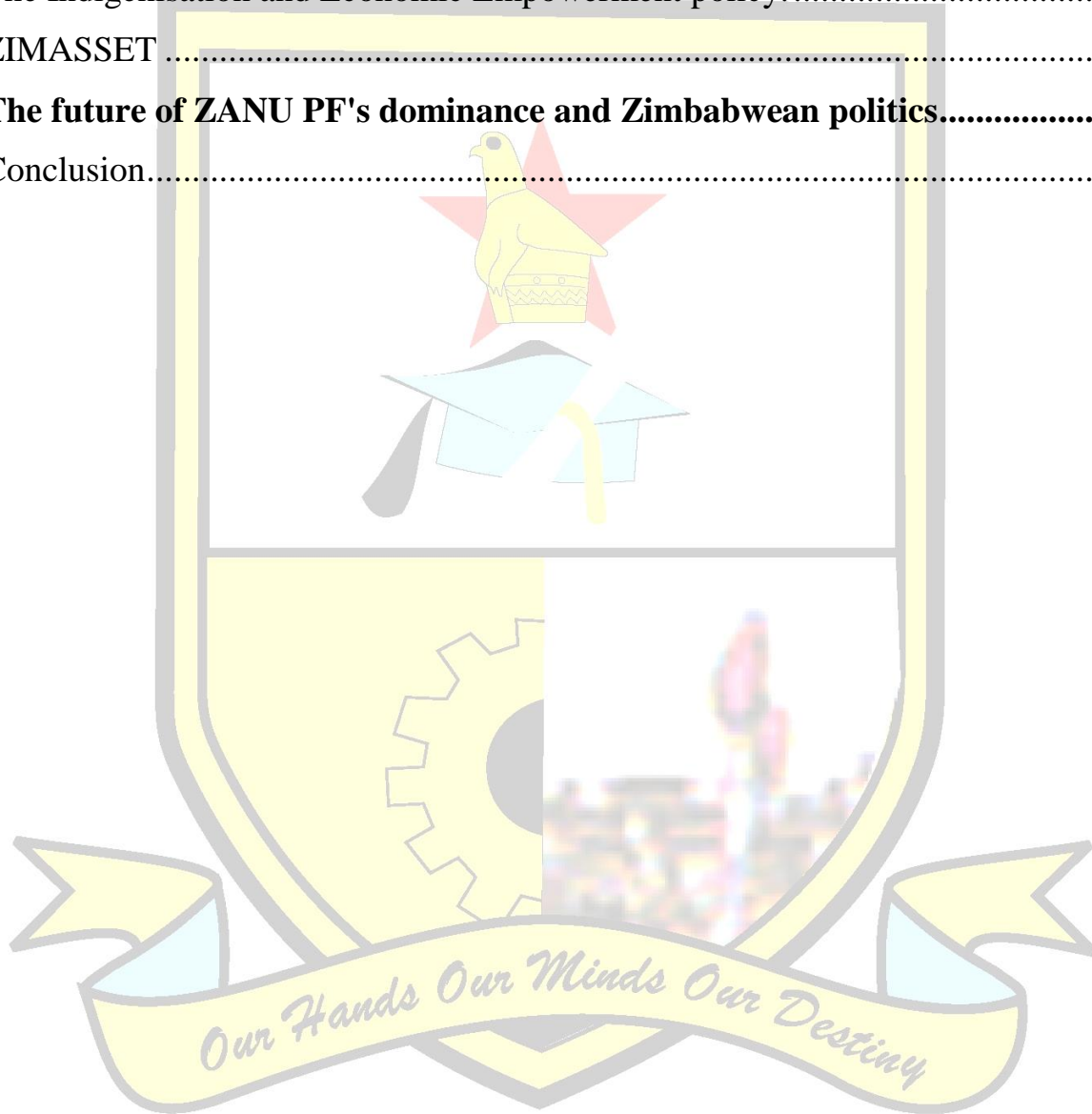


Table of Contents

Background of the Study	1
Theoretical Framework.....	13
Aim of the study	17
Objectives of the study	18
Statement of the problem.....	18
Significance of the study	18
Research Questions.....	19
Research methodology.....	19
Nature of the study	19
Data Collection and research design	19
Literature Review	21
CHAPTER ONE	31
ZANU PF as government	35
Gukurahundi.....	40
Government of national unity (1987).....	42
Violence	43
Conclusion.....	47
CHAPTER TWO	49
Mugabe as a chief actor towards ZANU PF's dominance.....	49
ZANU PF and the rural majority	55
ZANU PF and media	57
Dictatorship and ZANU PF dominance	59
ZANU PF and the political economy of Zimbabwe.....	64
ESAP	64
The land issue	66
The land issue and regional support (the Abuja agreement).....	67
Democracy notion and ZANU PF's dominance.....	69
Conclusion.....	70

CHAPTER THREE	71
FLLRP.....	72
The emergence of sanctions and ZANU PF's stance	73
Operation Murambatsvina or Operation Restore Order.....	75
The look east policy and ZANU PF's dominance	77
The Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment policy.....	80
ZIMASSET.....	81
The future of ZANU PF's dominance and Zimbabwean politics	82
Conclusion.....	85



BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

As an axiom the core business and focus of this research is to explore analytically the dominance of ZANU PF as a political party. At the same time by finding its dominance it is worth to discuss how and why ZANU PF dominates Zimbabwean politics as from 1980 to 2014 thereby highlighting the crucial pillars of power politics. In real politics it is fair to say that it's a long journey for the current ZANU PF political opponents to unseat it from power and the reverse it can be a long journey for ZANU PF's stay and service in the country's political power offices. This can be justified with what can be believed politically as the ability of the ruling elite to maintain and practice the belief about social dominance ideology in a particular society like Zimbabwe.

The dominance of ZANU PF in the politics can be viewed as the foundations of electoral dominance. Since 1980 when the country get its political independence from the west colonial devils after defeating Smith Mugabe maintained this electoral dominance. When it comes to real politics it does not matter to look on how ZANU PF dominate this electoral system that is whether repressively or not but counts is the election result. Since politics is a game of beliefs reinforced by the number of believers it is politically fair for any political party to find survival ways since politics in this modern world is struggle for power and the survival of the fittest on the basis of oppressing the weak. Therefore since 1980 ZANU PF has managed to dominate the ballot box in Zimbabwe and this prove the practice of democratic politics by ZANU PF as it agreed that election is the only door to democracy

Without ignoring the vital issues the study is much concerned on how ZANU PF as a political party has managed to survive and harvest its support from all angles despite criticism from other political parties like the so called MDC opposition which are disturbances for ZANU PF to enjoy and set its political directions due to MDC's toothless and anti-majority policies which emanate from the Western interests. The study will also cover on issues of how and why the oppositions like ZUM, ZANU NDONGA, ZAPU and MDC among other ZANU PF opponents in the political race found it difficult to elect it from political offices of Zimbabwe as a sovereign nation.

It is also clear that by analysing the dominance of ZANU PF as from 1980 the muzzling and disorder of ZANU PF oppositions is another step up the ladder by ZANU PF regime to dominate and remain in power up to present day. The history of Zimbabwe clarifies that opposition politics has not been constitutionally accommodated by ZANU PF administration

team since independence. Intolerance of opposition began with PF ZAPU in the 1980s. ZANU PF regime's opposition political parties have been treated like political enemies rather than political opponents. The continuum of this political intolerance triggered PF ZAPU to fall into an unplanned unity agreement with ZANU PF while in the process disbanding its structure as a competitive political party hence culminating to ZANU PF dominance.

During the early 1980s the dominance of ZANU PF can be traced and in its founding it is clear that ever since ZANU PF's dominance is always cultivated by violence. On a political perspective it is a reality that in politics there are two methods used in order for one to gain political respect and dominance that is carrot method and stick method. During early findings of Zimbabwe's independence by ZANU PF violence was the order of the day with enough exhibits from the gukurahundi era where the Midlands and Matabeleland were victimised and accused for political indiscipline and clueless uprisings which were causing bickering and political instabilities since the two provinces have divided themselves as the main wings of the opposition. By applying violence in these provinces ZANU PF multiplied its political dominance fertility and background since people have been instilled fear and started to admit themselves to ZANU PF principles despite the fact that the beginning of the twenty first century the Matabeleland return its history as the political opponent's main wing up to 2014 although ZANU PF maintain its political grip as the social dominant group in the election .Matabeleland provinces are dominated by MDC and presently Tsvangirai and other MDC factions took this as an advantage to survive in the political ground taking of ZANU PF's political weaknesses which from the gukurahundi in which a huge number in the provinces lose their trust in ZANU PF after their relatives were massacred and as a political penetration strategy all of the oppositions sympathise with these two provinces for that bad political practice by ZANU PF pointing out that this was inhuman and lacks dignity although its politically justified as political survival way in politics. The massacre of people in these two provinces provided a better political cooperation in the country since people started to understand the dominance of ZANU PF because before this incidence the two provinces were likely to cause the devolution of power and make Matabeleland and Midlands separate from other Shona provinces and unfortunately ZANU PF made a counter attack on the ideas.

The study will also undergo some of strategies employed by ZANU PF in order to raise its political climate as well as regime survival diplomacy. Among these ZANU PF decided to make use of practice before the law and substitute the ideas of checks and balances since in most public institutions ZANU PF officials in charge of these offices hence it becomes

difficult for these party affiliates to impinge each other or accuse another member of the political clan with whether economic indiscipline or political misbehaviour, state security apparatus misuse, consolidation and militarisation of state security in order to safeguard the dominant political party from other political threats, reminding people patriotic history politics and elaborating clearly how ZANU PF clear them from the yoke of Rhodesian devils.

The use of media for political office dominance as well at schools history became compulsory for ordinary level students and this moulds a political patriotic and nationalistic mind-set. The inculcating of Marxist- Leninist ideologies which solidifies the leaders prominence and the real use of political power in the modern world gives a tough and serious task and time for opposition parties to conduct successful and fruitful meetings freely especially with the beginning of the new millennium due to ZANU PF's political maturity and knowledge as compared to the oppositions hence providing a favourable political temperature to ZANU PF to dominate Zimbabwean politics. As a survival strategy ZANU PF crafted some laws which infringe opposition's freedom. As a plan to champion regime security. ZANU PF began to use state security equipment and this involves monopolistic access and use of public media the likes of ZBC and local papers like Herald as mouth piece of the party on daily bases as a way of politicizing and indoctrinating people to ZANU PF ideologies hence pegging its dominance as well the dominance of ZANU PF elite in the public services like national registration office in which the country's population statistics are kept and to the benefit of ZANU PF politics is a game of numbers through the practice of voting right in Zimbabwe which is a democratic political step maintained by ZANU PF since 1980. This led to patriotic blackness in Zimbabwe with justification from Africanism ideology to keep the status core of the country's sovereignty

The clearest strategies applied by ZANU PF to harvest dominance and deprive opposition was to strictly raise up treason charges to opposition patrons the likes of Dabengwa and Masuku of PF ZAPU in the 1980s who were detained on charges of trying to throw ZANU PF government from political office. In 1990s Reverend Sithole of ZANU NDONGA stand before the court for the same reason of treason and for organizing a rebellion called Chimwenje. In March 2002 the MDC patron Morgan Tsvangirai and Professor Ncube Welshman and GaselaRenson were brought before the courts on the same reason of treason with the organisation of Canadian political consultancy that was hired to massacre Robert Mugabe. Therefore this led to ZANU PF dominance since opposition became fearful of acting beyond the boundaries and being involved in dirty politics or use of stick method

which is used by ZANU PF on the daily basis to maintain its dominance grip in the political playfield of Zimbabwe.

Furthermore on constitutional bases, the dominance of ZANU PF since 1980 was constitutionally based since the elections were held at regular bases and on constitutional boundaries. Therefore it is practically justifiable to note that ZANU PF's dominance although violent and intimidation characterised the party's campaign strategies however there is evidence that its dominance originate from civil principalities and rural majority as it managed to maintain it's good record within the political barometer of Zimbabwe especially rural areas where most people enjoy economic fruits of independence with everyone possessing and own a certain portion of land for farming and residence with great projects practised thereby being funded by the dominant party for livestock projects like poultry. Therefore the use of election by ZANU PF to dominate Zimbabwean politics can lead someone into an imagination of nonviolent and practice of political democratic principles by ZANU PF since it is real that elections sit at the heart of democracy as well democracy is the rule by the majority hence election will pave a way for democratic dominance road map by ZANU PF.

Without doubt the dominance of ZANU PF is really reinforced by the fertile and fruitful majority based reforms it uses as opposed to toothless and barren policies of the current MDC oppositions which are Western based and this led to calling of MDC party to be not called a political party but just a movement of Western political agencies. Therefore the implementation of sound policies by ZANU PF like the famous and productive land reform programme which sparked in the new millennium well known as the Third Chimurenga with a lot of objectives being targeted to fill the needs and wants of Zimbabweans who have been derailed of their land in which land ownership was fulfilment of the liberation struggle mission. Therefore by doing this the dominance of ZANU PF increased as this highlighted and show that the ZANU PF party as revolutionary party was aware and care for its resources with a majority concern. Therefore freshness of reforms towards election and after as well utilisation of resources became another step up the dominance ladder by ZANU PF in Zimbabwean politics since resources like land; minerals, livestock among others are the backbone of the economy. Therefore the ability of ZANU PF to focus and understand majority concerns becomes a political mirage for the party dominance.

The dominance of ZANU PF is also solidified by its ability to integrate with other states in all sectors that is politically, economically, socially as well as culturally which is regarded as regional and international integration. This uplifted the dominant party up the political ladder in Zimbabwe as compared to MDC. ZANU PF as a revolutionary party in Zimbabwe share the same history with other revolutionary parties like the ANC which are also permanent members of the SADC bloc. This give ZANU PF a climbing opportunity since revolutionary history is considered as vital in any country worldwide both economically and politically as border relations influence import and export rate as well as migration between the countries between countries. This integration helped ZANU PF in 2008 when Zimbabwe was under a serious political and economic turmoil which was a result of sanctions on Zimbabwe and this was fuelled by climatic change which culminated to lack of adequate rainfall and food shortage. Due to good relationship between ZANU PF and the SADC region bloc the party managed to dominate the country's politics since people moved across the diasporas in search of employment to promote better living standards and in most cases people migrated to South Africa one of Africa's power horses and Botswana among others. Therefore it is justifiable politically and economically that dominance of ZANU PF is also entitled and tied to its ability to maintain good relationship within the region. It is politically justifiable that ZANU PF dominance in Zimbabwe politics is linked to its ability to have international integration. ZANU PF's relationship with the EAST has never been sour. Before Zimbabwe attained its independence in 1980 China and Zimbabwe were close tides whereby China was supportive to Zimbabwe giving military warehouse. This created room for ZANU PF to maintain this relationship with China. However this relationship continuation elaborate that up to present day ZANU PF dominance is also a result of Chinese support in Zimbabwe. This can be evidence by support from China to Zimbabwe like industrial resurrection, minerals marketing as well as infrastructure boosting by Chinese based companies. China helped Zimbabwe in marketing its diamonds which have been labelled as bloody diamonds by the West due to sour relations which emanated from the land reform programme known as the Third Chimurenga hence the Zimbabwe China integration helped ZANU PF to dominate Zimbabwean politics at home since the party receives a lot of political strategies and campaign equipment like what happened in the 2013 election in which ZANU PF political officials went to China to seek political dominance knowledge and externally the relationship between the two is of much importance since China is among the world 's political and economic guru and with this belief ZANU PF is bound to act as a sovereign

state not accommodating and hostile to foreign intervention especially the west as it have its strong base from EAST.

Cultural preservation by ZANU PF political party also mobilised ZANU PF support from the grassroots on its self. The ability of ZANU PF to uphold and maintain African culture patterns and oppose hypocrisy from other international countries like the West provides ZANU PF a grip in dominance. ZANU PF's antagonistic to western based cultures like homosexuality is a pillar for its survival. Zimbabweans are addressed as cultural preservers in the international community due to Mugabe's competitive debate with West devils. This is being upheld and favoured by Zimbabweans since they oppose Cultural Revolution and dissolution hence solidifying and lubricating ZANU PF's dominance in Zimbabwean politics. However this led to melting and vaporization of MDC's political morality and funs since their ideologies are related and can culminate to Western political ideologies believing like the so called devilish homosexual value which is anti-Zimbabwe and anti-African. This is due to MDC needy for financial support from the west and to be specific America and Britain hence submerging its support in Zimbabwe politics and the reverse is true that is reinforcing ZANU PF dominance using the culture preservation ideology.

In 2008 ZANU PF dominance can be viewed as violently based due to violent episodes of 2008 like the Operation Headless Chicken which was done in Mount Darwin whereby MDC supporters and former ZANU PF supporters were victimised for not voting for ZANU PF. Issues of violence by ZANU PF also are evidenced by the Operation Murambatsvina or Restore Order in 2005 which affected a huge number of people estimated 700 000 by the UN reports. Operation Murambatsvina was a political counter attack by ZANU PF to its political rivalries the MDC who were having a strong support base in the urban areas since a lot of people were residing illegally in town known as squatter houses and by doing this a large population of MDC support migrate to rural areas where ZANU PF dominance hit the politics of the areas. The use of violence by ZANU PF in 2008 was a yardstick for political dominance since it has lost its grip due to MDC dominant campaign rooted on the country's economic instabilities where by rampant unemployment food shortages which marked poor living standards in Zimbabwe. All these emanated from economic sanctions to Zimbabwe by the West which rooted from Zimbabwe's move towards economic independence in 2000 and this angered the whites since they of the belief that they will continue controlling the country's political office not knowing that the key reasons for the fight of the liberation struggle was the need for land. These sanctions open a way for poverty outbreak and this led

forced people to rebel against ZANU PF believing to receive better living standards from MDC since the promise for jobs better living standard becomes the campaigning message For the opposition political parties at the time where ZANU PF as a dominant party was showing signs of failure to satisfy and fulfil its promises of making everybody certified and benefit front the country's resources. However on the contrary ZANU PF under all these circumstances in 2008 continued to show its true and real features of democratic politics since it entered into a G.P.U with its rivals the MDC and this was not expected by anyone to see these political enemies sharing the same political table. The engagement into G.P.A which was fascinated by South Africa former President Thabo Mbeki evidenced that although ZANU PF is known as a violent political party it is also a peaceful and unitary party since it was not expected by anyone to see MDC and ZANU PF sharing ideas of how the country should be ruled. At the same time peace and unity are regarded as the party's pillars since the 2008 GNU agreement in Zimbabwe was not the first one ZANU PF previously during the first decade of political independence it had also made a GPA with ZAPU although this agreement was permanent as it leads to the formation of a one party state .however the verdict here is that wherever ZANU PF do a GNU it will be a survival strategy because the idea will be of bringing the political enemy closer so that it will be much easier for it to find ways of dealing with enemy. However use of violence in politics is recommended as a political tool used to instil discipline and patriotism among people.

The 2013 Zimbabwean elections were characterised by peace and political stability since there were no issues related to violence as compared to the previous elections of 2008 in which violence was the order of the day. ZANU PF as a revolutionary political party elaborates its true picture of peace and concern to the Zimbabweans at large as it conquered with a resounding victory against its main opposition the MDC. Mobilisation and campaigns were done peacefully by all parties without disturbing each other despite some allegations by the MDC cry-babies who air out that t in rural areas silent repression was the order of rural area campaigns as well electoral rigging and fraud which was done political strategies like provision of campaign material like clothes and kitchen utensils among others it received from its political friend China this culminate to ZANU PF. Despite huge criticism from the West about political indiscipline and suppression of rule of law due in Zimbabwe caused by their hungry to administrate Zimbabwe with their agenda of regime change being vocalised and gain legality through the use of their puppet agencies the MDC this seems to be impossible to be achieved due ZANU PF's revolutionary credentials and its great reforms

which are favoured and welcomed by the mass hence ZANU PF remains an important figure in Zimbabwean politics. Really the 2013 resounding victory can also be perceived as ZANU PF's resurrection from political death since in previous election it had failed to maintain its electoral dominance forcing it as revolutionary party to unite with other political traitors as a way of survival in political office that is when it agreed to arrangements of GNU. Looking on the opposition's political future and map this can be glanced as the end of its political road and its last kicks due continuous factionalism activities which are now its political order. However due to the fact that in this jungle world politics is the survival of the fittest ZANU PF remain dominant due to its ability to handle factional loop holes within the party and at most time elite cohesion is made up of tough political agreement like dismissal sell-outs or those willing to take political power within the party using force since the party regards this as political immaturity and ever since its formation ZANU PF has a record of unity and solidity since 1980.

The notion of ZANU PF dominance is without doubt politically justifiable as due to its opponent weaknesses. The MDC leaders' lacks political culture, maturity, ideologies, character, strategies and knowledge and this became an advantage for ZANU PF as a political party. In 2008 ZANU PF on behalf of the GNU introduced the indigenisation and economic empowerment agenda which was majority based and this was continuation and anticipation of its economic independence chapter inside the Third Chimurenga since Zimbabwe and many African countries just enjoy political independence and freedom without economic independence for instance our neighbour South Africa. Politically this can be justified as a political road map for ZANU PF to dominate and influence Zimbabwe's political direction hence gaining credentials from the majority for introducing majority based policies. This agenda hit a lot of support for ZANU PF within the GNU and absolutely it gain a political grip since this was acknowledged by many as fresh, fruitful, prosperous and productive theme .In 2013 ZANU PF continued economic independence policies with the publishing of the economic blue print of ZIMASSET in October last year after its resounding victory in July 2013 elections. However this cultivates and increase ZANU PF support since this policy is majority oriented hence culminating to its dominance in Zimbabwean politics. The oppositions in Zimbabwe are suitably to be regarded as politically clueless this gains evidence from the fact that since it's the formation of MDC it has never advocated for African related policies. More of the opposition's promising reforms are much associated with the desire to bring back the white minority leadership of which in Zimbabwe foreign

political administration is regarded as devilish and not beneficiary to the indigenous people since their main agenda will be of siphoning resources and develop their western part of Europe with African resources. This is totally contradictory to ZANU PF leadership which uphold the African interests first as the only way towards development and in Zimbabwe this is true precisely because the journey to economic independence in Zimbabwe which found its beginning in the new millennium is both a political economic and political advancement by ZANU PF in Zimbabwe as compared to our neighbour South Africa who only attained political independence in 1993 and the way forward to economic independence is unimagined in the country since all the country's production systems are in the hands of foreigners. Therefore the attitude of opposition parties in Zimbabwe of believing the superiority of white man and bring back political and economic bondage in the country also gather a lot of support to ZANU PF since a lot of people especially in rural areas agrees with the chapter of economic independence by ZANU PF among other African countries.

