

# MIDLANDS STATE UNIVERSITY



## FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

ANY ANALYSIS OF THE MONOPOLISATION OF POWER BY POLITICAL PARTIES  
IN ZIMBABWE; 2005-2015. A CASE OF ZANU-PF AND MDC-T

BY

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## **DEDICATION**

This work is dedicated to the almighty God at large for giving me the strength, grace and courage to partake the study. It is also my pleasure to dedicate this work also to my lovely mother for her prayers and support. May the almighty God increase and bless you in the mighty name of Jesus.

“GLORY BE TO GOD”

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

First of all most I would like to say Jesus you are faithful thank you for giving me the grace and courage to partake such an awesome study all the glory I give unto you Lord. Once again I would like to acknowledge my Mummy indeed you have been there for me; you have sacrificed a lot for this study to be a success may God reward you for your good deeds. I also want to acknowledge my friends who stood with me Ronald Mare, letwin Chakafa, Courage Tongoona wow the list is endless. May the good Lord grant you your heart desires” ...LOTS OF LOVE...”

**“TO GO BE THE GLORY”**

## ABSTRACT

*Monopolisation of power by political parties has been a common feature from the past decades and has managed to grab much attention regionally and internationally due to its devastating effects. In Zimbabwe power monopolisation by political parties is the order of the day and the devastating effects of power monopolisation are clearly evidenced by the country's political and economic deterioration. The study proffer the background on how power monopolisation started and its developments in Zimbabwe the study analysed the causes and devastating effects of power monopolisation by political parties in Zimbabwe. The researcher also assessed and exposed the roles of the actor's central in the monopolisation of power process. The study was carried out targeting political parties mainly ZANU-PF and MDC-T. The researcher used both qualitative and quantitative research designs. Questionnaires were used to enrich the research. Data was gathered from targeted population and it was presented in tables, bar graphs and line graphs. Several respondents argue that, monopolisation of power is the best ingredient of corruption and it compromises policy formulation and implementation as the party monopolising power can sacrifice the economy for political survival. The study recommends that more should be done by political parties and actors central in the monopolisation of power process to create an environment which is free from power monopolisation in Zimbabwe.*

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## ACRONOMS

AIPPA	Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act
AU	African Union
BACCOSSI	Basic Commodity Supply Side Intervention
BSA	Broadcasting Service Act
ESC	Electoral Supervisory Commission
EU	European Union
GNU	Government of National Unity
ICA	Interception of Communication Act
JOC	Joint Operations Command
LOMA	Law and Order Maintenance Act
MDC-T	Movement for Democratic Change Tsvangirai
MIC	Media and Information Commission
NGO	Non Governmental Organisation
NRZ	National Railways of Zimbabwe
SADC	Southern Africa Development Community
POSA	Public Order and Security Act
UN	United Nations
ZANU-PF	Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front
ZAPU	Zimbabwe African Peoples Union
ZDP	Zimbabwe Development Party
ZEC	Zimbabwe Electoral Commissioner



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# CHAPTER 1

## 1.0 Introduction

The inspiration behind the study is the ever increasing levels of power monopolization in Zimbabwe and around the globe which has been a common feature in most African countries and it is characterized by the deterioration of the politics and economy of a country. It is not a new phenomenon but can be traced back from the emergence of political parties. Power monopolisation by political parties has managed to bring about a devastating manifestation and results which have left the country in a bad state. This chapter is made up of introductory aspects of the study to do with the following items: background of the study, theoretical framework, objectives of the study, research questions, justification and significance of the study, ethical considerations, delimitations, limitations, research methodology and literature review.

## 1.1 BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

Zimbabwe has received wide spread criticism due to its behavior when it comes to the issue of power monopolisation. According to Donovan (1993), the one part state approach prevailed in every day politics and the political system put in place at independence and throughout was dictatorial in essence. One can note that the formation of many political parties such as Zimbabwe African Peoples Union (ZAPU), Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front (ZANU PF), ZANU Ndonga, Zimbabwe Development Party (ZDP), Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) and many others shows that power struggle surrounds Zimbabwean politics. More so of significance importance its functionalism within these political parties in a bid to be in control this is clear evidence that there is the monopolisation of political power by individuals within the political parties and this have led

to the split of major political parties in Zimbabwe. According to Hoffman (1995) for ZANU PF leaders, the organization, principles and procedures of parliamentary democracy were alien and the potential hindrance to their aim of fully controlling the post-colonial state. According to Weber (2000), adopting an Eastern European Communist Style of one party state assured total control over both state and society by those entitled to it, so they thought by right of conquest, power was theirs because they had won the struggle and the struggle within the struggle, in spite of philosophical changes on the international scene since 1989 and unlike many other authoritarian regimes in Africa.

ZANU PF has maintained the abusive terminology and the power techniques of former communist parties and endorsed the one party state mentality. ZANU PF has been using bullying strategy against the media, civic organization and judiciary and electoral process. Gordon (2002) is of the view that, there are 2 arenas that Mugabe and his close associates wanted to control, the initial arena was the ruling party that is where power competitors possibly will come out from within the nationalist position. The next arena was the interparty politics to avoid a credible opposition from quarreling ZANU PF's claim of an inherent right to rule. This was attained in part by means of calculated violence; the exploitation of the electoral process was the major conduit of ZANU PF's monopolization of power particularly after 1987 the Zimbabwe's electoral system was malfunctioning and prone to patronage.

For countless years the election management bodies that are first the Electoral Supervisory Commission (ESC) and then the Zimbabwe Electoral Commissioner (ZEC) were viewed as an element of the state bureaucracy. More so ZANU PF manipulated the constitution in order to stay in power. The preliminary clamor for constitutional reform which come out from outside ZANU PF in the mid 1990's in the view of civil society's organization and opposition parties that no important political and social change might take place without rewriting the constitution forced ZANU PF government to monopolise the process at each phase. Not

merely did ZANU PF amend the constitution to suit its whims but it used Rhodesian legislation to serve its function.

The Law and Order Maintenance Act (LOMA) and the state of emergency changed every six months from February 1980 until July 1990 are cases in part. The ZANU PF government made full use of the Emergency Powers Act (1965) to create a wide collection of set of laws that make changes to the existing legislation or imposed arbitrary measure. The end consequence was a sparsely authoritarian government where power to make a decision, punish or reward was eventually concentrated in the hands of the president. On the contrary the concentration of powers also permitted the ZANU PF leader to modify the electoral process in order to keep ZANU PF in power forever.

More so, the formation of MDC as an opposition party to ZANU PF was in a bid to monopolise power. The MDC was formed from members of the large alliance of civil society groups and persons that campaigned for a “NO” vote in the 2000 constitutional referendum in particular the Zimbabwe congress of trade Union. The Split of the party following the 2005 senate election with the major faction headed by the founder leader Morgan Tsvangirai and the formation headed by Arthur Mutambara plainly shows that it’s all about power struggles.

Also the second split of the opposition MDC in April 2014 is best clarified by the thin agenda to grip power. Sachikonye (2012) is of the view that, there is no focus on the call to democratize the state and its institutions in order to create a strong democracy. For example, the power fights by MDC formations are not focused on national agenda to transform the state, both groups are pre engaged with power grabs inside their small zones.

To add more, the spit of ZANU PF subsequent the controversial congress held in December 2014 is also as a result to monopolise power by ZANU PF leaders. There is the official ZANU PF that was established at congress, and then there is the well-liked and legitimate

ZANU PF that people wanted Mujuru to lead after congress. That there is a split in the party is no longer in dispute. Sachikonye (2012) points that, Zimbabwean politics has been tarnished to the point that both in ZANU PF and the MDC power confine at the moment characterised their modus operandi, influential groups in both parties use unconventional conduct of power preservation amid them political violence.

## **1.2 THEORITICAL FRAMEWORK**

The monopolization of power has been part and parcel of human selfish nature and a number of theories have been put across to try and understand its occurrence in societies across the world. This research will integrate theories that try to explain the occurrence of the monopolization of power dynamics at interpersonal, institutional, and structural levels. The research will triangulate theories that include the Marxist Pluralist and elitist theory.

Weber (1947) articulates the monolithic view even more open when he defines cohesive force as the only natural monopoly. For Karl Marx as for the elite or elitist theory of democracy, power was always located in one place weather in the hands of bourgeoisie or its executive committee or in those of some political elites working behind the scene. He justified the monopolistic tendencies as unavoidable and existing in a society where power is at play.

According to the elitist theory, virtually all political power is detained by a fairly and wealth group of people sharing similar values and interests. This power elite can successfully state the major goals, if not always the practical means and details for all really important government policy making as well as control the behavior of the major organization, mass media ,culture and education in society by virtue to manage economic resources of the main business and financial organization in the country.

They largely share the idea that, it is these few thousand movers and shakers who run the country and agree on the fundamental direction of public policy surely not the manipulated and toothless masses of ordinary voters choosing among candidates at election time. They highlighted monopolization of power as an act of the powerful elites.

Pluralists see society as a compilation of persons and groups who are contending for political power. They also view the state as a nonaligned body that merely endorsed the will of any groups that dominates the electoral process. Within the pluralist tradition, Dahl (2009) developed the theory of the state as an unbiased arena for competing interests or its agencies as simply another set of interest groups with power competitively arranged in society, state policy is a product of recurrent bargaining. Even though pluralism identifies the existence of inequality, it asserts that all groups have a chance to force the state. The pluralist approach suggests that, the contemporary democratic state's proceedings are the outcome of pressures applied by a diversity of planned interests. Dahl viewed this type of state as oligarch.

### **1.3 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM**

The research is an examination of various causes and effects of power monopolisation and strategies used by political parties in Zimbabwe to monopolise power since 2005 up to 2015 which led to functionalism and splitting as a means of survival, which in turn aggravate the political and economic crisis in the country.

### **OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY**

1. To analyse the root causes of power monopolisation within political parties in Zimbabwe.
2. To identify the effects/impacts of power monopolization on Zimbabwe economy.

