accessible online at: https://www.herald.co.zw/zim-to-regain-bread-basket-status-ed/

a close ally of ZANU-PF, Kudakwashe Tagwirei, CBZ holdings where the latter is a shareholder amongst other private companies. Sakunda holdings supplied 15 million litres of diesel and petrol in the first season.[53] In the second season the company supplied 100 million litres of fuel which was payable in twelve months.[54] In the 2019/2020 season, regardless of Sakunda Holdings being accused of money laundering, inflating of invoices and other corrupt fuel dealings, the government has given this company a contract worth $2.8 billion for CAP.[55] At the moment, US$3.2 billion went missing in the name of CAP, leaving a lot of questions concerning who benefited from the money and for what reason.[56]

Some allegations of corruption have been associated with the supply of maize from GMB to the Grain Millers Association of Zimbabwe.[57] This is also conspicuous in the manner with which government has connived in putting the state in a business relationship that has all the signs economic prudence deficiency. A relationship where GMB sells maize with prices lower than the prices it payed for the same quantity of maize to farmers. For instance, early in the 2017/2018 season:

> … the procurement price for maize was US$390 and the sales price was US$240 per metric ton (MT). Including losses of the GMB, given procurement and sales volumes, this implied a net cost of maize procurement of US$285 million, equivalent to about 1.3% of GDP. About half of this was due to the subsidies derived from the wedge between sales and procurement prices, with the other part devoted to building stocks in the Strategic Grain Reserve (also including a subsidy price that is above import parity) (GoZ and World Bank, 2019: 24).

Thus, GMB has been shoving the state into a US$148 loss per tonne under these arrangements. In the 2020 Budget Speech (2019:17), the Minister of Finance also noted the following on this matter:

> The current subsidy policy whereby Government fund the procurement of grain at market price and sell this to registered grain millers at subsidised price, has been open to abuse and placed a huge burden on the fiscus. At times the intended beneficiaries do not enjoy the benefits of the subsidy from Government.[58]

In light of these shocking details of mismanagement of funds, one wonders who within the 'military assisted' government stands to gain in the those $ 148 per tonne quotas in the shadows because the regime cannot just helplessly watch these illicit financial flows going ahead in the name of maize subsidy if it has no hand somewhere somehow. Worse the price of Millie-meal does not reflect this subsidised buying prince enjoyed by GMAZ at the expense of the tax payer who buys expensive mealie-meal despite financing the CAP with billions of dollars.

3.2.3 'Military Assisted' Overthrow of Transparency and Accountability

The CAP has enjoyed amazing support from the securocrats and ZANU-PF elite to the extent that key institutional and media mechanisms used to monitor and ensure accountability and transparency have been rendered ineffective. For instance, Sakunda Holdings has been avoiding accountability scrutiny by the Public Accounts

[53]The Herald (Online). Command Agriculture fuel facts Published on 3 July 2017. Available at: https://www.herald.co.zw/command-agric-fuel-the-facts/

[54]The Herald (Online). Command Agriculture fuel facts. Published on 3 July 2017 Available at: https://www.herald.co.zw/command-agric-fuel-the-facts/

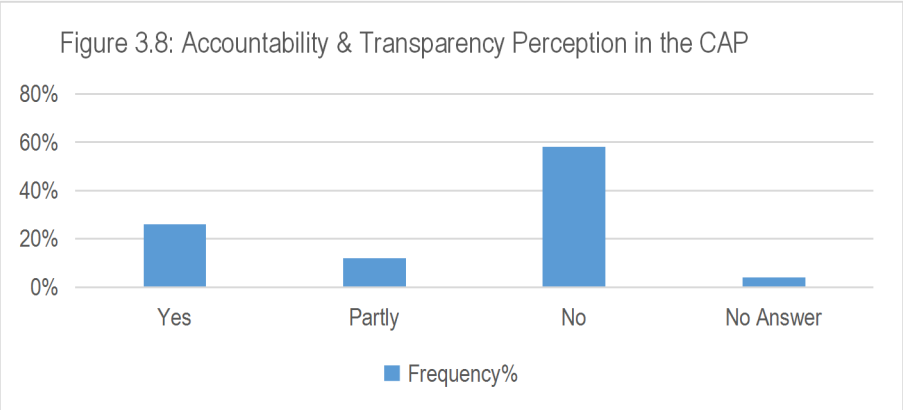
[55]New Zimbabwe (Online). Government re-engages Sakunda in new Command Agric deal. Published on 13 October 2019. Available at: https://www.newzimbabwe.com/government-re-engages-in-controversial-sakunda-in-new-command-agric-deal/

[56] News Day (Online). Published on 6 August 2019. Available online at: https://www.newsday.co.zw/2019/08/govt-officials-roasted-over-us32bn-command-agric-loot/.

