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DEPARTMENT OF POLITICS AND PUBLIC
MANAGEMENT

An analysis of the causes of factionalism in political parties in Zimbabwe:
The case of ZANU PF and MDC from 2005 to 2015.

BY

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DEDICATION

This work I dedicate to my beloved nation Zimbabwe at large which I long to see become the giant and champion of Africa in all respects being politically sound, raising great political leaders in History as led by God who has the final say upon all things and heals the land of them that call on his name.

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ABSTRACT

The 21st Century political arena has seen the rise of factionalism in Zimbabwean politics disturbing almost all the political parties in the land, with this phenomenon becoming a topical issue in the media and in political debates. It is therefore the aim of this analytical study to unveil the major causes of factionalism in Zimbabwean political parties with a case study of the two major dominant political parties the ZANU PF and MDC from 2005 to 2015 where these issues started to record a rise and to take an overwhelming interesting direction. The researcher made extensive use of available literature based on newspapers, reports, journals, books and various online articles covering this area of study, which has been backed by field research conducted from the headquarters of these political parties under study in order to achieve unbiased results and authenticate the responding sources. The study has traced the historical development of factionalism and exposed theories of Madison, Harmel, Plato and Hobbes on human nature and factionalism in order to fully understand this phenomenon, done a cost benefit analysis of factionalism to understand its costs and benefits to political parties, highlighted strategies that political parties and their leaders have employed to deal with this phenomenon under study to be able to structure out of these the best progressive strategy, highlighted outcomes and findings of the ground research, shown how political parties can progressively deal with factionalism without splits occurring, unveiled the major cause of factionalism which the research has attributed to human nature as the drive with its tenets of greediness, selfishness and the constant desire to dominate others, predicted the future of Zimbabwean politics as regards this phenomenon and proffered recommendations to help address this cause.

CONTENTS

SUPERVISOR’S CHECKLIST.....	II
------------------------------------	-----------

APPROVAL FORM.....	III
RELEASE FORM.....	IV
DECLARATION.....	V
DEDICATION.....	VI
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	VI
ABSTRACT.....	VII
ACRONYMS.....	X
LIST OF FIGURES.....	XI

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.0	Title of the research proposal.....	1
1.1	Introduction	
1.2	Background to the problem.....	1
1.3	Theoretical framework.....	5
1.4	Statement of the problem.....	7
1.5	Justification of the study	7
1.6	Objectives of the study.....	7
1.7	Research Questions.....	7
1.8	Ethical considerations.....	8
1.9	Delimitations of the study.....	8
1.10	Limitations of the study.....	8
1.11	Methodology: Research design.....	9
	: Collection of data.....	9
	: Analysis of data.....	9
	: Contribution to literature.....	10
1.12	Literature review.....	10
1.13	References.....	16

CHAPTER 2: (2.0) BACKGROUND OF FACTIONALISM AND SPLITTING OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN ZIMBABWE.....18

2.1	ZANU PF prior and post-independence factionalism.....	18
2.2	Emmergence of MDC and development of factionalism.....	20

CHAPTER 3: (3.0) FACTORS LEADING TO FACTIONALISM.....22

3.1	The struggle for power.....	22
3.2	Role of human nature.....	24
3.3	Role of regionalism.....	25
3.4	Constitutionalism.....	27
3.5	Lack of common ideology.....	28

3.6	Unfair distribution of political gains and resources	29
3.7	Western influence	30
3.8	Lack of firmly established party binding structures	31
3.9	Lack of political strategy	32
3.10	Lack of succession policy	33
3.11	Summary of immediate triggers of splits	34
CHAPTER 4: (4.0) NEGATIVE AND POSITIVE EFFECTS OF FACTIONALISM.....36		
4.1	Factionalism and its unavoidable nature	36
4.2	Cost benefit analysis	37
4.2(i)	Costs of factionalism and splitting	37
4.2(ii)	Benefits of factionalism	39
CHAPTER 5: (5.0) STRATEGIES EMPLOYED TO DEAL WITH FACTIONALISM AND SPLITTING.....4		
1		
5.1	Measures by MDC, and Tsvangirai and the failure to avoid party split	41
5.2	Strategies used by ZANU PF and Mugabe to avoid major party split and control factionalism	4
2		
CHAPTER 6: (6.0) OUTCOMES, FINDINGS AND FUTURE PROJECTIONS.....45		
6.1	Outcomes and findings: 6.1(i) Data presentation	45
	(a) MDC-T officers and politicians responses to questionnaires	45
	(b) ZANU PF officers and politicians responses to questionnaires	48
6.1(ii)	Overall interpretation of the findings and analysis of the diagrams trends	52
6.2	Untold positive outcomes of factionalism	54
6.3	How factionalism can be positively utilized politically for party progress without suffering a major split	54
6.4	The major causes of factionalism explored	56

6.5 The future of political parties in Zimbabwe as regards factionalism.....	58
Recommendations.....	60
Conclusion.....	61
REFERENCES.....	62
Appendices:	
Structured	
Interview	
questions.....	65
:	
Structured	
Questionnaires	
.....	66

ACRONYMS

CIO	Central Intelligence Organization
EU	European Union
Fig	Figure
FROLIZI	Front for the liberation of Zimbabwe
G40	Generation 40
MDC	Movement for Democratic Change (formed in 1999)
MDC-99	Movement for Democratic Change-99
MDC-M	Movement for Democratic Change-Mutambara
MDC-N	Movement for Democratic Change-Ncube
MDC-Renewal Team	Movement for Democratic Change-Renewal Team
MDC-T	Movement for Democratic Change-Tsvangirai
MP's	Members of parliament
PF ZAPU	Patriotic Front Zimbabwe African People's Union
ZANLA	Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army

ZANU	Zimbabwe African National Union (formed 1963)
ZANU Mwenje	Zimbabwe African National Union-Mwenje
ZANU Ndonga	Zimbabwe African National Union-Ndonga
ZANU PF	Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front
ZEC	Zimbabwe Electoral Commission
ZUD	Zimbabwe Union for Democrats
ZUM	Zimbabwe Unity Movement

List of Figures

Fig 1 - Multiple factors necessary in the study of factionalism examined.....45

Fig 2 - Graph showing the findings from table in Fig 1.....46

Fig 3 - Tabled causes of MDC split46

Fig 4 - Pie chart showing findings from Fig 3.....47

Fig 5 - Tabled major causes of factionalism in Zimbabwean politics.....47

Fig 6 - Pie chart showing findings from Fig 5.....48

Fig 7 - Multiple factors necessary in the study of factionalism examined....48

Fig 8 - Graph showing the findings from table in Fig 7.....49

Fig 9 - Tabled causes of MDC split.....49

Fig 10 - Pie chart showing findings from Fig 9.....50

Fig 11 - Tabled major causes of factionalism in Zimbabwean politics.....50

Fig 12 - Pie chart showing findings from Fig 11.....51

Fig 13 - Data analysis table.....10

CHAPTER ONE

1.0) Title of the Research Proposal

An analysis of the causes of factionalism in political parties in Zimbabwe: The case of ZANU PF and MDC from 2005 to 2015.