3. To come up with the actors central in the monopolization of power process in Zimbabwe.
4. To find out how the prevailing environment has contributed to the monopolization of power by political parties in Zimbabwe.
5. To propose measures that can be taken to end power monopolization in Zimbabwe.

## **RESEARCH QUESTIONS**

1. What are the root causes of power monopolization in Zimbabwe?
2. What are the effects/impacts of power monopolization on Zimbabwe's economy?
3. Which actors have been central in the politics of power monopolization in Zimbabwe?
4. How the prevailing environment has contributed to monopolization of power by political parties in Zimbabwe?
5. How can the monopolization of power by political parties in Zimbabwe end?

### **1.4 JUSTIFICATION AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY**

The research sought to fill the knowledge gap in relation to the monopolisation of power and diplomatic tactics used by political parties and the devastating impacts of power monopolisation in Zimbabwe since 2005. The essence of the research apart from gap filling is to capacitate academics in practice and coming up with just or fair explanations on the matter of power monopolisation in Zimbabwe

## **ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS**

The researcher considered principal matters of sensitivity to the rights and integrity of respondents. The researcher will sought the permission of the informed from research participants that is research participants willing took part in the research after a clear

explanation by the researcher about what the research entails and ensure them the right to withdraw from the research where necessary.

The researcher also makes sure that there is balance between the societal interests and those of the researcher. The researchers also ensure that respondents have their rights to privacy and confidentiality.

### **DELIMITATION**

The research is going to be carried in Zimbabwe. The research will mainly target major political parties in Zimbabwe and these are ZANU-PF and MDC-T.

### **LIMITATIONS**

Confidentiality was a major obstacle especially from political party members as they were in fear to risk their lives because the information is of paramount importance to the state thus it limited the collection of information needed. However the researcher used research tools that secured sensitive information and also much responsibility was applied concerning the information gathered

Some respondents were unwilling to be disturbed from their businesses to answer questions. The researcher moved to the next respondents who were willing to partake to the research.

Financial resources were not enough such that it brought a draw back to the study. However the researcher used research tools that require little resources such as time and finances for the research.



## **1.5 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

The data was interpreted using both qualitative and quantitative research designs so that the weakness of one is complimented by another.

### **DATA COLLECTION AND RESEARCH DESIGN**

Strauss (1995) defines a research design as a plan to be pursued to answer the research objectives or framework to work out the objective problem. It therefore acts as a proposal for a study as it directs data collection and analysis. Primary sources presented important data that is in line with the area that is understudy.

A questionnaire was the relevant technique for sourcing data from political parties, civil societies and individuals affected by the monopolisation of power. Cooper and Emory (1995) term a questionnaire as a set of questions designed to collect data from respondents on the subject matter. The researcher used questionnaire for the reason that there is high probability of coming up with suitable decisions owing to the fact that research cannot influence respondents according to Leedy (1979). Also most participants feel more comfortable responding questionnaires than attending to interviews; this is so because some people are not good at speaking English so writing will be easier. However a questionnaire in some instances was time consuming when dealing with the illiterate since there was need for time to interpret and help them to put their ideas in writing.

Case study was one technique which the researcher employed targeting those institutions which have been mostly used. According to O'Leary (2004) a case study is a method of studying some elements through comprehensive description and analysis of a single situation or case. Walsh (2001) is of the view that, a case study includes a verifiable research on a particular modern observable fact in its real life context.

The research also relied on secondary sources that involved the survey of literature on the subject matter. These include books, speeches, journals and newspaper reports.

## **1.6 LITERATURE REVIEW**

There is limited literature covering a wide range of power monopolization issues. According to Melville (1980), literature review refers to any compilation of material on a topic, depicting an explanation on what has been published on a topic by credited scholars and researchers. The aim of the literature review is to synthesize and analyze available data on the causes, effects and actors concerning the issue of power monopolization by political parties in Zimbabwe. Anthony (2009) defines power monopolisation as a process in which a group seeks to attain power by setting up and strengthening oppressive institutions in order or either to weaken development of other institutions intended to check its power or merely to deinstitutionalise them. Anthony (2009) went on to say monopolisation of power is obtained when one of the considerable elites refuses to act in accordance with most of the citizen's interest by personalising power and institutionalising personal power. Thus one can argue that power monopolisation is a process of personalising power.

According to Hay (2001), monopolisation of power has been common in a number of developing countries in the modern political scene. This has mainly been credited to the domination of most liberation political parties in most African countries and the formation of weak opposition political parties. These liberation parties have been in power for many years and this has helped them to monopolize political power. Zimbabwe has been such a country that has not been left outside this framework. The political system put in place at independence and throughout the 1980s was authoritarian in essence. Chitiyo (2009) is of the view that, as for ZANU PF leaders, the values, the institutions and procedures of parliamentary democracy were alien and possible obstructions to their objectives of fully

controlling the post -colonial state. A gap fall short of the literature from these authorities on how ZANU PF managed to maintain a one party state and monopolise power.

According to Gatshen (2003), soon after the achievement of political independence, there was no logical loyalty to nation building. Political elites spend energy and time on state consolidation by the dominant leadership of ZANU PF. There was also the use of violence as the main way of hailing people into the nation, commencing with the military invasion of Matabeleland and the Midlands region that were regarded to be wavering and not fully supporting the Zimbabwe that was created in 1986. Much of the literature has been on the assessment of the causes of monopolisation of power. According to Raflopolos (2009) there are different causes which include the need for national political parties to continue in power and maintain a one party state, the influence of influential institutions, the emergence of opposition political parties for example MDC in 1999.

A number of factors will also be explored in addition to those mentioned. A gap has to be filled by this research particularly to explain how these political parties have been able to monopolise power thus the research is going to examine various instruments used by political parties to monopolise power since 2005 up to 2015. According to Raftopolos (2009), in the third phase post-2005, ZANU-PF preserved its supremacy by restructuring state power, and attempting to maneuver the constitution and the electoral process, until the Global Political Agreement of September 2008. The Government of National Unity (GNU) was finally implemented in February 2009 with a 24-month time frame to agree on a new constitution.

More so, according to Sachikonye (2012), Power capture has mainly defined the difference between the opposing groups in the MDC formations. The aspiration to monopolise power has now defined opposition politics. They have moved away from the need to have long term reforms and have lost the cause of a democratic movement. There are developing into

destructive greedy and authoritarian groups that reflect the behaviour of the oppressor in both theory and practice. The need to democratise the state and its institutions in order to build a strong democracy is no longer their focal point. For example, the power struggles by MDC formations are not based on national agenda to transform the state. Both groups are busy and pre occupied with power clutch within their small zones. The above sentiments by Sachikonye reviews that there is now the witnessing of one more, fourth, stage of significant change over of power monopolisation.

The crisis in Zimbabwe is universal and the literature on this is enormous, above and beyond the raised factors, the research cross-examine the central role of political party leaders political skills in monopolising political power as Dowden (2000) pointed out, there is surely the question of Mugabe's ultimate political skills, his capability as an speaker and communicator, and his charismatic leadership, we may find it astonishing, but 'the old man' is still detained in great affection by elements of the Zimbabwean population.

Besides these domestic factors the research examines other contemporary international factors at play in the monopolisation of power in Zimbabwe. Zimbabwe in the 21<sup>st</sup> century has received wide spread criticism from a wide collection of the international community, in particular the west. Dahl (2009), the sanctions that were imposed on Zimbabwe had an overall effect of increasing poverty levels at the same time leading to the unpopularity of ZANU PF amongst the general populace hence the monopolization of power and the use of undemocratic strategies to regain power. Furthermore, ZANU PF had support from other influential sectors of the international community which caused it to be a powerful force in the occasion of other actors that wanted its demise.

On the basis of human rights abuse and the wish to bring disciplinary measures the other quarters of the international community were unsuccessful hence the continuous stay of

ZANU PF and monopolisation of power to uphold its grip on power knowing of its support internationally. The gaps in literature reviewed will be filled by this research as it will also seek to expose actors that were central in the monopolization of power. Regional organisations and foreign international become prime actors for analysis. Nationally and locally leaders of political parties, will be examined in their roles as part of political parties in monopolizing power.

The research will also seek to generate recommendations for an environment that is free from the monopolization of political power by political parties especially beginning with the vibrant parties as an idea to fill the gap that is there in the political system on the lack of controls in issues of power distribution.

A number of solutions to prevent or minimise the monopolization of power by political parties will be exposed and these include: the presence of power control panels from community level to regional and international organizations, establishment of party liaison committees to monitor the use of power by political parties during their reigning period; ensuring inclusiveness and transparency; establishing codes of conduct to deal with problems of enforcement; availability of technical support to institution that prevent the monopolization of political power and the establishment of complaint / appeal mechanisms and transparency of procedure.

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# **CHAPTER 2**

## **Historical background and development of power monopolisation process in Zimbabwe**

### **2.0 Introduction**

Monopolization of power by political parties is not a new phenomenon; it has its roots from the formation of the first political parties in Zimbabwe. The chapter is going to introduce the study to the background of power monopolization thus giving an account of the origins of the monopolization of power process in Zimbabwe. The chapter is also going to explore how the process started the instruments and ways used to facilitate the process of power monopolization process and also the chapter will look at the continuation of power monopolization process with the newly formed political parties in Zimbabwe.

### **2.1 Historical experiences prior independence**

In Zimbabwe Political parties had their genesis in the liberation struggle against white minority rule in Rhodesia. The parties had been born of splits among the nationalist leadership. The split of ZAPU and the formation of ZANU in 1963 and the protest against Nkomo clearly articulates that, power monopolisation process have strong roots which can be traced back to period prior independence. According to Astraw (2004) there were no real political difference between ZANU and ZAPU but the issue was on power consolidation. More so, the lost of Ndabbenengi Sithole position in ZANU to Mugabe and the formation of a faction of the movement shows that, political leaders were more concerned with the monopolisation of power. Also the fact that a year later a new moderate nationalist organization, the United African National Council was formed and the attempts and failures



to bring the liberation parties together in the early 1978's clearly shows that, power politics surrounds Zimbabwean politics back then. Also the decision by ZANU to contest elections without ZAPU that is two nationalist parties meant that there were also two nationalist leaders contesting their popularity in the elections all these actions were in a bid to consolidate power. This is also supported by Mugabe's warnings that, if his party were excluded from the government there would be no peace in Zimbabwe.