[57] Interviews, September-November 2019.

[58]See, for instance, speech accessible at: http://www.zimtreasury.gov.zw/index.php?option=com_phocadownload&view=category&id=54&Itemid=787

Committee of the Parliament of Zimbabwe. This is the highest institutional mechanism meant to ensure government spending is done in a transparent and constitutional manner. On 16 November 2019, ZANU-PF elite used political mischievousness of walking-out of the meeting to derail the Public Accounts Committee sitting in which Sakunda Holdings was expected to give oral evidence regarding the alleged US$3 billion for the CAP advanced to it without approval from parliament.[59] Moreover, the decision by the government to place the CAP in the office of the president and cabinet is meant to cushion the same from being audited, for example, by the Auditor General, citing the program as of a state security nature.Thus, perceptions of transparency and accountability collected by this study show that the CAP is generally bereft of accountability and transparency.



Respondents were asked:*Question - Is there transparency and accountability in the CAP ? Yes/Partly/No (probe) Why do you think so?*

As presented in the accountability and transparency perception observed in the findings of the examined sample, 58% of the collected observations indicated that CAP is bereft of transparency and accountability, 26% perceived some accountability and transparency while 12% perceived it has partly accountable and transparent. Facts in public data-sets have revealed that agriculture has recently become an open doorway for unexplained leakages of state funds in proportions beyond the annual budget for the sector and the CAP cannot be absolved from this mischievous overspending of taxpayers' money. For instance, the minister of finance in the 2019 Budget Statement (2018:79) reported that:

> Expenditure on agriculture, which reached US$1.1 billion as at August 2018, against an annual Budget target of US$401 million, has been one of the major drivers of the budget deficit.

The CAP has been fiercely ring-fenced against accountability oversight and transparency pressure through shocking declarations from the military elite. This has been aimed at causing self-censorship among watchdogs, intimidate whistle blowers and assure corruption syndicate in CAP that they are invincible and inscrutable with support from the ruling elite. For instance, the current Vice President Chiwenga in his final days as the Zimbabwe Defence Forces commander stated that:

> So these people who are talking against Command Agriculture, linking it to unthinkable things, they are no different from those in Sodom and Gomorrah; those homosexuals, where Lot's wife was turned in a heap of salt … "Mweya uyu wauya uyu wekwana Sodom ne Gomorrah wengochani uyu, ngaudzokere kwawakabva, unoda kupumhwa, uende kwawo (This spirit of Sodom and Gomorrah of gays must

[59] See for instance, The NewsDay (16/11/2019) accessible online at: https://www.newsday.co.zw/2019/11/zanu-pf-mps-walk-out-on-biti/

> go back to where it came from, it deserves to be exorcised and return back to its place).[60]

These solemn threats of causing a biblical Sodom and Gomorrah violence on critics by the commander were directed at critics and whistle blowers who alleged that Sakunda Holdings had been involved in corruption deals that involved CAP inputs. This culture of military assisted overthrow of accountability and transparency was also evident in an exaggerated 'praise and worship' sermon given by the commander of the Air Force of Zimbabwe Air Marshal Elson Moyo in his address at the Africa regional conference in Victoria Falls who stated that Command Agriculture has had a huge impact on Zimbabwe's economy and stated that:

> Command Agriculture was introduced to ensure food and nutrition security and it has already proved that it can be the main vehicle that can be used to bring back Zimbabwe's economy to a growth trajectory," said Air Marshal Moyo.[61]

This 'military assisted' praise and worship of the CAP in a manner hoodwinking citizens to believe that something great is happening is in sharp contrast to the devastating revelations about related economic erosion reported jointly by the Government of Zimbabwe and the World Bank (2019: 24) that:

> Government availed financing to the tune of US$105 million in 2016, US$439 million in 2017, and US$238.3 million in 2018. Yet recovery in 2017 was only US$47 million, while US$81.3 million was recovered in 2018…This implies very high and increasing non-payment rates from 54% in 2017 to 81% in 2018.[62]

These lucrative incentives and opportunities for corruption presented by lack of transparency, accountability and citizen oversight in the CAP resulted in most ZANU-PF politicians transmogrifying into full-fledged farmers. The programme has benefited the wrong cabal who lack both skill and zeal to see it succeed. Thus, the scheme has become an epitome of government failure and dismal performance.