1.1) Introduction

The study is an analysis on the causes of factionalism and its detrimental outcome of splitting in Zimbabwean political parties, mainly focusing on the dominant competing political parties the ZANU PF and MDC to explore the minor, and major causes of factionalism and the immediate triggers of splitting, in order to unveil reality pertaining to the major drivers behind factionalism and its actors to understand why it happens in political parties. The following definitions directed the study. According to the American Heritage Dictionary, factionalism is a group of people forming a cohesive usually contentious minority within a larger group. Wikipedia online (2015) asserts that a political faction is a group of individuals, such as political party, a trade union or other group with a common political purpose. According to Dictionary.com (2015) to split is to divide or separate from end to end or into layers. To achieve this study's purpose, the study starts with highlighting the background of the problem in the political parties under study, then factors leading to factionalism, negative and positive effects of factionalism through a cost benefit analysis, strategies employed by political parties to deal with this phenomenon, outcomes, findings and future projections, all this done in order to conscientise politicians on the rightful ways to deal with factionalism without it causing harm to their political parties, thus to this cause recommendations are proffered.

1.2) Background to the Problem

Zimbabwe since its gaining of independence in 1980 its politics like before its independence and like politics everywhere is tendentious and fractious, characterized by ideological nuance, policy variation and contending political trajectories, even within relatively coherent political parties as alluded to by Laakso (2002). He further alludes that Zimbabwe even before its independence in the rule of the colonial regime also recorded factionalism and splitting of political parties in the political parties formed by the ruling minority white settler colonialists and also in political parties formed by the indigenous black majority in a need and struggle for regime change. Zimbabwean politics however, even at the incipient emergency of an insurgency for independence from settler colonialism, has displayed these characteristics to an unusual degree. It is a sad history replete the unfortunate coincidence of

a confluence of the personal animosities, mistrust and misplaced trust, bombast and hypocrisy, calumny and brinkmanship and personality cults, greed and corruption and political factors such as international pressures and hypocrisy, colonial paternalism and double standards, imperialist tendencies to undermine independence, sovereignty and self-determination, political short-sightedness and lack of foresight. In this context overtime, the concentrated expression of even the slightest ideological nuance, policy variation or the deviation from a specific political line has resulted in deep schism and splits into factions in political parties whose coherence and cogence and in some cases even its unity could consequently only be maintained through strict military like command discipline or through caprice, violence and repression, these characteristics have been the politics of these political parties the Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front (ZANU PF) and Movement for Democratic Change (MDC).

Sibanda (2005) asserts that in the pre-independence era was witnessed the formation of liberation political parties like the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) and was banned by the Rhodesian government and this move caused factions within the party's leaders as it was threatened its existence by the day's government, in 1962 the movement split, this saw the coming together of various ZAPU executives like Ndabaningi Sithole, Henry Hamadziripi, Mukudzei Midzi, Hebert Chitepo, Edgar Tekere and Leopold Takawira at the house of former defence minister Enos Nkala in Highfields in August 1963 and formed a new party Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) headed by Ndabaningi Sithole with Robert Mugabe as the party's secretary general. Joshua Nkomo was left with the leadership of ZAPU and later the ZANU split as Ndabaningi Sithole formed the ZANU Ndonga with a minority Ndau people which later was known as (ZANU Mwenje) and left ZANU with Robert Mugabe who had a more militant agenda. Later the ZANU and ZAPU came together in what was called the Patriotic Front inorder to get majority rule and after getting majority rule they split again and stood at the 1980 elections separately as Mugabe's ZANU PF and Nkomo's PF ZAPU, with Mugabe's ZANU PF winning the elections and Nkomo's ZAPU retaining a stronghold in the provinces of Matebeleland.

According to KuvakaZim (2015) there were two splits within ZANU prior independence, first was with Nathan Shamhuyarira and others leaving to join FROLIZI in 1973 after his bid for party leadership was defeated by Chitepo, after Chitepo's assassination Sithole assumed leadership but the Mgagao declaration led to the split of Sithole and the group led by Mugabe and Muzenda which wanted violent struggle which Sithole resented and had backing of ZANLA forces. According to White (2003) the events that followed were the factional rebel

lines led by Nhari in 1974 in the ZANLA forces of ZANU in which Nhari rebelled with Badza against ZANU and its High Command with the justification that he was dissatisfied with the fact that members of ZANU High Command were squandering party funds abroad in luxury those which were meant for the struggle while the others were suffering which led to their assassination.

According to Sibanda (2005) the independence era saw the occurrence of a lot of events in the country's politics with the coming in of majority rule and a democratic government which allowed freedom of political expression thus leading to the formation of new political parties. After independence there was a civil war outbreak termed Gukurahundi, in 1987 the opposition party ZAPU led by Joshua Nkomo was absorbed through the unity accord into ZANU PF in what was seen as a move towards a one party state thus the beginning of a ZANU PF party of combined ZANU and ZAPU executives with a move towards achieving a common goal. The Telescope news online (2014) records the split of Edgar Tekere who was second to Mugabe who left to form the ZUM party, 2008 Simba Makoni left to form the MKD party and Jonathan Moyo stood as an independent candidate in the elections. According to Wikipedia (2015) online, ZAPU executives split again after the unity accord to re-establish the ZAPU party under Dabengwa.

In 1999 was formed a new political party MDC by the Trade Unionist leader Morgan Tsvangirai with the hope to enforce regime change in the country. In 2006 the MDC party split into two factions one led by Morgan Tsvangirai which became known as MDC-T and the other break away party led by Arthur Mutambara and it became known as MDC-M, and later as MDC-N led by Welshman Ncube who later took over the party from Mutambara due to factions within the party as alluded to by Fakir (2008). According to Whiz (2009) the MDC-N further split into formation of MDC 99 led by Job Sikhala. The MDC-T has been surrounded by factional politics as there has been the Tendai Biti faction eyeing to succeed Morgan Tsvangirai and also the Tsvangirai faction led by him the long-time party leader who has no thoughts of surrendering the position to any other as is outlined by the party's constitution in the leadership terms. The recent electoral period has witnessed a lot of splits within all the MDC formations especially the MDC-T as there was a lot of its members splitting from it and standing to contest for the elections as private candidates the likes of Mr Sagandira from Manicaland province and other members from other areas throughout the country who were angered by the conduct of the party's primary elections, this has led to recent reports that these breakaways announced they are starting a new party and are yet to announce its name. According to Magaisa (2015) in April 2014 the MDC suffered another

major split due to grievances over the long stay of Tsvangirai whom they acknowledge to be refusing to let go, which has led to the formation of the MDC-Renewal Team.