Lack of familyhood and togetherness within the MDC culminate to elite fracture and collapse of elite being fuelled by lack of political maturity and at the same time ZANU PF take this as a political advantage due enemy's weaknesses. It can be argued that ZANU PF political party's maturity, experience, stability and solidity under the leadership of the famous R.G Mugabe resulted it to be a guru in the field of politics and remain on the influential and pillar of Zimbabwe's political wall structure and influence the political direction hence dominance. This can be exhibited by unstoppable factionalism within the MDC towards elections and on the reverse of the coin ZANU PF maintains solidity leading to its survival and political dominance. Lack of elite cohesion within the MDC due power hungry and struggle make the opposition to be not able to dismiss whether electorally or repressively ZANU PF from political power. The MDC lacks the principle of unity of which this is a major feature of political success since politics is a game of numbers therefore the division of MDC elites also meant the divisions of the party's funds and this division affects the opposition since politics is a game of numbers hence the division of elites will be a virus especially towards elections since on the opposite this is the time when Mugabe and ZANU PF will show familyhood in order to fight against the outdoor enemy and this is also another way how it remained dominant. Recently in April 2014 Biti publicly endorsed to form his party apart from Tsvangirai and this created loopholes for its doom since ZANU PF will be busy boosting its support and handling its in-house conflicts on a closed door and silent meetings. Therefore factionalism and lack of political maturity by MDC lead to ZANU PF's dominance as well as

opposition distraction. On a political scenario ethnic cleavages in Zimbabwe constitutes a lot for ZANU PF to maintain its political grip and dominance hence ethnicity is a political machine gun. Before and after independence opposition political grip was based in Matabeleland .Tracing back to the life of ZAPU under Nkomo's leadership and even today the MDC's main wing is in Matabeleland and to be specific Bulawayo Metropolitan province. However despite this the population of Zimbabwe is really greater in Mashonaland in which ZANU PF preserved its strongholds and the Ndebele speaking people constitute a pinch and little when it comes to census estimations. Therefore this ethnic structure politically culminate to ZANU PF's maintenance of its political grip since most of the Shona speaking people rally behind ZANU PF due to the party structure, mission, policies and aims hence this is a contributory factor for ZANU PF to remain dominant in the Zimbabwe political field and difficulty for oppositions to remove it on the Zimbabwe political vehicle driving sit.

Further the dominance of ZANU PF is also linked to its continuous fight with anti-African NGOs who desire to spread anti African attitude and disturb Africans with their agenda of regime change in Zimbabwe and human right agenda being mainly towards promotion of homosexuality. Therefore ZANU PF's rebelling to some of the West funded NGOs give it another room to expand its dominance since these NGOs rooted themselves in MDC and they put forward their mother country interests and opposing Zimbabwean values and this is likely to bring another era of colonialism hence undermining the credentials of the revolutionary cadres who fought back for our erased African figure. Therefore cultural preservation contributes to credits for ZANU PF dominance in the eyes of civilised Zimbabweans since culture eradication is perceived totally as a political failure.

Religious back up of ZANU PF by different religious institutions in Zimbabwe like Christianity the Johann Masowe Chishanu, Methodist, Mwazha and other various Christian institutions lead its dominance. On that same coin the fact that ZANU PF as ruling party tolerates the existence of traditional beliefs and institution rendered high respect to it as a political party. Therefore this institutional belief tolerance by ZANU PF lead vibrant and harvesting of political fans who rally behind R.G Mugabe as a president of Zimbabwe. Therefore tolerance of religious institutions by ZANU PF as a revolutionary party which is also a chief aim of liberation movements of freedom lead to the raising up of its political graph in Zimbabwe hence dominating Zimbabwean politics since 1980 up to present day.

Basing on a nationalistic ideology ZANU PF had managed to maintain its grip in the field of politics and economics since the two are not separable. ZANU PF reforms and policies in Zimbabwe have been always nationalistic since they are basically meant for the benefit of majority nationalities especially when it comes to allocation of resources which is an African escapism from poverty which is done fairly despite misunderstanding of politics by oppositions who claimed that Zimbabwe political landscape is characterized by inequality in all politically related activities. However the contradiction of this claim of inequality is justified simply as the behaviour of political parties. It is a mandate and must of a party to first satisfy its party members therefore it is impossible for ZANU PF to satisfy the MDC supporters hence because of lack of political power it becomes difficult for the MDC to see the allocation of resources on equality bases. The need for economic independence by ZANU PF and the Zimbabwean majority cultivated its support and this led to implementation of great reforms such as the LRP, indigenization and economic empowerment policy and the famous economic blue print in October the ZIMASSET policy. All of these policies are meant to benefit the majority of Zimbabwe especially party supporters. As a people's party ZANU PF is also vocal and active when it comes to development especially when it comes to infrastructure and this is a core business for every nation to update its infrastructure and connect it to the global community day to day developments in terms of technology and other things being instigated by the globalization. ZANU PF and its friend from China the CCP has managed to show its competitiveness in the global world despite being under the siege of sanctions.

THEORITICAL FRAMEWORK

The study runs across various theories which have been used to elaborate the dominance of ZANU PF and how it dominates Zimbabwean politics while other political parties exist and fail to eject ZANU PF from the political office. Such theories range from the Realist theory by Hans Morgenthau which has become instrumental in explaining issues to do with power politics. The theory focuses on how the rulers capture and utilize power and whatever means to preserve and protect their power from other threats. The theory further elaborates politics in reality that is all parties active in politics advocate the same agenda and the agenda is to possess political power so that they can influence on political matters. This explains all the actions of ZANU PF as from independence when it got political independence. However its struggle to get power did not end the it continued to fight against the Matabeleland and the

Midlands who were accused to be dissidents and this fight was meant to maximize ZANU PF control and power since Nkomo was apolitical threat of the moment to ZANU PF. Struggles for power continued up until the 2013 election when the dominant party managed to show the meaning of its dominance when it managed bit the opposition fairly in the recent election. All political and economic actions which were done by ZANU PF in the new millennium also justify the struggle for power since it is still busy fighting against foreign dominance in the economic parameters of the country advocating Africanisation of African resources. Therefore the theory will catalyse all actions being taken by the ZANU PF regime and R.G Mugabe to maintain power and political stability in the party as a way of dominating Zimbabwean politics.

While on the other side the Mobilisation theory by Hagurd and Kauffman states that the change of regimes occurs usually when people are rallied together to show disapproval to what they perceive and see to be unjust in the way they are governed by the rulers. This theory gain credibility on the 2013 election when people were mobilized strongly by ZANU PF to rebel against MDC leadership since it is full of undignified and inhuman political ideologies like the MDC's views on homosexuality as a human right led people to eliminate the oppositions from the GNU through electioneering where by the majority disagree to the policies of the oppositions which show political immaturity accompanied by culture dissolution in the country of which many people disagree with. The 2008 run up election also illustrates the impact of the mobilisation theory where by a lot of people choose to rally behind MDC this due to social, political, environmental and economic unrest being fuelled and instigated by heartless and corrupt politicians from the West who imposed economic sanctions to create political and economic bickering in Zimbabwe. This was a result of their dislike to regime policy of economic independence through implementation of the Land Reform Programme in early stages of the new millennium people rally behind MDC as a way of trying to escape from poverty through MDC and its Western evil donors who were promising an economic light in Zimbabwe.

The theories of inequality are also applicable in an attempt to explore the dynamics of violence occurrence. This theory is able to cater for violence linked to electoral activities as it captures that occurrence of violence is a result to of inequalities of privileges, hierarchies, discriminations and oppression. (Walter.SDeKeseredy and Barbara Perry,2006).In this scenario the powerful seek to dominate exploit, abuse and generally take the advantage of those labelled as socially weak and inferior and vice-versa the inferior tend to resist rebel and

violently voice against the oppressors as a way of freeing themselves from the trap. The political misunderstandings between ZANU PF and its political opponents is definitely a result of inequalities between people who lived in a same society. Therefore by creating an opposition wing in politics it can be a way of addressing some inequalities although it is true that politics is a business. It was claimed by the opposition that the allocation of land among other resources was not on equality bases since only the ZANU PF top elite are the ones who get lots of productive lands but politically without going any further this was justifiable because these ZANU PF gurus are the ones who fought for that land As well it is difficult to live in a world where equality is totally reviewed

The study also accommodates the psychological theory of frustration-aggression which Megan Reif (site maker. Unich.edu) noted is crucial when it comes to explaining political violence which is another ZANU PF machine gun to protect its political dominance. To Megan the theory is in position to bring out the characteristics and actors in violent events. This involves perpetrators ,participants ,designation of violence type ,targets ,victims violation of the law geographic location (the spatial dimension) and time (the temporal dimension).This explains the violent methods by ZANU PF to maintain its political power grip in Zimbabwe for instance the Gukurahundi, Operation Headless Chicken Operation Murambatsvina or Restore Order and other violent incidences towards dominance.

The research will also undergo Eisenhardt, M.K, (1989)'s Principal Agency Theory which is founded on strings attached principal agency relationship. The theory explains that one party (the principal) delegates to another (the agent) a task to go through with certain with benefits on behalf of the principal's interests. In this theory the thoughts of regime change to take place external forces for that agenda uses some internally brewed agencies and strategies so that their agenda gets amore legal face or outlook and thus become legally accepted. This theory validates the occurrence of MDC disturbances in Zimbabwean politics towards regime change agenda being fuelled by the West main wings Britain and America who sanctioned Zimbabwe after its economic independence fight inside the Third Chimurengacharacterised by land grabbing from white minority owned farms which was miscalculated as not lawful by traitors. Therefore the advocacy for regime change in Zimbabwe is a product of their principal's interests the west who want to return back the philosophy of western dominance in the country at the same time the oppositions as agencies do this for the benefit of survival since they are given huge sums of money by their principals to advocate for the principal's interests and ideologies. On the other side of the coin the theory also accommodates ZANU

PF dominance in terms of its relationship with the East who oppose regime change agenda due to their interests which are being fulfilled by ZANU PF's political ideologies and culture which is geared towards economic recovery through its economic based policies like the so called economic blue print the ZIMASSET .Also as a way of giving political grip to ZANU PF China managed to cover backward economic and technological structure of Zimbabwe by updating Zimbabwe to the modern world. Provision of political campaigning strategies and equipment to ZANU PF by China's CPC clearly elaborates the prevalence of principal agency relationship aimed to maintain the status core of ZANU PF since China believe that the dominance of ZANU PF provides a favourable political atmosphere as their relationship has existed long ago before Zimbabwe's independence up to the present day hence leading to ZANU PF dominance.

Further the research also accommodates the social dominance theory which encompassed the social dominance orientation. The theory explains that the powerful societal institutions and individuals usually allocate desired good like power, wealth, health care and prestige in a disproportionately manner and this is regarded as the privileged group and dominant class privileges. This lead to directing undesirable things such as dangerous work disdain, premature imprisonment, death towards powerless group in society. Therefore this theory will try to explain how ZANU PF as a dominant political party in Zimbabwe treat its opposition satisfy itself and as a way of political survival and dominance in the jungle of power politics being characterised by survival of the fittest. This theory also work hand in hand with the Marxist theory which clarifies and justified the existence of a social dominant class and class conflicts in the society whereby one class in a society is powerful enough and dominate the others as nature.

In this context the game theory found credibility since politics is a game .The dominance of ZANU PF both internationally and domestically can be best elaborated in as sort of a game. The politics of ZANU PF mostly with its opponents is like game this involves risks alternatives that are described by maximization of the expected value and the analysis of desires and decisions made by decision makers. This theory also accommodates the probability of views which caters the uncertainty of outcomes as it involves steps by political party leaders' actions which may bring harm or fruits in future. This involves the use of try and error method as a method of political survival and dominance. In politics risk taking is

normal the embarking in the economic independence by ZANU PF against the white minority in LRP after the detriment by ESAP. This explains that politics is a game precisely because after the LRP Zimbabwe was sanctioned and as a revenge it implemented the indigenisation and empowerment which is a counter attack to the whites after rejecting to remove the sanctions

The research also accommodates the discursive dominance theory of economic reform sustainability. This explores that sustainability of economic reforms result from discursive prevailing of the society. In this scenario dominance of ZANU PF is reinforced by reforms being made for certain reasons with a better economic and social sustainability oriented towards the majority in Zimbabwean politics to provide fruits of the liberation struggle and that's evolution of economic policy. For instance all the economic motivated policies by ZANU PF which were implemented in the new millennium by ZANUI PF to satisfy the majority of Zimbabwe.

There is the party dominance theory propounded by Raymond Suttner .This theory elaborate things that are usually involved in power politics and this involves challenges being faced by dominant political parties, like relation with the masses and how they influence its dominance as issues to do with democracy as its utility. The theory that is going to hold much water in this research since elaborates issues to do with power politics and party dominance credentials. ZANU PF as a party managed to apply the party dominance theory in the politics of Zimbabwe as it managed to dominate the political landscape of Zimbabwe since 1980

AIM OF THE STUDY

The chief purpose of the study is to reveal reality about power politics concerning the dominance of ZANU PF in the context of Zimbabwean politics from 1980 to 2014. The dominance has been characterised by a lot of things like political violence, intimidation, the rule of law discussion human rights debates, democracy justifications and interpretations, the use of major political tools of the carrot and stick methods among others as a way of surviving and dominating Zimbabwean politics. As well it is fair to understand how ZANU PF's great reforms contribute to the party's dominance. Understanding the politics of ZANU PF 's political opponents is also essential since the opposition's weaknesses also contribute to the dominance of ZANU PF as they lack the political capacity to remove the dominant

elite from political power because of their barren reforms and political backgrounds of the parties.

OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

- (1) To point out the starting point of the dominance of ZANU PF in the Zimbabwe political affairs.
- (2) To identify and investigate on issues of how ZANU PF dominate and survive in the jungle of Zimbabwean politics and to review the main actors towards its dominance.
- (3) To investigate on how ZANU PF play its regional and international politics in order to survive and maintain its dominance.
- (4) To investigate on how and why the opposition political parties in Zimbabwe contribute to ZANU PF's survival and dominance in the field of politics.
- (5) To understand domestic politics of ZANU PF and its contributed to its dominance.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

With the change of administration in 1980 by ZANUPF from the white minority issues of power politics began to pave its road on the side of ZANU PF since it was a clear sign of black majority rule, ZANU PF in Zimbabwe hence its dominance as a revolutionary party. Therefore as a result of this regime change ZANU PF grabs this opportunity to influence Zimbabwe political direction and dominate Zimbabwean politics despite emerging and existence of other political parties it remain dominant in the political field of Zimbabwe due to political understanding and maturity of the party.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The study will seek to give a clear, real explanation and analysis of ZANU PF's dominance in the field of power politics as from 1980 to 2014 as well analysing its political opponents towards its dominance. The research will assist politicians from the grassroots, academics, and students of international affairs political analysts in drawing and shaping and giving fair

assessments and judgements related to ZANU PF dominance in the politics of Zimbabwe that is domestically, regionally and internationally.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

(1) Why ZANU PF dominate Zimbabwean politics.

(2) What are the strategies and ways used by ZANU PF to ensure dominance in Zimbabwean politics and survival that is on. (a) Domestic levels, (b) regional levels, (c) international levels

(3) What are the effects of ZANU PF's political road map, direction and influence in Zimbabwean politics that is positive and negative effects to the people of Zimbabwe?

(4) Who are the main actors and those on the driving seat of ZANU PF's vehicle of dominance in the Zimbabwean politics?

(5) Why the opposition parties in Zimbabwe since 1980 fail to shield ZANU PF from dominance.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The research is going to be based on qualitative method of research.

NATURE OF THE STUDY

The research is by nature much focused on analytic, descriptive and explanatory historical and current issues concerning the dominance of ZANU PF in the context of power politics in Zimbabwe. The study seeks to undergo an accurate and detailed politics of dominance analysis since 1980. In its nature the research will be much of history and thoughts precisely because it involves filtration analysing, identification and weighing of past events and present events that are closely related to power politics towards ZANU PF dominance in the jungle of Zimbabwean politics characterised by power struggle and survival of the fittest.

DATA COLLECTION AND RESEARCH DESIGN

Zimbabwe is going to be the reliable form of a case study in this field of power politics from the year it attained its independence in 1980 up to 2014 since it is still dominant. In order to

avoid difficulties in answering research questions like if it is done haphazardly the research will be done systematically in order to avoid such inconveniences. This will involve researching for information about how ZANU PF dominate Zimbabwean politics as well as general political analysis of factors that led opposition parties like ZAPU, ZUM, ZANU NDONGA and the current political failure MDC to take power from ZANU PF like poor policy by the opposition which has bring costs to the efforts by the oppositions to eject ZANU PF from power.

The research will also make use primary sources of data for great importance like unpublished materials which include interviewing those with political and economic knowledge as from 1980 when ZANU PF was legally dominant in the political offices of the country which will be used as information towards the achievement of dominance in the political arena. This involves interviews from various institutions and other key informants who happen to have a knowhow of ZANU PF's dominance and this involves ZANU PF officials with real evidence and information about ZANU PF dominance as apolitical development. In carrying these interviews it will be closed door sessions so as to get real information and avoid interviews go off road due to public interference. One of the most merits of these interviews is that there is no exhaustion, fear and limited scope by the respondent to answer questions and this will ignite qualitative data which is crucial for the research.

Primary sources of data gathering will involve mostly targeted party leaders and officials of ZANU PF, civil society, non-governmental organizations at local, district, provincial and at national levels. Much of the information being targeted on ZANU PF's political culture, beliefs, policies and ideologies and the link with the party's dominance.

Group discussions are also essential in the study since there will be exchange of different political opinions by different group members .This pave a way and give a greater understanding on how ZANU PF dominate Zimbabwean politics and at the same time discussing as a group on factors that lead opposition failure to grab dominance from ZANU PF for instance the current political failure MDC-T. The number will range from ten and below in order to avoid confusions due to different political opinions and affiliations that might hinder the research with poor research findings. The data will also be gathered through research of self-understanding to political activities especially those which are from 2000 millennium which were towards party sustenance, dominance and development.

Secondary sources are also valid and essential since the tracing of ZANU PF is also much on the published data such as academic articles ,magazine article and newspapers in order to multiply and diffuse the know how about ZANU PF as dominant political party in Zimbabwe.

Observation of participant will also be used as inform of recording speeches, public lectures and orientations related to ZANU PF dominance also provide essential information for the research to succeed and other political gatherings .This usually involves watching television particularly listening to all broad casting services of the media as a way of sourcing information related to ZANU PF dominance in the political field of Zimbabwe.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The notion of party dominance is systemic element which rests on issues to do with society arrangements and behaviour of society members and in this case ZANU PF's is also linked to what the people of Zimbabwe want in the political arrangements of Zimbabwe's political direction. This field of study include ballot box arrangements whether violent or not that is what its scope is and this creates fragmentation or consolidation of power politics and other similar factors hence the notion of a dominant party is being too insightful to abandon or discard since it is a societal political nature. Therefore ZANUPF's dominance is surrounded by a lot of political thoughts and activities since 1980 (Southall: 2005)

The concept of a dominant party is not just a systemic phenomenon but a description of reality from which conclusions of democracy are legitimately or illegitimately drawn depending on the societal politics. The South Africa's ANC administration, the Zimbabwe's ZANU PF regime and many others faces problems and indeed crises due to prevailing economic and political conditions and the so called dominant parties have nothing to with, such things and they continue dominating due to certain things like revolutionary credentials and sovereignty principles enjoyed of independent countries. According to Mugabe (2001:92)addressing the land question on the ground from the grassroots of the party, there is a genuine land hunger and also by this peasants need emancipation through land reform in such a way that land will be delivered to its rightful owners, the real Zimbabweans through the Third Chimurenga. It is evident that ZANU PF's hunger and thirst for land distribution to rightful owners is not a closed chapter since on 2 July 2014 the President of the Republic of Zimbabwe His Excellence R.G Mugabe carried out a serious political exercise when he

provisioned permits and title deeds to A1 farmers in Chinhoyi Lion's den farm and this totally shows that ZANU PF's economic chapter of land to the people is not a closed one since this permit provision guarantees permanent ownership of land. However the situation in Zimbabwe's political administration is totally different from South Africa's scenario since South Africa had not even attained its economic independence since 1994 when it was given its political independence whereas Zimbabwe has started its journey for economic independence seriously on the onset of the new millennium and it's almost nearly to complete its economic independence process.

The field of political dominance reviews a wide spectrum of literature being linked to how the party dominate the politics of a country. The ideas of dominating are automatically related to power politics. It is politically agreed that power in its nature is not a quantifiable substance being in hands of a state rather it's a series of relations among various social classes in a society and in this sense the dominant class or party is the one responsible to share power among its political party members and society members. Hence this brings the notion of ZANU PF dominance in Zimbabwean politics as it is regarded as the only party with authority and legitimacy to govern Zimbabwe (Poulantzas, 2000, Gramsci, 1971 and Hobsbawn, 1982)

Being a dominant political party is a sort of a process that requires much attention based on how a certain political party dominate the power politics of society. In this scenario in order for party to dominate society politics there is need for popularity and this form of populace reinforce the party's dominance through vote collection in election processes and this is a political survival strategy. ZANU PF is a majority party in Zimbabwe and its support ranches from all age groups due to its revolutionary credentials. ZANU PF is a party being led by a veteran of the revolutionary struggle whose liberation war credentials are not questionable and because of this it is popular since 1980 (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2007). This popularity continues even in the midst of Zimbabwe's high poverty record catalysed by political and economic turmoil in the country being instigated by targeted sanctions given to ZANU PF as a result of sour relations with Britain and her friends due to Zimbabwe's thirst for economic independence through the land reform programme in 2000 which marked the beginning of the Third Chimurenga in Zimbabwe. Therefore the populace of ZANU PF and Mugabe contributes a lot towards its dominance in Zimbabwe's political arena.

As a strategy of sustaining itself in power and dominance of Zimbabwean politics it uses nationalist rhetoric base and reinforced its role of bringing independence and democracy from the colonial devils hence gaining the furs of not just majority black Zimbabweans but also from any African civilised leader due to colonial history Chigora et al (2008).Therefore this contribute a lot to ZANU PF dominance as this clarifies on emotive issues that are common to developing countries like projecting land as a historic injustices and economic exploitation among other colonial indignities being done by colonisers in the colonial era and even today where white superiority is still recognized for instance in our neighbour country where production is still in the hands of foreigners .

The dominance of ZANU PF stems and branches from the society due to its idea of massive provision of social services and other amenities it give to the people .According to Mugabe (2001:195) as from the independence eve the it has managed to connect people through roads and bridges , giant step towards water and sanitation development projects. According to Bond and Manyanya (2003) Zimbabwe's health systems became the pride of the sub region while the education is the most robust and rated to be on top in Africa literacy rate hence the idea of ZANU PF political dominance in Zimbabwean politics holds water due to its progressive infrastructure developments which benefit the citizens despite economic and political harsh conditions in Zimbabwe which are fuelled by the economic sanctions imposed to Zimbabwe by the west due to ZANU PF's political maturity signs when it embarked on the LRP.