Early 1980s Mugabe formed the first independent government and ask for the participation of ZAPU, but then allocated ZAPU only five seats of the total 36 cabinet seats. One can note that, ZAPUs position was reduced from a government to oppressed dissident. Therefore ZANU began the monopolisation of power process in the early stages of independence. According to Mandaza (2001), after the 1985 elections Mugabe apportion no cabinet seats to ZAPU, the only option available for ZAPU leaders if they wanted to become ministers was through joining the ruling party and this led to the negotiations that later led to the unity Accord between ZANU and ZAPU started shortly therefore. It can be noted that, power struggles and the need to monopolise power started long back. In the mid 1987's the government banned all ZAPU meetings, raided ZAPU offices in Bulawayo and detained some ZAPU officials in September ZAPU was banned altogether and six districts councils it dominated but it were dissolved according to Mandaza (2002)

## **2.2 Indoctrination and the adoption socialism ideology**

There was the use of Liberation history in Zimbabwean politics as a means to indoctrinate the people with ZANU PF ideologies at the same time monopolising power basing on the liberation struggle experiences. The use of the past in Zimbabwe's politics dates back to the colonial age. According to Ranger (2004) ZANU PF made use of Nehanda and Kaguvi's martyrdom and spiritual attachment so as to mobilise supporters for the nationalist cause in the 1960's

and 70s , however ZANU PF continued to make use of Zimbabwe's liberation history in national politics and the parties attack on the pluralistic version of Zimbabwe's past. One can also note that, ZANU PF started to offer new packaging and disseminate the nation's liberation history in a imprisoning and tyrannical account so as to consolidate power. ZANU PF has depended with a great weight on public intellectuals sympathetic to it such as Ibbo Mandaza, Tafataona Mahaso and Claude Mararike to indoctrinate people with its ideologies and at the same time monopolizing power.

More so, political party leaders such as Mugabe sees Patriotic history as a vital answer to resurgent western imperialism and its confined associates who threatened the hard won integrity and sovereignty of Zimbabwe. One can also note that, patriotic history is being used for self justification for the monopolization of power and justification of the authoritarian regime in Zimbabwe. According to The Zimbabwe Independent (2003), the liberation struggle history states publicly ZANU PF as the alpha and omega of Zimbabwe's past, present and future. Zimbabweans are expected to be patriotic thus being patriotic is supporting ZANU PF whilst supporting opposition party is being unpatriotic which means Zimbabweans are expected to be behind ZANU PF merely anything short of this is regarded unpatriotic.

To add more on the indoctrination strategy as a means of monopolizing power the ZANU PF government go on board on an agenda of recording and make publicly a series of Chave Chimurenga (it's now war) song campaign jingles. According to Sibanda (2001) government ended radio and television advertisement agreement for private companies announcing that, it was the corporation's new programming policy. Sibanda went on to say the extinction of these contracts was made possible as to make room for the newly music jingles which were to take up all major time slots on both television and radio. Thus before and after the time of

news bulleting on both television and radio they would make sure these music jingles were played.

According to Sibanda (2001) an approximate done in 2003 meant for single Chave Chimurenga song jingle called Rambai Makashinga demonstrated that, approximately on radio it was being played two hundred and eighty times a day, which sum to eight thousand and forty times per month while on television the advert was shown and played at an estimation of seventy two times per day which sum up to two thousand one hundred and sixty times per month. Also there is the well known Mbare Chimurenga choir and Born Free Crew supported by ZANU PF to sing songs that portrays the good part of ZANU PF. These choirs were used to indoctrinate the Zimbabwean populace with the ruling party's ideology. Zimbabwe's electronic media is openly under the control and supervision of the government and Swaziland is also another country in the southern region whose media is under the control of the government. One can note that, by being in charge of radio which is easily reached by the rest of the Zimbabweans who are approximately thirteen million Zimbabweans, government under ZANU PF has managed to indoctrinate the majority of the Zimbabwean populace and monopolise power as much as it can.

In line with socialist ideas and a number of ideas taken from Marxian theories ZANU PF tried in other points succeed to introduce a one party state in Zimbabwe. Socialism as a philosophy it is in opposition to the ownership of property according to the capitalist ideology. The socialist ideology was embraced by ZANU PF at some stage at the peak of the liberation struggle and this is also witnessed by the military backing extended to Zimbabwe by nations such as China and Russia. Ideologically ZANU PF has been using socialism as a hump card or a license to monopolise power from the days of the liberation struggles.

More so, there were programs which helped ZANU PF to consolidate power. The programs that were put into practice by the ZANU PF government also have some socialist underpinnings and these comprise of free primary education established at some point in the in the early stages of independence, BACOSI which was a program put in place by the government in order to make basic commodities available to people at reasonable prices. The government also introduced the Farm Mechanisation Programme in newly resettled areas to boost Agricultural productivity. The party also embarked on a yearly program which was aimed at distributing farming inputs without charge so as to gain the favor of people and easily monopolise power without an hindrances.

### **2.3 Policies used as instruments to monopolise power**

The developments of power monopolization process in Zimbabwe were also based on the policies enforced by ZANU PF after witnessing a new beginning of more competitive party politics under the sign of the MDC. Raftopoulos et al (2011), argues that, for the initial point in time when nation gained independence in 1980, the ruling party at that time which was ZANU PF sensed politically vulnerable in elections at the presidential, parliamentary and local levels. This era forced government to shift to the fast track land reform programme, a programme or a process that obtained diverse review inside and outside the country with a good number of extreme evaluations portraying them as process motivated by political cause of intensifying power consolidation inside the party and for survival reasons.

According to Takabarasha (2004) subsequent to the beginning of the negative response of the draft constitution referendum in 2000 the government went on board on a fast track land reform programme, questionably taking advantage of the land crisis for political benefits. The government permitted the chaotic land incursion by the landless peasants. The permission was an indirect permission which was done through preferring to take no action against them

and in the course of action making these illegitimate invasions as communicative of state policy on land acquisition.

One can argue that, the land reform policy was an attempt by the state to get back lost support with upset fraction of the landless peasants at the same time making the process of power monopolization unquestionable. Also the fact that, still up to date a number of the processes and legal measures linked to the land policy are unconstitutional and castigatory, puzzling and unmanageable, the land reform policy advances have chiefly been a case of put into practice first formulate and legislate later shows that, the government was only centering on power consolidation and monopolisation not on the social welfare of people.

In 2005 the government was also seen go aboard on a controversial Murambatsvina programme intended at destroying each and every unregistered housing settlements in urban vicinities where the ZANU PF party had less support. This little support which was referred by Phimister (2004) as tense and disturbing political environment led to the enactment of regressive policies and the supplementary restraining legislation the state has to date under the Public Order and Security Act (POSA) and the Access to information and Protection of Privacy Act (AIPPA). This political approach was motivated by the need to preserve the status quo and proceedings of the decade. One can also argue that, these policies played an important role which helped ZANU PF to monopolise power despite the consequences of its loss of favor from the majority of Zimbabweans.

## **2.4 Opposition parties and continuation of power monopolization**

Monopolization of power is not a new phenomenon, it can be traced back to the Iron Age period and it continues to repeat itself even today with the newly formed political parties. According to the News Day (2014), the actions of the MDC president Morgan Tsvangirai are alike to those of president Mugabe's elimination of the position of Prime Minister in 1981 to

make the all authoritative position of the president and first secretary of ZANU and elimination of the position of Prime Minister in 1987 to form the all controlling post of executive president of the state, all the way through this centralisation of power through these abolishment's Mugabe has turn out to be a king whose powers are unrestrained both in the party and in the state and also Tsvangirai is putting an effort to make MDC.T another ZANU PF. According to the Financial Gazette (2014) constitutional amendments of the opposition MDC augmented powers in party president Morgan Tsvangirai at its congress, nonetheless the alterations of the party's constitution harshly reduced the powers of the secretary-general, devoting them in the president. This has been the major controversial amendment since the administrative center had been the focal point of separation.

Also according to New Zimbabwe (2014) Tsvangirai at last had his way on at the time he compelled a push of amends to the parties constitution to contemplate power around himself and went on to docile his incoming secretary general, somewhat which was rubber stamped by the presently ended MDC T elective congress. The congress resolute to amend the constitution to permit the president to be the guardian of the party name, guardian of all part properties, to oversee all in the headship, to be the parties person in command and fundraiser, one and only custodian of all party properties, movable and fixed and suspend National Standing Committee members through the National Council for violation of the party's constitution. One can note that this scenario shows the continuation of monopolization of power to the newly opposition parties.

More so, continuation of power monopolization within political parties is also witnessed through rebellion of party members which was also seen long back when ZAPU split and there was the formation of ZANU and other opposition parties. According to the Financial Gazette (2014) from the time of the formation of MDC in 1990, the party has undergone a revolt by two of its former secretary general that is Welshman Ncube who had disentangle

himself from the group in 2005 and Tendai Biti who was barred from the party earlier this year. Biti was charged of forming a new centre of power that contest for being in command of the MDC T with party leader Tsvangirai. The MDC's founding Secretary General Welshman Ncube had also been blamed of manipulating excessive much power within the party. The General Secretary also left the party in 2005. One can also note that, these splits were due to the need by individuals to monopolise power not to build their parties for the good of the nation.