The ZANU PF itself is no exception it split in November 2008 as group of former ZAPU members came out and formed ZAPU again, there was also formation of Mavambo party by former ZANU PF minister of finance Simba Makoni and Zimbabwe Union for Democrats (ZUD) party by the dismissed ZANU PF member Margaret Dongo as alluded to by Fakir (2008), he further notes that in 2008 there was also the split of Professor Jonathan Moyo from the party and stood independently for the elections which has also been noticed in the recent elections as some ZANU PF members stood as independent candidates, the ZANU Ndonga led by Sithole is also a result of ZANU PF split. Recently there are reports of factionalism at play within the ZANU PF party which are seen as a bid to succeed the president who is now old and expected that he will retire, the Factions have been reported to be five which are led by the former vice president Joyce Mujuru, former defence minister Emmerson Mnangagwa, The Millitary, The Youths (G40) and lastly the Mugabe faction dominated by all who are loyal to him. The most prominent members in these factional politics are Emmerson Mnangagwa and Joyce Mujuru who are reported to be fighting in an indirect manner in order to secure positions for leadership for themselves in the presidency in the event that the president retires or dies. They are leading different factions of those who are loyal to them, they where reports even in the 2013 cabinet that they were fighting secretly to acquire for themselves and their factions most influential posts that can help them step easily to the presidential post. The youth faction in ZANU PF is also reported to be influential with Minister Kasukuwere behind it, as it is called the Generation 40 (G40) aiming to replace the old politicians in the political system. The Millitary faction is reported to be led by high army officials who want to use their influence of the army in the political process as they are aware of the army's great contribution in attaining power and enforcing loyalty.

The 2015 political field in relation to factionalism has witnessed some hidden factional plays come to the open as the ZANU PF party has expelled many of its members alleged to be behind these factional plays, the likes of the dismissed vice president Joyce Mujuru, Gumbo, Mutasa and other key party long time leaders who were dismissed with vote of no confidence. These dismissed members are alleged to be behind the Mujuru faction with the party remaining with the Mnangagwa faction who was promoted to vice presidency.

Zimbabwe from the onset of independence has been driven by the politics of factionalism and splitting. According to the American Heritage Dictionary, factionalism is a group of people forming a cohesive usually contentious minority within a larger group. Wikipedia online

(2015) asserts that a political faction is a group of individuals, such as political party, a trade union or other group with a common political purpose. According to Dictionary.com (2015) to split is to divide or separate from end to end or into layers. These inseparable uncertainties factionalism and splits in political parties have been in play since 1980 to the present 2015 era being caused by varying factors in line with arrangements within the different political parties of MDC and ZANU PF, issues to do with violation of their constitutions, undemocratic tendencies by their leaders, dictatorial controls, tribalism and regionalism, injustice, unfair wealth, property, service and material distribution between the members, power struggle and greediness, ideological differences, issues to do with ethics, morals and religion, human rights issues, issues of leadership qualities, succession politics and the involvement of the international community in the party politics. These issues and other hidden issues will be analyzed upon to unveil the real cause of factionalism and splits in political parties with reference to ZANU PF and MDC.

1.3) Theoretical Framework

The existence and occurrence of factionalism and splitting in political parties has been part and parcel of the drive of human nature and a number of theories have been put across to try and understand their occurrence in political systems across the world. This research will incorporate theories that try to explain the causes of factionalism and splitting in political parties at interpersonal, institutional (political parties), and structural levels. The research will incorporate theories that try and explain the occurrence of factionalism and splitting in political parties in a direct or indirect manner, some of the theories are James Madison's theories on human nature and societal relations, Harmel's factionalism theories and the theories of human nature by Plato and Hobbes.

Harmel's theory of factionalism tries to explain the existence of factions as inevitable. Harmel et al (1995) asserts that factionalism is a fact of life within most political parties. Political parties are not monolithic structures but collective entities in which competition, divided opinions and dissent create internal pressures; in turn these pressures often trigger the formation of factions that render the unitary actor assumption highly questionable. Factionalism is still a relatively understudied phenomenon, the dominant approach to the study of factionalism as an independent variable has been to devise typologies based on sub-party groups.

Madison believed that factions are inevitable in a free society in which people have diverse interests based on economic circumstances, property ownership, occupation and region.

Trying to eliminate factions would require tyranny. Factions can neither be eliminated nor be made to serve the public good but their bad effects can be controlled. Hobbes and Plato agree with Madison's view on human nature that he is selfish and this causes factions and splits as men will be pursuing different selfish interests hence never a lasting union. The politics of factionalism is usually not the province of majorities but of narrow, particularistic and privileged interests, this is problematic in two respects first it undermines political equality which is vital for a functional democracy and second it makes it difficult for governments to formulate broad and coherent national policies. Instead policy tends to be a glued together patchwork of agreements made between narrow factions, each with its own ends in mind. The problem then is to alleviate the most pressing mischief of faction without diminishing freedom. Madison thinks humans are essentially bad, there is a natural push behind them making them selfish and causing animosity within a group. This push is called human nature.

Madison (2013) proposes that there are two methods in which mischief for factions can be cured by removing the causes of factions or either by controlling its effects. To Madison a faction is a number of citizens that are either a majority or minority of the whole grouped together by a common surge of emotion and interest, different beliefs than other citizens and usually go against the interests of others in the community, basically he writes about a very large or small group of people that are united together to oppose another group, government or law. The causes are differences in political ideologies, religious views and the uneven accumulation of property and wealth. If a faction grows larger enough it can impose its will on an entire nation resulting in tyranny of the majority. Factionalism a catch-all term for what is termed "special interests", "political parties" and pressure groups like the moral majority.

To eliminate factions it requires either denying civil liberties or enforcing conformity. To Madison factions are natural and the most common cause is the unequal distribution of property. However though we can't remove the causes of factionalism we can mitigate the effects. Madison identifies institutional and societal means of doing so. Institutionally a representative form of government mitigates the effects of factionalism better than direct democracy would. Societally the constitution will also increase the size of republics by combining them to a larger single polity. Factionalism can affect the stability and institutionalization of parties and party systems and it can impact on the efficiency and legitimacy of political parties and political systems as a whole. Factionalism and splitting can never be separated for where there is factionalism there is splitting as it is a dependent variable of factionalism.

1.4) Statement of the Problem

The research is an investigation on the causes of factionalism and splitting in ZANU PF and MDC political parties from the onset of major splits and factional politics within these parties in 2005 to the current period in 2015.

1.5) Justification of the Study

The research seeks to fill the knowledge gap in Zimbabwe in relation to factionalism and splitting in political parties, which exists mostly in books, newspaper articles, online articles and reports, and is largely not aggregated.

1.6) Objectives of the Study

- To unveil the realistic cause of factionalism and splitting in political parties.
- To understand human behavior in relation to political participation.
- To understand periods and events that are unique to factionalism and political party splitting.
- To identify actors central in causing factionalism, and splitting and their major aim in forwarding this cause.
- To be able to devise theories that explain the acts and drives behind factionalism and splitting that happens in political parties.
- To identify any available institutions to prevent factionalism, and splitting, craft strategies, solutions and policies to minimise or avert the occurrence of factionalism and splitting in political parties.