The dominance of ZANU PF in Zimbabwean politics is due to the central role of Mugabe .According to Dowden African politics is personal, the calculation of what is rational in an African political view mirror may not be the same to the scenario of the West European context and this contradictions and antagonism among politicians is due to conflict of interests. As an orator and good political communicator Mugabe's hostility with the West contributes a lot for ZANU PF's dominance since its great reforms is anti-Western but pro Zimbabwean. Mugabe's speech attacking Britain earned great appreciation and respect from other African countries that lacks confidence and courage to inform the West about their evils and negative interference in African politics where Mugabe said "We have not asked for an inch of Europe not any square inch of the territory, so Blair keep your England and let me keep my Zimbabwe"(Bond and Manyanya : 2003) In this scenario a political expert can drew a conclusion of crediting Mugabe for his will to deal with African politics towards Africa's development and resurrection and prevent revival of colonialism. Therefore Mugabe's central

role as a leader lead to party dominance as it is geared towards harvesting African support from all angles through Pan Africanism and this give Mugabe a political title as father Africa.

According to Mugabe (2001:197) gender mainstreaming concept has been the core and central to ZANU PF's aspirations to unity, peace and development in the country .The affirmative action by ZANU PF towards its dominance is credited since it creates inroads in Zimbabwe towards women's backup and support to ZANU PF as it accommodates women in power structures and decision making processes for how to drive the country in this globalised world. This theme involves women participation in economy, women training as well as involvement in political structures. For instance in Zimbabwe and to be specific in ZANU PF political party women held influential political positions like the Vice President Joyce Mujuru and this give opportunity for ZANU PF to harvest support from all corners like the women's league as they will be aware that their rights as women are not abused as they will be represented hence ZANU PF remain a dominant party in Zimbabwean politics.

It is politically justifiable that in politics there are two main tools used in politics that is the carrot and stick method. In Zimbabwe ZANU PF in order to maintain its political dominance stability it resorted to violence in many cases as a way of political survive since politics is the survival of the fittest. ZANU PF as a political guru has a notorious record of resorting to violence especially towards elections as an escapism idea action against the vibrant oppositions. ZANU PF's record of violence began soon after independence when it sparked the *gukurahundi* as a way of dealing with the dissidents or internal rebels and some call it a clean-up of the remaining traitors and political disturbers. It is estimated that 20 000 to 30 000 people were massacred as it was full of terror .Therefore this was the politics of survival since this was towards the creation and penetration of ZANU PF's dominance in the Zimbabwean politics and the dethrone of the main opposition wing in Matabeleland and Midlands, ZAPU under the leadership of Joshua Nkomowich was about to bring uncertainty and political instabilities in the country. Therefore the *gukurahundi* exercise was towards ZANU PF's dominance and popularity gaining from all corners of Zimbabwe (Raftopoulos; 2010). The application of violence in the Zimbabwe political field was practically done again in 2008 election as well as in 2005 with Operation Restore Order. The emergence of Operation Headless Chicken in 2008 by ZANU PF in Mount Darwin was politically motivated with the aim of restoration of ZANU PF dominance which it had lost in the March elections and this violence use later culminated to the arrangements and formation of the GNU which was recognized by ZAMNU PF as survival and dominance since the party leader

R.G Mugabe remain on his presidential post. According to Kadima and Denis .K(2007) the issue of electoral violence arise from different factors that include scarcity of resources ,identity ,structural imbalances, differing goals, ambiguity, unequal access to information ,interpersonal relations , competition , weak administration lack of neutral army and police, ethnic and religious cleavages .Therefore ZANU PF to survive under all these it has to use all possible ways that is even resorting to violence as a method of retaining support and cultivate its political dominance.

The use violence by ZAN PF can be politically justified as its machine gun for political dominance as it interrogates and penetrates to historical backgrounds of Zimbabwe and this led to the demise and resurrection of conflicts surrounding elections in Zimbabwe. The scope of imperialistic administration and the way through which independence was achieved that is via violence and organised armed struggle geared and fuelled the violence spirit to get desired political goals and to be specific ZANU PF's violence use as a revolutionary party holds water since it's the party that brought independence through war. After independence ZANU PF remained at the helm of Zimbabwe's political parameters through some unscrupulous ways that involved electoral fraud which it continuously used to ensure confrontation with the emergence of politically powerful oppositions like ZAPU and MDC which seems likely to discard the dominance of ZANU PF into a dust bin through their own justified democracy contrary to that of ZANU PF's perspective of democracy (Makumbe and Compagnon 2000).

The concept of unity governments in Zimbabwe now becomes a reputable phenomenon and not a new political decision in the realm of Zimbabwean politics .In 1987 Zimbabwe resorted to a unity agreement between PF ZAPU under Nkomo and ZANU under Mugabe .This was ZANU PF's political map to seek inroads for political dominance since ZAPU was the only political threat to ZANU PF known as the Matabeleland main opposition wing. It is politically argued that the unity accord gave people the opportunity to freedom of expressions which were virtually all democratic expressions about national problems. Again in 2008 government of national unity was also formed as a result of national problems. The 1987 unity accord was aimed by ZANU PF to finish what gukurahundi had left and failed to do towards ZANU PF dominance that was to conquer the last frontier resistor to ZANU PF hegemony of diverting the Ndebele speaking people to the Shona dominant party hence ZANU PF dominance. Further the 2008 election conflict violence which includes a lot of political activities like victimisation of opposition, intimidation, political injustices among other things was a way of cultivating ZANU PF dominance as it had lost its funs in March

election. Violence has been the hallmark of ZANU PF's stay in power since the party leader Mugabe has boasted of his party's "degrees in violence" which are implemented effectively at election time. This culminated to some terror exercises like Operation Headless Chicken in Mount Darwin and the use of the political slogan "VaMugabemuoffice" which dominated the country. This was a political millage as it gave impact to the massive campaign and mobilization of people to rally behind ZANU PF hence it managed to fall into the GPA with the opposition wings but with reasons behind as it had failed elections hence maintaining its political dominance in the GNU (Meredith, 2002).

Chigora et al (2008) points out the use of mobilization as a strategy to maintain its hold in power. After the 2000 referendum ZANU PF decided to launch and implement the Fast Track Land Reform Programme (FTLRP) after its serious loss. Fearing to lose voters in elections it resorted to this program and this was meant to gain support of rural peasants who had given their backs to ZANU PF and rally behind MDC due to increase of national problems like poverty and hardships in the country which was a result of economic depreciation caused by sanctions. By lending land to the rural peasants ZANU PF had adjusted its gear towards the regaining of its fans as well as shielding and blocking the gap of defeat in 2002 presidential election after its successful loss in the referendum campaign where the MDC dominated hence ZANU PF's fight to safeguard the power from all angles. This was done by effectively cordoning the opposition out of the rural areas hence its dominance. As well its policy of expropriating white farms was a brilliant political move meant to keep the government in power at a time when government popularity was on the decline hence ZANU PF dominance (Raftopoulos, 2006, Shaw, 2003)

As from the 2000 new millennium all ZANU PF policies became people oriented since the implementation of the land reform program, indigenisation and economic empowerment theme was received by people as fruitful and productive. Further also ZANU PF's political and economic bases rooted on the Look East Policy with China and this had connected Zimbabwe to the global world hence leading to ZANU PF dominance despite some criticism from the opposition of resource looting. However the ZANU PF regime views this relationship as fresh, fruitful and productive as it contributed to electoral dominance of ZANU PF in the 2013 elections through campaign funding and political strategic intellectual of ZANU PF officials from the Chinese Communist Party and this culminated to a

resounding victory by ZANU PF. Recently after its victory in 2013 the launching of the economic blue print the ZIMASSET which is also productive policy towards rejuvenation of Zimbabwe's political economy which was about to rot hence the Look East Policy become the food basketry for the Zimbabweans. However despite all these turmoil ZANU PF managed to survive from the threats of its opposition that is both internally and external influence being driven by the civil society organizations, NGOs among other Western based institutions which are to fulfil their mother country's interests. All these institutions are fuelling the regime change agenda in Zimbabwe through their MDC puppet but however ZANU PF applied its politics of survival to maintain its dominance despite some thoughts of mal governance by the opposition it always remain the political master in Zimbabwean politics. According to the (Herald of 28 August 2014) Zimbabwe signed an economic deal towards economy boosting with China and this gives credibility of ZANU PF dominance as this deal is towards economic revival. Also basing on Mavhaire's remarks on (12 July 2014) a ZANU PF official he emphasised on livestock boosting and increase in Chipinge as reinforcement to the ZIMASSET agenda.

Opposition's weaknesses also contributes a lot towards ZANU PF dominance since they do not possess political knowledge. The lack of solidarity in the MDC political party is an advantage for ZANU PF since it is known as a party of unity since its formation due to its political ability and experience to solve its political issues on a closed door and come up with solid results rather than MDC which destroys its political structure through a continuum of party factions. The notion of factionalism within MDC contributes a lot towards the dominance of ZANU PF since factionalism is a political virus as it reduces political funds.

Further failure of opposition to implement tangible, fruitful and internal development oriented policies also gives ZANUPF a political grip to dominate the country's politics since most of ZANU PF policies are people oriented and are towards development. Most of the MDC policies stems from the Principal Agent Theory where by the MDC is being used as an agent by the West to fulfil their mother interests of regime change in Zimbabwe. This is fuelled by NGOs and other West funded institutions. The participation by the MDC towards the so called human rights agenda which accommodates homosexuality among other evil things that are anti-African and contrary to the culture and religion of Zimbabwe lead the opposition's political graph to go down to a nil point. According to Mugabe (2001) he made remarks based on culture and religion and to be specific the church as a reinforcement to the struggle for land hunger and economic development hence ZANU PF remained dominant in

the Zimbabwean politics due to huge support it get through the weaknesses of the opposition party and politically religion is regarded as an opium to the people if consciously applied.

The use of state media in Zimbabwe by ZANU PF is also a strategy towards its dominance as it limit broadcasting of opposition information and become centred to ZANU PF 's own information . Basing on the remarks made by the President on Shamuyarira's burial at national heroes' acre on 7 July 2014 he emphasised that the media should publish government policies like the ZIMASSET so that everyone will be aware of the policy aims. Therefore this sophisticated strategy use of state sponsored media with progressive government legislation and repression of independent media which had assumed a greater importance in the dominance of ZANU PF in Zimbabwean politics. Freedom of information and protection of privacy also played an influential role in trying to assist and improve information available to the public as a mandatory requirement. However publication of information politically is linked to national security in the case of Zimbabwe national security is highly linked to ZANU PF security hence its dominance (Mugabe 2001) According to Zaffiro (1992) the regime control of broadcasting services is evidenced by having power over appointments to senior posts in broadcasting control over finance and evidence of partnership of government influence in the broadcast content particularly news and current affairs. Therefore with the capacity to influence the media ZANU PF gains apolitical mirage since it is able to disseminate information which relatively to its dominance and publish policies that are pro ZANU PF and eliminate opposition politics from the broadcasting stations.



BIBLIOGRAPHY

Chigora, P &Guzura, T (2008). A History That Haunts the Generation: An Analysis of the Origins of the Land Problem in Zimbabwe. Sustainable Development in Africa (Volume 10, No.2).University of Pennsylvania, Clarion.

Chigora, P., Guzura, T.&Mugodwa,T. The Zimbabwe Africa Union Patriotic Front(Zanupf) Regime in Power in the 21st Century:A Question of Popular Support or Preserving Power by Undemocratic Means. A Paper presented at the Workshop on Political Culture Governance and State in Africa, organised by DPMF, 21-23 February Kenya.

Aristotle, (1962) The Politics Sinclair, Translated by J.A (Hamonds worth :Penguin)

Bhebhe,N.&Ranger.(ed) (1997) Soldiers in Zimbabwe's Liberation War Oxford,James,Curvey

Dowden,R. 'Engaging with Mugabe The Round Table,Vol 95, No 384.

Bond, P. &Manyanya,S. (2003) Zimbabwe's Plunge .Harare Weaver Press.

Mugabe, R. (2001) Inside The Third Chimurenga, Harare, The Department of Information and Publicity Office of the President and Cabinet, Munhumutapa Building.

Makumbe,J.&Compagnon ,D (2000) ,Behind the Smokescreen The Politics of Zimbabwe's 1995 General Election, Harare University of Zimbabwe

Meridith,M,(2007) Mugabe:Power,Plunder and The Struggle for Zimbabwe Public Affairs, The Perseus Book group. The

Godwin,P, (2010) Fear, The Last Days of Press Robert Mugabe,London, Picador.

Raftopoulos ,B,(ed) (2010) Becoming A Zimbabwe History from the Precolonial Period to 2008 Harare Weaver Press

Poulantzas, N (2000), State Power ,Socialism New Edition, London New York , Verso Books.

Hobsbawn ,E. (1982) Gramsci and Marxist Political Theory in AmeShowstackSasson (ed) Approach to Gramsci, London Writers and Readers Publishing Cooperative Society Limited.

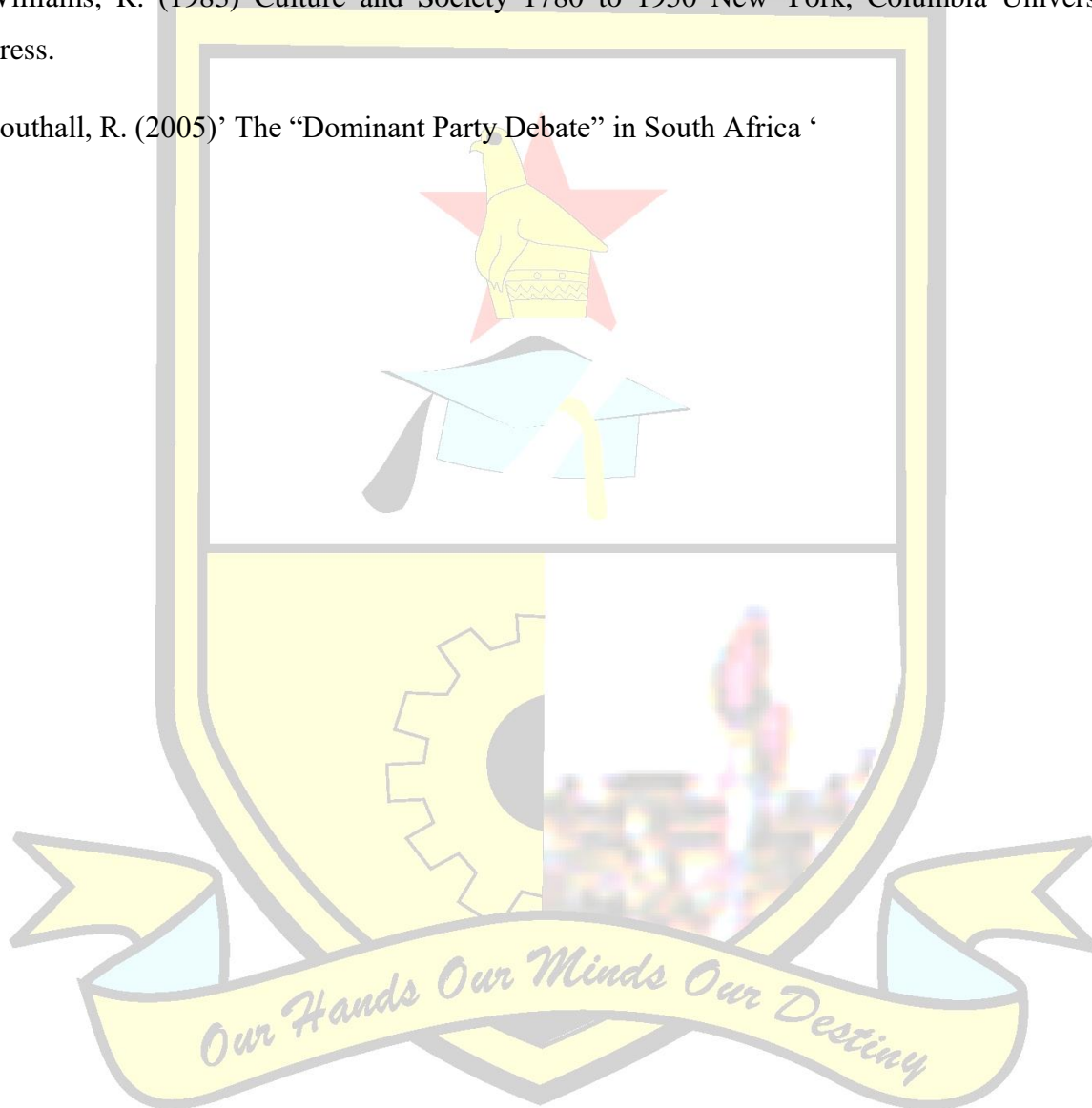
An analysis of ZANU PF's dominance in Zimbabwean politics (1980 to 2014)

Suttner, R.(2007),African National Congress (ANC) as a Dominant Organization Impact of the Attainment of Power and Phases of Post Liberation Development and Crises Historia May Forthcoming.

Huntington, S. (1991) The Third Wave Democratisation in The Late Twentieth Century (Norman, OK University of Oklahoma Press.

Williams, R. (1983) Culture and Society 1780 to 1950 New York, Columbia University Press.

Southall, R. (2005)' The "Dominant Party Debate" in South Africa '



CHAPTER ONE

Back ground of the politics of dominance in Zimbabwe

The phenomenon and notion of the politics of dominance and dominant party system though sounding fresh and new in the political field and parameters of Zimbabwe refers to a well-established, groomed and moulded paradigm found in writing of conservative political scientists in which dogmatic prescriptions are on hand to discover and observe whether or not a country belongs to democratic principles (Huntington 1981, Jung and Shapiro). The party dominant idea relates to democracy consolidation sometimes regarded as consolidology (Beetham 2000) Political dominance is also inclined with issues to do with power politics.

In trying to understand the dominance of ZANU PF which is a strongly rooted on Marxism Leninism ideology it is also fair to understand socialism ideology which gives platform for social dominance in the political field by ZANU PF in the politics of Zimbabwe. Its dominance manifested through electoral politics which manifested in 1979 during the internal settlement and the same system was exercised in 1980 and that election result was the genesis of ZANU PF dominance in the politics of Zimbabwe and this gives credibility and assurance to ZANU PF towards democratic politics and its political map becomes fair, equal, justice, free and constitutionally justifiable (Makumbe and Sithole 1996). The concept of ZANU PF dominance in Zimbabwean politics provide a platform for a variety of views that are coherent to understand really and clearly ZANU PF power politics as well as to know how it dominate, why it dominate and other critical issues related to ZANU PF dominance in Zimbabwean politics like the arrangement of the political field in Zimbabwe and the political opponents of Mugabe.

Political dominance in Zimbabwe is an old phenomenon and originated long ago even the time Mutapa, Lobengula, Smith among other traditional leaders who existed long ago. Political dominance can be recognized as long there's an elite which dominates others with the use of royal powers .In colonial period political dominance was also existing where by the white and Ian Smith and his Rhodesia Front was dominant who was later disqualified and removed from the dominant elite position through electoral dominance by ZANU PF elite.

Political dominance in reality is used as a tool towards serving and achieving the interests of a certain dominant political party.

As a dominant social group in Zimbabwe ZANU PF found itself embarking on different political survival strategies which are to be discussed in the study as a way of sustaining its hegemony and dominance. This involves its political map towards economic independence, empowerment as well as with a sharp eye towards development in this modern world, practise of the politics of survival in the jungle of political field where struggle for power and survival of the fittest is the order of the day. In trying to strengthen and solidify its dominance against its political opponents ZANU PF utilise its liberation and independence credentials that is understanding deeply on the aims of the liberation movements as well as doing serious research on the opposition that is its weakness and its political maturity level that attributes to opponent failure to grab political dominance from ZANU PF.

The dominance of ZANU PF in Zimbabwean politics understands the relation between politics and economics and in reality politics and economy cannot be separated and this relation brings a social wellbeing and the emergence of social dominance. In order for a certain party to dominate a society there is a lot of things that are considered and used this involves state machinery and power use towards achieving dominance. Therefore it is justifiable to say political dominance also links with the use and practice of the two chief political methods that is the carrot and stick method. It is also valid to note that whether or not ZANU PF utilise these political methods however it remained a force in Zimbabwean politics despite some criticism which emanate from opposition politics being supported and backed by the West institutions with the intension of fulfilling their mother country interests through removing ZANU PF from dominance. The verdict of this critique is that to be fair there must be a sort of reasonable possibility of electoral loss of the ruling party before democracy is consolidated, where such defeat is unlikely to be encountered in future there will be nothing to be called democracy (Suttner 2004). In the Zimbabwe scenario it is clear that democracy is followed since the dominant party is found competing with opposition parties as a way of maintaining its dominance However in the scenario of Zimbabwe political playground one can justify and allocate credit to the concept of democracy practice since all democracy key pillars like political freedom, equality and justice are practised during elections despite some allegations of repression especially in rural areas being raised by opposition political parties especially after election result when the fail to win the election. On the other side the concept of democracy though hostile to dominance since it is perceived

as favourable to dictatorship, it is fair to depict that because of different scenarios concerning democracy which varies from country to country it is also credible to highlight that democracy recognition depends on the understanding of the political and power maps of a country since a sovereign state like Zimbabwe is bound to make its own decisions that safeguard the country's future and defend the country from its political opponents.

Opposition weakness like lack of political knowledge and maturity also provide platform for ZANU PF dominance in Zimbabwean politics precisely because these weakness will be providing a step up the political ladder to ZANU PF through supporting of the politics of patronage and nationalism ideas which are essential considering the development of a sovereign state. It is also worth to note that opposition's local main wing since independence is small and this lead to the continuum of the divide and rule system in Zimbabwe since opposition's main wing is in Matabeleland of which this constitutes a small population of Zimbabwe according to population statistic. Opposition political parties in Zimbabwe suffer a policy bankruptcy and syndrome which develops from their principal agent relationship with America and Britain with these external forces instigating the agenda for regime change through the use of soft power in form sanctions to destroy the economic structure of Zimbabwe. However the existence of opposition political parties in Zimbabwe is a fair democratic political move by ZANU PF in Zimbabwean politics and this to a larger extent justifies that its dominance is democratic.

Lack of cultural preservation ideologies within the MDC political party contributes to ZANU PF dominance precisely because the opposition of Tsvangiraishow some inhuman concern of human rights suggesting that if people agree to gays as human right Tsvangirai as leader will accept that. This indignity and political vulnerability as well as political confusion of the opposition leadership clearly shows that he is not an ideal candidate for presidential post since Tsvangirai as a leader was supposed to make his own decision which is constructive and about to bring light towards the development and management of African culture apart from the people's decision since some of the public decisions will be distractive. This poor political reason capacity of Tsvangirai clearly shows that even if he becomes a leader he is likely to endorse in to some political decisions that can cause harm to the country like his principal agency with the west. Therefore all these political inabilities and weaknesses of the oppositions are of great importance towards ZANU PF dominance in the eyes of civilized black patriots.