### **Chapter summary and conclusion**

The chapter introduced the study to the background and development of power monopolization process by political parties in Zimbabwe. It can be noted from this chapter that, from way back parties has been born of splits and monopolization of power was witnessed through mushrooming of political parties from major parties. There were also influential ways used back then to monopolise power and these ways made the process successful and this is witnessed by ZANU PF's long stay in power. The chapter also justified the fact that, monopolization of power is not only associated with the ruling party ZANU PF as most people think but also with the MDC as an opposition party. Therefore the chapter introduces us yet another interesting chapter on the causes and effects of power monopolization in Zimbabwe.

# CHAPTER 3

## Causes and effects of power monopolisation in Zimbabwe

### 3.0 Introduction

In the Zimbabwean context the causes and effects of power monopolization by political parties and its manifestation can be traced and observed through and through scrutiny of the bad political and economic status of the country such that one can be fully convinced that power monopolisation is indeed a national threat which needs urgent attention. One can note that, according to different types of literature available there are different causes and effects of power monopolisation which strengthens one's argument that monopolisation of power by political parties brought tremendous harm and disaster to the Zimbabwean populace and the following are the causes and effects of power monopolisation by political parties in Zimbabwe.

#### 3:1 Human nature theories

According to Pethfor (2015), the phrase "human nature" typifies a particular and ageless distinguishing feature of the human being from which all actions, decisions and interest, forth come, as a result making this theory an essential component in any analysis which seeks to study relationships between humans. Human nature is one of the root causes of power monopolization by individuals within political powers. Sunderlin (2003) is of the view that, an indefinite large number of people, particularly but not only amid those in post of power and influence are cruel individualist, power seeking greedy and selfish. Also, Ogonnaya (2013) argues that, societies in decline are characterised by the pursuit of group interests, greed, selfish alongside with the elimination of insights from other groups and violence. He



went on with His explanations that, such society's main concern is on short term solutions and ignores long term solutions to problems.

Mathurin and Kyambalesa (2012) are of the view that, the elaborations regarding the source of power monopolization is in universal focused on the nature of human beings that is, human beings are selfish and greedy. According to the above scholars, Thomas Hobbes describe human beings as self seeking and greedy animals whose main interest is the satisfaction of their own needs, this way of understating is apparent in the following extract: And as a result if any two men wish for the same thing, which nonetheless they cannot together take pleasure in they turn out to be enemies. Thus one can also argue that, human beings cannot share power, it's either you are in power and you maximize your gains or you are out of power and unable to monopolise power. According to O'Byrne (2014), Thomas Hobbes had argued that, there is an inborn human nature which is aggressive, gluttony and egocentric and that the state is shaped out of joint personal interests. One is bound to conclude that, monopolization of power by political parties is an inborn thing which cannot be avoided.

In the Zimbabwean context the human nature theory is also supported by verbal attack on Robert Mugabe, Morgan Tsvangirai and Authur Mutambara, the trio is described as "greedy" for political power. According to the News Days (2014), Sikhala held responsible the political elites for holding the country to ransom, he referred the politicians as greed, due to the fact that, they always talk about power and more power and not the people who are living under hard times and extremely poor conditions. He went on to call politicians power sharks.

### **3.2 Security Issues and the need to continue accumulating wealth**

The need to safeguard property, life from prosecution and the need to continue accumulating wealth is also one of the causes of power monopolization by political elites. Political party leaders in most instances there are not willing to step down or share power probably because

they felt insecure about their future. Power (2003) make clear that in the age of international justice, despots who have blood in their hands are fearful that, if they give up their power they will be put on trial or embarrassed for this reason they are left with no other choice but to monopolise power for the sake of their security. The above sentiments are also supported by the ICG report (2008) which states that, soon after the end of president's Mugabe's term in March 2008, if Mugabe agreed to retire he could be granted incentives such immunity from prosecution and other Senior ZANU PF officials as well as assurance, at least to a particular level, that the accumulated wealthy including land of the president his family and other members of the establishment will be secured. Therefore one can note that security issues are the nave centre of power monopolization process in Zimbabwe.

In the Zimbabwean context ethnic cleansing in Matebeleland in the 1980's, the extreme Land Reform Policy and operation Murambatsvina in 2005 are some of the incidents that are forcing political leaders within ZANU PF to monopolise power because they might draw them into prison soon after the end of their rein of power. According to Mail and Guardian (2008) subsequent to the Tsholotsho dispute Mugabe was positively conscious of his unpopularity, for that reason all his close spectators were so certain that Mugabe was willing to step down following the first of the 2008 presidential elections when he undergo a defeat.

Chan and Primorac (2013) are of the view that, a formerly close ally of Mugabe mentioned that Mugabe most likely would have welcomed the idea that he could step down with dignity and retire but there are people who would not allow him to leave just like that the people he brought into influential and powerful positions mainly those in the military. Chan and Primorica (2013) went on to say The Joint Operations Command (JOC) members were concerned regarding their prospects. They wanted to maintain the status quo that is having control, holding power and preserving a certain standard of living. A member of the JOC uttered this occurrence in the motto "today I am a Minister, tomorrow I starve" in an

interview. One can also note that, official pardon would be given to Mugabe only and not to his associates. For this reason the ruling elites needs Mugabe to continue being in power so that they could remain protected from the terror of trial. The president was positively conscious that he would be in great dilemma if he give up or step down without making sure that the safety and endurance of the ruling clique is certain, they would have set up a means to hold him accountable for his command, mainly with regard to ethnic cleansing in Matebeleland in the 1980's and Operation Muarmabatsvina in 2005.

### **3.3 Factionalism**

Factionalism is the splitting of a group into factions. According to The Herald (2014) factions are strong differences or disagreements within a group or a grouping of people acting collectively within and more often than not against another group within a huge body in our particular case a political party. Factions are negative effects of power monopolization due to political actor's concentration on gaining state power for their own interest not serving the public good, pursuing power for the sake of power and as a result it is more about individual rather than collective, therefore personalized factionalism and self centeredness

The Herald (2014) pointed out that, there is no uncertainty that, factionalism has a bearing on the stability of political party's general institutionalisation process, on their efficiency as well as on their legitimacy in the eyes of the voters or any other observers. In Africa it is difficult to presuppose that formal makeup and regulations within political parties shape the compulsory structure for all concerned, or that intra party processes will take place within the constitutional limits of the affirmed party structure. Administered by power loving political elites, political parties are not harmonized institutions that are certain in terms of the objectives they follow and neither are they essentially bound by some kind of unitary

determination, fundamentally political parties are a result of alliance of egocentric political actors with personal aspiration, goals and interests.

Sachikonye (2011) is of the view that, political parties are unique organisations and their primary aim is to obtain and apply or use political power through gaining control or through being in charge of the government apparatus. Zimbabwe's political parties have been predominantly prone to factionalism. The formation of factions resulted into splits in both the ZANU PF in 2008 and the MDC in 2005 with catastrophic and devastating costs for both parties. According to The Herald (2014) some of the impacts of factionalism were witnessed in 2008 electoral system when one disreputable ZANU PF faction helped in spoiling another parties winning prospects, immediately falling short of giving the MDC formations an absolute conquest sufficient to send away the revolutionary party with Morgan Tsvangirai losing the score by a mere 2 percent points.

More so, the main negative result of factionalism is unevenness or mediocrity which is also as a result of factional association working against the normal operation of merit in the election of office holders due to the fact that, factional leaders are more concerned about loyalty than they are regarding merit in selecting their associate. The ZANU PF disorganized 2013 internal elections for provincial executives is a good example of faction's capability of superseding merit and equality in an act of chasing personal concerns of factional leaders, at the same time this weaken unity and efficiency of political parties. According to the Herald (2015), factions based on disagreements are capable of reducing or obliterating a party's aptitude to mobilize and employ new members. This is evidenced by election results across the country and how the MDC formations have been faring so badly since the ugly split. Also factional arguments are capable of destroying the capability to manage and campaign for the vote, this was seen in ZANU PF in 2008 the dilemma ended up being a compulsory alliance with the MDC.

Factionalism can lead to unclear and opposing policy positions inside the party, this was witnessed by the higher-ranking ZANU PF political elites disagreeing about the enforcement of the Indigenisation and Empowerment policy and recently over continuing investigation on media polarisation. Also factionalism can hinder intra party negotiations and issue focused debate can simply turn into a whirlpool of busy factional power fights and to make matters worse it can be accountable for corruption and unaccountability. Factionalism can also weaken without difficulty the ethical or good standing, integrity and authority of a political party, this is evidenced by the fading odds of the MDC what can be noticed in the case is almost entirely deterioration of a party setup and this can result into voter distrustful attitude. Tsvangirai-Biti-Chamisa factions inside the MDC-T itself a faction derivative of the original MDC created in 1999 witnessed an abnormal collapse of what used to be a alarming or frightening opponent of the ZANU-PF.

Therefore one can note that monopolization of power by political parties can have disastrous effects such as factionalism which can influence the interior resolutions or decision making process in any party and the nation at large. Although there are continuous refutations of factionalism by the leaders of MDC and ZANU PF that are noticeably badly affected by this plague, it must be noted that, it is totally hazardous to look upon factionalism as something which last for a short time, unimportant and undoubtedly the phenomenon is not ignorable.

### **3.4 Oppressive pieces of legislation**

Monopolization of power by political parties led to the enforcement of oppressive pieces of legislation in Zimbabwe. The mixture of these repressive law that is Public Order and Security Act (POSA), Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act (AIPPA), Interception of Communication Act (ICT), Broadcasting Services Act (BSA) denotes that, there is nearly no room for unrestrained sharing of information in conducts that are in line

with the worldwide approved principles of freedom of speech, principles regarded as essential vitals to democracy as expressed by the United Nation's Human Rights as well as the African Charter for Human and Peoples Rights according to Servaes (2013) in Crisis in Zimbabwe (2007).