1.7) Research Questions

1. What has been the realistic cause of factionalism and splitting in ZANU PF and MDC political parties?
2. What factors have led to the rise of factionalism and splitting in the political parties?
3. At which yearly periods and during which events have factionalism and splitting recorded a rise and what has led to this development?
4. Which actors have been central in causing factionalism and splitting in political parties and for what reasons?
5. What has been the major aim of those forming factions and splitting political parties?
6. Are there any institutions to prevent factionalism and splitting of political parties in the country?

1.8) Ethical Considerations

The research upheld numerous values that ensured its success as it dealt with the public which consists of multiple cultures and also considering the nature of study which is politics there was need to uphold certain values to ensure security to both the researcher and respondents. The research guaranteed to a great degree privacy and anonymity to all respondents, guarded against abuses of all kind, upheld freedom of speech and expression, and respect and adhered to all laws governing the political parties and the nation.

1.9) De-Limitations of the Study

The study focusses on political parties in Zimbabwe but specifically on factionalism and splitting in the two major political parties, that is ZANU PF and MDC, investigations done mainly in the head offices of these parties which are centralised in Harare. There is the interviewing and administration of questionnaires to individuals across the different and varying political class ranging from political office holders, politicians of all categories to party officers. The research focussed mainly in Harare because that is where most influential and concerned politicians are found and the reason that the head offices of the political parties which authorise the release of information are located there.

1.10) Limitations of the Study

The research faced the projected challenges regarding access to information due to the nature of study as it carries sensitive information oftenly kept in secret. There are laws and institutions that limit the type and amount of information that can be released by the political parties and individuals which affected the study. The researcher faced restrictions in accessing needed information due to security reasons and constraints in the acquisition of authority to enable research progress as there was long chains of referrals for authority and security reasons, appointments delays and dates changed. There were also challenges of lack of authenticity on information that was obtained due to biasness and the reservice of the real truth at play in the problem under investigation. There were problems of suspicion that arose from those being investigated posing security risk on the reseacher, which was likely to limit the research competence. Though the research faced all these challenges it managed to get the appropriate responses to achieve an unbiased outcome though it was time constraining, patience was applied, ZANU PF responses recorded 90% and MDC recorded 80% which produced a reliable averaged outcome.

1.11) Methodology

i) Research Design

The research design is largely qualitative and quantitative in matters that are appropriate to these research mechanisms. In terms of sampling, purposive sampling and non-probability sampling methods were employed and it was largely geared towards targeting people who had information about the subject matter.

ii) Collection of Data

There was use of Primary sources which provided valuable data that is beneficial in the area that is under study. A questionnaire became a technique for sourcing data from individuals in an environment with factional politics at play but hidden from the public but secretly known. Interviews with key informants were conducted largely targeting political parties' leaders or party representatives and interest groups at national level.

Case study is one technique which the research employed targeting those political parties that were affected by factionalism and splitting and those that were a product of these organs.

The research also relied on secondary sources that involved the surveying of the literature affecting the subject on focus. These included books, speeches, newspaper reports, journals, political party reports and political analysts' reports.

iii) Analysis of Data

To analyse data, Content analysis and textual analysis was used. The analysis also was based on grounded theory where the task of the researcher was to understand what was happening, and how the players managed their roles in the occurrence of factionalism in political parties. This was achieved through observation, conversation and interview. After each session of data collection the researcher noted down key issues, the process involved firstly displaying the data, comparing interviews, questionnaires and other forms of data (verifying) and comparison was done to theoretical approaches that were employed then reduction of the data and lastly drawing out the conclusion. The results of this comparison were categorized according to themes or variables and their properties. This whole process is represented in the following diagram.

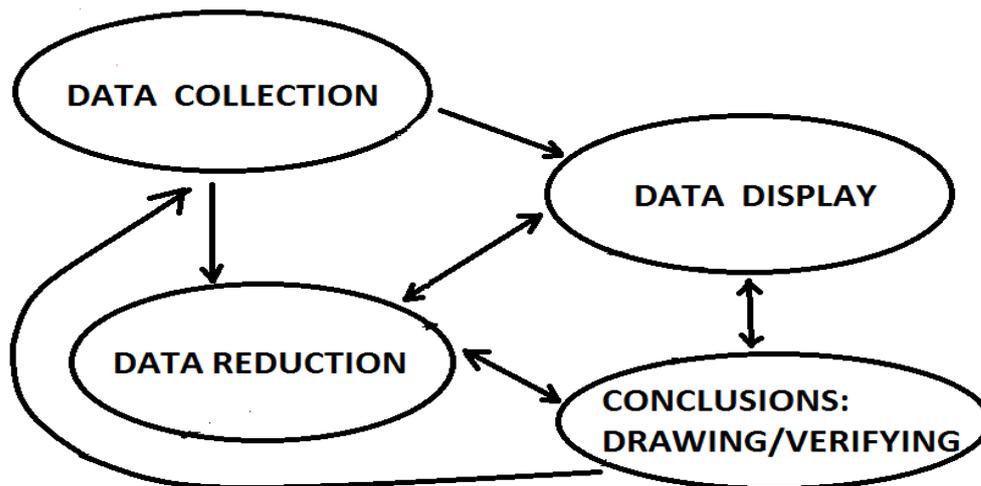


Fig 13

Source: <http://www.rasch.org/rmt/gifts/mt91c.gif&imgrefurl>

Contribution to Literature

The output of the research will be an aggregation of information on the causes of factionalism and splitting in political parties ZANU PF and MDC and the prevention of this phenomena from the onset of major splits in 2005 to 2015, it also shows variations in the levels of factionalism and splitting in political parties at different yearly periods and it being influenced by the conduct of national events like elections. The generated knowledge would benefit actors in preventing or limiting factionalism and splits in political parties and formulate means and ways of dealing with the issue as it rise and avoiding it from producing negative results.

1.12) Literature Review

The world of factionalism and splitting of political parties is crowded with literature covering a broad spectrum of issues. In essence factionalism and splitting in political parties have been occurring in almost all countries' contemporary political scene though noticeable with a great dimension in developing countries. Largely, this has been attributable to the fragility of democracy in systems that have higher levels of poverty leading to struggle to control resources, undemocratic tendencies by their leaders, dictatorial controls, tribalism and regionalism, injustice, unfair wealth, property, service and material distribution between the members, power struggle and greediness, ideological differences, issues to do with ethics, morals and religion, human rights issues, issues of leadership qualities, succession politics

and the involvement of the international community in the party politics. Zimbabwe has been such a country that has not been left outside this framework. In fact since independence the Zimbabwean political environment mostly close to election times has been characterized by factionalism and splits in political parties, Fakir (2008) has alluded to these developments.