3.3 An Authoritarian Consolidation Project

The findings of the study show that the CAP has also been deployed as an authoritarian consolidation project which mainly focuses in building regime capacities and infrastructure in four areas identified by Slater and Fenner (2011): (i) coercion of rivals, (ii) extraction of revenue, (iii) registration of citizens and (iv) cultivation of dependency. At the end, these four capacities will be deployed to render them immune from transition pressures and possibilities exerted by elections, the opposition, the economy and civic society. In the long-run, the project is aimed at ensuring long life expectancy of the ruling elite in power.

First, the CAP is tailored to augment state capacity deploy-able for the purposes of regime consolidation through coercion of rivals going today and the elections to come. However, as Schedler (2006: 3) puts it, "authoritarian rulers, like successful enterprises, survive by innovation." The deployment of coercive force via the CAP can be explained in two ways: (i) inciting fear in communities by increasing the presence of military personnel in communities knowing that they have histories of being subjected to state sponsored violence, and (ii) use of state support such as

[60] See The Herald accessible online at: https://www.herald.co.zw/gen-chiwenga-reads-riot-act-%E2%80%A2warns-anti-command-agric-lobby-%E2%80%A2security-services-aware-of-saboteurs/

[61] See The Herald (27/10/2018) Command Agric here to stay. Accessible online at: https://www.herald.co.zw/command-agric-here-to-stay/.

[62] See World Bank (2019) Zimbabwe Public Expenditure Review with Special Focus on Agriculture. Accessible at:http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/784411569840247307/pdf/Zimbabwe-Public-Expenditure-Review-with-a-Focus-on-Agriculture.pdf

CAP inputs as 'targeted economic sanctions' against opposition party members to the extent that party membership becomes a condition for access to state benefits. Through these two avenues of regime consolidation, the ruling elite is secured against internal and external threats as lucrative economic activity is centred around the elite and its patronage system and suffering farmers, traditional leaders and war veterans in villages are made to choose between state necessitated good harvests associated with ZANU-PF membership and poor drought associated with opposition politics.

This infrastructure is fashioned for use in rural and farming communities where ZANU-PF has been dominating in elections in the past two decades. In this way, the regime has been able to penetrate every corner of the society and build a strong patronage network of loyalists and fearful voters. In Urban areas where ZANU-PF popularity has shriveled, open force such as the 1 August 2018 and 17-19 January 2019 military led violence against civilians has been the chosen approach to coercion of rivals. The sharp contrast in the kind of force used in urban and rural/farming communities has been carefully devised to make the fear factor in ZANU-PF's sphere of influence (the latter) more intense as communities are made to imagine the worst in the event of electoral defeat.

Second, the CAP has been used as a resource extraction mechanism or put differently, it has strengthened the regime's revenue extraction capability. Through CAP, the ZANU-PF/securocrats complex has been given uncontrolled access to state funds through its ally's Sakunda Holdings and a number of farmers that accumulated wealth through defaulting from repayment of inputs and making the state to pay the resultant costs through Treasury Bills. This will in the long run ensure that ZANU-PF politicians become better resourced for the oncoming electoral challenge. Third, the CAP has been a parallel system of registering voters for ZANU-PF in such a way that they can be easily monitored, followed up and conscientise at any time using the mobilisation and intimidation infrastructure that has been put in place through the CAP. This gives the system a reliable mechanism which can be relied upon in hindering any possibility of electoral defeat in the future.

Fourth, the CAP has been deployed to strengthen the state capacity to cultivate dependency. Farmers and households have been conditioned to view ZANU-PF as a source of 'good harvests' and economic opportunities and/or incentives. Those who belong to ZANU-PF are blessed for they shall enjoy the 'military-assisted' livestock, grains and cheap fertilisers. It should be noted that most of these farming communities are populated with beneficiaries of the ZANU-PF led Fast Track Land Reform Program that gave them access to arable land. To these communities, the CAP is seen as a patronage cultivation criterion. Otherwise, the majority of rural households benefiting either from CAP inputs or inputs from the Presidential Input Scheme are also webbed into this system of continued dependency until the oncoming elections. Elections held in such a biased environment are seen as a season of 'giving thanks' to the state and ruling party. Since above 50+1 percent voters reside in these rural and farming communities, it can be stated that ZANU-PF has already rigged the election two years ahead of it by capturing the electoral environment itself.