POSA is one of the repressive laws enacted by the government, which is as a result of the need to monopolization power by the ZANU PF government. According to Zhou and Zvoushe (2012) on a greater note POSA is a renaissance of the feared colonial version that is the Law and Order Maintenance Act (LOMA) POSA replaced LOMA, however in real conditions POSA nearly reflect the image of the LOMA. Negligible differences involving the two pieces can be seen and fascinatingly the two laws come up in nearly alike conditions. LOMA was approved during political tensions caused by the rising of the Black pro-independence movement. That being the case the law hunted to repress the resistance of the black majority. On the other hand POSA was enforced yet again during the period of political pressure during the preparations of the 2002 presidential elections. Severe economic and social challenges experienced nationwide raised public discontent and consequently rise of opposition political parties. Thus POSA was intended to repress resistance from opposition parties. Therefore POSA is a piece of legislation which was introduced at the pinnacle of political heat, particularly the two pieces of legislation were introduced at the height of political heat, particularly to end opposition

Zhou and Zvoushe (2012) argues that, POSA emerges to protect the president from censure or blame since he monopolise power, that being the case the law is prone to different explanations by different parts of the society. Above all POSA was introduced to successfully destroy opposition politics in Zimbabwe and maintain a one party state.

Servaes (2013) argues that, practically POSA has been and is being enforced to shut down any room for democratic governance and avoid any rise of the opposition against the incumbent government, from the time when POSA was endorsed it has been hard for opposition party's rally to be permitted or accepted to go on devoid of the intrusion of the police. Therefore it's not achievable to assemble in public and say whatever thing that may be professed as political in scenery. Servaes (2013) went on to say, on the Media Institute of Southern Africa's website there is a quote from author Mbana Kaitako that says "If you are unable to express yourself you are already behind bars" this has happened to Zimbabwe as a consequence of the endorsement of POSA.

More so, there was also the enactment of AIPPA. Zhou and Zvoushe (2012) AIPPA was enacted during the era of high temperatures of political crisis in Zimbabwe when the ZANU PF government was desperate for political survival and legality. AIPPA mainly seek to be in charge of the media by setting the provisions that, local correspondents are supposed to be given an official consent following meeting certain principles from a government appointed board which comprises of primarily affiliates sympathetic to the incumbent regime. The enactment of AIPPA has resulted in the arrests of a large number of correspondents while others taking obligatory exile. The implementation of AIPPA has seen arrests of a number of journalists and others taking forced exile and ended up operational with offshore radio stations such as Studio 7.

Servaes (2013) argued that, truly speaking AIPPA had nothing or very little to do with making sure about access to information and protecting privacy. It has much to do with the confining of media freedom and striking laws that criminalise the printing and broadcasting of information that maybe contrary to the government. Taking for instance, AIPPA was intended to give the Media and Information Commission (MIC) considerable authoritarian power concerning reporters or journalists and media sources. More so, there was the

enactment of the Broadcasting Service Act which gave the Broadcasting Authority of Zimbabwe and the Minister of Information total charge of all media and media licensing in Zimbabwe. This shows that, not barely was media licensing restricted nearly completely the media outlets runned by the state but that under BSA media sources were requested to give at least seventy five percent local or African programming.

According to Servaes (2013) there is another law which is worth to mention mentioning as it not only speak about mass media but also about to monitoring of private information shared between individuals. The 2006 Interception of Communication Act (ICA), this act authorises the interception of any communication and permits the government to tap phones, interrupt emails or web pages or edit or intercept hard copy mail. While this law is hard to put in practice particularly in terms of intercepting emails taking into account governments low technology base comparing with other oppressive laws in connection to sharing information, it allows the government to apply the law pattern less and in a way that tolerate them to spy on individuals they suspect to be anti government.

Management Association, Information Resource (2014) is of the view that, the Zimbabwean president signed into law the ICA and device that permits state officials to spy and overhear something on personal telephonic or relations. They argued that, the law is essential to guard the concern of national safety or the preservation of law and order. ICA tries to restrain the widening of anti-Mugabe reactions on the mother country. For example forty people were detained in 2007 for circulating an email calling for protest to the President Mugabe. All these repressive laws archived constant control of not only the media but also of the Zimbabwean citizens.



### **3.5 Bad governance**

Monopolisation of power by political parties has been widely acknowledged to have had significant impact on the governance of the country. In Zimbabwe bad governance which is largely motivated by political survival tactics has led to the collapse of the economy. According to Chimbganca (2013) the utmost threats to good governance, particularly in numerous authoritarianisms and up-and-coming democracies is political corruption which engages the use of power by political elites and government bureaucrats for unlawful reasons. This occurs at place of uppermost stage of the political structure, when political elites and state agents make use of their influence to maintain their power and to accumulate wealthy. One can argue that, entirely politicians manipulate government laws by either side stepping or by not taking notice of them and sometimes the political elites alter the constitution to defend their own attentions of power consolidation.

In Zimbabwe, bad governance has been witnessed through political corruption which has been noticeable in the form of electoral fraud. This has been achieved through vote rigging in the form of exclusive of some intelligible voters from voting, tempering with voters register or the counting system. Zimbabwe Human Rights, Rule of Law and Democracy Annual Report (2013) is of the view that, in 2013 elections the right to vote was limited, during the 2013 harmonised elections, significantly huge electoral indiscretions were accounted by local and regional spectators which caused the outcomes not to be an authentic expression of the determination of the majority of the Zimbabweans. There were reports that the elections were conclusion of an intensely imperfect process. Indiscretions in the stipulation and composition of the voters roll were noticed.

More so, ZANU PF's grip on power has resulted in bad governance inform of bureaucratic corruption which engages embezzlement which is the deceitful change of public resources for

personal use. According to the Freedom House Report (2008), corruption is out of control throughout the country as well as at the uppermost stage of government. Patronage is important to ZANU PF's grip on power. The party is in position of a wide range of companies and those who are loyal have been given a lot of possessions and properties detained from former colonizers. One can note that, the sudden fall down of the delivery of public services has resulted in corruption being an omnipresent fraction of big business with local officials. To make matters worse the prosecutors who are against corruption are virtually solely aggravated by political vendettas. The severe decline in public and investor assurance in Zimbabwe's economy has been attributed to prevalent reports of corruption, nepotism, policy uncertainty and liquidity crisis which in turn led to bank closures.

In a bid to monopolise power by political parties Zimbabwe has received wide spread contagion regionally and internationally due to the abuse of human rights through use of violence during elections and this scenario has qualified Zimbabwe as a nation to be rated amongst the nations which have bad governance. According to Onslow (2011) recently Zimbabwe has experienced logical use of violence, predominantly during March 2007 and 2008 and up to the outcomes of the elections.

More so, bad governance in this case which is evidenced by economic decline and very small forecast for revival, force one to argue that, monopolization of power by political parties has caused disastrous effects to the nation at large. Update Briefing (2014) is of the views that, the Zimbabwean economy continues in difficult position with growth predicts revised descending a number of times since the previous elections. The government faced challenges in implementing its economic recovery policy, Zim Asset. The government is handicapped by revenue restraints, divergence and policy consistency. Update Briefing (2014) went on to say, Zim Asset needs a lowest amount of ten billion dollars, unfortunately the government is failing to secure support even from the well known trusted friends. The government is

struggling almost each and every month to run its management and make available essential services. One can also argue that lack of financial backing is also caused by prior reports of corruption and unprofessional conduct of funds by government bureaucrats pursuing their selfish interest at the expense of the nation at large.

### **3.6 Weak opposition parties**

Monopolization of power by political parties has also weakened political parties. According to Democracy in Africa Report (2014), the present factional politics in both MDC and ZANU PF structures have resulted to guiding principle paralysis within both parties. This has a negative impact on the opposition MDC in the logic that, the opposition party is continuously losing a precious chance for advancement to gain electoral ground due to these struggles and battles over authority, prosperity and power there is continuous ignorance on the needs and voices of the ordinary Zimbabwean citizens. Anold and Wienier (2012) pointed out that, in the near the beginning of 2000 Zimbabweans believed that, MDC leader Morgan Tsvangirai was going to be the obvious front runner and also the leader most probably going to be Zimbabwe's future president. However that is no longer the belief people have lost their trust since MDC has experienced several splits and in turn become weaker. That being the case certain number of Zimbabweans have lost anticipate that, significant change can take place and they are no longer eager to jeopardise their protection by plainly supporting the opposition party MDC.

### **Chapter summary and conclusion**

The chapter exposed the causes of power monopolization by political parties in the nation of Zimbabwe. The chapter also depicts different effects that are the disaster and harm power monopolization has brought upon the lives of the people and upon the political parties

themselves. Thus the following chapter will expose actor's central in the monopolization of power in Zimbabwe.

# CHAPTER 4

## Actors central in the monopolization of power in Zimbabwe

### 4.0 Introduction

The chapter exposes actor's central in the monopolization of power in Zimbabwe and the role these actors played facilitating the process. Also this chapter clearly reviews any analysis of the current position of Zimbabwe's political parties basing on the research findings from the field and research findings from secondary data. In this chapter there is also the prediction of the future of the political parties in Zimbabwe in regard to power monopolisation.

### 4.1 The role of political party leaders

The research of power monopolization by political parties in Zimbabwe would not be comprehensive without making references to the personality, role or position of political leadership. The destinies of parties rely considerably on the tendencies and quality of the leadership, certain inclination has been general in most parties. According to Sachikonye (2011) first of all, there is frequently a strong determination on the part of the founding leader to prolong the existence of his or her position. Political parties in Zimbabwe are definitely very much identified with their founding leaders; Mugabe with ZANU-PF and Tsvangirai with MDC-T. Secondly, there is strong element of personalisation of leadership and most African political parties are characterized by this tendency. In the Zimbabwean context it has reached its climax in ZANU PF this is evidenced by those constituencies that campaigns for Mugabe to be the parties president for life.