Much of the literature has been on the existence, occurrence and causes of factionalism and splits in political parties. Laakso (2002) asserts that politics like all politics everywhere in Zimbabwe is tendentious and factious, characterized by ideological nuance, policy variation and contending political trajectories, even within relatively coherent political parties. Its politics even at incipient emergency of an insurgency for independence from settler colonialism has displayed these characteristics to an unusual degree. It is a sad history replete the unfortunate coincidence of a confluence of the personal animosities, mistrust and misplaced trust, bombast and hypocrisy, calumny and brinkmanship and personality cults, greed and corruption and political factors such as international pressures and hypocrisy, colonial paternalism and double standards, imperialist tendencies to undermine independence, sovereignty and self-determination, political short-sightedness and lack of fore-sight. In this context overtime, the concentrated expression of even the slightest ideological nuance, policy variation or the deviation from a specific political line has resulted in deep schism and splits into factions in political parties whose coherence and cogence and in some cases even its unity could consequently only be maintained through strict military like command discipline or through caprice, violence and repression, these characteristics have been the politics of these political parties the ZANU PF and MDC.

Francoise (2000) identifies three main facets of factionalism which are cooperative, competitive and degenerative. Harmel etal (1995) asserts that factionalism is a fact of life within most political parties. Political parties are not monolithic structures but collective entities in which competition, divided opinions and dissent create internal pressures. In turn these pressures often trigger the formation of factions that render the unitary actor assumption highly questionable. Factionalism is still a relatively understudied phenomenon, the dominant approach to the study of factionalism as an independent variable has been to devise typologies based on sub party groups.

According to Sibanda (2005) ZANU PF was founded by Ndabaningi Sithole, Henry Hamadziripi, Mukudzei Midzi, Hebert Chitepo, Edgar Tekere and Leopold Takawira at the house of former defence minister Enos Nkala in Highfields in August 1963. Later Sithole split out to form ZANU Ndonga later known as (ZANU Mwenje) and was followed by the minority Ndau people who renounced violent struggle while the majority Shona followed

Mugabe's ZANU with a more militant agenda. The ZANU and ZAPU united in what was called the Patriotic Front to win majority rule and after acquiring it they split to contest independently for the 1980 elections. In December 1987 after five years of low level civil war termed Gukurahundi the opposition ZAPU led by Nkomo was absorbed through the unity accord into ZANU PF into what was seen as a step towards a one party state. Officially the party is Socialist ideology and is modeled in communism in other countries. The party maintains a politburo and abandoned much of egalitarian principles to pursue a mixed economy.

According to KuvakaZim (2015) there were two splits within ZANU prior independence, first was with Nathan Shamhuyarira and others leaving to join FROLIZI in 1973 after his bid for party leadership was defeated by Chitepo, after Chitepo's assassination Sithole assumed leadership but the Mgagao declaration led to the split of Sithole and the group led by Mugabe and Muzenda which wanted violent struggle which Sithole resented and had backing of ZANLA forces. According to White (2003) the events that followed were the factional rebel lines led by Nhari in 1974 in the ZANLA forces of ZANU in which Nhari rebelled with Badza against ZANU and its High Command with the justification that he was dissatisfied with the fact that members of ZANU High Command were squandering party funds abroad in luxury those which were meant for the struggle while the others were suffering which led to their assassination and their allies.

Fakir (2008) asserts that in November 2008 a group of ZAPU members most of them hailing from Bulawayo left ZANU PF and re-established the ZAPU party because of reasons that the former ZAPU members were being left out in the discussions between the two MDC formations and ZANU PF, unhappiness with the sucking of Dumiso Dabengwa from the politburo because he supported Simba Makoni in the 2008 presidential elections, lack of development in the Bulawayo province including the lack of progress on the Matebeleland Zambezi water project, ZAPU cadres not considered for burial at the national heroes acre and the issue of succession. All these factors contributed to the creation again of the ZAPU though the members existed as a faction already in ZANU PF making it inevitable to split. According to the Telescope news online (2014) Edgar Tekere also left ZANU PF to form ZUM party and Jonathan Moyo left to stand as an independent candidate in the elections.

The ideological character and content of the MDC party remains unclear and in 2006 it split into two factions as alluded to by Fakir (2008), the MDC under Morgan Tsvangirai (MDC-T) and the MDC formed under Authur Mtshamba (MDC-M). ON 28 April once again united on

the face of an impending social, economic and political crisis but certainly too late to effect any meaningful change in a contest in which a Month after an election the results were still not known. Ideologically the MDC sits somewhere between a social democratic and liberal party. This ideological absence has contributed to formation of factions within the party thus splitting.

According to Whiz (2009) the MDC split on October 2005 in the wake of severe differences over participation on senate elections with Mr Tsvangirai who was pressurizing for a boycott, leading the anti-senate faction while Mr Gibson Sibanda now late led the pro-senate faction. The anti-senate faction was to become present day MDC-T while the pro-senate faction the MDC led by Professor Welshman Ncube, further split to spawn MDC-99 which is led by Job Sikhala. They went in the MDC national council and voted over the senate issue and they voted 33-31 in favour of contesting the election, then Mr Tsvangirai having lost overruled the vote arguing that it was no use contesting an election were the electoral field breeds illegitimate outcomes and provides for pre-determined results. Tsvangirai accused of dictatorial tendencies especially candidates imposition, the alliance with Simba Makoni, his sex scandals and other weaknesses he has exhibited at the helm of MDC as alluded to by Temba (2013). Tsvangirai replaced Mr Saghandira with Mr Makoni which angered the Manicaland Provincial executives and this led Mr Sagandira splitting out and standing for the elections as an independence candidate thus all these factors contributed to factionalism and splits in the MDC party. Whiz (2008) asserts that the splitting mainly is the result of the play of regional and tribal politics as Ncube replaced Mutambara a Shona to create a Ndebele dominated party though the senate case led to the split, this is a move in trying to run away from the rule of Tsvangirai a Shona again thus emphasizing tribal politics at play.

According to Chikwanha (2012) ZANU PF split into five factions those led by former vice president Joice Mujuru, former defence minister now vice president Emerson Mnangagwa, the Military, the Youths (G40) and lastly the Mugabe faction led by those loyal to him. Joice Mujuru was targeting the presidential post in the event that the president resigns and was in an important position as she was the vice president and it was seen as just easy to step into presidency unlike her main rival Mnangagwa who was in a difficult position as he was denied the privilege to the vice presidency for a long time and had been allocated to poor ministries for a long time before his promotion to the defence ministry. The Military also under its senior officials is eyeing for the post as they want to use the influence of the Military in politics as they are aware on how the military has been influential in securing power, also the Youths termed the Generation 40 (G40) alleged to be led by minister Kasukuwere are

calculating towards replacing the old politicians as the rightful people to rule than the old executives. The president is continuing with his term with no talks of resigning with his faction dominated by those loyal to him thus these succession wars have caused factionalism in the ZANU PF party.

According to Chimbganda (2014) at the moment the MDC has four factions led by Tsvangirai, Ncube, Mutambara and Sikhala; and the latter has, in his wisdom, rejoined the mainstream MDC of Mr Tsvangirai. The stark lesson that can be learned is that no matter how tempting it may be we can never achieve our political objective by fighting individually or as a small faction According to Magaisa (2015) in April 2014 the MDC suffered yet another major split due to grievances over the long stay of Tsvangirai who does not want to let go, which led to the formation of the MDC-Renewal Team. Shoko (2015) acknowledges that before her ouster, Joice Mujuru was leading a faction called Zanu People First, Ousted members of Zimbabwe's ruling party Zanu PF are reportedly preparing to launch their own party to challenge long time ruler President Robert Mugabe. According to reports, the party will be known as Zanu People First. Former vice-president Joice Mujuru who was expelled from Zanu PF for allegedly plotting to kill Mugabe has been linked to the new party.