3.4 An Inherent Political Moral Hazard Problem

Research findings indicated that the government of President Mnangagwa has chosen an authoritarian consolidation pathway that is beset by a *political moral hazard problem* that will, in the near future, lead to its downfall if there are no intervening disruptive events occurring in the interim period. Acemoglu *et al* (2008: 2) states three transition pathways ahead of political systems that emerge from undemocratic power transition like Zimbabwe: (i) to desist from repression and allow a smooth transition to democracy; (2) to use repression while also paying soldiers wages to prevent military takeovers; (3) to rely on repression without significant concessions to soldiers, thus opting for non-prevention or facing the risk of a military takeover. Findings show that the Mnangagwa government has chosen a transition pathway (2) that is hinged on deployment of repression on citizens using the military on one hand and issuance of concession to the military which is relied upon to execute repression on the other hand. This is evident in use of brute force against protesters three times since its ascension to power on 1 August 2018, 17-19

January 2019 and 20 November 2019 against opposition supporters attending a party gathering at its party offices. Command Agriculture has been equally used to implement the concession agenda and the repression agenda as securocrats and their closest allies have harvested much of the benefits from CAP and made to control it. This transition route has created a 'political moral hazard' problem for the country going forward.

A political moral hazard problem is understood as a situation wherein an autocratic regime finds itself in a very costly affair that hinders regime flexibility as repression will lead to payment of high wages to the army and policy concessions to ensure satisfaction of their interests. Acemoglu, *et al (*2008:49) states that 'a political moral hazard' problem emerges as "a strong military may not simply work as an agent of the elite but may turn against them in order to create a regime more in line with their own objectives."

This *political moral hazard problem* has been activated in Zimbabwe and it is increasingly making it impossible to implement policies that oppose vested interests of the securocrat elite. It has made the government more aloof and inconsiderate of the plight of the people but that of the securocrats and ruling elite, it has eroded transparency and accountability, allowed corruption to go unquestioned and created a serious possibility of another coup d'etat in the event that the ruling elite face a divergence of interests and sacrifices some securocrats' interests in the future.

Fear of the fact that the military typically intervenes in politics to defend its interests that are in most cases opposed to desires of citizens (Needler, 1987: 59) has made ruling elites that chose transition route two likely to face the inescapable effects of the political moral hazard problem. This explains the reason behind policy inconsistencies and use of state resources to support policies that clearly go opposite to the problem besetting the nation, the regime will be trying to preserve the interests of the military in exchange for long life expectancy. In the event that the regime fails to make sufficient concessions, military overthrow of the regime and replacement by the military's own dictatorship will be inevitable (Nordilinger, 1977: 78, Acemoglu *et al*, 2008). Thus, the loyalties and commitments of the ruling government in such circumstances are towards satisfaction of military interests than national interests as repression will be resorted to if citizens try to remind the government about the need to address the national problem.

3.5 Chapter Summary

Findings presented in this chapter indicate that CAP has failed to deliver its expected outcomes. Food insecurity has increased with alarming proportions in the CAP era, costs incurred due to maize imports have increased from one season to the other despite CAP and its related bumper harvests. The main explanations to these contradictions are that inputs in the CAP are distributed through patronage networks, most inputs do not solve the farming need in communities which is largely lack of irrigation and tilling support. The recurrent droughts that have befallen the country have also been identified as causing poor production although this does not explain why bumper harvests and high deliveries at GMB have not canceled and/or scaled down the costs and quantity of maize imported in the CAP era. Read together, these findings entail that there is an underlying political problem surrounding CAP. In addition, findings show that doing business and investor confidence have been eroded by the militarisation of CAP, it lacks transparency, accountability and corruption is rampant.