Electoral politics dominance: Independence and the genesis of ZANU PF dominance in Zimbabwe's politics.

The concept of electoral politics paved its way in 1979 with the holding of internal settlement procedures. In 1980 ZANU PF pegged its dominance direction with a vibrant and resounding victory in the presidential election. Utilising the outcomes of election ZANU PF rooted its dominance on majority bases hence the idea of social dominance holds water simply because its step into and test of power was a majority decision through the secret ballot box .It is believed that election is a pillar and heart of democracy hence it is credible to say that ZANU PF dominance is democratically motivated precisely because the practice of electioneering on regular and constitutional base plays a very essential role towards democracy recognition .With effect from 1980 elections ZANU PF become vibrant and attracted the masses as elections were done on fair, equality and justice bases. All the prominent and present features of election like supervision commission, voter education; international election monitors among other election field regulations and stipulations were effectively practiced and implemented from the internal settlement and the first Zimbabwe election in 1980 which bring the political independence of Zimbabwe (Makumbe and Sithole 1996).

According to Chigora and Guzura(2008) victory of ZANU PF in 1980 was a true reinforcement of the party's popularity. With the constitutionally justifiable resounding victory ZANU PF paved its dominance way by appealing to the masses addressing sensitive issues to the masses like racial discrimination, segregation oppression and exploitation of the masses by the whiter colonial devils. The mobilisation theory propounded by Haggard Kaufman also relates to the onset of ZANU PF dominance precisely because masses were mobilised by ZANU PF to rebel and revolt against the colonial regime which was characterised by in human and indignity .Therefore the majority was supposed to rally behind ZANU PF in order to attain their freedom and independence. This was automatically a political mirage by ZANU PF towards its dominance since the campaign message and theme was appreciated and welcomed by the majority as the beginning of Canaan to Israelites and end of Pharaoh's rule with realization of sovereignty ,freedom ,justice, self-determination and equality which all mould political and economic independence.

In the first election of 1980 ZANU PF and Mugabe obtained 63 per cent of the vote with 57 parliamentary seats, Nkomo and PF ZAPU hunted 20 seats from Ndebele speaking people the area which ZANU PF gave its back during election campaign, Muzorewa and UANC who

was vigorously politically funded by whites as the candidate of choice only gathered 3 seats in parliament which was a shame and shock to the whites since this was the clear sign of UANC political failure. The party's overwhelmingly victory was because of its vibrant mobilization process and recruitment which attracted a huge population especially in the areas of Shona speaking people who constitutes an enormous number according to the population census statistics. Therefore this was not a surprise for Mugabe's victory as generally the population pattern reflects election victory opportunity to Mugabe. Therefore to a larger extent this election hit culminated to the birth of ZANU PF dominance in Zimbabwean politics (Martin and Johnson 1981).

ZANU PF as government

This was a step up in the political ladder of Zimbabwe's political affairs as this was towards harvesting support from all corners through the use of state machinery to reinforce the dominance of ZANU PF in Zimbabwean politics. This political transformation took place when ZANU PF used state institutions on behalf of its self for instance state police, army, central intelligence organisation and media these daily newspapers, radio and television among others to politicise people so that they can rally behind ZANU PF. The practice of this politicisation depends on situation and this is where political methods of carrot and stick suit. This extended further to the boundaries of business and economics where by operation and management of public sector office and parastatals was handed over to the appointed individuals with regard to party loyalty as well as revolutionary credentials. The politicisation of public sector and state security machinery guaranteed ZANU PF dominance precisely because this movement was a hunt for black majority backup. According to Mao Zedong's political philosophy the masses are the water and parties are the fish in the water therefore the political parties should pay allegiance, respect, trustworthy and openness to the masses in order to add the ingredients of dominance. These gigantic efforts of restructuring of state organs and machinery contributed to black patriotism.

The consolidation of state power and administrative institutions gathered political power for ZANU PF and this was the first priority of the Prime Minister as a way of maximising clear directions of the party's undoubtedly long live regime which was majority based. It is real that most of African ruling elites and elsewhere practice political corruption in this concept of

appointment of party senior and loyal members to certain influential post with or without qualification as a way of deepening the party dominance structure. Although the political constitution of Zimbabwe allows party to appoint five within the party's inner circles however the appointment of Jonathan Moyo by Mugabe after Moyo failed to win in his Tsholotsho constituency to have an influential ministerial portfolio as a minister of information and broadcasting services has a political meaning. The appointment of such ZANU PF think tanks contribute a lot to party dominance since such intellectuals are basically useful towards the development of the party with a lot of strategies especially towards elections and the loss of these will be a party brain drain and likely to cause the party's decline like the contribution by these think tanks in the 2013 election which was carefully strategized and organized which culminated to a resounding victory of ZANU PF. In most cases this appointment is surrounded with credible reasons towards the party's survival like security reasons. In such situations for instance one does not fetch for the professor of criminology to head the police department rather appointment is to one who is reliable and trusted to avoid a coup by security heads if they contradict with the government's political direction (Suttner 2007). Liberation struggle loyal cadres were appointed for influential positions the likes of Emerson Mnangagwa and Rex Nhongo (the late Solomon Mujuru) who were appointed for intelligence and army forces respectively and this was a clear sign that state operation machinery was now in the hands of ZANU PF. This extended further to the appointment of other party loyalists from the country's provinces in relation to party patriotism for instance Masvingo's Zvobgo and Kangai among other trusted young intellectuals in to Cabinet since some of the old party cadres have been succumbed and died. This was also practiced for political reasons of addressing power balances and to curb rebels and dissidents like those that arise in Midlands and Matabeleland. A Joint High Command in the military was found to bond the three rival forces namely the ZANLA, ZIPRA and some molecules of Rhodesian Front Army to form the ZNA and Mugabe attracted the defence forces into the Prime Minister's office as a way of adding intelligence about administration. The bond of the security forces was tested by ex ZIPRA with the so-called descriptive name for stiff necked people the dissidents or rebels when they tempt to show political immaturity and an anti-nationalistic behaviour towards the ruling elite which was viewed as a sell-out or beginning of night diplomacy by Nkomo and PF ZAPU. This challenge and suspect surrounding Nkomo and other PF ZAPU forced Mugabe to take a political survival step by dismissing these suspects from government Cabinet in 1982. Therefore this boosted ZANU PF dominance in the sense that it was given the

opportunity to search for obstacles towards its dominance and this PF ZAPU rebellion culminated to the sparking of the gukuahundi which was ZANU PF's political calculation against the opponent using state military machinery.

Since ZANU PF was one of the liberation movement party it had already laid its roots in the majority rural area since during the war it bases on Mao's beliefs in which the peasants were regarded as the most essential and influential class in the society towards a successful revolution. Mugabe quickly rushed to rural areas to hunt and gather support from the peasants by restructuring the party from village level (cell), up to provincial representative. The appointment of party loyalists as District Administrators and throw of the old native and racial structure into a political dust bin was a political move towards ZANU PF dominance since the party moulding its strong rural foundations. The party struggled in order to assure position occupation by its loyalist candidate. This was a way of reinforcing the party's dominance from the grassroots and this was successful because the ZANU PF party managed to take all these rural posts up to the provincial level except in Matabeleland where Nkomo's wing was hot and remained an important figure in the politics of dominance in Matabeleland due to ethnic and historical background of the area which is far much different to other provinces. The practice of this was towards the recognition of political legitimacy by ZANU PF itself since district councils were crucial and responsible for delivery of social services hence the fact that ZANU PF dominated the district councils was an ingredient and catalyst towards ZANU PF dominance since the delivery of services was in the name of its officials hence adding the flesh and capacity of its dominance. The coordination of DDF programs mostly in rural areas also cultivated ZANU PF dominance as the funds were disbursed by the vibrant Ministry of Local Government Urban and Rural Development which was headed by ZANU PF officials. The emergence of this rural area political utilisation brought a bright way forward for ZANU PF since this was a further reinforcement of the rural majority which had once gave ZANU PF political hegemony in 1980 through the secret ballot box election with a vote of certainty from the rural areas through the Shona unstoppable support.

As a way of achieving political certainty and guarantee control ZANU PF move to Africanize the civil service. This was arranged precisely because the civil service was led by merciless white minority who were not reliable towards policy implementation. The Africanization of civil service fuelled and multiplied the size of civil service through black promotion and this was the beginning of black empowerment with the appointment of Bernard Chidzero a former UN official as Minister of Economic Planning and Development and this also marked

EnosNkala's loss of the financial portfolio. Therefore all these procedures were towards ZANU PF dominance despite the moving of economic decisions to Cabinet from party which mean nothing precisely because Cabinet and ZANU PF were inseparable due to the Cabinet and parliamentary structure which was full of ZANU PF staff hence this was broadening of its support on economic grounds.

Pursuing of nationalistic ideologies ZANU PF towards the party's development created a strong base for the party's dominance since youths were supposed to know the history of the party and the country as long as one becomes legal to vote and this gives the party a clear political way forward. It is essential to note that the ZANU PF party's ability to cut and curtail the distinctive marginal lines between the party and the government was a political mileage as it helps the party to maintain its grip without any interference internally and externally. The words of ZANU PF's Minister Of Gender Youth and Employment Creation in the beginning of the new millennium the late (Madzibaba) Border Gezi that 'if you want to work for the government you should be prepared to support ZANU PF'. The implication of these words politically is that the party had really and clearly show its stance that it is not separable with the government. These words of Border Gezi gave ZANU PF a degree of certainty in the political playground for long live regime since this was a combination of reality and use of history which is another tool for ZANU PF's survival and long stay in power.

With the knock into the new millennium ZANU PF carry on with its agenda of being government and this expanded up to many public offices if not all offices which were supposed to be neutral when dealing with public issues. In 2000 Gono the Reserve Bank Governor, Attorney General Tomana, Registrar General Mudede, Police Commissioner Chihuri and other service chiefs lost their credibility and respect from the public since there was no confidence and guarantee within the public minds that these were still neutral figures as they silently support ZANU PF with their high ranked public posts. The case of Bennett MDC T's famous supporter left the opposition hanged without any word to say and this led the opposition to suspect biases and believe that the AG was not impartial and neutral but a hunter of political support for ZANU PF since the opposition believed that the case was handled with full intention of weakening MDC. On the same side of the coin the words of service chiefs especially towards elections gives an open political affiliation of these officials as they always repeat that they will never tolerate and accept any Presidential candidate whose politics does not have a clear liberation war background. This is reality since most of

the service chiefs have got revolutionary credentials therefore by receiving orders from one who does not have defined war credentials will be a curse and a shame. Therefore all these procedures were taken towards ZANU PF dominance and long stay in power since most of the opposition presidential candidates lack such qualities of a president hence it becomes an issue on table in trying to understand whether the service chiefs members are ZANU PF or government officials as stipulated and explained by their duties (Makumbe 2003).

The politicization of the judiciary in the beginning of the new millennium was a political survival strategy of ZANU PF and Mugabe since the judiciary which was supposed to be neutral continue to receive political interference from ZANU PF. This was regarded as the Zanunisation of the judiciary and this contributed a lot towards the dominance of ZANU PF as most political court cases were now handled in favour of ZANU PF. This follows the appointment of the party's former Minister Chidyausiku to be the Chief Justice automatically provide a biased political court playground. After this independent judges were not respected and recognised as most of them lost their positions to those who were patriotic and support ZANU PF (Ruswa 2009). Therefore all these steps were crucial towards the power politics of ZANU PF as it was paving its platform to practice the abuse of rule of law in political parameters with a guarantee that it will have an auto court victory due to the appointment of its party loyalists who will stand with the party in court procedures especially from the political opponent's wing.

The hegemony of ZANU PF

The party's hegemony was multiplied by the party's sovereignty political step of politicizing the state operations into ZANU PF operations. The dysfunction of the country's Ministry of Political Affairs in 1994 crippled and affected the party as the ministry's funds were used towards the party's dominance and survival since about Z\$50 million was budgeted for political affairs. These funds were used to boost ZANU PF campaigns and to make sure all participative party members get something from the party although the size and operations of office is the first thing to be considered when reviewing political benefits. During the period up to 1994 ZANU PF was the only party with access to get those funds .However due to political criticism which emanate from the opposition the ministry's operations were adjusted although ruling party financing continued under the political party finance. This new operation gave access to other political parties to get the funds since the conditions were slightly loosened in such a way that at least only 15 seats in parliament were enough for a

political party to get these public funds. This democratic movement equality by ZANU PF led to the strengthening of opposition political parties since they were now getting money to fund their campaigns. With this the support of ZANU PF depreciated precisely because the opposition strength was also fuelled by the Economic Structural Adjustment Programs. ZANU PF as both a party and government suffered a lot of criticism from all corners as it was under a political turmoil which was ignited by ESAP. The immediate results of ESAP were the (3Ds) democratisation, deregulation and devaluation. On democratisation the policy was proposed to weaken the current regime and this led to emergence of the political parties like MDC towards the end of the decade with a strong foundation on the ZCTU, deregulation was characterised by shortage of basic commodities, price control of commodities among other poor living standards of a society, devaluation was a serious economic obstacle as this led to high inflation rates. The combination of these factors led to vulnerability and serious poverty patterns which hit Zimbabwe, this led to loss of support since it is psychologically believed that poverty and other social unrests cause quick survival decisions good or bad and due to this people started to lose faith, hope, vote and trust to ZANU PF noting poverty as the result of the government's poor governance strategies due to economic indiscipline of party's top elites and failure of ZANU PF to satisfy the political and economic needs of Zimbabwe. However although these were considered as the dying kicks of the party due to its political experiences the party started some talks concerning the country's economic independence and this was an escapism strategy since the proposal and implementation of the LRP was welcomed by the majority and this retained ZANU PF's support which was eroded due to instabilities within the country as well as the access by all capable parties to political affairs funds boosted the weak and bankrupt opposition. Therefore the disbursement of these funds led the dominance grip of ZANU PF since the party became rich and its members which led to sound ZANU PF campaigns and even today the party is dominated by most of the country's rated richest persons considering assets possession and to be realistic this contribute to the party's dominance because the party's rich elite will always donate funds to the party especially towards elections hence it remained a force in Zimbabwean politics.

Gukurahundi.

After ZANU PF's resounding victory in the 1980 election against the main political opponent I an Smith and only political opponent remaining was the Matabeleland wing and Nkomo's

ideology was on the driving sit backed by South African apartheid forces. They were still fighting for discrimination return in another way of black to black segregation since they have been conquered by an indigenous political party due to majority support. Mugabe once says it out that “if those who have suffered defeat adopt and reject the verdict of the people then reconciliation between victors and vanquished is impossible” (Meridith 2002: 63). The words of Mugabe clearly illustrated that there was still a political gap to be filled between ZANU PF and ZAPU which emanated from differences in political ideologies. Due to this misunderstanding and contradicting forces and tensions between the liberation forces ZANU PF rushed to exercise the *gukurahundi*, because of political maturity and expertise of Mugabe. This culminated to the dominant party's resort to the stick method of politics as a way of instilling discipline to the dissidents and party survival from the internal political opposition by Nkomo who mobilised Midlands and Matabeleland against ZANU PF. Due to this tension ZANU PF resorted to violence in the name of *gukurahundi* which was apolitical clean-up of the dissidents who were the constraints the setting of ZANUPF political power maps. Therefore by implementing *gukurahundi* fear becomes the order of the day in the two tormented provinces and this cultivated and increase ZANU PF hegemony. Since politics is a game of beliefs and survival of the fittest the reign of terror in Zimbabwe was estimated to have culminated to about 20 000 to 30 000 death toll in the two provinces .Therefore it is politically justifiable to say that *gukurahundi* was a political calculation by ZANU PF towards demoralisation and distraction of PF ZAPU as this resulted to reduction of electorates in the two stiff necked provinces which did not appreciate and recognize the independence fruits through the use of tribal psychology which is a virus towards development. The fruits of *gukurahundi* though not fully achieved ZANU PF continued its celebrations with a resounding victory in 1985 election since Matabeleland and Midlands enter into election with a vote of doubt and no confidence. However besides embarking on the *gukurahundi* ZANU PF was still going to remain a force in political affairs of Zimbabwe but the violence practice was a political try and error method towards achievement political order and stability in the country which was disturbed by Nkomo's political wing(Moyo 1992).

The *gukurahundi* according to Makumbe and Sithole (1996) was a colloquial expression and in Shona means “the storm that destroys everything. The 1982 to 1984 *gukurahundi* was not the first, in 1977 to 1979 again ZANU PF basing on its neighbour Mozambique adopted the Marxism Leninism and later declared the year 1979 “Gore regukurahundi” simply because of

its target to unleash and wipe the white minority and other internal black opponents. The noticeable differences of the two gukurahundi eras were that the 1980s was serious full of intimidation and brutalisation of the black man against the black although the driving force seems to be the same of dealing with apolitical opponent. The gukurahundi security policy was a policy on annihilation annihilating the opposition both black and white hence it was politically justified towards ZANUPF dominance as enemy cleansing and brushing. The ZANU PF officials uses its political culture of violence and deployed the Fifth Brigade which had received a maximum and notorious military attention from the North Korean created doom in the rebel suspect provinces and culminated to PF ZAPU suffrage while ZANU PF continues dominating Zimbabwe's political playground because the reaction of the Fifth Brigade was full of terror and evilness against the dissidents (Makumbe and Sithole).

Although ZANU PF had assumed dominance in 1980 over the political affairs of the country it was still under threat of Nkomo and his dissident wing wishing to derail the fruits and gains of the hard won independence backed by the South Africa apartheid .In February 1982 Nkomo and Chinamano the PF ZAPU strongholds were ordered to march out of the party's affairs accused of possessing dangerous arms with a coup aim against the government and the party's land portions were seized by the state. DabengwaDumiso and General Lookout Masuku the ZIPRA leaders were detained and tried before the court for treason and illegal possession of arms and Masuku died while in prison. By doing all this it was a political mirage of ZANU PF towards its dominance since this was the beginning of the road of PF ZAPU towards its decay as all of its leaders were under threat and resulted to Nkomo's flee outside the country for temporary imprisonment in relation to illegal arms possession and a revolt against the government .Therefore with this information in hand it was clear that ZANU PF had dominated the political atmosphere of Zimbabwe as it had managed to deal with the stiff necked people using the stick method since the outcomes of event were not as expected although the enemy was strongly politically conquered recently after that with the arrangements of the unity accord.

Government of national unity (1987)

After the gukurahundi political event, ZANU PF realised that the stick method had failed to bring results as expected. In 1987 it resorted to the carrot political method where by ZANU PF politically persuaded PF ZAPU towards formation of unity government and this bond

with the remaining political opponent was meant to discard it out of the political parameters in a diplomatic and peaceful manner hence it was another trap for the political enemy. The formation of the unity government was an advantage to ZANU PF as it has merged and absorb PF ZAPU into its own political boundaries which was a vibrant constrain to its dominance. Despite the fact that Nkomo was appointed as the Vice President and Mugabe as the President the dominance of ZANU PF was clearly explored since the Presidential powers are essential than other political post in the politics of Zimbabwe. With this information in hand it was really clear that ZANU PF the dominant party was going to politicise and mould the PF ZAPU officials into the party's ideology hence this was a political gimmick since the political muscles of Nkomo were strained by Mugabe in a diplomatic manner . The collaboration affirmed the Socialism ideology which ZANU PF was using before hence this was evidence of ZANU PF dominance in the GNU political arrangement towards the hunt for political order.

The emergence of the unity government give credit to both parties especially to ZANU PF the Zimbabwean political guru because it totally un expected by every ne that the two were going to share the same table due to return of reign of terror in Midlands and Matabeleland. Therefore engagement of the two was a justifiable democratic practice since democracy is the rule of the majority .A democracy exists whenever those who are free and well off being in the majority are in control of the government as well freedom and equality remains the pillars of democracy. Therefore the move to unity agreement though it was a silent political mirage of ZANU PF however it bears some fruits of democracy practice in Zimbabwe as there was a reflection of equality and freedom of parties. On a political perspective the unity agreement was a political celebration of ZANU PF in its dominance phases as it had assumed victory against the remaining political constrain of Nkomo and PF ZAPU in the Matabeleland and Midlands provinces with an international back up base in the neighbour South Africa (Moyo 1992).

Violence

The role of violence in Zimbabwean politics had already found its way before independence since it was the best way of dealing with the enemy. Attainment of independence in Zimbabwe was violently motivated since brutalisation, torture and intimidation was the order of the day hence violence remained as apolitical culture of ZANU PF .Brutalisation of

political of political opponents was regarded as creation of impossibility to the opposition to function as a viable political entity (Makumbe and Sithole 1996). The practise of violence by ZANU PF which is politically regarded as political indiscipline has become systemic and cancerous since in most cases especially towards elections, violence is perpetuated as a way of rejuvenating and polishes political rust of its supporters hence it had become a political culture of the party towards party dominance and long stay in power.

The use of violence by ZANU PF as its political machine gun towards dominance also interrogates and can be traced some of the historical factors that have culminated to the demise and resurrection of conflict situations surrounding elections in Zimbabwe. Before and after independence ZANU PF remained at the helm of Zimbabwe political parameters with violence as the order of the day and through some unscrupulous ways that involve electoral fraud and violence to maximize and ensure confrontations with existence and emergency of oppositions PF ZAPU and MDC respectively with MDC likely but not possible to discard ZANU PF's political grip into a dustbin. Since involvement of MDC in the political field of Zimbabwe allegations of electoral fraud becomes the order of Zimbabwean politics precisely because the opposition always cry for election rigging practise by ZANU PF and these claims emanate from lack of political skills and maturity (Makumbe and Compagnon 2000). It is not a surprise that there is a portion of violence in Mugabe's own thinking. He has once ghoulishly joked that he had a degree in violence a reference to his eighteen other honorary doctorates (Meridith 2007) Therefore the use of violence by ZANU PF and Mugabe is politically rooted for the achievement of the party's interests in order for it to survive in the jungle of politics characterised with the survival of the fittest and struggle for power.

As Nathan Shamuyarira (ZANU PF official) noted, the area of violence is the area where ZANU PF has strong long and successful history. Almost every year towards elections violence is always on the fore front of ZANU PF campaigns as a catalyst for its election victory except the 2013 harmonised elections in which ZANU PF returned back its 1980 political dominance. This allows it to be recognised as a political guru in Zimbabwean politics despite some constraints in and outside the country like the existence of sanctions as a way by whites trying to unseat ZANU PF from power using its internal agencies the MDC through economic field. The gukurahundi events were political strategies implemented through violence, in the 1990s election violence was also the order of the elections. As Zimbabwe knocked the new millennium violence scandal were at peak starting with violently implemented economic empowerment reform with the name Land Reform Program which

was blanketed inside the Third Chimurenga as a name of explaining and understanding the outlook of the reform that it was a continuation of the liberation war but this was economic war different to the hard-won political independence. Therefore all these violent actions of ZANU PF were justified since there were towards a certain goal of bringing the country survival using its own God given resources like land. Also the LRP an enemy counter attack with regard to the 2000 referendum in which ZANU PF loose it to the MDC hence embarking on LRP was a political gimmick towards returning of support which has been drowned with emergence of opposition which appeared to be threat despite lack of political skills.