The gaps in literature unveiled will be filled by this research as it will expose actors that are central in causing factionalism and splits in political parties and those that have tried to prevent this phenomenon. Internationally, states, international civil societies, international organizations and other private organizations became prime actors for analysis. Nationally and locally, leaders of political parties, politicians and interest groups will be examined in their roles in causing factionalism and splitting of political parties cases of ZANU PF, and MDC and consequently their efforts to prevent this phenomenon.

The research will generate recommendations for the creation of an environment with limited factions and splits in political parties as a way of filling the gap on controlling factionalism and avoiding splitting in political parties. A number of solutions to prevent factionalism and prevent splitting in political parties will be explored and these include: Avoiding dictatorial tendencies by political party leaders, the presence of conflict mediation panels from community level to regional level and international organizations; establishment of party liaison committees to monitor situations before, during and after factions; ensuring inclusiveness and transparency; ensuring that justice prevails; to ensure the upholding of democratic tendencies by political parties; ensuring equal distribution of wealth and resources

among the party members and executive; striking tribal and regional balances; ensuring justice in the application of rule of party laws, international laws and national laws; ensuring the upholding of ethics, morals and respect for religious laws and beliefs; ensuring union of ideologies; avoiding power struggles; ensuring that there is presence of checks and balances on the use of power; establishing codes of conduct to deal with problems of enforcement; availability of technical support to institutions that are pertinent to limit factionalism and splitting of political parties; limiting the involvement of the international community in party politics and the establishment of complaint/ appeal mechanisms and transparency procedure, all these being conducted and implemented in good faith by an established board with all the above as its roles and duties.

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CHAPTER TWO

2.0) Background of factionalism in political parties in Zimbabwe.

Zimbabwean political parties like all other political parties in the rest of the world have been characterised by factionalism and splitting as a result of the existence of factional plays for some time, though it may not be noticed in some instances as factions usually exist in the private sphere but their detrimental effect is noticed clearly through the occurrence of party splits. The historical background of factionalism in Zimbabwe can not be done outside tracing the formation of the ZANU PF party, though it is seen developing to another form with the emergency of MDC. This chapter will therefore trace factionalism from the formation of ZANU PF party before achievement of independence to factional plays after independence and will focus on its development with considering the emergency of MDC.

2.1) ZANU PF prior and post-independence factionalism

The occurrence of factionalism and splitting has been noticed since the formation of the first liberation political parties before the attainment of Zimbabwe's independence. Sibanda (2005) asserts that in the pre-independence era was witnessed the formation of liberation political parties like the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) in 1961 and was banned by the Rhodesian government and this move and other factors caused factions within the party's leaders as it was threatened its existence by the day's government, in 1962 the movement split, this saw the coming together of various ZAPU executives like Ndabaningi Sithole, Henry Hamadziripi, Mukudzei Midzi, Hebert Chitepo, Edgar Tekere and Leopold Takawira at the house of former defence minister Enos Nkala in Highfields in August 1963 and formed a new party Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) headed by Ndabaningi Sithole with Robert Mugabe as the party's secretary general. Joshua Nkomo was left with the leadership of ZAPU and later the ZANU split as Ndabaningi Sithole formed the ZANU Ndonga with a minority Ndaue people which later was known as (ZANU Mwenje) and left ZANU with Robert Mugabe who had a more militant agenda. Later the ZANU and ZAPU came together in what was called the Patriotic Front in order to get majority rule and after getting majority rule they split again and stood at the 1980 elections separately as Mugabe's ZANU PF and Nkomo's PF ZAPU, with Mugabe's ZANU PF winning the elections and Nkomo's ZAPU retaining a stronghold in the provinces of Matebeleland.

KuvakaZim (2015) alludes to the view that there were two splits within ZANU prior to independence. The first was with Nathan Shamuyarira and others leaving to join the Front for the Liberation of Zimbabwe (FROLIZI) in 1973 after Shamuyarira's bid for the party leadership was defeated by Chitepo. Following the assassination of Chitepo on 18 March 1975, Sithole assumed leadership of the party, but faced immediate opposition from the more militant wing of ZANU, as Sithole was a proponent of détente. This crisis grew with the Mgagao declaration where ZANLA leaders and guerillas declared their opposition to Sithole, and led to the effective split of ZANU into a group led by Sithole, who renounced violent struggle, and the group led by Robert Mugabe and Simon Muzenda, with the support of ZANLA, who continued the armed struggle. Both groups continued to use the name ZANU.

According to Sibanda (2005) the independence era saw the occurrence of a lot of events in the country's politics with the coming in of majority rule and a democratic government which allowed freedom of political expression thus leading to the formation of new political parties. After independence there was a civil war outbreak termed Gukurahundi, in 1987 the opposition party ZAPU led by Joshua Nkomo was absorbed through the unity accord into ZANU PF in what was seen as a move towards a one party state thus the beginning of a ZANU PF party of combined ZANU and ZAPU executives with a move towards achieving a common goal.

According to The Telescope News online (2014) the third split from the above recorded splits was when Mugabe's number two, Edgar Tekere who left ZANU PF to form the Zimbabwe Unity Movement (ZUM). The fourth, flopped but highly-hyped, split was in 2008 when Simba Makoni, then regarded as one of Mugabe's potential successors, left ZANU-PF to contest the 2008 presidential elections. It also alludes to the split by an individual Jonathan Moyo who stood alone in the 2008 elections. According to the Wikipedia (2015) some ZAPU executives split out of ZANU PF to re-establish the ZAPU party in November 2008. The politics of factionalism has been very dominant in Zimbabwean political parties during times of elections, this has been seen by the splitting out of many individuals from ZANU PF to contest individually as private candidates during election times.

The 21st Century factionalism in ZANU PF has been engineered by succession politics. Mlambo (2014) asserts that ZANU PF has got two main factions led by Mnangagwa and Mujuru but there are other groups within the factions, including a pro-Mugabe clique, the military element allegedly led by Defence Forces commander General Constantine Chiwenga who is said to harbor presidential ambitions, and a youthful group referred to as Generation

40 allegedly fronted by Moyo, Saviour Kasukuwere and politburo member Patrick Zhuwao. These factions are alleged to have triggered the coming in of the first lady into politics, the expulsion and suspension of party members, the expulsion of Mujuru from vice presidency. Masekesa (2014) alludes to this view he sites Mujuru's faction comprising of support from Didymus Mutasa, Rugare Gumbo, Simon Khaya Moyo, Jabulani Sibanda and Webster Shamu, while the Mnangagwa faction also known as the 'hardliners' allegedly comprised of the old guard members who have dominated Zimbabwe's political scene since the 1980s whom are Jonathan Moyo, Patrick Chinamasa, Obert Mpofu, Oppah Muchinguri, Supa Mandiwanzira and Ignatius Chombo. According to Tshuma (2014) after it came to light that the Mujuru faction had gained lots of support in the provinces, there was conspiracy to get rid of its influence and power by suspending and expelling its strongholds, which saw the dismissal of most Mujuru allies including Gumbo accused of making biased statements towards the Mujuru faction, Amos Midzi ousted after being passed a vote of no confidence, Sibanda expelled after making negative statements against the first lady and president, and the likes of Temba Mliswa, John Mvundura, Calisto Gwanetsa, Jason Machaya, Callistus Ndlovu and Andrew Langa chairpersons of different provinces that were affected by this tide.