Onslow (2011) points out that, Richard Dowden, the London Times' long-standing correspondent and Editor for Africa and now the Chairman of the Royal Africa Society, was

one of the first to call publicly for discussions with Mugabe in 2005. As Dowden pointed out, in Africa politics is personal and calculations of what is rational in an African context may not be deemed equally rational in a West European political context. There is surely the matter of Mugabe's ultimate political abilities, his skill as a speaker and conversationalist, and his fascinating and charismatic leadership. People may find it strange nevertheless the old man is still apprehended in immense love by a number of the Zimbabwean populace. In the 2008 March election ZANU-PF obtained roughly forty percent of the vote, and ZANU-PF under Mugabe's leadership keeps hold of a degree of ideological popular support. In addition, Mugabe's oratory and particularly his rebelliousness to Britain, who once colonized Zimbabwe, hit chords amongst other communities across Africa. One can also note that, the leadership qualities of Mugabe as the leader of ZANU-PF that is his most striking qualities bravery and personality has made it so difficult to challenge his leadership as there is need of outstanding quantity of apparent eyed firm bravely.

Nutt and Bottaro (2011) are of the view that, throughout his thirty years of rule Mugabe turns out to be dictatorial and further isolated from ZANU-PF. His place surrounded by a ring of close confidantes made it difficult for him to completely understand or realise the degree of the economic crisis. Nutt and Bottaro went on to say the position, power and wealth of the political elite relied on the support of Mugabe so a small number of of them were keen to confront him. To add more to this a sect of personality had been established that made it hard for the president to turn around his previous policies but somewhat enduring with the monopolisation of power. More so, it can be considered to argue that, Mugabe is firm to grip on to power at all costs this is very much evidenced by the economic and political crises faced by Zimbabwe as a nation even in the twenty first century. Mugabe is a figure head for ZANU-PF elites that being the case he has little choice but to monopolise power to buy political support hence he cannot let go of power.

The Zimbabwean Situation (2013) describes Morgan Tsvangirai as a brave gentleman with significant accomplishments to his credit. Regardless of being beaten, continuously belittled, threatened and locked up, he did not give up but he did more than any person else to tear apart Zimbabwe's one party Zimbabwe's one party state and oblige President Mugabe to compete with solemn opposition. Nevertheless in spite of these plausible merits Tsvangirai failed as a politician, his words did not carry weight, put simply, he did not mean what he said thus he has been a man of empty words. This was witnessed in 2008 when Tsvangirai impudently urged Zimbabweans to come out in their millions to protest against President Mugabe and he failed to come out himself. Furthermore Tsvangirai threatened to boycott every election astonishingly he almost or always contests anyway. As a consequence the opposition leader has torn his personal credibility to shred and he has created a link between what he says and what he does.

Also looking at Tsvangirai's performance as a Prime Minister from 2009 onwards one can notice that, his period in office if not in power showed up all his weaknesses. He was busy focusing on the issue of the constitution and so forth while Mugabe and his party were busy campaigning for the upcoming elections. A few MDC ministers made an impact but Tsvangirai individually made almost nothing. Although he had majority in parliament, he was ineffective to use these levers in power. One can also note that the weaknesses of the opposition leader Tsvangirai played a role of helping the ZANU PF to monopolise power as they made use of Tsvangirai's weakness to strengthen their party this was seen by the winning of ZANU PF in the 2013 elections.

## **4.2 The role of regional organisation**

The role of the regional organisation in managing political crisis and conflict in Zimbabwe has been under criticism from the international community. Taking a close look at the role of

Southern Africa Development Community (SADC) as a regional organisation one is bound to argue that SADC regional boards are also actors central to power monopolisation process in Zimbabwe. This is evidenced by the fact that, most of the SADC countries economies are tangled with those of Zimbabwe and the matter of incumbents in power and the states and head of states act in mutual support of one another.

Murithi and Mawadza (2011) argues that, it is obvious that President Mugabe to some extent has been immune to criticism for the reason that he is seen as having liberation struggle credentials against the repression of British Colonialism. Regionally most SADC countries were ruled by dictatorial leaders who had reports of failing to administer their own societies, economies and governments, in a way that is open and plural and this reason has made it even more difficult to criticise President Mugabe. One can also note that, the fact that, SADC take little or no action when it come up to the Zimbabwean crisis by the means of characterising all crisis as one of the land reform and liberation struggle rather than governance has helped ZANU PF to monopolisation power as much as it can. Thus SADC plays a great role in the monopolisation of power by ZANU PF.

More so, the fact that SADC has been unsuccessful in taking a public stand in opposition to repression, breaches of the rule of law and human rights violation plainly demonstrates that the regional boards are part of the monopolising process in Zimbabwe. Subsequent to losing the March 2008 Presidential elections, the president undergo a wide spread state funded violent behaviour and terror, mutilations and rape were carried out against leaders and supporters of the opposition and human rights violations including beating and torments. The regional board deceived its permission to endorse admiration for human rights and the rule of law, undermined the autonomous process and deserted the Zimbabweans. Piennar (2008) sighted in Cawthra (2010) is of the view that, Kofi Annan in 2008 exclaimed that, it was clear



that SADC may possibly and should have done further to undertake the catastrophe encountered by the people of Zimbabwe in 2008. Nevertheless the motives behind for the regional boards reluctance to take action are not incomprehensible, SADC members were alienated on the means to deal with Zimbabwe a number of of them including South Africa wanted to defend the incumbent regime, its leader as well as the customs of the nation's unity and against imperialism trumped those of democratic system, for this reason this unlocked a wide entrance for ZANU PF to monopolise power knowing that most of the SADC members are on their side.

Also, the fact that, throughout the early stage of the crisis SADC failed to provide some arbitration responsibility until the Zimbabwean issue was referred to the June 2008 African Union (AU) summit at Sharmel-Sheik is a clear evidence that SADC was playing a silent and great role in helping ZANU-PF to monopolise power. According to Cawthra (2010) SADC appointed then South African president Thabo Mbeki as chief mediator at the 2008 SADC conference which was held in Dar-es-Salaam. Conversely the appointment proved to be contentious by the MDC-T in dispute stating that, Thabo Mbeki was in favour of ZANU –PF. To further support the fact that SADC played a great role in supporting the power monopolisation process by ZANU PF, one can take note of the appointment of President Mugabe as the SADC chairperson after disgusting violation of human rights during the 2008 presidential election. SADC members or leaders brushed out-of-the-way petitions from the opposition party MDC which argued that, the vote was manipulated and crowned Mugabe as the SADC chair, this is clear evidence that maybe without the support of SADC ZANU –PF could not have gone this far.

One can also note that, SADC liberation parties have been facing difficulties when it comes to welcoming the opposition party MDC as a lawful political force of progress and this also

made it difficult for MDC to get hold of power. Raftopolos (2013) is of the view that, ZANU PF included anti-western politics as a variable in local participators over the monopolisation of power and put much effort to gather together SADC members to look at Zimbabwean crisis as that of anti-colonial forces against those in favour of Britain reactionary forces signified by the MDC-T. This fact led to the SADC summit corroborating the idea that, Zimbabwe conducted free and peaceful elections and make use of it to look for ways of normalising the participation of Zimbabwe in the organisation. On the other hand it opened up a space for appointment with MDC and shunned or prohibited a boycott of the political system by MDC. Therefore one can safely comment that SADC as a regional board has been helping ZANU PF to monopolise power to a greater extent.

African Union (AU) as a regional organisation cannot be left out in the politics of power monopolisation in Zimbabwe. Raftopolos (2013) argues that, AU has been failing to articulate the Zimbabwean issue with one commanding voice. Several important members such as Libya under Colonel Murmur Gaddafi and others were regarded as compassionate to President Mugabe's actions and ZANU PF as a whole. The weakness of the AU helped the ruling ZANU PF to monopolise power and possibly give explanation why the AU has been so relaxing to allow the Zimbabwean problems to be taken care of by SADC. Also regional reaction to the Zimbabwean crisis was barely minimum and insufficient across the continent, states Presidents criticised Mugabe government and asked him to step down so that there will be an end to suffering in Zimbabwe. Nevertheless AU did failed to question Mugabe's right to presume Zimbabwe's seat at the AU Summit in Egypt from June 30 to July 1 2008 and to make matters worse Tanzanian President Jakaya Kikwete who was the chairing the meeting he referred to the elections as momentous. The AU criticised the post election violence, although not in a appropriate way, and postponed the state of affairs to the SADC. Thus one is bound to comment that, the AU is one of the major actors in the power monopolisation

process in Zimbabwe as it is best seen as playing any supervisory role over SADC and rubber stamping its resolutions.

### **4.3 The role of foreign international actors**

The foreign international community has failed to undertake measures that successfully tackle the mass violence and human rights violations during elections in Zimbabwe. According to Cawthra (2010), the United Nations (UN) as an international organisation observes the fall of the country. The president of the European Union (EU) issued a statement on behalf of the UN that articulated its profound anxiety concerning news of violent events and the decline of human rights state of affairs in Zimbabwe. Further more in 2009 the president increased sanctions on Mugabe and his top officials for their continuous failure to deal with the most essential economic and societal needs of its people.

However one can argue that these sanctions have been used by political parties in Zimbabwe to buy peoples votes and to monopolise power. MDC as an opposition party has been using these sanction during their campaigns to get into power at the same time ZANU PF has also been using these same sanctions to gain sympathy from regional organisation and the general Zimbabwean populace. Therefore one can note that, the foreign international actors have played a critical part in the power monopolisation process in Zimbabwe through sanctions which have been used by both MDC and ZANU PF to monopolise power.