The findings also indicated that the CAP is more of a political project of the ruling elite and securocrats whose main aim is to foster a post-Mugabe authoritarian consolidation and augment state capacities for the same through coercion of rivals, extraction of revenue, registration of citizens and cultivation of dependency. The study notes that the end effect of Command Agriculture will be to render the incumbent 'military assisted' government immune from transition pressures and possibilities presented by competition in elections. In addition, findings also show that the Mnangagwa government has chosen a transition pathway that is hinged on

deployment of repression on citizens and concession to the military which is relied upon to execute repression. Command Agriculture has been equally used to implement the concession agenda and the repression agenda. This transition route has created a 'political moral hazard' problem for the country going forward. This problem has made it impossible to implement policies that oppose vested interests of the securocrat elite, it has made the government more aloof and inconsiderate of the plight of the people but that of the securocrats and ruling elite, it has eroded transparency and accountability, allowed corruption to go unquestioned and created a serious possibility of another coup d'etat in the event that the ruling elite face a divergence of interests and sacrifices some securocrats' interests in the future.

CHAPTER FOUR

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

4.1 Conclusion

The study concludes that the Command Agriculture Programme has so far failed to boost food security and substitute maize import substitution in Zimbabwe. Food insecurity indicators have been worsening despite pouring of billions of taxpayers' money into this programme. Maize imports have also been on the increase in the era of Command Agriculture compared to the period before. The programme has managed to increase domestic debt and gotten the government into unsustainable business relationships wherein government makes losses. Investor confidence in the sector has been eroded by involvement of the military in Command Agriculture and related corruption and economic discipline.

The study also concludes that the Command Agriculture Programme is more than just an economic boosting project as it has emerged that it has not started to boost the economy but rather it has exacerbated domestic debt and un budgeted spending. The programme seems to be giving more profit as an authoritarian consolidation project that an economic growth consolidation project. Traces of authoritarian consolidation machinations that have been identified include: coercion of rivals, extraction of revenues, registration of citizens and cultivation of dependency which together create a very strong fortification of the regime against electoral threats. Through the CAP, the authoritarian system is busy rigging the electoral environment years ahead of the election.

The study also concludes that the authoritarian consolidation pathways chosen by the Mnangagwa government that is founded on repression of citizens and rivals using the military on one hand and giving concessions to the military has a political moral hazard lying ahead. This political moral hazard will be responsible and/or very pivotal in its downfall.

4.2 Recommendations

4.2.1 Government

1) Remove the military from all Command Agriculture programmes and activities to remove the fear and uncertainty related to it. CAP on its own as a programme has a potential of overhauling the economy, it is bedeviled by the manner with which it is adnimistered and implemented. This is not good for a country struggling to build investor confidence;

2) Restructure the programme in such a way that technocrats are made to implement it, patronage networks of rent-seeking must be removed;

3) Allow the input scheme to be purely commercial to prevent transfer of debt accumulated by scrupulous beneficiaries to government;

4) Create pricing systems that make maize production profitable and sustainable to the farmer and government to encourage increase in grain deliveries to the GMB while preventing accumulation and/or transfer of debt to government;

5) Conduct a needs assessment programme that will ensure that farmers are assisted with inputs that solve the prime problem affecting their productivity;

6) Create strict distribution and repayment mechanisms and infrastructure that will close corruption opportunities.

4.2.2 Civil Society

1) To develop advocacy agenda for security sector reform;
2) Create advocacy around domestic debt accumulation and oversight to ensure economic discipline is adhered to in use of taxpayers' money in Command Agriculture;
3) Advocacy, oversight and dialogue programming focusing on political inclusion, transparency and accountability in the CAP;
4) Advocacy around human rights defence, economic freedom and constitutionalism in the relations involved in Command Agriculture;
5) Advocacy and oversight around military involvement in the CAP and resultant effects on doing business, investor confidence and rights and freedoms of citizens in the sector;
6) Advocacy and civic education aimed at resolving the effects of militarisation and abuse of state agriculture support for vote buying and patronage;

4.2.3 Opposition Parties

1) Re-structure and re-direct politicking and advocacy strategies towards resolving the real sources of electoral contestation that include capture of the electoral environment by the ruling party through use of state resources and programmes such as the CAP particularly in rural and farming communities where the opposition always performs dismally;
2) Create advocacy, activism and oversight mechanisms from national to village level around opportunities for corruption, rent-seeking and accumulation of unsustainable date through the CAP:
3) Cross-cutting alliances with citizens, business and civic society with which to exert accountability and transparency pressures on government and contracted private sector companies to ensure economic discipline, political inclusion is upheld in the CAP;
4) Create a political situation analysis room that will continuously scan the ever-changing authoritarian consolidation mechanisms and proffer counter measures.