In 2005 ZANU PF introduced the Operation Murambatsvina or Restore Order which was a political calculation by ZANU PF in urban areas trying to distract MDC support which mounted in urban areas. ZANU PF's support in the urban area had declined in favour of MDC which had brought an employment creation policy and by time poverty was at its peak in Zimbabwe. Many people were politically confused leading to their rebel against ZANU PF and rally behind MDC as an option of escapism from poverty assuming to have better living standards through elite MDC leadership which by that time seems to have a brighter political future since its back were covered by West who are still hungry of Zimbabwe. Although there were other reasons associated with the Operation Restore Order like health cautions, creation of a formal urban set up as well creation of smooth and legal environment, however the chief idea towards this was to degrade and distract MDC morality which rise up from the urban dwellers and this was a real political threat to ZANU PF dominance hence it was towards restoration of political order like its name. The most rated internal violent was in 2008 after ZANU PF failed to return its dominance through elections and decided to resort to its usual political culture of violence. The implementation of Operation Headless Chicken in Mount Darwin was mirage behind the enemy's back meant to return support which had been lost in that previous election. This operation was characterised by brutalisation and intimidation of MDC and former ZANU PF supporters. There were also ZANU PF violence accusations in 2008 called the "Fear" which hit the Mashonaland East, Mashonaland Central and Manicaland with the aim of retaining its disappeared support. The people's party had resorted to the use of the stick political method as a way of cultivating its eroded support towards the 2008 run up election in which violence dominated the election. The MDC rivals claimed electoral fraud, violence and rigging and position themselves as election winners due to lack of political constitution knowledge and it was deprived to enter and sit on the presidential chair on constitutional bases by ZANU PF which proved to be a political guru

despite some external and internal allegations of abuse of rule of law and dictatorship practices by ZANU PF ,however the party managed to justify its self with the constitution of the country hence al allegations were rendered null and void leading to ZANU PF dominance.

According to the Kenyan former anti-corruption tsar John Githongo he pointed out that violence is empowering. Therefore the use violence by ZANU PF is justifiable since the key reason for that violence is towards a certain political goal and interest. Not sidelining Githongo's view it is wiser to agree with him precisely because most if not all of the African countries attained their independence through violence. In Zimbabwe the continuation of the independence with the focus for economic independence was put forward through violence precisely because implementation of the LRP was associated with violence since there were tensional forces and contradictions pertaining land owner ship between the whites and real owners of the God given asset of land. Therefore it is fair and politically justifiable to support Githongo's perspective concerning political violence simply because wherever violence exists there will be conflict of interest hence violence will be applied in order to hunt and gather those interests. The key perpetrators of violence in the party is youth militia and the violence masters the war veterans who will be demanding empowerment since they are the ones who brought that food basket of independence through the revolutionary war against the colonial devils. Therefore basing on Githongo's views the use of violence by ZANU PF is a calculated political step up the ladder precisely because by empowering the youth though violently however it will be moulding visionary future leaders of Zimbabwe.

The use of violence in politics created disastrous and an uneven playground in Zimbabwe in the 1990 against the internal political opponents. The serious dangerous result of this violence was the shooting of the late Patrick Kombayi who was accused of challenging the late vice president Simon Muzenda who was a strong member of the ruling elite ZANU PF. This event shocked the rest of the country and it was a clear sign that ZANU PF intolerable to opposition politics. The oppositions were now putting ZANU PF under mounting pressure against the government which were fuelled by serious economic decline caused by the Economic Structural Adjustment Programmes which culminated to poverty breakdown. Politically this support decline of ZANU PF had already found its way in the late 1980s due to the political concept of elite cohesion which dominated the party's politics and this created a political playground for opposition politics taking chances of ruling dominant party's weaknesses and challenges. This sharp decline of the vote culminated to the resorting into violence practices

by the ruling elite as a way of resuming and restoration of the eroded support by instilling fear to the people through reputation and reviewing of colonial and revolutionary history to the majority emphasizing on the dangers of the two histories (Makumbe and Sithole 1996).

On the contrary the use of violence in the 1990s by the ruling elite was not just for political support hunting it was believed and recognized that the resort into violence in the 1990s was a reflection of unsuccessfulness of policy and nation building projects. The regime suffered huge criticism internally and externally towards the depreciating economy. However the political psychology of the ruling elite was still suspecting the opposition as a root cause of all these instabilities and imbalances Therefore the use of violence by the ruling elite in Zimbabwe especially in the 1990s was politically and economically motivated towards subjugation and block of the internal political opponents (Raftopoulos 2010).

Conclusion

The dominance of ZANUPF in Zimbabwean politics become a system and cannot be changed without special arrangements that can be driven through democratic movements which come from representative democracy in which people elect their own people to lead them and this was the reason why ZAU PF dominated Zimbabwean politics it was because of its majority bases especially in the rural areas after the electioneering process of 1980 of Mugabe into power and Zimbabwe attained its political independence and this was also done through the institutionalization of power in Zimbabwe public sector in which the created parastatals are headed by ZANU F party loyalists like the late General Manager of NRZ Mike Karakadzai who was a true revolutionary appointed by the president to take the office. This appointment of loyalties to have authority and influence of these public institutions boost the party and created the pace of dominance that led to ZANU PF in Zimbabwe since most of the funds generated by these institutions is of much for the government and to be real the ZAU PF government. In the early times of Zimbabwe independence ZANU PF as a winning party continues to use the violence method of stick to dominate the politics. It is believed that constructive violence is essential towards the party's dominance. The implementation of gukurahundi in the Midlands and Matabeleland province was an effort by ZANUPF to curb the devolution interests which were likely to be caused by Nkomo's opposition wing which much dominated by Ndebele speaking people. It has now been fair to say that violence is one of the dominant party's political culture since violence especially towards elections create the party's dominant map work. In trying to show its democratic political practices ZANUPF has

now since independence participated in two party coalition governments with its political opponents although these two coalition governments are different in their formation. Therefore the participation by ZANU PF in these political agreements helped the party to research its political opponents on close range like 2008 inclusive in which the dominant party attracted the MDC to its political boundaries and after working on the same theme the dominant party shows its political maturity when it continues to implement the economic independence great reforms.



CHAPTER TWO

Mugabe as a chief actor towards ZANU PF's dominance

According to Makumbe and Sithole (1996) the greatest asset ZANU PF has had is a charismatic, God given, destined and visionary leader with the name Robert Gabriel Mugabe. This ZANU PF patron has all credentials including revolutionary credentials unlike the opposition leaders who are at a nil point concerning revolution experience most of them are categorized into the born free squad despite their political indiscipline and misconceptions which reflects their ignorance. Mugabe is well equipped with political skills and experiences in such a way that he is geared to adapt to any political environmental changes such that he can be alert of an enemy's political step utilising the enemy's political weaknesses for pursuing and achieving the interests and goal of the country with the name Zimbabwe.

He is regarded as an inborn leader, a leader from God well disciplined, a man with maximum education and sensitive when it comes to political issues such that he get rid of an opponent. For instance Mugabe's counter attack on whites through the land reform politically reviews his political mastermind and expertise since he managed to carry forward the reasons and aims of the revolutionary struggle which were to attain political and economic independence of political independence was already achieved hence the Land Reform Program was quest for economic independence as well as its onset.

Furthermore Mugabe's braveness and populace before and after independence plays an essential role towards ZANU PF's dominance in the country and abroad especially to leaders who are not political cowards and not consider their own interests. According to Dowden African politics is personal. The implication of this statement is that most of the African leaders take politics to their personal business with reasons of protecting the country's sovereignty, God given resources as well as other essential within the country's boundaries from being eroded by political opponents. This also go hand in hand the words of Murmur Gaddafi that African leaders are not like baked beans they do not have expiry date. Therefore the long stay in power of Mugabe and ZANU PF is politically and economically justifiable as bravo since the intension is towards preservation and safeguarding of the country's status against political opponents. His credentials were multiplied before independence when he introduced the New Socio and Economic order guided by Marxist and Leninist ideology which replace the old order which was full of capitalism. Basing on his neighbour

Mozambique in the late 1970s Mugabe shows his destiny through his unstoppable braveness when he encouraged the mobilisation of people to take up arms against the white minority rule. Mugabe's confidence for a victory inspired the hearts of many people such that they were also confident of victory when they were in the bush. The visionary quality of Mugabe were realised on the eve of 1980 the political independence year of Zimbabwe as the black majority emerged as the ruling class with the blocking and throwing of white elite administration into a political dustbin. Hence this marks the beginning of ZANU PF's dominance and hegemony in Zimbabwean politics through election by the majority and democratic means. Therefore Mugabe's brave inspiration to the masses lead to the dominance of ZANU PF up to present day precisely because that revolutionary braveness was also used towards the sparking of the economic independence bomb of LRP with name the name that also reflects the continuation of independence war The Third Chimurenga with the target of black emancipation using and utilising the God given abundant resources in Zimbabwe.

According to Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2007) ZANU PF is under the leadership of a war veteran whose revolutionary credentials are not questionable .Due to this Mugabe and ZANU PF have been recognized as vital and popular political figures in the politics of Zimbabwe. Mugabe's regime was popular in the 1980s though there were some political constraints which emanated from the opposition's wing especially in Matabeleland with Nkomo's unstoppable mobilisation process against ZANU PF who later eventually witnessed the political guru of Mugabe with the *gukurahundi* and later the arrangements of government of national unity which strained Nkomo's political muscles marking the beginning of ZANU PF on a better political environment without internal political opponents. Challenges of political and economic instabilities ruined ZANU PF on the eve of the new decade of the 1990s after formation of opposition in 1989 the first opposition political party after nine years of independence. This formation of opposition clearly marked the practice of democratic politics in Zimbabwe since the opposition was welcomed by the unity government into the political field and this was a clear sign of Mugabe's practice of democratic politics.

The Mugabe regime was put under pressure in the early 1990s with emerging of Economic Structural Adjustment Programs (ESAP).ESAP was very hostile to Zimbabwe 's political and economic as this was fuelled by poverty outbreak with serious and catastrophic drought experience in their country and this led to decline of ZANU PF support in favour of the recently formed opposition party in 1989 ZUM by Tekere who marched out of the party with allegations and accuses to the ruling elite labelling it as the vampire class full of greediness

and systemic to practices of economic indiscipline being blanketed by subjugation of the law which was now following practice as a result of dysfunction of checks and balances in the government since the cabinet, parliament and judiciary were now politicized towards ZANU PF due to Mugabe's political ideologies hence Mugabe's presents in the ZANU PF party is totally recognized as of much importance towards the party's dominance. The founding of ZUM gave birth and opened the door for political opposition and others began to exist in the political field the likes of ZANU NDONGA under Sithole and MDC in the late 1990s which shocked ZANU PF because of the contradiction of ideologies in which the policies of MDC were anti Zimbabwean due to their maximum back up from the West who have the intention of returning back the white's minority rule which was full of black exploitation and harassment. As a result of Mugabe's political maturity he utilised the chance of opposition's weak policies and introduced the majority or Zimbabwean based policies like the proposals for the LRP in the late 1990s which was officially launched as country's political and economic direction in the beginning of the new millennium and this was recognized in the country and the diasporas a political and economic development by Mugabe and ZANU PF since most of the African countries right now have not yet tested economic independent cake for instance our neighbour South Africa is still in the economic bondage due the control of production and white control in the decisions making concerning South Africa's God given resources which Mugabe in Zimbabwe rejected to it as Western hypocrisy and practice of injustice leading to a huge crowd of Zimbabweans supporting his ideas in Zimbabwe despite a fruitless criticism from the oppositions who perfected the West ideologies which are nothing but empty concerning the Zimbabwean political direction which is majority and equality oriented.

The Africanization of Zimbabwe's abundant God given resources brings a clear mind-set of Mugabe's plans towards the country's economic independence which was carried out during the end of the first decade of the new millennium in 2008 in which Mugabe and ZANU PF though Zimbabwe was in the helm of the government of national officials officially launched the indigenisation development and economic empowerment policy which depicts Mugabe's political and economic stance as compared to the other parties in the GNU in which Mugabe's ideas were still concerned with the majority ownership of resources and the oppositions were ignorant and not much concerned since they were busy testing the fruits of elite. Mugabe grab this as a way of maintaining grip in the masses minds' and this gave light for ZANU PF's dominance in Zimbabwean politics and remained a force in the country up to

2014 since the attainment of political independence in 1980 with ZANUPF being on front .In the present day Mugabe's economic stance is still in continuation with still holding Zimbabwean values as evidenced by the ZIMASSET economic blue print which is towards black emancipation through the utilisation of the nation's God given resources which is a major source of conflict between the west and Mugabe whom they try to strain his political muscles by economic sanctions which are fruitless due to Mugabe's political maturity who give his back and a deaf ear to the West and paid attention to the East with the implementation of the Look East Policy which vibrantly continue supporting Mugabe under hardships with a traceable history even before 1980 up to the present day both politically and economically leading to ZANU PF 's dominance in the country's political affairs.

Since politics is a game of beliefs Mugabe constantly remained on the spectrum of Zimbabwe's political boundaries before and after independence due to Mugabe's psychology of knowing how to win public interests and this has been done on the eve of every election whereby Mugabe skilfully articulated populist policies which will be automatically directed to majority although the fruits will be not recognized by everyone due to economic indiscipline practices by the policy office holders. However it is also valid to note that the little recognition of Mugabe's is politically affiliated with political reasons surrounding apolitical party that, the first thing a political party has to do in the field of politics is to satisfy the needs and wants of its party official and this follows apolitical hierarchical format where by the party's top elites benefit more and arrangements go down to the party's cell category members who receive little benefits as compared to the top although they benefit much from these policies as compared to opposition who dare not benefit due to difference of political affiliations and directions. To be specific and realistic none of the opposition has attempted to take that political skill to erode ZANU PF support hence it remained a force in Zimbabwean political administration (Makumbe and Sithole 1996).

Unlike in the Matabeleland opposition wing ZANU P-F has failed before and after independence to attract the province's interests. The opposition's main wing remained antagonistic and unchanged towards ZANU PF and Mugabe precisely because of the ZIPRA forces and the Soviet social dominance orientation which had already confused and dominated the minds of the peasants in the province through ethnic propaganda which was used by Nkomo in trying to implement the rule and divide system on ethnic bases which was also a contradiction to the aims of revolutionary struggle for equality which was ZANU PF's political hymn of introducing equality .This also continues gave spark to gukurahundi which

was articulated as ethnic cleansing with a goal of addressing ethnic equality. This gains a lot of support from different political observers since ethnic togetherness is believed to be a strong solution towards the nation's internal developments and contrary ethnic cleavages and differences are politically as hostile to development (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2007) Therefore this gave platform for other views strengthening Mugabe and ZANU PF support noting that without ZANU PF and Mugabe there would be no Zimbabwe. This myth has dominated Zimbabwe politics especially in the Shona rural areas with the emergence of Mugabe's other loyal; lot of respected and royalty name (Baba Mugabe) cultivating a lot of support of the party. Psychologically this recognition of Mugabe boundaries in the rural areas relationship of father and son relationship whereby it is impossible for son to deny or disturb the father's authority in his own home Hence this gives Mugabe and ZANU PF to dominate the political atmosphere of Zimbabwe with Mugabe's familiarity.

Mugabe's ability to preserve and use culture as a mobilisation political strategy boost and raise the party's flag since the culture stance of Mugabe was favourable to the majority. During the liberation struggle all movements were under spiritual guide of Mbuya Nehanda, Sekuru Kagwi, Chaminuka among other spirit mediums who adds ingredients of religious and sacredness of Mugabe's leadership. The accommodation of religious beliefs by Mugabe and the ZANU PF ideology give the party a strong political and cultural foundation since this is welcomed by true Africans that is whether traditional believers or Christian believers since the two major religious groups in Zimbabwe do not tolerate homosexuality regarding it as a taboo. Therefore Mugabe's Pan African culture identity harvest a lot of support in Zimbabwe since the practice of gay rights is associated with Satanism hence opposing the creator God's plans which strongly biblically supported like in 1 Corinthians 7 of the Holy Bible where by a marriage between a man and a woman is justified now a marriage of same sex hence Mugabe's support continues to breed due to cultural preservation. This practice of cultural preservation by Mugabe leads to the party's dominance as this is the greatest weakness of opposition in this modern day as the MDC-T tolerates gay rights from the West in the support conditions envelop in which Britani's David Cameron had clarified that Zimbabwe among other African nations will remain suffering if they do not adopt gay rights in their constitution. Due to lack of the country's internal politics concerning the cultural rights which the MDC rushed to welcome these Western based culture rights not knowing that this was hostile to the country's cultural politics hence the opposition digging its own grave and paving a clear way for ZANU PF dominance using the culture myth of Zimbabwe as a

sovereign nation not relying on hostile and politically rooted support like what MDC do to sustain its political treasuries which are pocketed by the West with the aim of regime change agenda being spread by its agents to bring back the white minority rule which ended in 1980 through democratic elections which give Mugabe the leadership stick up to the present despite some constraints which emanate from the opposition's political stance like the economic turmoil in Zimbabwe which is fuelled by the MDC's Look West policy which was abandoned by Mugabe due to the coward of the West who claim and lie to themselves as global political and economic gurus and try to use this on the political ground as a way of dominance to use to impose their own interest favouring Western culture.

According to Chigora et al (2008) noted that ZANU PF in trying to maintain its political grip it uses various strategies among them nationalistic rhetoric based on ZANU PF's role in the liberation war towards the attainment of independence and democratic rule in Zimbabwe this multiplied ZANU PF's support. Some observers believe that only Mugabe in ZANU PF behaves the Marxist rhetoric way all though there is question of affinity of interests as well as the calculation of self-interests among other things leading to the party and Mugabe's familiarity. which emanate from the peasants as well as from the regional blocks like the Front Line States ,AU ,SADC among others considering their roles towards ZANU PF dominance in especially against the West who claim to be the superiors among to others through the use of hard power and soft power of politics like imposing sanctioning like what was done in Zimbabwe after embarking on an economic democratic step in the new millennium with the implementation of the LRP in Zimbabwe which a step towards the emancipation of the majority from the Western bondage. Mugabe's response to the actions of the opposing political parties and Britain by addressing the leftist rhetoric which Mugabe applied in the international levels to displace and justify Zimbabwean crises and this championed him as father Africa. The rhetoric charisma of Mugabe is deduced on issues that appears to be crucial especially to the third world countries such as historic injustice, Africa's way forward after the attainment of independence by many African states and the desire for economic independence in Africa through land projections and the use of Africa's God given resources and denouncing of inequality practices (Bond and Manyanya 2003).

The use of Machiavelli mind set by Mugabe in Zimbabwean politics clearly shows that he is a born leader since his political ideas in orating communicating as well as realistic politician. Mugabe's speech on the earth summit in 2003 attacking Britain gives Mugabe respect and support from all corners of the developing world especially in Africa leaders who were

lacking courage and confidence to tell the west to stop interfering in African affairs and deal with European affairs since the interference of west in Africa has resulted into a multiple of problems in Africa especially in Zimbabwe where poverty and instabilities became her order of the day and overlapped the gap “we have not asked for an inch of Europe not any squire inch of thaw t territory , Blair keep your England and let me keep my Zimbabwe” (Bond and Manyanya 2003). Mugabe ‘s fight with the west is an expression of political skills and maturity since he had already black listed them as enemies before independence of Zimbabwe therefore the continuation of fight of words between him and the west which was fuelled by the LRP in Zimbabwe towards the nation development as well as giving the rightful owners of the land their land the Zimbabwean majority which was deprived its land during the colonial era hence the land redistribution were mainly towards boosting ZANUPF support from the true Zimbabweans

ZANU PF and the rural majority

Mugabe’s good relations with the masses existed before independence .ZANU PF basing on Mao’s revolutionary political thoughts he believed that the masses are water and the guerrillas are fish in the water .ZANU PF dominated the rural terrain by respecting them as well as giving them an enlightenment scope towards the utilization of Zimbabwe’s God given resources taken by the whites. ZANUN PF used the Maoism philosophy as hunting grounds for rural area support. During the liberations war guerrillas relied on the masses that is food clothes and other life necessities like for those who smoke they were supplied by the elders who were the planters of tobacco entertainment from the different formed bands much concentrated with revolutionary songs as a way of instilling faith and hope towards victory in the liberation war, beer as well as sex if the reach appoint of agreement at sometimes. From the colonial period the relationship between ZANU PF and the masses was sealed and strengthened as a gentlemen agreement since rural area is the reliable and constant source of the ruling elite. Further the rural areas rare dominated by old people and most of them are eligible to participate actively through the election process

According to the population readings it has been observed that the rural areas contribute almost seventy per cent of the country’s population pattern whilst the urban and others share the remaining percentage .This population pattern gives ZANU PF a platform for dominance

since much of its support is rooted in the rural areas .ZANU PF as a political party has also showed its concern to them through giving the rural people land for Agricultural purposes. Mugabe curbed the election loopholes and gaps of the party failure in the referendum campaign in which the MDC slogan of yes dominated the ballot box. As resilience strategy Mugabe resorted to the LRP as a way of satisfying the rural areas as well as the war veterans who had also show some signs of antagonism with Mugabe and ZANU PF because of delaying dishing the liberation fruits. This followed by the provision of compensation funds of Z\$50 000 this gathered support for the party since most of the war veterans belongs to the rural areas and the compensation funds also show respect and honour to the revolution giants since the LRP was regarded as fruitful towards the emancipation of Zimbabweans and economic independence beginning hence the Third Chimurenga rejuvenated ZANU PF dominance. The dominance of the party also originates from the party 's ideology which is anti-western as opposed to the opposition party whose policies are reviewed as anti-Zimbabwean and pro-western due to the need of support of MDC from the whites .The idea by MDC to bring back the white man superiority and the evil practices by the whites led to peasants rejection towards MDC policies and give a zero vote .According to Chigora et al (2008) the LRP was a mobilization strategy aimed to counter and hunt the rural area vulnerability hence gathering support for ZANU PF .Mugabe's continuous support especially in the field of Agriculture allocated him credibility from the rural areas his emphasis on land to the people hit a lot of support for ZANU PF since the rural people were hungry for their land .The support given to the rural people in the agricultural sector as the backbone of the economy of the rural people dwellers is unstoppable since every year Mugabe disbursed agricultural equipment like seeds, fertilisers as well as other agricultural equipment like ploughs, harrows, tractors ,combine harvesters pesticides among other essential farming equipment towards a fruitful production despite some poor rainfall patterns which lead to famine. This parenthood support by Mugabe lead to a huge number of people rallying behind ZANU PF as well Mugabe was rendered a respected figure (Baba Mugabe) hence it will become difficult for the peasants to subscribe their allegiance to ZANU PF and this is contrary to the MDC whose support is rooted in the urban areas of which it shares with other parties (Raftopoulos 2006).