### **4.3 The current position of Zimbabwe political parties in regard to power monopolisation based on the research findings**

The analysis of the current position of Zimbabwe's political parties is going to be based on the information captured from the documents analysed and questionnaires responses from

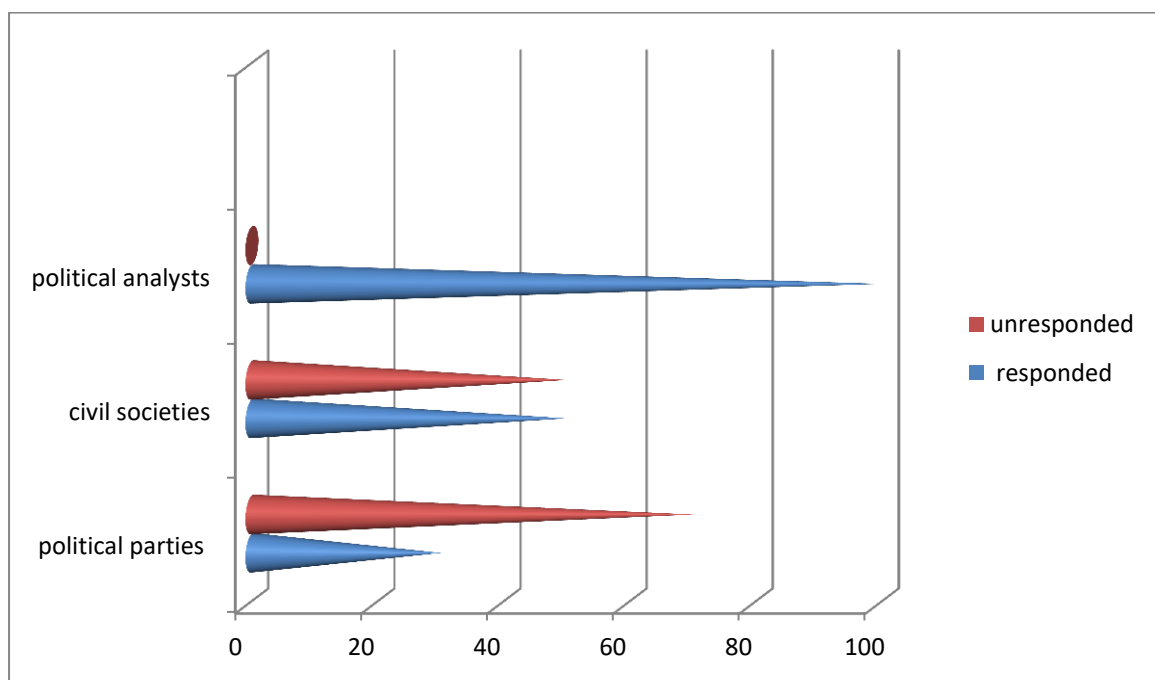
respondents engaged in the study. The researcher will make an attempt to come up with an interpretation and analysis of the data gathered from the primary and secondary sources. The data will be presented, interpreted and analysed descriptively in tables, graphs, illustration and narrations.

**Table 1 Questionnaire response analysis**

Target group	Targeted	Responded	Unresponded	% response rate
Political parties	10	3	7	30%
Civil societies	10	5	5	50%
Political analysts	10	10	0	100%
<b>Total</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>60%</b>

*Source: Field data*

**Bar Graph 1 Questionnaire response rates**



*Source :Field data*

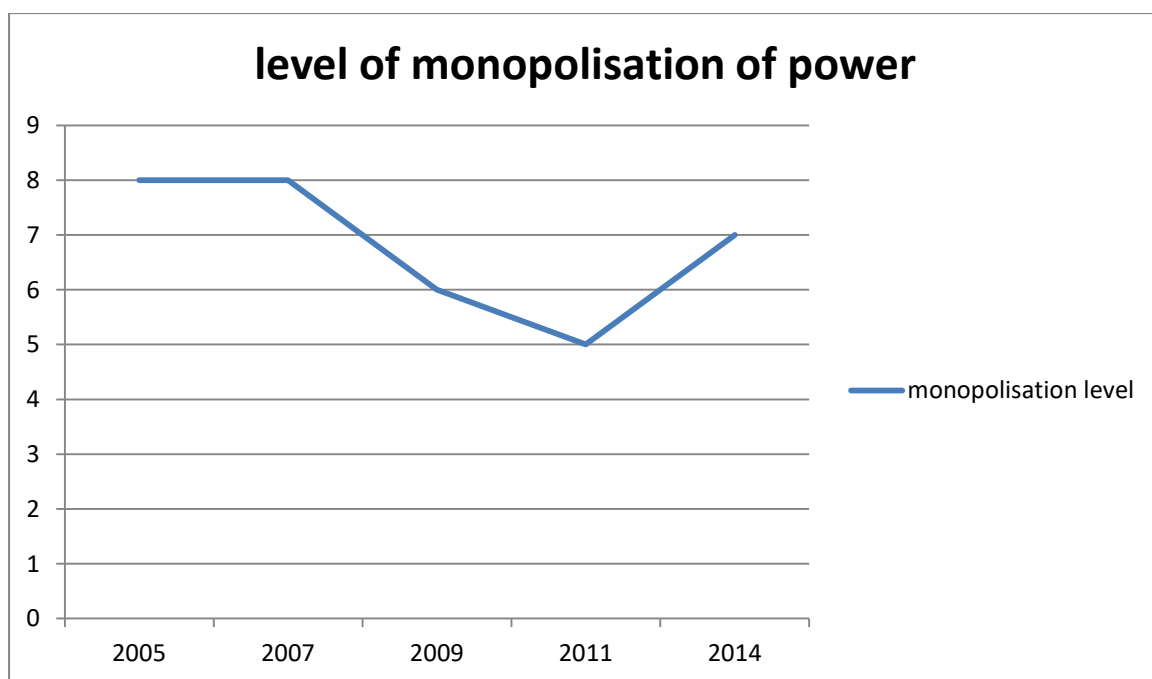
From the table and bar graph above 60% of the questionnaires distributed were responded to by the respondents to the research. Due to the sensitivity of the issue under study the response rate has been low with 30% respond from the political parties; civil societies recorded 50 % while political analysts recorded 100%.

From the responded questionnaires most of the respondents proved to know and understand the meaning of power monopolisation and they also gave same definitions with different wording. The researcher notes that, from the responded questionnaires power monopolisation by political parties was referred to domination, consolidation, total control with an idea of rule by man, dictatorial tendencies and abuse of democratic principles. All of the respondents agreed that, there is power monopolisation by political parties in Zimbabwe

The respondents who claimed that there is power monopolisation by political parties in Zimbabwe also claimed that, power monopolisation has impacted negatively the governance of the country. They argued mainly basing on the issue of corruption stating that centralisation and monopoly of power is the best ingredient of corruption and lack of accountability which in turn leads to the downfall of the economy. Most of the respondents from Civil Societies and the political analyst agreed that, the major actors in the politics of power monopolisation are the party presidents and the ministers thus in other words the political elites are the major actors when it comes to power monopolisation. However respondents from political parties (ZANU-PF) argued that, the presidents does not play any party in the politics of power monopolisation but his subordinates or close allies are the real culprits. The researcher notes that, respondents from political parties gave their views in relation to their loyalty to the president safeguarding their lives since there is no freedom of speech in Zimbabwe.

The researcher received different opinions from respondents on the issue of the prevailing environment facilitating the power monopolisation process. Some of the respondents argues that, the legacy of colonisation gives the incumbent regime the right to rule and seize resources at will while some respondents argues on the basis of sanctions stating that, sanctions are forcing president Mugabe to tighten his grip on power since he is believed to be the strongest anti-west icon. Also some argues that, Zimbabwe is facing economic hardships and power is the best resources to access other resources that a man can desire in life.

More so, respondents managed to proffer different recommendations that can be put forward to curb the problem of power monopolisation by political parties in Zimbabwe. Some of the respondents believed that, Zimbabweans in general should speak with one voice and campaign against the monopolisation of power to effect regime change like other countries such as South Africa. Others are of the view that, there should be effective party constitutions at local level which limits the movement towards reestablishment of a single centre of power. From the responses the researcher notes that, Zimbabweans have faith in the change of the constitution as a way to curb the problem of power monopolisation.



*Source: Secondary Sources*

The line graph above shows the increase and decline in the process of power monopolisation by political parties in Zimbabwe. The researcher is going to analyse the levels of power monopolisation using secondary data. Also different indicators are going to be employed and used to measure levels of power monopolisation, these indicators include; use of violence or intimidation by political parties, repressive legal frameworks and type of governance.

In 2005 the level of power monopolisation by political parties was high. According to secondary sources used in this research this scenario is supported by the type of governance which prevailed at that time. The year 2005 thus when the government was governing the country with an iron fist that is military way of ruling whether you like it or not there was no way out but to comply with the government regulations. In 2005 the government embarked on a controversial Murambatsvina programme its main aim was to destroy illegal settlements or unregistered residential settlements in urban areas. However there are allegations that Murambatsvina was a political move. The ZANU PF government knew very well that most of the MDC supporters were in urban areas and they wanted to immigrate MDC supporters to rural areas since this was the time for the preparations of the parliamentary elections in Zimbabwe. Therefore one can note that, in 2005 there were high levels of power monopolisation by ZANU PF as a way of maintaining the status quo.

More so in 2007 according to the line graph above the level of power monopolisation was relatively high. This was evidenced by wide spread of violence, intimidation, torture, prosecution of the opposition members in preparation for the 2008 local, parliamentary and presidential elections. In 2007 and 2008 the decade witnessed the banning and restriction of Non Governmental Organisation (NGO's) with the allegations that, there were against the ruling party ZANU-PF and they were accused of supporting the opposition party MDC. Also

throughout this era of tense and disturbing climate there was the high use regressive policy that is POSA and AIIPA imposed to control the media in favour of ZANU PF. One can also not that the level of power monopolisation was high in 2007 and 2008 due to the fact that the ZANU-PF government was desperate for political survival after facing competitive party politics from MDC.