These politics of suspensions and dismissals have dominated the ZANU PF present politics due to these factional wars with the future remaining unpredictable to many on what will be the party's next move in its journey to succession.

2.2) **Emergency of MDC and the development of factionalism**

The coming in of a new influential opposition party the MDC saw factionalism develop into another form with major party splits occurring unlike in ZANU PF that managed to contain a major party split. Pindula online (2015) asserts that the MDC was formed by disparate groups in 1999 with differing disparate interests hence without a reformation splits were unavoidable thus in 2005 the MDC experienced its first major split into two groups one led by Tsvangirai which became known as MDC-T with the other one led by Ncube which became known as MDC-N due to disagreements on whether or not to participate in the country's senatorial elections. Fakir (2008) alludes to this view but cites that when the MDC split it led to the creation of MDC-T and MDC-M led by Mutambara which later became MDC-N led by Ncube who later took over the party from Mutambara due to internal factions within the party.

According to Whiz (2009) the MDC-N further split into formation of MDC 99 led by Job Sikhala. The MDC-T has also been surrounded by factional politics as there has been the Tendai Biti faction eyeing to succeed Morgan Tsvangirai and also the Tsvangirai faction led by the long-time party leader who has no thoughts of surrendering the position to any other as is outlined by the party's constitution in the leadership terms. The recent electoral period has witnessed a lot of splits within all the MDC formations especially the MDC-T as there was a lot of its members splitting from it and standing to contest for the elections as private candidates the likes of Mr Sagandira from Manicaland province and other members from other areas throughout the country who were angered by the conduct of the party's primary elections, this led to reports that these breakaways announced that they were starting a new party and were yet to announce its name.

Pindula online (2015) asserts that in 2010, another major split occurred when Job Sikhala pulled out of the party due to some ideological clashes with the likes of Welshman Ncube and Arthur Mutambara. Despite the splits which marred the party, the MDC T formation has remained relatively stronger than all of its break away parties which are struggling to maintain good followings. According to Magaisa (2015) in April 2014 the MDC-T also suffered another major split leading to the formation of the MDC Renewal Team due to grievance that Tsvangirai had outlived his usefulness to the party but was refusing to let go.

The MDC has recorded high cases of splits during election times Moyo (2013) alludes to this view citing about 25 MDC-T candidates standing as independent candidates in the 2013 elections, many of them disgruntled by the way the party's primary elections had been conducted, the likes of Felix Mafa Sibanda who was informed at first that he had won the election later the decision was rescinded with Anele Ndebele sailing through, Pelandaba, Samuel Sandlwana Khumalo, Gwace Kwinjeh who was informed of being replaced by Simba Makoni for the final election race after the MDC-T and Mavambo Kusile Dawn coalition, Norman Chiroto, Macheza and others not mentioned here, this has been very evident in the MDC formations which is a manifestation of the long playing factions in place.

These above described factional politics have been the politics of the MDC formations since their formation showcasing new historical developments in the area of factionalism in Zimbabwean politics with the occurrence of major party splits which are a manifestation of the presence of these factional wars due to multiple reasons stated and some unstated which will be unveiled in this research.

CHAPTER THREE

3.0) Driving factors to factionalism

This chapter focuses on the various factors leading to creation of factions in Zimbabwe's major political parties which fall under two categories, either they are long term factional triggers or short term triggers of factions and splits but this chapter will highlight in point form all the factors leading to factionalism and will conclude with highlighting a summary of the immediate triggers of splits which are mainly just the sparks to breakaways of long time existing factions.

3.1) The struggle for power

The struggle for power is one of the major drivers leading to creation of factions within the ZANU PF and MDC formations. According to Cambridge Dictionary online struggle for power is an unpleasant or violent competition for power, whilst the Collins Dictionary defines it as a situation where two or more people or organizations compete for influence, thus from these definitions it is clear that struggle for power is just the competition that exists in this context among politicians of different political parties to gain power, supremacy and influence over others, which is evident in ZANU PF and MDC formations as it is one of the major cause of factions and splits as all members want to control, and influence others and fighting to be in a higher influential position than they are in, with those in influential positions fighting to preserve their influence not pursuing the portrayed party objectives. Makombe (2011) alludes to these plays that Zimbabwean political parties whatever their history are synonymous with factionalism as their leaders are continually fighting for control at the expense of purported party objectives, as what is happening in the smaller MDC faction formerly led by Mutambara is nothing new as the country's political history clearly shows that internal power struggles and wrangles have often led to splits going as far back the 1960s. He further explains that the splitting of parties in Zimbabwe starting with the ZAPU 1963 split and the 2005 MDC split is all a doing of the fight over to control parties which is a struggle for power.

According to Mlambo (2015) factionalism in the ZANU PF party is not about individuals but is centered on Mugabe's succession power struggle, which just goes back to a struggle for power though it has been housed in the succession saga. Sachikonye (2011) asserts that the existing competitive factions in ZANU PF between Mujuru and Mnangagwa is a struggle for power with its focus on succession after Mugabe relinquishes power, their sparring for power has not broken out into open conflict but remains fierce behind the scenes. He also notes that the factional fights in the MDC that led to the 2005 split is a result of a naked ambition for power, which is struggle for power though the senate issue provided the immediate pretext.

According to Ruhanya (2015) given the morbid symptoms in opposition forces and the ruling party itself, where the corruption of the politics has replaced the urgent need to transform society with a narrow culture of power grab mainly by the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) formations and ZANU PF resulting in unfocussed rapturous power struggles. The agenda to grab power by both opposition and ruling party leaders has relegated the desires of ordinary citizens and the nation at large to transform the political economy to build a durable democratic society, both ZANU PF power struggles ahead of its congress in December 2014 and the second split of the opposition MDC in April 2014 are best explained by the narrow agenda to grab power. There is no focus on the need to democratise the state and its institutions in order to construct a durable democracy. Ruhanya further explains that as an example, the power struggles by the MDC formations that have culminated in the recall of 21 MPs by a faction led by Morgan Tsvangirai is not premised on a national agenda to transform the state and its undemocratic institutions, both groups are pre-occupied with power grabs within their little zones while relegating the need to have durable national transformation questions on the periphery.