The brilliant political move of invading white farms was a political stance meant to preserve the regime in power since the popularity graph of the government and ruling elite had dropped down. With the LRP ZANU PF was greatly appreciated by peasants who have been

long waiting for the beginning of economic independence. This created a source of authority and legitimacy of the party in the rural areas as well as advocates for parliamentary control of rural people through representation by war veterans youth militia and women all of them with a thirst for empowerment through the country's resources (Shaw 2003).

ZANU PF and media

The ability and capability of ZANU PF to belong like a government gave the party leverage for dominance as the party enter into position of controlling the broadcasting services like the ZBC and ZTV. According to Zaffiro the regime control of broadcasting services is evidenced by having power over appointments to senior post in the broadcasting services ,control over financial affairs as well as evidence of partnership of government's influence in broadcast content particularly news and current affairs in which much of the content is pro ZANU PF despite the presents of other political parties of which their programs are deemed as nonsense and obstacle towards the ruling party's power politics direction and the social dominance of ZANU PF in the whole area. In Zimbabwe both ZTV and ZBC is pro ZANU PF and this is apolitical strategy of social dominance. It is politically true that towards an election media is used as a hunting ground for ZANU PF by remembrances of colonial and revolutionary history through revolutionary war songs ,poems and many other programs which mostly done towards election as a way of alerting people. With the stepping into the new millennium the appointment of Jonathan Moyo as minister of media and information services with his brilliant political tactics which impose tough media regulations and boundary lines which resulted to harassment of journalists ,expulsion of foreign media correspondents and the daily newspaper banning .All these steps were followed by6 by the introduction of (BSA)Broadcasting Service Act in 2001, (POSA) Public Order and Security Act in 2002, (AIPPA) Access to Information and Privacy Act in 2002 again and the Broadcasting Cooperation Act(BCA) in 2003.All these information controlling procedures created the demise and deem opposition capabilities to remove Mugabe's rule from the royal chair. Therefore the curtailing of opposition's effectiveness through media was a political gimmick since ZANU PF's political programs dominated the media disseminations and positive information of MDC was negatively published as a way of distracting the opposition structure.

Effective use of media was founded in the early 2000 and this dominated the political spectrum of Zimbabwe since ZANU PF remained a force. Advertising space for opposition became tough as the media will be used to extol Mugabe's political agendas and campaign

procedures updating people daily campaign venues. In most cases ZANU PF political opponents if lucky they subjected to pay sums of money and the bad part of this patriotic media by that time was that most of the sensitive submissions of the opposition were rejected because of criticism to the government and ZANU PF's political map (Smith 2001). Therefore the capacity of ZANU PF to dominate the media led to its dominance since the media was also used towards electoral fraud like in 2007n whereby election result was delayed and the media was used to update people about election result with true reasons supporting ZANU PF 's dirty political game thereby justifying the delay of results. In rural areas where methods of disseminating information are mainly the ZBC and ZTV information deficiency and as a result they end up believing ZANU PF ideologies since these are the main programs especially towards election. Newspapers access is just a privilege of the rural elite who can afford to buy and have time to concentrate on reading as literacy degree in the rural areas is at low rate as compared to urban. Therefore the politicization of media boosts a lot of support towards the social dominance of ZANU PF as much of the rural population will focus and pay much attention on the news hours in which the broadcasting services will be disseminating pro ZANU PF information.

The essential role played by media towards ZANU PF dominance as the continuum publication and broadcasting of revolutionary history towards an election as a way of instilling fear and dangers of the liberation war. The continuum broadcasting and playing of revolutionary songs and videos, review of war incidences to the so called born free and other people who are ignorant of liberation history. War songs are repeatedly played on the ZBC as a way of indoctrinating people towards the ZANU PF ideology of preserving the country's hard won heritage of which this is the perspective of the rural terrain concerning the past and future of Zimbabwe as well deprivation of the opposition parties to throw ZANU PF rule into a dust bin.

The use of media with abuse is also critical and central towards ZANU PF's dominance. Most politicians want to use mass media as a way of manipulating political transparency and subverting political values to the people. This involves lack of equality on broadcasting services. In Zimbabwe it is fair to say that the dominant party ZANU PF uses the mass media to subvert and curtail political transparency since most of the news published on television and radio stations is pro ZANU PF. Therefore in the scenario of Zimbabwean politics media also plays an important role in championing the dominance of ZANU PF since only the political information of the dominant political party is considered as essential and most of the

opposition information is considered as vacuum and hold little water and suitable to be thrown in to the political dust bin hence ZANU PF remained a force.

Dictatorship and ZANU PF dominance

Due to a number of circumstances that political parties suffered it is apolitical right for any political party to seek ways of survival since politics is the struggle for power and dominance as well as understanding who get what when and how as according to (Thau, Llasswell).As long as a country enjoys its sovereignty it is politically justifiable for sovereign state to find its definition of democracy as long as the majority agrees in relation to the proposed ideas by the ruling elite. In most cases when ZANU PF seeks support especially towards elections it resorted to what it justified as good politics in its own whilst oppositions always cry claiming electoral fraud like the 2008 when ZANU PF applied constitutional politics towards election winning percentage in Zimbabwe which shocked most of the unskilled politician who did not understand a win and a loss as well as the 2014 election in which ZANU PF dominated the election with a resounding victory against its opponents in which the parliamentary seats of ZANU PF dominates sixty per cent of the parliament . This vibrant victory by ZANU PF proved that it is still a majority party since independence. Therefore this political maturity and knowledge of ZANU PF led to allegations by the MDC that it had practice electoral fraud and abuse of election rights and these ideas will be fuelled by a justification by the west that are angry about the Zimbabwe land issue. Therefore the fact that the west identifies themselves as the world's political guru make it easier for them to justify every aspect of international law according to their situation and targeted interests. In Zimbabwe western claims in the country towards the abuse of human rights and their own definition of democracy which not related to Zimbabwe's perspective of democracy and dictatorship since it is recognized as a sovereign state and the MDC opt to follow these claims because of its political ignorance and its principal agency relationship with the west.

In trying to survive in the field of politics dominant political parties hunt support especially towards elections with all means in order to dominate and continue enjoying the life of political dominance. In most of the former colonies these political tactics are usually described as dictatorship because of the west's political jealous and concern of self-interests first and their quest to undermine Africa. Robinson (1994) argues that repression is an

alternative strategy for authoritarian elite wishing to curb and stop democracy and pave way for dictatorship and it has been used in Indonesia in 1965 as a survival tactic by the government. Repression has caused political elites to stay in power for a long time for instance ZANU PF has stayed in power for a long time since 1980 with the oppositions claiming the use of repression by ZANU PF in order to sustain its social dominance in different societies using some forms of intimidation, brutalisation as well as torture for instance the Operation Headless Chicken in Mount Darwin which was a political stick method applied by the dominant party in order to force people to submit themselves to ZANU PF ideologies through indoctrination and politicization of people to rally behind ZANU PF and Mugabe's leadership which is demised and tarnished its image by the crybabies of MDC claiming dictatorship practices by the ruling elite towards its dominance.

It is believed that repression and other undemocratic practices are the main political tools used by politicians to sustain their long stay and service in power politics. The ZANU PF government has resorted to repression tactic in 2000, 2002, 2005, 2008 and in 2014 in which the opposition claims silent repression especially in rural areas as key for ZANU PF's victory not considering a hopeful, strategic, organized, fruitful and massive campaign conducted by Mugabe and ZANU PF in all the provinces in Zimbabwe as a way which was calculated by ZANU PF think tanks in order to rejuvenate and return its support and this culminated to a resounding victory of the party. This resounding victory of ZANU PF led to false allegations by the opposing political parties claiming the practice of dictatorship in Zimbabwe forgetting the fact that democracy rests on the heart of election. Therefore to a larger extent it is politically fair to say that the accusations of the opposition against dictatorship does not hold much water since the holding of elections is the key issue towards democracy hence it is politically justifiable that despite some democratic abuse by MDC Zimbabwe remain a democratic state because there is a contradiction of democracy definitions of democracy between the West views and African perspective since the definition of democracy by the West and their puppet front in Zimbabwe the MDC is totally different to that of the west precisely because their views are both politically founded since politics is a game of who get what when and how and this is why Mugabe always criticise them because of his political knowledge that the west want to re-dominate Africa through a diplomatic way where by they claim human rights abuse in Zimbabwe whilst their main agenda is to fulfil their agenda of regime change which has been the opposition's fruitless and infertile manifesto since its formation. ZANU PF used as an essential political

instrument for its long stay in power since it was under a rock and hard surface due to massive economic and political down turns it experienced in the early 1990s These were fuelled by ESAP which led to an upheaval of crises in the country being blanketed by the democratisation agenda, devaluation and deregulation which led to a serious outbreak of poverty in the country which is a virus towards development and this led to loss of ZANU PF support with the emergence of MDC with its tap roots from the ZCTU and a huge support from urban area and working class groups. Therefore the claims of dictatorship by the opposition are something but nothing precisely because of the fact that elections are held in Zimbabwe as the constitution or parties agrees. It is fair to argue that Zimbabwe is a democratic state as well the justification of ZANU PF dominance as democratically driven is creditable since the electoral dominance of ZANU PF paves its way for dominance in Zimbabwe. In 2008 ZANU PF and Mugabe used violence harassments and political coward to make Tsvangirai agree into a quick political decision which led to the formation of the GNU in which the solution bring much political fruits to ZANU PF since Mugabe remained his force as a president and the other two political parties remained under the influence of Mugabe since the constitution of Zimbabwe allocate more powers to the president as opposed to other constitutions which allocates powers to the prime minister as a leader of the legislative and all ministerial offices .Therefore with this information in hand one can argues that ZANU PF dominance in Zimbabwe is not due to dictatorship as the MDC claim it is rooted in democracy as it is evidenced by vibrant and resounding electoral outstanding of ZANU PF since 1980 as well as the recently sound election victory in 2014 which was witnessed by different election observers from local, regional and [P-abroad hence the dictatorial allegations by MDC and the West are empty as well as different of political ideologies and interests since clash of interests is a real cause of political conflict .

In 2002 the ZANU PF party and regime under Jonathan Moyo crafted a new law called POSA which was meant to limit the freedom of people and to cut the political activities of the opposition groups .Due to POSA civil society groups meetings were taken as political gatherings since some of the civil society groups like the NGOs are from west hand most of them are targeting the fulfilment of their motherland interests like the regime change agenda with the target of predominating Zimbabwe with the use of their forefront the MDC who are anti-African especially in cultural boundaries in which they support the Western view of gay culture as a human right with David Cameroon upholding this for the sake of disturbing Zimbabwe's development who forget that Zimbabwe is a sovereign state which is bound to

make its own decision despite the recognition by the west on whether the political step is democratic or not but to make sure that its interests as a sovereign state are accomplished.

Further the ZANU PF government has survived for this long period of time from 1980 because of electoral authoritarianism. The state conduct its elections on regular basis for the presidential and the legislative elections as a democratic practice but the abuse of the rights become a problem since people will be deprived of their election rights of which election right is the basic principle for recognition of democracy in a country. Therefore this gives a fair platform for the political observation that elections are a key for authoritarian rule rather than democratic rule precisely because election equality and freedom of electing candidate of choice will be limited since the dominant class will always want safe guard their political interests. The beginning of the new millennium in Zimbabwe was characterised by coward and un fair politics since people are not free concerning the issue of power politics since struggle for power and dominance in this jungle where the survival of the fittest is the real fact hence each political party has the right to find its own survival strategies for the sake of leadership. According to Masunungure (2009:8) he is of the view that "ZANU PF's stay in power hinges upon a distractive mix of ideology patronage and violence" and this culminated to what he observed as a "militarised form of electoral authoritarianism". This belief of Masunungure gains evidence and credibility from the 2008 presidential run-up election in June. These election were full of brutalisation intimidation and torture of the opposition members .Therefore the use of violence and other abuse of law by practice in this real world towards the dominance of ZANU PF since the stick method is the only method to be applied in politics and bring preferred results through changing human behaviour, character and attitude as people were indoctrinated and use of political socialization to submit themselves and rally behind the ZANU PF leadership.

The use of violence by ZANU PF as the dominant social elite has been the hallmark of the party's long stay in power .The party president and leader Mugabe has even boasted of the party's 'degrees in violence' and these violence degrees have been applied effectively since 1980 as the machine gun for the party's social dominance since 1980 up to the present day as the party's survival strategies. The use of, intimidation and other coercive tactics by ZANU PF is not a new phenomenon regarding the history of the party and its colonial legacy which justify this with a strong back up from the revolutionary history in which organised violence was on the fore front towards the attainment of independence .The regime of ZANU PF and Mugabe managed to enlighten and make people believe its ideologies as useful and fruitful

and this give the party a strong base which emanate from the rural areas and this this culminate to electoral dominance since the rural areas contribute a large population in Zimbabwe according to the population statics .Further the rural areas are full of old people and most of them are eligible to vote. It is agreed by political observers that ZANU PF has never conducted elections in a free and fair election environment since 1980. However in this real modern political where the is the new order with the clash of civilisation and democratization as according to Huntington (1991) the world is full of corrupt political practices. This is politically justified precisely because the world is full of greedy politicians who only maximise the gains and interests with survival of the fittest and struggle for power as order of the day. Therefore it is fair for a political party to be geared to use all possible strategies in order to remain a force in the politics of Zimbabwe. More so it is it politically justifiable to articulate and say that the election environment of Zimbabwe is free and fair simply because in most cases the MDC cry-babies are the ones who always claim for unfair election environment as a way of justifying themselves to the west who are the party funders (Meredith, 2002).

Further the presence of local, regional and other election supervisors and monitors also proves electoral democracy practice by ZANU PF. Since monitors especially from outside the country operate on a neutral mind to avoid nepotism there is no way in which ZANU PF can corrupt the election environment on the face of all these election monitors. The 2013 Zimbabwe election was characterised by a fair and free election environment as according to the observations by the observers from SADC, AU the JOMIC team and other individual interested election observers. Their observations clearly show that elections were done on equality basis and ZANU PF emerged as the winner with a resounding and vibrant result. Despite some politically affiliated allegations by one of SADC's election observers Lindiwe Zuma who give a critical and unfair comment regarding the election saying the election environment was corrupt and favours ZANU PF. However these observations rooted on the affiliations of the lady which are not related to ZANU PF's rule. It was clear that her favourite political party in Zimbabwe is MDC due to the fact that many South Africans totally blame the political move by Mugabe of continuing the independence of Zimbabwe from political independence to economic independence which was introduced through the LRP and they claim that this was the beginning of poverty patterns in Zimbabwe .Most of the South Africans are not aware that their country is still under economic bondage and this is why Zuma shows her political stance of supporting MDC to dominate Zimbabwean politics

with the mind to bring back the economic developments by ZANU PF of giving the real owners of the resources and land in Zimbabwe the rightful owners. This can get a political and economic justification precisely because the production team of South Africa is in the hands of foreign investors and this gave the MDC cry-babies room to sing their hymn of electoral fraud and abuse of election environment in Zimbabwe. Zuma observes the election environment as corrupt and favourable to ZANU PF. Therefore to some extent the opposition views on political dominance of ZANU PF as unfair is debatable due to a number of issues being surrounding the election environment. Most of these issues are being exercised in Zimbabwe elections for instance equality of party representation on polling stations, hence the idea of unfairness of the election environment is difficult to deduce since election procedures that are on the constitution are done.

ZANU PF and the political economy of Zimbabwe.

Since politics and economics cannot be separated in this modern world it is fair to give credit to the party for its ability and capability to liberalise the economy of the country. The implementation of land policy is a political and economic advancement of the party and country towards development and the party's dominance. It is politically necessary for political leaders to influence great policies in a country for their long stay in power (Machiavelle (1997)).

ESAP

After a period of about a decade Zimbabwe and ZANU PF was under a rock and hard surface due to catastrophic economic distains and hardships which hit the country as a result of the three(ds)caused by ESAP that is devaluation , deregulation and democratisation. This affected the economy of Zimbabwe to the extent that the politics and economics of the country changed totally. The predominantly white entrepreneurs were rather exporting gold than trinkets, raw cotton and not processed one. The country exports jobs which belong to the citizens to metropolitan countries with which our lead entrepreneurs' identity has been thriving and developing on the expense of Zimbabwe. This brain drain affected the country to the extent that its economic graph dropped down to zero and the Zimbabwean dollar depreciated its value on the world market. This paves a way for poverty in this country which is chief enemy of African countries due to the legacies of colonialism. As a result of ESAP the state was no longer able to influence the world market whether through participation or

legally by law. Drought hit the affected economy as people suffered a lot. There was a continuum of cyclonic rainfall patterns and the country had depressed international markets and knocked out the country's leading exportable like tobacco as well as the country's African responsibility in the SADC of food security was limited due to the situation of poverty prevailing in the country. Being fuelled by the ZIMPREST policy another vibrant but non-beneficial to Africans the economy continued to suffer. All these were economic adjustment strategies in Zimbabwe but the way all these reforms were implemented was not designed for pro African and in reality they were the external force interests. With all this information in hand ZANU PF take the injustices and unfairness of the ESAP and ZIMPREST as a political and economic lesson and decided to resort and take an active action with a mission of adjusting the economy for real ownership and control by indigenous Zimbabweans. This was because of the fact that Zimbabwe's economy rests on agriculture and this was where the whites derive and ensure their dominance through control and ownership of land. Therefore the continuation of adjustment programs lead to a permanent dominant mind by ZANU PF in Zimbabwean politics as the transfer of land ownership and control from the white minority to ZANU PF and the majority cultivated for the party's dominance precisely because with this step it rooted itself in majority. This agrees with Mao's win political strategies in which the majority was the sea and water and the political strategists and guerrillas were regarded as the fish in the sea hence they in hands and guide of majority (Mugabe 2001).

ESAP affected the country in a deeper sense as the country was struck politically, economically, socially as well as environmentally. This culminated to continuous bickering and hardships concerning the survival of the party and the government since the party faces a lot of criticism from both outside and internal constraints. With this catastrophic hit then there was the emergence of the democratisation agenda proposed by the West claiming undemocratic governance in Zimbabwe this was hostile to the country as its political e image had been tarnished by the west who were seeking penetrations into the country's governance structure. Devaluation of the country's currency also affected the party's dominance and survival since the Zimbabwean dollar lost its market on the world market and deregulation of Zimbabwe exports and imports on the world market and this was further intensified by the geographic location of Zimbabwe which is a land locked county. The emergence of these political and economic events affected the party's progress as it became difficult for the party to smoothly survive whilst surrounded by these turmoil which were instigated by mostly

external forces and to be specific the former colonizers of this country who were not appreciating and recognizing the dominance of ZANU PF only tolerating white superiority. The turn by ZANU PF whether wrong or not brings another international economic order since it is politically real that the economy of the colonizers was based on African countries in which they busy looting resources during the colonial era from their real owners and develop their countries. This was also causing brain drain and of Africa hence the readjustment of the economy to favour the black contributed a lot towards the party's dominance as this towards the fulfilment of the majority interests as well as chasing the vision and mission of economic emancipation.

The land issue

Since the territorial land in Zimbabwe is the backbone of the economy therefore it is of paramount importance to respect this since Zimbabwe is a sovereign nation and is supposed to have freedom in its resources. The land issue shows an important threshold in the evolution of our country as a sovereign nation hence land ownership is a stewardship to the nation. Land ownership has been a development gear and interest rooted on sovereignty and self-determinism of a country. Land has been the cause of all political histories of the country and in Africa as a whole. King Lobengula's goal when he was fighting with the British encroachment in 1893 was of land interests as well all the civil wars fought in Zimbabwe were all have something to do with land occupations although there were other causes which justifies the wars. All these actions were for bread and butter issues through the emancipation of peasants since it is politically historically and economically believed that livestock rearing and farming creates the pillars of the Zimbabwean economy since the founding of the states like Great Zimbabwe, Mutapa and Rozvi among other states and developments. Land ownership and control was just like governing and controlling since traditionally everyone's portion of ownership belongs to him or her. Land distributions were at a slow rate on the early years of independence due to the Lancaster House Agreement which had given clear land ownership by the blacks. In a survey which was done from independence to October 1998 it was likely that the land distributions had a total of 127 509 families owning 4 762 065 hectares of productive land redeemed to them under the (FTLRP) fast track land research program. Land distributions were as follows in Mashonaland east 21 839, in Manicaland 11

659, Mashonaland central 10 852, in Mashonaland west 20550, Midlands 17 607, Matabeleland north 7 532, Matabeleland south 10 554 and lastly in Masvingo where the program shows to fruitful with 26 916 (Mugabe 2001).

This was a great reform effort by the party since the political and economic climate during that period was very harsh and hostile as there were poverty patterns, unemployment, food shortages as well as lack of political cooperation in the country. Therefore it is valid to argue that although the country was under harsh conditions and hardships the ZANU PF government managed to maintain the status core values of the country as well as fulfilling the country's mission of sovereign ownership of resources hence rejuvenating the party's dominance from the grassroots as the peasants were actively involved in the politics of land. In addressing the land issue the ZANU PF regime and the masses were fighting a battle of justices and equity for land and this was a political strategy by the party as this was also fulfilment of the national interests of land ownership.

The land issue and regional support (the Abuja agreement).

The engagement by ZANU PF as dominant political party in the carry forward its agenda for land redistributions and addressing. The Abuja meeting was held in Nigeria and the former president of Nigeria Obasanjo credited and positively justified the land issue in Zimbabwe as a political step up the independence ladder by ZANU PF as a dominant political party. Zimbabwe as a sovereign state received a lot of support from the African countries due to colonial injustices in which every African nation suffered. The Abuja agreement marked a lot of success, development and political cooperation as it was clear that most African countries supported the land issue of Zimbabwe as their sister. This was a real sign that Zimbabwe by its own it was able to maintain the territorial integrity of the state as well safeguarding the country's economic surroundings as the LRP was based on African ownership of resources. The agreement justified the fact that land was the core problem in Zimbabwe and had its roots in the historical injustices perpetrated by British injustices which were towards maximization of foreign benefits in the territory which does not belong to them. With this information in hand the land issue became essential and further strengthened the stabilization of the country's economy which degraded and eradicated by evil actions of the west hence in other terms it was to cover the gap and disastrous tracks of ESAP which submerge and eradicate the party's dominance due to lake of public trust being instigated by the turmoil and poverty outbreak in the country. ESAP had caused a lot of negative things which bring

disturbances towards the dominance of the party and these include democratisation reform requested by outsiders to Zimbabwe a sovereign state, devaluation of the Zimbabwean and deregulation of the country's imports and exports goods all these political and economic experiences by ZANU PF brings permanent wounds to the economy since this can be perceived as the beginning of economic loop holes in country. The Abuja agreement also ascertained that the land issue in Zimbabwe was only able to be conducted and finished in terms of law and the constitution of the country of which the constitution of the country is regarded as the supreme law of the land hence in any country land forms the basis for a constitution. Therefore the agreement emphasized and justified land actions in Zimbabwe as correct since this was for majority benefits not a minority group's interests. The active participations by ZANU PF in land grabbing shows an affirmative action by the party towards a sovereign ownership and control of resources. Therefore the recognition and acknowledgements of land by the meeting give ZANU PF a political guarantee for dominance and fruitfulness of the land issue and harvested support from all angles since the black majority welcome this as an economic emancipation strategy in Zimbabwe being found on the basis of need for equity and justices in resource allocation.