In 2009 the levels of power monopolisation decline. The era witnessed relatively low levels of power monopolisation by political parties in Zimbabwe. This is the era of the draft of the new constitution and the inclusive government that is the GNU. The decline in the levels of power monopolisation can be attributed to the fact that, there was power sharing and that being the fact the regime could accommodate democratic principles. There were also policies implemented at this period such as the Indigenisation and Empowerment Policy, diamond policy which was a policy following the discovery of diamonds in Marange. One can also note that, these policies were enthused by the necessity to completely be in charge of the state apparatus and defend the ruling party that was facing pressure from the opposition party.

2011 the levels of power monopolisation were very low since it was still the era of inclusive government. During this era there was no much of the implementation due to the fact that the parties in the inclusive government could hardly reach a consensus when it comes to the implementation of policies. The low levels of power monopolisation can also be attributed to the fact that, there was pressure from the international community forcing the political parties to govern abided by the democratic principles.

2014 witnessed a sharp increase of power monopolisation since this was the period after elections and the government was now under a single party. This was also the era of the reshuffling of ministers a strategy associated with the need to consolidate power by the president. High levels of power monopolisation were also witnessed by functionalism within



ZANU PF as individuals were fighting to be in control of the party. The firing of some ZANU-PF party cadres such as the former Vice President Joyce Mujuru and others shows that power monopolisation was at its peak. Also the issue of the parastatals being run by pro ZANU-PF officials who happened to be ex military officials such as Brigadier Karakadzai running the National Railways of Zimbabwe (NRZ) shows that the ZANU-PF party monopolise power since it is the ruling power. The continuous acceleration of the graph reflects that, power monopolisation is a continuous process in Zimbabwe

#### **4.4 The future of Zimbabwe's political parties in regard to power monopolisation**

The possible prospects of political parties in Zimbabwe tend to have connection or to be associated with its origins and this also affects the future development of the party. The case of ZANU PF as a party which has its roots in the liberation struggle of the country the party perhaps might continue making sure that it stays in power for good. Firstly ZANU PF as a political party is likely going to continue using their liberation accomplishment as a warrant to prolong their term in office. This is so probably because these liberation political parties find it difficult to turn into democratic parties when the countries gain independence or become liberal. Therefore in the case that they face opposition or they are losing support, they tend to bring to surface their origin and use tactics to install fear in the electorate to win elections. One can also argue that, probably ZANU PF is going to continue manipulating the constitution, violating human rights and as a party is not going to respect any democratic means when issues of power monopolisation are at centre stage.

More so, there is a possibility that, due to the need to monopolise power by certain individuals a new political party is going to emerge which will probably be more dominant.

This fact is evident by the splitting within political parties and also due to the fact that ZANU PF has invested much in the President Mugabe the moment he become incapacitated ZANU PF might collapse, the likes of Mujuru might form a coalition rise and form a new vibrant part. This also supported by the loss of support from some members within SADC and AU. Some members of SADC such the president of Botswana condemned Mugabe's governance and this might affect the future of ZANU PF and opposition parties might take advantage and form an opposition party. However, even in the era of a new political party, it's mostly likely that there will be the continuation of the consolidation of power and the use of state institutions to monopolise power.

MDC as an opposition party its future is close to death, the party is more and more detached, the party has lost most of its supporters. Globally secluded, it's no longer enjoying the financial opportunities and media exposure that it once received and enjoyed. The root causes of the collapse of MDC might be attributed to the parties constant losing in the elections against ZANU PF and also the fact that, factionalism has destroyed the once vibrant opposition party, the people who were funding the opposition party the likes of the former US president are no longer in power and the new US government under Obama seem to be less interested in the politics of regime change in Zimbabwe.

There is much possibility that, MDC will not stand after another defeat in 2018. This might be the end of its existence just like ZAPU and others. The fact that MDC does not have practical ideology, the party has reserved concern in nationalism and ignore the politics of independence will lead to the collapse of the party in the future because normally in the politics of Africa and Zimbabwe in particular, the politics of independence, nationalism and ideology matters the most. One can argue that, the opposition which started with much promise will be history soon.

## **Conclusions**

Monopolisation of power by political parties in Zimbabwe can be credited for the collapse of the country's social, economic and political system. The findings from the research demonstrated that, political parties are institutions which are not supremacy but there are characterised by different individuals who are very much motivated by the need to pursue their personal interests at the expense of the Zimbabwean populace and this has led to the collapse of the economy as individuals sacrifice the economy for political survival.

The research has also demonstrated negative impacts caused by power monopolisation by political parties in Zimbabwe. The need to consolidate power by certain individuals has led to factionalism which has a negative bearing on the stability of political parties, their efficiency and legitimacy. Factionalism has led to political party's failure to produce what there expected to provide by their supporters this in turn has led to voters losing confidence in political parties. Zimbabwe as a nation is characterised by bad governance and the research demonstrated that, monopolisation of power by political parties is the root cause of bad governance which is evidenced by the violation of human rights, unconstitutionalism, issues of corruption etc.

The enforcement of oppressive legal frameworks in Zimbabwe is as a result of power monopolisation. These repressive laws such as AIPPA and POSA have been violating human rights such as freedom of speech and other principles of democracy and the laws have made life so difficulty for opposition political parties. The research also shows that monopolisation of power by political parties in Zimbabwe has weakened both political parties that is ZANU PF and MDC.

The research clearly shows that, monopolisation of power it's a process which is facilitated by different actors. From the research political party leaders have a major role since the future or prospects of political parties depend on the qualities of the leadership. The role of President Mugabe has been central in the monopolisation of power by political parties. Also the weaknesses of the opposition leader Morgan Tsvangirai have also facilitated the process of power monopolisation in Zimbabwe. The role of regional organisation proved to be of paramount importance when it comes to the issue of power monopolisation by political parties in Zimbabwe due to their unwavering support to the incumbent regime. Foreign international actors also facilitate the process of power monopolisation through imposing sanctions on Zimbabwe. These sanctions have been used by both parties ZANU-PF and MDC to monopolise power.

The research also recommends that, there is need for the establishment of power control board's to check the use of power by political parties during their time in power and political parties should abide with the democratic principles in order to create an environment that is free from power monopolisation.

## **Recommendations**

The following are recommendations to the political parties and to the actor's central in the power monopolisation process in Zimbabwe. The researcher believes that, the recommendations will go a long way in improving and creating an environment that is free from power monopolisation.

### **Recommendations to political parties**

There is need for the establishment of power control board such as party liaison board to check the use of power by political parties during their time in power. These committees should be fully supported with technical and financial support to carry out their mandate without any form of interference.

There is need for political parties to design and present a comprehensible approach of depoliticising, demilitarising and professionalising state institutions, this will ensure inclusiveness and transparency and this will reduce the abuse of power by political elites and ensure proper use of power.

To curb the problem of power monopolisation political parties should ensure that, policy formulation takes place in professional institutions such as parliament and cabinet. There is dire need to craft yet again new or fresh electoral laws and make sure that the decision making rights are not in the hands of the individuals who are not adherent to any political party. The electoral contestation matters should be taken care of separately with a different justice system than that judiciary system that runs the country. This will eventually lead to a transitional government that have an entire reverence of the will of the people entitled to vote.

Political parties should make sure there is successful dismantling of infrastructures of violent behaviour. This can be achieved through providing a framework and a procedure by which violence is stopped with immediate effect and also through examining political, civil, economic and social rights violations and bring all perpetrators of crime to book.

There is a serious need for the transformation of the state broadcaster. Political parties should ensure that there is an open media which is not biased to one party but it should have a wide coverage of all political parties to ensure that, there is no violation of individuals freedom such as freedom to be heard.

### **Recommendations to the international community (SADC and AU)**

SADC and AU as regional organisations should persist on increasing pressure on ZANU PF to bring to an end human rights abuses, permit humanitarian right of entry and reverence of the spirit of any accord.

The SADC and AU should not reengage in any monetary assistance to ZANU PF and any other government of Zimbabwe if there are reports of human rights abuses, unconstitutionalism thus if there no legitimate government this may help to fight the problem of power monopolisation in Zimbabwe.

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**APPENDIX**

**MIDLANDS STATE UNIVERSITY**



**QUESTIONNAIRE GUIDE FOR**

**POLITICAL PARTIES, CIVIL SOCIETIES and INDIVIDUALS AFFECTED BY  
POLITICAL POWER MONOPOLISATION**

My name is PESUADE MUSEMBE (R122478X). I am an Undergraduate student at Midlands State University POLITICS and PUBLIC MANAGEMENT. I am conducting a research on the topic entitled: An analysis of the monopolization of political power by political parties in Zimbabwe. Case of MDC-T and ZANU-PF 2005-2015. Your assistance in answering the following questions will be greatly appreciated and valued. I promise to observe confidentiality.

Instructions:

- a) Answer all questions by a tick
- b) Tick the appropriate box or fill in the blank spaces

1 .DO YOU UNDERSTAND WHAT POWER MONOPOLISATION BY POLITICAL PARTIES IS? IF YES DEFINE POWER MONOPOLISATION?

.....  
.....

.....  
.....

2. DO YOU THINK THERE IS POWER MONOPOLISATION BY POLITICAL PARTIES  
IN ZIMBABWE?

YES  NO

3. DO YOU THINK POWER MONOPOLISATION AFFECTS THE GOVERNANCE OF  
THE COUNTRY? IF YES HOW?

.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

4. WHOM DO YOU THINK ARE THE MAJOR ACTORS IN THE POLITICS OF POWER  
MONOPOLISATION AND WHY?

PARTY PRESIDENTS

MINISTERS

OTHERS SPECIFY

.....  
.....

.....  
.....

5. WOULD YOU SAY THE PREVAILING ENVIRONMENT FACILITATES POWER MONOPOLISATION PROCESS BY POLITICAL PARTIES IN ZIMBABWE? IF YES EXPLAIN HOW?

.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

6. ARE THERE ANY WAYS WHICH CAN BE PUT FORWARD TO LIMIT OR MINIMISE POWER MONOPOLISATION BY POLITICAL PARTIES IN ZIMBABWE?

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.....

**THANK YOU FOR YOUR CORPORATION**