In contrary the Abuja agreement suffered a lot of criticism although an African idea towards the utilization of its values. A lot of issues surrounded the land issue in Zimbabwe and this include the donor funding of which all these donor funds were fruitless towards the development of Zimbabwe as a sovereign state since these funds will be having mother country interests of which in Zimbabwe the donors were to fulfil the interests of the former colonizers Britain and America and totally tolerating these donors was a political and economic failure. Ironically those farmers who were benefiting and upholding the British and donor initiative were totally antagonistic to the Abuja agreement and these were politically regarded as sell-outs since they were exposing negatively African politics to the enemy by accommodating those exploitative ideas of the west which were rooted on their need to call for the decolonization of Africa. Therefore it is politically justifiable to say that ZANU PF's participation in the Abuja agreement contributed a lot towards the party's dominance since the meeting provides a clear guarantee of support from Africa hence this gave the party the energy to implement the land policy thoroughly without going back because of the backup from sister countries as it was politically viewed as a nationalistic reform towards the attainment of economic freedom.

Democracy notion and ZANU PF's dominance.

In this modern world it is difficult to say whether a country is democratic or not. The concept of state sovereignty has led the countries to be able to do whatever action it can in order to survive in this world since power struggles have become the order of this third world in which democratisation has become the issue on table. The research seeks to explore the practice of democratic political actions. ZANU PF as a representative of the sovereignty of the country on the global political community does anything that protects the country from harmful politics. The taste of political by the party in 1980 through the electioneering process led the party's map of democratic politics precisely because election is one of the pillars of democracy. According to Prah democracy should be indigenous in order to protect the local people. The electioneering of people to have control of political office is a democratic principle which creates the bases for representative democracy of this the common democracy which exists in real politics. According to Aritotle (1962) he articulated that real democracy lies on the principle of equality. This issue of equality existed in Zimbabwe since 1980 as election were done on equal bases. The study also articulates the dominance of ZANU PF as democratic since the presents of opposition political parties in the political playfield shows the tolerance of democratic politics in Zimbabwe as these parties operate on antagonism with the dominant party's sovereignty back up in which the party as government tries to maintain the historic values of the country hence this led to the party's force to remain countable in the political arena of the country as democratic party.

The concept of democracy has now created political confusions in this modern world since every country likes to dominate another country and this the diplomatic continuum of colonization. It is fair to say culture is the backbone of the wellbeing of a country as it is a core value. According to Chikerema and Chakunda (2014) historical and cultural relations of a society are crucial for the country's political map on the face of the global political community. The ability of ZANU PF as political party to maintain its political stance of preserving the nation's cultural values helped the party to gain strength from the African region since the west want to eradicate the African culture with their hypocrisy. The desire by the west to influence gay rights in Africa is problematic and shows the abuse of rights since the force by economic giants want to spread these gay rights in Africa taking advantage of poverty patterns in the continent. All the economic reforms by the dominant party are mostly towards the party's survival and are justified as democratic as they seek to address economic

inequality in which the white minority was dominant in the resources of the country and this show that there was existence of injustices. Therefore all economic actions done by ZANU PF are essential in the sense that they being on the basis of sovereignty which is political yardstick

Conclusion

The political ability and capabilities of Mugabe contribute a lot towards the party's dominance since these political cleared the party's political map work precisely because up to the present day since Mugabe shows his political capabilities when he participated in the party's mobilization and campaign practice towards the 2013 presidential election when he move to all province reviving and rejuvenating the party's support and his political campaign ability brought positive outcomes since the party win resoundingly the election. The party's political ideologies also help the party to remain strong and influential in the politics of the country. The economic great policies such as the land reform program led the party to dominate Zimbabwean politics since these are majority oriented policies they are meant to benefit the black majority. The ESAP policy gave ZANU PF an economic and political lesson since the outcomes of the policy were of costs than benefits to the majority as it benefited the outsiders through the use coward politics. In other words the results of the policy gave the party political and economic power to manage its political business as it entered the new millennium with a lot of serious to use its sovereignty in fighting against the white people's dominance in Zimbabwean resources and political concepts in which the party uses a variety of ways to maintain the sovereignty of the state while at the same time moulding the party's positive image to the masses. In trying to survive the party utilizes the media as its political machine gun since the media is used by the party to hunt support from all corners through the abuse of media to have a political affiliation. The political stance of the media is supposed to be neutral but in Zimbabwe in reality the media is pro ZANU PF and anti-opposition and the arrangement of media programs has nepotism and biased and this led to dominance of ZAN PF since most of current information support the party and hijack the opposition support. The practice of democratic politics in Zimbabwe is very essential since this led to little condemnation of the party especially in the African region.

CHAPTER THREE

Since the efforts of the study are mainly focused on finding the reasons and causes of ZANU PF dominance in the political parameters of Zimbabwe and it has been observed that the dominance of ZANU PF is because of the party's history as well as its majority policies. As part of the research it is reviewed in the findings that are being articulated in the chapter. Compiling the study observation it has been deduced that the use of Machiavelli ideologies by the party as a way of protecting the party's interests like the use of vibrant reforms. Dominance of ZANU PF is totally a sum of its great policies it continue to implement as a way of maintaining and securitising the state's sovereignty and economic property of the country since the country is under a threat from the west who want to take Zimbabwe's own given resources through unjustified means like use of soft power and cohesion like the use of sanctions in Zimbabwe by Britain, America and their political allies. As party of the study it has been observed that ZANU PF's foreign policy has been crucial for the party's dominance as it is mainly focusing on preserving the state's ideological goals, national interests as well the state's economic property from external threats and in Zimbabwe it is true to say that the current threat to Zimbabwe's economy is the west with their hypocrisy and greediness which they had try to pursue since the end of the second decade of the country's independence. Further due to the party's foreign policy change in the 21st century ZANU PF dominance has become unquestionable due to its fruitful linkup with China as an alteration to the eliminated pro west policy which was bringing more costs than benefits to the government since the west were targeting on looting the resources of Zimbabwe and boost their economies. It has been observed that the dominance of ZANU PF is a linkup of its economic great reforms which show apiece of heart by the party as well this elaborates public concern by ZANU PF government and this has built the party's dominance foundation. The paper writing below also explore research findings concerning the dominance of ZANU PF of which most of the party's indigenous and domestic policies like the indigenization and economic empowerment policy which is a Zimbabwe rooted policy implemented to eradicate and emancipate the black people from poverty using their own God given resources and this is being propounded by the party and other civil society organizations like DANet which is an affiliate and pro ZANU PF NGO. This information has become useful to the study since these domestic policies get a lot of support from all angles in the country as well as from the international community with enough back up from the Asian community.

FTLRP

The fast track land reform program was a gigantic political step by ZANU PF in fight for the emancipation of the black majority also it was a political strategy implemented to regain and rejuvenate the party's support. It was a political calculation by ZANU PF against the opposition ideology in regard to land issue. This was a result of the referendum election in which the opposition had dominated the election with a lot of support and this was a warning bell for ZANU PF to be alert and strong for the election which was coming since the referendum results give a clear signal of depreciation of ZANU PF support. Therefore the party's seriousness concerning land distributions in favour of the black majority raised the morality as people were still hungry and in serious need for land. Although this was an economic advancement in Zimbabwe on the other side of the coin the policy had some effects which were being fuelled by the west in other words this was a continuum of ESAP instabilities and this was accompanied by the economic sanctions which deteriorated the Zimbabwean economy. Although it is true that the MDC top elites own farms however the opposition criticised the land issue justifying it as injustices and unfair due to their principal agency relationship with the West.

The FTLRP was appreciated and recognized by a lot of African politicians as a good example of successful African politics since in 2001 the land issue reached its peak as both the international community and local community was having a word to comment and some of the great powers like Britain, America and other former colonizers of the African society were negatively affected and they gave negative comments relating to land issues and on the other side of the coin the African region countries were affected positively and this gave positive comments, encouraging and inspirational minds to other African states to take difficult exercise with a long period of time to enjoy the benefits since it is an economic evolution. For instance the land uprisings which are on the onset in South Africa being led by the (EFF) economic freedom fighters under Julius Malema's nationalistic mind set has a core mission of land distributions with fairness and justices. The party has target of black ownership of production process in South Africa since it is one of the countries which are not yet enjoying economic independence despite its recognition and claim that it is one of African power horses. In reality land was given and distributed to the people for economic empowerment and at the same time it was towards the party's mobilisation and campaign strategy for parliamentary elections. In 2001 the fast track land approach had resettled close to 10 000 families and about 127 509 families were now living on newly opened virgin lands

and covering about 2, 2 million hectares. This is regarded as totally a political and economic development by ZANU PF in taking the land reform agenda as a right to own and utilize its values. This helped ZANU PF to maintain its political grip in Zimbabwean politics due to the fact that a lot of people were now empowered with having ownership and control of land and this was a guarantee of survival of the party. To realistic the issues in the country were all about the bread and butter issues since the distribution of land to the rural majority rejuvenates the trust and belief of the masses the party was heading towards a brighter economy as well most of them were now in position to use the land for day to day survival through utilisation of the land since unemployment and poor living conditions is now the order of the day therefore those with farms can have a better living standards through launching of projects which agrees with the climatic conditions in that particular area for instance farm projects and livestock projects among other projects.

The FTLRP can regarded as a vigorous action and interaction by the party elites focusing on poverty problem solving for the benefit and fulfilment of the of nation's interests. The approach contributed a lot towards the party's mobilisation process and this resulted in party's great increase in membership as it was real and fair that land invasions were done by ZANU PF war veterans who were using African ideology of preserving African values and no other political party in Zimbabwe had such a mind-set. This was done to readdress the colonial injustices in the country which have been instigated by the colonial devils. In 2001 when the LRP was under its way it has a progress as it managed to resettle closely 50 000 families on 5 million hectares of land. The financing of the land reform program was party based as this was the real meaning of independence. Therefore to be realistic the land issues had a lot towards the party's dominance as it was a continuum of independence.

The emergence of sanctions and ZANU PF's stance

The FTLRP sparked the flame of sanctions in Zimbabwe as this is sour revenge in the political game between the Britain and her allies since the violence chasing expel of whites in the farms affected the lives of many whites who were residing here in Zimbabwe as their permanent country due to the colonial superiority of the whites before independence. The whites regarded this s a political challenge by Mugabe and they decided to resort to use of soft power dealing with their usual, enemy Zimbabwe due to sovereignty claims by Mugabe

in all angles as long as it is within the territorial boundary of Zimbabwe. These sanctions can be perceived as disastrous and catastrophic bomb posted to Zimbabwe by Britain since they deteriorated the economy and create a way for poverty and unrest from the beginning of the new millennium up to 2014 although some of the economic loop holes are being covered by the great reforms implemented by the country like the indigenisation and economic empowerment as well as the fresh economic blue print the ZIMASSET and these reforms can be viewed as anti-sanction campaign by Zimbabwe as a nation since it's an economic gear by ZANU PF towards the improvement of the economy which has been long affected by the sanctions which by reality are devilish since they are causing a lot of unrests. The success of these policies rooted on the Look East Policy in which Zimbabwe's relationship with the east is unstoppable and it is a relationship towards development of these two states. Sanctions ruined the economy of Zimbabwe to the extent that the country was recognized as the most affected country by poverty attacks. Sanctions affected Zimbabwe to the extent that the country decided to change its policies. the politics and economics of the country changed totally since after the imposition of these sanctions to Zimbabwe, ZANU PF decided to strengthen their relationship with China and this worked since the effective implementation of the look east policy in a number of operations revive and restructured the distracted economy. Therefore it is fair to recommend that the living conditions were adjusted and linked to the modern globalized world hence poverty patterns were deducted and reduced. Therefore it is politically justifiable to say that ZANU PF as a political party increased its dominance since it managed to maintain the sovereign status of the country precisely because the sanctions were given to Zimbabwe as a form of punishment after Zimbabwe's nationalistic movement into the FTLRP and the west were not satisfied with this step, and they revenged sourly by economical means by crippling the country's economy and under these circumstances the ZANU PF regime survived up to present with china as its main pillar.

Since sanctions are regarded as soft political tools however their effect is much wounding. The sanctions on Zimbabwe are regarded by the west as respond to abuse of human rights since they are trying to justify the wrongs using international law. The roots of the sanctions to be politically fair they rooted from the land reform in which the impacts of the land reform were viewed on a negative perspective due to the mind of oppression within the minds of the white man. Therefore land is the central issue concerning the sanctions imposed to Zimbabwe. Further Mugabe's cultural conservative mind set also fuelled the sanctions because the idea of gay rights is very sensitive to Mugabe as mature politician and cultural

preserver in Africa and this led to recognition of Mugabe as Father Africa because of his political ability to maintain African culture and integrity since the issue of gay rights in Africa is inhuman and this practice lacks dignity. The reject by Mugabe to allow the practice of gays angered the whites and this led to poverty patterns in Zimbabwe since it was sabotaged especially in economic boundaries by the west who claims to be the economic giants in the world. One of Britain official David Cameron clarified that the economic instabilities in Zimbabwe will continue until the government agreed to pass into practice gay rights in the constitution of the country and besides poverty will be the order of the day in Zimbabwe. This was because of the opposition parties in Zimbabwe which have traitor's mind since the MDC has exposed and tarnished African politics because of their need for political survival thereby upholding the politics of regime change which is the foreigner and outsider's views of regime change in Zimbabwe and decided to use MDC as their agent in order to legalise the regime change agenda. Therefore it is politically justifiable to say that ZANU PF survival is due to different political obstacle it come across through the search for the country's economic independence since after the outbreak of a corrupt and unfair relationship with the west Zimbabwe decided to stick together with its real friend China since the country political cooperation started long ago before independence in which China was supporting Zimbabwe with armoury as well as war strategies like Mao's guerrilla strategies which were used by Zimbabweans against the enemy up until Zimbabwe attained its political independence in 1980. Therefore the party's cultural preservation concerning Mugabe's reject to gay rights led the party's dominance way since Zimbabweans are people with traditional dignity and humanity in which the practice of gay rights is viewed as hypocrisy and prone to underdevelopment on an African perspective (Sibanda 2014). Although the sanctions are destroying the economy however there is guarantee that ZANU PF's stay in power is still in the process since the policies and rights being accommodated by opposition and this lead the peasants to continue supporting ZANU PF since it's the only party capable in Zimbabwe to preserve the country's culture.

Operation Murambatsvina or Operation Restore Order

This was an infrastructure development reform implemented by the party after an effective political, social, environmental and health survey. Its practical implementation on 2005 was apolitical survival strategy by ZANU PF. Operation Restore Order was much focused on providing legal urban residence as there was an increase of squatters in the country. On health

wise the situation was likely to cause the outbreak of diseases like cholera, typhoid and other water diseases. Therefore the policy was a clean-up process for illegal residences since people who living in urban areas had exceeded with big percentage people were now living in houses without plans and this was illegal and not recommended as the town council set ups were not meant to accommodate the people who were residing in it and this was causing a lot of disastrous things like continuums of sewer bursts due to abnormal waste it receives which were more than their capacity designed. Therefore the government was supposed to take quick legal actions to curb the existence of such things. On social stance this urban overpopulation was affecting the society in a variety of ways like serious practice of social evils and the include increase in crime rates, robbery, murders as well prostitution found its ways in these overcrowded places hence the spread of sexual transmitted diseases was increased. However the policy affected people estimated 700 000 by the UN reports many people were left homeless and this created a gap for the vulnerability of the state since shelter is a basic need for human dignity. Due to the practical implementation of the policy Zimbabwe had upgraded its infrastructure hence this can be regarded as development step by government. Due to this policy Zimbabwe owns a lot of proud concerning infrastructure development as compared to its neighbour South Africa who claimed to be a power horse of Africa whilst squatter houses (mikuku) still exist in such a country. The presents of such buildings are a sign of poverty because this reflects poor housing schemes. Therefore it is fair to say that Zimbabwe is more advanced than South Africa when it comes to infrastructure development because the squatters in the country shows a lot of results hence the undertaking of the operation restore order created infrastructure development in the country and this led to ZANU PF dominance precisely because if one has got a piece of land to own whether permanent or as a lease that is real empowerment because the utilisation of that land towards party's survival.

On a political perspective it has been observed from group discussions that the implementations of the operation restore order policy was surrounded by a lot of political interests and planed goals of ZANU PF as a dominant party. The operation was after a strong opposition research and survey by party's intelligence man and its think tanks towards the party's survival and the political observations of the research were that the increase of opposition party support was breeding in urban areas due to a big number of people who were residing in those illegal houses and the only solution tom deal with that issue was to destroy opposition support in those overcrowded squatter areas. The doom of these squatters was also

the distraction of MDC since most people were left homeless and some turn their lives into street kids and others migrated to rural areas and they joined the already existing huge support of ZANU PF due to the political process in the rural areas where by being an ZANU PF member has more benefits than costs like to be an opposition supporter precisely because a lot of agro projects by sponsored by the party and Mugabe. Therefore to a larger extent the operation was regarded as distractive and heartless to y6the minds of those victimized but to the side of ZANU PF this was a political mirage as this curtailed the breeding MDC support in urban areas which unfavourable towards the dominant party's future since the opposition branches its support and politics from the urban working class from its beginning as it appears to be able to cater for workers grievance but at the end they proved to be unable to do such things. On the contrary the policy proves to be useful to the dominant party since this gun the party survival because it was suggested by Machiavelli that it is better for a prince to be cruel, than to be generous as long as the prince is executing his and powers and through the implementation of such great policies the party practice its legitimacy and authority in the society.

The look east policy and ZANU PF's dominance

The party's look east decision is perceived at different angles due to different political affiliations. It is politically evident that the opposition political parties are totally contradictory to the policy since advocate their politics on behalf of the west and this is a clear sign that there is still a place for mental slavery in the mind-set of the MDC political party. The MDC political party is against the policy because it believed that the policy bears more costs than benefits of which this is the contradiction of ZANU PF's political economy beliefs in which the dominant party has got trust and belief in the look east policy as the only way for economy recovery and revival. Therefore this policy contributes a lot towards the party's dominance precisely because this blocked totally the country's relationship with the west which was sour due to Zimbabwe's claim to land as a sovereign nation which was the country's escape from dependent to independence and head forward to interdependence through self-determinism in resource ownership and control.

The effective implementation of the policy on the perishing economy of Zimbabwe was credited by a lot of people in and outside the country as productive and fruitful. Chinese's economic intervention in Zimbabwe was introduced at the right time since the country's economy was on a gorge and sliding landscape which was being instigated by sanctions

which were meant to destroy and eradicate the country's sovereignty. It is not possible for a country to exchange its sovereignty with little trapping material from the west like money since this lead to the eradication of Zimbabwean values. The economy was strongly affected by and it struggled to such an extent that poverty and social unrests were now the order of the day despite the fact that Zimbabwe possessed important resources since these resources were a prime cause for these instabilities and uncertainties in the country. All valid minerals in Zimbabwe were depreciated and reduction of its product market on the world market to such an extent that Zimbabwe's diamonds were neglected and labelled as bloody or red diamonds mostly by the west in such a way that the minerals lacked market. However due to the fact that china is one of the economic giants gave a breathing space for ZANU PF since the relationship between the CPC and ZANU PF was strengthened. This can be evidenced with china's support to Zimbabwe for market search of Zimbabwe's diamonds and fortunately a lot of markets were created in east part of the world and this resulted in the boosting of the country's economy and most influential sectors of the economy were revived by this policy. Therefore it is fair to say that the dominance of ZANU PF linked to the presents of Chinese investments in the country hence the relationship between these two can be categorized as developmental relationship as compared to, the distractive relationship which was between Zimbabwe and the west devils since the Chinese show their political stance of recognition and appreciation of the economic independence step done by ZANU PF through supporting of the indigenization and economic empowerment policy of Zimbabwe as a sovereign state whilst the west show its contradiction with these economic developments by other countries since they want to be the economic and political gurus of this jungle world in which survival of the fittest is the order of the day and in this scenario Zimbabwe was economically fit hence it is supposed to arrange its own political and economic road maps utilising its God given resources of which this marks the hatred which is in the minds of whites in regard to Zimbabwe's politics as this deprive and limit the survival of white devilish interests in a sovereign state like Zimbabwe.

The look east policy can be viewed as an upgrading policy in all fields of the country that is social, economic, political as well as technological field. After Zimbabwe was disturbed by instabilities and uncertainties in 2008 although the look east was already implemented however in this year it was adjusted to suit the economy temperature since things were tough in Zimbabwe. With the presents of Chinese companies in the country things began to change although at a low pace since people are now experiencing better life standards due to the

fruits of the look east policy and globalisation. The upgrading of IT in Zimbabwe is a good example of the policy fertility. In this present day the IT stance of Zimbabwe is at a better level and it is true to say that the upgrading of communication systems in Zimbabwe is an infrastructure development in the country. However although the unemployment rate in Zimbabwe is still big it is evidenced that the emergence of Chinese companies created job opportunities since the Chinese only bring plans and strategies and these strategies are implemented using local manpower. The upgrading of information broadband created room for ZANU PF survival since the party launched the electronic campaign in which Net one was used by ZANU PF to distribute party essential information to the network subscribers. On the eve of the 2013 election ZANU PF distributed messages pleading to net one subscriber to go and vote for ZANU PF in the 31st July election and this acted as a reminding Cyrene or bell to the party supporters not to be confused by the ballot box and vote for MDC. Therefore it can be argued that the up grading of communication services resulted ton a resounding election victory since communication costs with its supporters was deducted. The political contribution by the CPC to ZANU PF in the 2013 election is a clear signal that the two are on the same chapter of political administration. The tour of top ZANU PF strategists and officials to China is regarded as a political dominance strategy since the party had travelled to receive mass mobilisation strategies and these were applied during the campaign for the 2013 election and this provided great results as ZANU PF managed to take sixty per cent of the election structure. The CPC party sponsored ZANU PF with its campaign regalia, kitchen utensils among other campaign materials which were distributed to party members and this provide a clear election result before election that ZANU PF was going to dominate the election since the party's regalia dominated the political field of Zimbabwe although there is no guarantee that all those that participate during election preparation are voters but the fact that more people appeared on rallies gives a degree of certainty to ZANU PF of dominating the election playfield.

The support of CPC according to GuoJinlong the party's political bureau member who elaborated the party's brotherhood with Africa as a history with evidence as it started long ago during the colonial era. During the period when African countries had not yet attained their independence and Chinese support was leverage since the CPC was providing armoury and war strategies like Mao's guerrilla tactics which were used in Zimbabwe during the liberation war and most Africans emerged as winners. Some of the developments made by China include the construction of the defence college; net one upgrading, renovation of the

Victoria Falls airport as well expansion of the Kariba hydro power station. Therefore it is politically justifiable to say that Chinese back up in African countries is of great importance since the party's presents shined the poverty rusts which have been created by the 2008 situation hence creating a better image for the ZANU PF political party since in this present day people are living a better life due to the economic, social, political and technological adjustments done by China to make Zimbabwe suitable to compete on the global community hence made the dominance of ZANU PF more evident even in the global community face since the country shows some development marks hence maintaining ZANU PF's political grip in the country.

The Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment policy.

The continuation of economic, political and social problems in Zimbabwe led to the decision of forwarding the economic independence chapter in Zimbabwe since the indigenization is mainly with a goal and mission of empowering youth and women since these are the other pillars of the party. The youth are being empowered so that they can develop the country with intellectual knowledge from different schools since Zimbabwe is on the top considering Africa's literacy rate. This support for youth has become of much importance since these are perceived as future leaders of the country therefore in other words the increase of education towards the dominance of ZANU PF since the students will be already politicised and proselytised to suit the country's political ideology of this is the ideology of ZANU PF. The 2008 catastrophic disaster led to a lot of problems of which some of them were more of costs and benefits were just for personal not for the development of the country. The very reason why ZANU PF implemented this great reform was to create stability in the country in order to avoid brain drain in the country to the other countries since people of Zimbabwe sometimes regarded as Mugabe's people in South Africa. Therefore the practise of indigestion led to the retrenching of ZANU PF's deteriorated economy by the sanctions imposed to Zimbabwe by the west and with much support from the look east policy the indigenization and economic empowerment policy adds flavour to the dominance of ZANU PF since the program was welcomed by a lot of youths and the women's league as fertile.

After ZANU PF's failure in 2008 run up election it decided to form an inclusive government with its rivalries of the MDC. Within this coalition government ZANU PF remained as the dominant party despite being surrounded by barren and immature political parties. After this political event the party decided to gather support by rejuvenating the party structures in

preparation for the 2013 election and this was done through the empowerment of people using their resources. After this economic decision youths started to benefit from these economic boosting strategies under the leadership of Kasukuwere who was by that time holding the Ministerial portfolio of empowerment offices. The reality on this policy is to indigenize all the foreign investments in Zimbabwe.

Therefore although these policies are surrounded by a lot of things like economic indiscipline by office holders the idea of public funds abuse is common and is regarded as systemic to many people in this modern world. The policy seems to be fertile at its onset and most of the people who benefited were people from Mount Darwin the home area of former minister of the policy Saviour Kasukuwere. The distributions of the funds is on party bases usually the ZANU PF youths members are the first to benefit from the policy and this bring allegiance and loyalty of youth to the party and as well this lead to mass campaign and mobilization of people especially the mobilizations which were carried by youth in Bulawayo province the door to door campaign therefore due to the fact that the youth will be boosted by the funds this bring an auto vote guarantee from the youth hence leading to the party's dominance. In reality ZANU PF is the only political party in Zimbabwe capable to understand the needs of people and it is now systemic to the party that towards election the party introduces an economic empowerment reform like the FTLRP which was done after clear sings of ZANU PF's loss of support in the referendum and the implementation of the LRP were efforts of returning the party's majority especially in the rural areas. No other party in Zimbabwe has got such idea and in 2008 the party shows its dominance since the policy is benefiting only ZANU PF members whilst it was agreed between the three coalition parties hence the party's dominance remained on the political field of Zimbabwe.

ZIMASSET

The current government policy which is being supported by the Chinese people appears to be full of benefits rather than costs. Since the implementation of the policy in October 2013 they are clear signs that the policy is going to transform Zimbabwe in a positive way since those who are benefiting are patriotic and nationalistic minded Zimbabweans. The Zimbabwe economic blue print is gives predictions of a brighter future of Zimbabwe as it is mainly targeting to revive the economy of Zimbabwe in all sectors. This involves the utilisation of God's given resources in Zimbabwe towards the development of the country. All minerals and resources within the country are considered as essential and about to being a big share of

support to the boosting of the economy. The ZIMASSET project aims at reviving all the waned economy and to rejuvenate the party's support as it was launched as appreciation to the majority for voting for ZANU PF but with a great mission of emancipating the people of Zimbabwe using their resources in other words it is the continuation of the indigenization policy hence it is regarded as a brilliant move for economic empowerment by ZANU PF to emancipate the Zimbabweans.

The future of ZANU PF's dominance and Zimbabwean politics

It is politically fair to agree that ZANU PF's dominance in Zimbabwean politics is now a system and it takes time to change that system due to the fact that the party is now familiar with political office and the elite had tested the delicacy of political power. With this it is real that in political survival of the fittest is the running of day to day political business. It might be regarded as the permanent regime of Zimbabwe due to fruitful policies the government is delivering to the people in order to empower the black majority of Zimbabwe. In the context of the country's politics no other party is able to do such nationalistic policies as the opposition parties root themselves to western ideology which is hostile to the country since this create a dependence syndrome which was erased in 1980 by independence in order to create a system of interdependence with other countries. Therefore the sovereign and nationalistic actions by ZANU PF as a dominant class in Zimbabwe provides the party a strong grip for the party's long stay in power since the country is sovereign state and capability of using its resources to boost its economy. This implementation of fruitful policies by ZANU PF as a government such as the LRP, the look east policy, indigenization and economic empowerment policy and the current economic blue print the ZIMASSET which is the policy of the moment since it is targeted for long term benefits and transformation of the economy with much support from the Chinese people who support the defending and utilisation of resources by Zimbabweans who are the rightful owners of the resources.

With wise utilization of resources it fair to say that the future of the country's economics is not blink there is opportunity and hope for the economy recovery since the dollarization of the economy leads to a lot of changes in the country like availability of basic food commodities in shops of which in 2008 there was a serious shortage of food in shops, continuous devaluation of the country's currency, unemployment social unrests which led to practice of evil thing in the country like economic indiscipline by the government officials and this crippled the struggling economy of the country which was affected by the sanctions

given to Zimbabwe by the west as a revenge to the LRP s in Zimbabwe which were hostile to the whites since there was a violent prepossession of land from the white minority to the black majority after some misunderstandings between the two rivalries since the white interests were fuelled by the internal sell-outs the MDC opposition political party in Zimbabwe who do not understand the sovereignty of the country. It is politically predictable that ZANU PF through its sovereignty majority oriented policies is likely to remain as the dominant regime in Zimbabwe since citizens are benefiting from the policies. However it is wise to argue that if the level of economic indiscipline decreases the economic temperature of Zimbabwe is likely and possibly to be normal since corruption is a virus to development hence it is fair to recommend anti-corruption attitude in the minds of the trusted ones to represent the people in such a way that the majority will not lose allegiance and loyalty due to politics of non-benefit as the benefits will be enjoyed by just a few which oppose the political and democratic principal of equality which advocates for fair and equal distribution of resources.

The ability of the party to allow infrastructure development like the CBZ construction project which is taking place in Gweru urban, SengaNehosho in which there's is a serious and progressive housing project. This shows a sense of political maturity by ZANU PF in understanding the needs of people as shelter is a basic in human being life. Therefore the implementation of such projects gives the party a good destination since these will receive permission and approval from the dominant political system hence the emergence of such fruitful projects is essential and ZANU PF as a dominant political party should also introduce housing schemes to its members as a way of rejuvenating the party support which had depreciated in the 2007 and 2008 run up in which the MDC were aspiring to unseat the dominant party and unfortunately the electoral constitution of Zimbabwe has a certain percentage that it considers a majority election win not just winning without reaching that percentage.

The strong farming support that Mugabe and ZANU PF gives to the rural majority every year towards the rain season is political survival of the party since farming makes the backbone of the country's economy. People are given fertilizers, seeds and other necessities for bumper harvest despite poor rainfall patterns which lead to poor harvests in the country. The party's members are also given donations of farm equipment like combine harvesters, harrows tractors. This gives ZANU PF a brighter future in the dominance of Zimbabwean politics.

The ability of ZANU PF to campaign against gay rights also give the also gives the party credit from pure Africans since the gay rights is a taboo and western hypocrisy since these gay rights are surrounded by evil and devilish things like the sanctions which are regarded as the use of soft power to punish a country and in the case of Zimbabwe these sanctions are deteriorating the economy. The intolerance of this satanic practice give room for the practice and belief of our African traditional culture and Christianity values which shape the country's wellbeing and dignity in the international community since every country has its own beliefs. Therefore since the Zimbabweans are cultural preservers the gay rights supported by the opposition is critical and needs to be revised since Zimbabwe as a sovereign state says no to these and the law also allows the country to oppose that right since it infringes the country's dignity and the sense of humanity and therefore becomes legal for the country to revolt to such right like what Zimbabwe is doing. Therefore the future of the party has sanity since culture preservation shows political development and maturity as the advocates of gay rights and culture change will definitely illustrates the dominance of white people's ideology and ZANUPF 's dominance will be demised.

The country's relations with the global and regional countries also gives clear evidence for the party's long stay in power since Zimbabwe's at this moment is relying mostly from outsiders like the SADC region countries, the COMESA, AU among others. The African regional blocs stand by ZANU PF in the 2013 presidential election in which the election was surrounded by a lot of election observers and to make African pride the election environment was regarded as fair and free as advocated by AU official Obasanjo Nigerian former president. This was contrary to the expectations of the west who were expecting to get negative observation from the election. In other words this good regional integration of Zimbabwe and her neighbour provides the foundations for the party's dominance since the other African nation will defend the sovereign status of Zimbabwe as an independent state. Further ZANU PF's international integration also gives the party a platform for dominance since the Sino Zim relationship is transforming the country and eradicating poverty patterns which had developed in Zimbabwe in 2008 as a result of sanctions. Therefore the look east policy is considered as fruitful as it has some tangible transformation examples like the IT upgrading in the country which help to link Zimbabwe with the global world through internet. Also active participation of china in Zimbabwe's economic journey allows the survival of the regime since this policy reduces poverty. China is helping Zimbabwe to market its resources on the world market for instance the diamond markets.

It is also fair to denote that the dominance of ZANUPF is likely to prevail in the country for the unpredictable long time due to political weaknesses of its political opponents. The lack of political maturity and majority reforms gave ZANU PF an extended life span precisely because most of the policies of these two rivalry political contradict with each other but the advantage is for ZANU PF since it is capable to introduce majority based policies there it is creditable to articulate that the dominance of ZANU PF is now a system and difficult to change due its political experience as compared to its opponents. It is also crucial to note that the ability by ZANU PF as a dominant party to continue upgrading its foreign policy is important for the party's dominance since most of its foreign policies are meant to protect the country's economic assets as well the to fulfil the country's goals.

Conclusion

The dominance of the party in Zimbabwean politics is now popular and it is surrounded by a lot of things this include the party's political abilities and capabilities which help the party elite to enjoy the good taste of political power. ZANU PF as a strong party found itself being involved in a lot of economic independence struggle as it stepped into the new millennium and this resulted to the follow of many people with the idea of benefiting from the country's resources which were being abused by the foreigners who were controlling the economic system in Zimbabwe from the colonial period up to the eve of independence when ZANU PF take political power and this led to the legitimacy and authority of ZANU PF to control the resources in the country. Therefore the implementation of these vibrant policies by ZANU PF provides the party a dominance platform since these political and economic great reforms are meant to maintain the status core and value of the nation. These reforms are also vital in the sense that they are implemented to eradicate poverty which is the chief enemy of Africa due to outside influence like the use of soft power and sanction by the west as a sour and jealousy revenge to Zimbabwe's land policy which was implemented to boost the development of the nation using its resources as a sovereign state. The launching of these policies led the party's development for instance the land reforms was perceived as political calculation by ZANU PF meant to boost the dignity of the indigenous people of Zimbabwe.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Arblaster A (2002) Democracy 3rd (ed) Buckingham: Open University Press.

Aristotle (1962) The Politics, translated by J.A Sinclair (Hammonds worth: Penguin).

Balkan, J How Mass Media Simulate Political Transparency Yale University.

Beetham,D (2000) Democracy and Human Rights Cambridge Polity Press.

Bhebhe N and Ranger, T (1997) (ed) Soldiers in Zimbabwe Liberation War, Oxford, James, Curvey Political

Bogaards, M (2004) Counting parties and Identifying Dominant Party System in Africa, Europe Journal of Research.

Bond, P andManyanya, S (2003) Zimbabwe's Plunge, Harare: Weaver Press.

Brownell 11, R.(2004), Robert Mugabe and The Decline and Fall of Zimbabwe Reviewed Work:Degree in Violence: Robert Mugabe and TheStruggle for Power Zimbabwe in by David Blair Robert Mugabe: Life of Power and Violence <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2950715>.

Chakunda, V and Chikerema, A (2014) Journal of Power, Politics and Governance volume 2 Published by American Research Institute for Policy Development.

Dowden R Engaging with Mugabe the Round Table, volume 95

Chigora, P (2008) An analysis of The European Union (EU) Multilateral Foreign Policy Towards Zimbabwe in the 21st Century International Relations [//web.uvic.ca/ecsac/biennial2008/Conference%20Program-files/Chigora.pdf](http://web.uvic.ca/ecsac/biennial2008/Conference%20Program-files/Chigora.pdf)

Chigora, P and Guzura, T (2008) A History That Haunts The Present Generation: An Analysis of the Land Problem in Zimbabwe. Sustainable Development in Africa volume 10, No 2 University of Pennsylvania, Clarion.

Chigora et al The Zimbabwe African National Patriotic Front (Zanupf) Regime in Power In The 21st Century: A Question of popular support or preserving power by Undemocratic Means a Paper Presented at the workshop on political culture, Governance and State in Africa Organised by DPMF, 22-23 February Kenya.

An analysis of ZANU PF's dominance in Zimbabwean politics (1980 to 2014)

Harowitz, D (1993) "Democracy in divided societies" Journal of Democracy.

Gramsci and Marxist Political Theory in Africa
Sasson (ed) Approach to Gramsci
London Writers and Readers Publishing Cooperative Society Ltd.

Huntington S (1991) The Third Wave: Democratisation in the late twentieth Century
Norman, OK, University of Oklahoma Press.

Sibanda J Public Lecture presentation on African crises on the 8th of October at, Gweru
Midlands State University .

Machiavelli, N (1997) (ed) Angelo M Codevilla. The Prince Yale University.

Machiavelli, N (1985) (ed) Harvey C Mansfield, Jr The Prince. The University of Chicago Press.

Makumbe J (1991) The 1990 Zimbabwe Election Implications for Democracy in
Ibbo Mandaza and Lloyd Sachikonye (ed) The One Party State and Democracy. The Zimbabwe debate

Makumbe, J and Companogn, D (2000) Behind the Smokescreen: The Politics of Zimbabwe's 1995 General Election Harare University of Zimbabwe.

Masunungure E (2004) Travails of Opposition Politics in Zimbabwe since Independence in David Harold Barry (eds), Zimbabwe :The Past is the Future,(Harare: Weaver Press)

Meridith, M (2007) Mugabe: Power, Plunder and the struggle for Zimbabwe Public Affairs

Moyo J (1992) Voting for Democracy: Electoral Politics in Zimbabwe Harare University of Zimbabwe Publications

Mugabe, R (2001) Inside The Third Chimurenga, Harare The Department of Information and Publicity Office of the President and Cabinet, Munhumutapa Building.

Pempel J (1990) (ed) Uncommon Democracies The one party dominant regime London Cornell University Press.

Poulantzas, N (2000), State Power, Socialism, New Edition, London, New York, Verso Books.

An analysis of ZANU PF's dominance in Zimbabwean politics (1980 to 2014)

Raftopoulos, B (ed) (2010) *Becoming A Zimbabwean A History from the pre-colonial Period to 2008*, Harare, Weaver Press.

Southhall, R (2005) *The Dominant Party Debate in South Africa*.

Suttner, R (2007) *African National Congress (ANC) as a dominant organization impact of the Attainment of Power and Phases of Post Liberation Development and Crises* Historia May Forthcoming

Sithole, M (1995) "Ethnicity and Democratisation in Zimbabwe from Ethnic Conflict to Accommodation" in Harvey Glickman (ed) *Ethnicity and Democratisation in Africa*.

Sithole M (1996) *The recent election in Zimbabwe: Implication for Democracy in AAPS Newsletter* vol11 No 20.

Williams, R (1983) *Culture and Society 1750-1950* New York, Columbia University Press

ACRONOMYS

AIPPA Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act

AU African Union

CBZ Commercial Bank of Zimbabwe

CIO Central Intelligence Organization

CPC Communist Party of China

DANet Destiny of Africa Network

ESAP Economic Structural Adjustment Programs

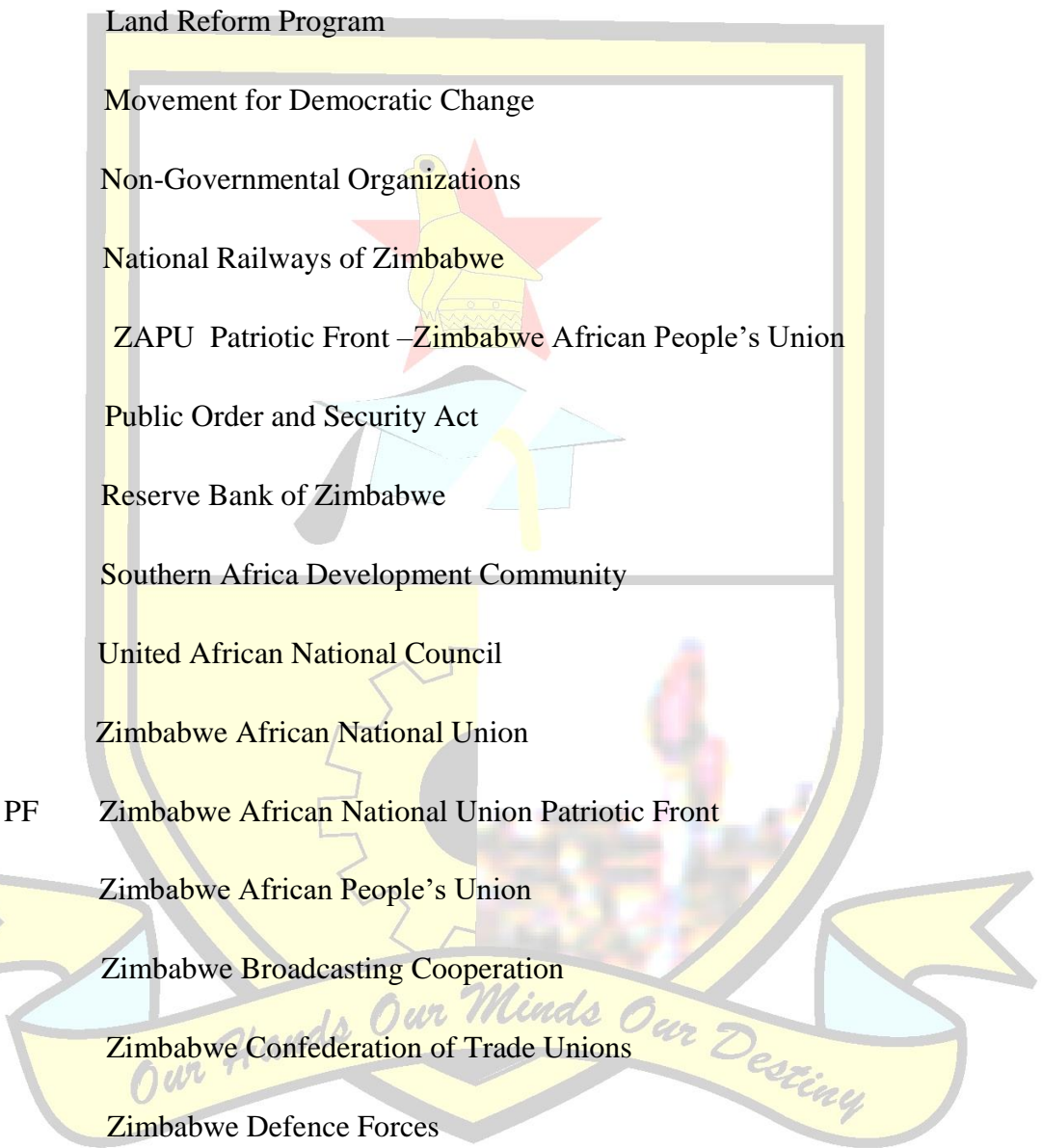
EU European Union

FTLRP Fast Track Land Reform Program

IMF International Monetary Fund

An analysis of ZANU PF's dominance in Zimbabwean politics (1980 to 2014)

GNU	Government of National Unity
GPA	Global Political Agreement
I T	Information and Technology
JOMIC	Joint and Monitoring Implementation Committee
LRP	Land Reform Program
MDC	Movement for Democratic Change
NGO	Non-Governmental Organizations
NRZ	National Railways of Zimbabwe
PF	ZAPU Patriotic Front –Zimbabwe African People's Union
POSA	Public Order and Security Act
RBZ	Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe
SADC	Southern Africa Development Community
UANC	United African National Council
ZANU	Zimbabwe African National Union
ZANU PF	Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front
ZAPU	Zimbabwe African People's Union
ZBC	Zimbabwe Broadcasting Cooperation
ZCTU	Zimbabwe Confederation of Trade Unions
ZDF	Zimbabwe Defence Forces
ZEC	Zimbabwe Electoral Commission
ZIMPREST	Zimbabwe Programs for Economic and Social Transformation
ZMC	Zimbabwe Media Commission
ZUM	Zimbabwe Unity Movement



Dedication

I pledge this piece of script to the Living Almighty, my late parents and my family members for the sustenance and constant guidance that they gave to me during their days since their guidance precast me up to this present day.



Acknowledgements

I would to bounce my acknowledgements for the first-rate and authentic support from my supervisor Mr S Moyo, S Chitombi, the ZANU PF and the DANet team for the guidance they rendered to me during the compilation of this project. Their political expertise led to founding of this part of writing since their constructive criticism was towards the project success.



Interview guide

- 1 What are the factors that contribute the dominance of ZANU PF?
- 2 What is the stance of ZANU PF considering the democracy modern international agenda?
- 3 Why the former colonizers of Zimbabwe impose sanctions on Zimbabwe and what are the effects of these sanctions to ZANU PF and Zimbabwe.
- 4 Why ZANU PF use constructive violence in politics of Zimbabwe.
- 5 What drove ZANU PF to change its economic and political foreign policies?
- 6 What is the future of ZANU PF party in Zimbabwe as well the future of Zimbabwe in the political hands of ZANU PF as.
- 7 What is the picture of Zimbabwean politics in the local, regional and the international world?