Ruhanya (2015) further alludes to the view that Zimbabwe's politics has been corrupted to the extent that both in ZANU PF and the MDC, power capture now defines their modus operandi. Powerful groups in both parties use unorthodox ways of power retention, among them political violence. It is tragic that power capture has mainly defined the differences between the opposing groups in the MDC formations, their differences are devoid of any meaningful or discernible need to transform the predatory politics of their opponents in ZANU PF. Equally so, the opposition has failed to read and provide a long-term political trajectory through a survey of the shifting changes in the modes of production and the need to address the urgent question of livelihoods. The recall of the 21 MPs epitomises the power-grab mentality of the opposition leadership. It would not be surprising to see power struggles in the Tsvangirai camp to occupy the vacant seats. Equally so, it would surprise a few if there

are no fissures already within the MDC Renewal group as a result of this setback, because of the desire to grab power that has now defined opposition politics, both groups may face an uncertain future unless they refocus to the need to broadly change state politics.

Giving a critical analytical look on all the causes of factionalism that vary from issues of regionalism, ideological differences, constitutionalism to external influences and other factors, it will all come back to a struggle for power as all these other factors are just channels used to express the ambition for power. The drive to why factional politics has taken this course that seem unavoidable with all struggling for power even those rallying behind others can best be understood in this study on its unraveling of the human nature concept in the study of politics.

3.2) **Role of the human nature concept**

The need to understand the reason why political beings behave the way they do has led to the crafting of the human nature concept. This chapter will explore the reason why factions exist in Zimbabwe's political parties considering the concept of the human nature theory thereby serving also as a proof of the theory's relevance in the field of politics. This human nature concept is a work of ancient philosophers but this chapter will try and focus on the Hobbesian conception of the human nature that men is by nature greed, selfish and driven by the desire to dominate others. This human nature conceptualization can be seen at play being manifested in the ways of life of politicians in Zimbabwe's political parties in their acts of factionalism and splits hence can be considered the drive to factionalism proving it inevitable for factions not to exist.

Considering the fact that factionalism has been noticed with the start of the first liberation political parties the ZAPU and ZANU with splits occurring along their political journeys from the 1960's, it is justifiable to consider that factions and splits within political parties is inevitable due to the direct nature of men expressed by the human nature concept that men is selfish, greed and driven by the desire to dominate others. Also reconsidering Ruhanya (2015)'s views that given the morbid symptoms in opposition forces and the ruling party itself, where the corruption of the politics has replaced the urgent need to transform society with a narrow culture of power grab mainly by the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) formations and ZANU PF resulting in unfocussed rapturous power struggles. The agenda to grab power by both opposition and ruling party leaders has relegated the desires of ordinary citizens and the nation at large to transform the political economy to build a durable democratic society, Both groups are pre-occupied with power grabs within their little zones

while relegating the need to have durable national transformation questions on the periphery. To Ruhanya they have diverted themselves from the idea of achieving democracy as the opposition parties are losing patience due to their long time suffering but he is of the view that they should be patient and wait as it takes long to achieve democracy, but from this background one can argue that “long” takes a whole life time making it unrealistic to achieve democracy, the character displayed by both parties of selfish egos in factional fights to power are natural to men driven by the human nature and makes it inevitable to have factions in political parties thus this serves as a clear explanation of the reason why factionalism and splits have rocked both the ZANU PF and MDC formations and that its never true that they stand for the masses and for furthering democracy but uses this as channels to achieve their selfish greedy gains of political dominance as driven by their human nature.

The human nature concept serves as an overall answer to the question of why factions exists and why they seem inevitable as they are evident in all the Zimbabwean political parties whether small or big, new or old as supported by Ruhanya (2015)’s view that the recall of the 21 MPs epitomises the power-grab mentality of the opposition leadership. It would not be surprising to see power struggles in the Tsvangirai camp to occupy the vacant seats. Equally so, it would surprise a few if there are no fissures already within the new MDC Renewal group as a result of this setback, because of the desire to grab power that has now defined opposition politics, both groups may face an uncertain future unless they refocus to the need to broadly change state politics. Considering Ruhanya’s explanation of it not surprising to find fissures in the new political movements its stresses it out that these fissures are natural to men hence unavoidable which reflects the human nature concept at play behind Zimbabwean factional politics.

3.3) **Role of tribalism and regionalism**

Tribalism as acknowledged by Macmillan Dictionary, is a very strong loyalty that someone feels for the group they belong to, usually combined with the feeling of disliking all other groups or being different from them while regionalism is defined as the feeling of loyalty for a particular region, basing on these definitions applying them to political contexts of their influence to creation of factions, regionalism and tribalism are therefore consciousness and consideration of tribal and regional background in political decisions and actions. This regional and tribal consciousness has influenced to a great degree the actions behind Zimbabwe’s politicians and political parties since their formation thereby causing factions and splits, the major competition has been between the two most dominant tribes and regions

of the Shona and Ndebele tribes and their associated regions of Mashonaland and Matebeleland.

According to Pindula online the formation of ZANU PF in 1963 as a split from ZAPU was ethnic based, based on the Shona and Ndebele ethnicities located in Zimbabwe's different regions which can be termed as regionalism at play. Sabelo G. Ndlovu in Makombe (2011) asserts that what has not been said about the split of 1963 is that it was partly to do with which ethnic group between Ndebele-oriented and Shona-oriented ones considered itself the authentic subjects of the nation with primal rights to rule over Zimbabwe at the end of colonial rule and that Sithole miscalculated by leading the split because he did not belong to those who were claiming primal ethnic rights to inherit Zimbabwe from white colonizers and it was inevitable that he would be deposed, hence the final control of the split by Mugabe, proving the influence of tribalism and regionalism over splits in Zimbabwean political parties.

Whiz (2009) asserts that the 2005 split of Zimbabwe's main opposition party the MDC was likely fueled by strains caused by Morgan Tsvangirai's treason trial and tribalism, as revealed by an unpublished report compiled by the party. He asserts that though the party is considered to have split due to the senate issue, a report had already been made prior that, which explained that the party was inexorably heading towards a split plagued by tribal mistrust and competing political ambitions. The report acknowledges tribal regional fights between the Ndebele and Shona with Tsvangirai and other leaders alienated to the Shona faction by way of their tribal origins while Ncube and Sibanda alienated to the Ndebele faction as they are tribally Ndebele. The factional fight was recorded to have grown thicker in the issue of who would stand for Tsvangirai in his absence on the treason trial as his next in line were Ndebele the likes of Sibanda and Ncube, so the Shona led faction fought to prevent a Ndebele dominated MDC party which led to the 2005 split though it happened in the pretext of the senate issue but was originally regional and tribal.

According to Sachikonye (2011) factions are sometimes avenues to power and resources but also to marginalization, an early diagnosis identified regionalism as a major basis of factionalism in ZANU PF, amongst the factional leaders using their region or province as a base were figures like Edison Zvobgo in Masvingo and Simon Mzenda who later displaced Zvobgo and installed his own henchmen like Josiah Hungwe. As time went on, power struggles were expressed through provincial factions not only in Masvingo but also in Manicaland, Midlands and Mashonaland West. Cliffe and Stoneman (1989:85) allude to this view citing that the nature and content of the leadership contest that has characterized post-

independence Zimbabwe has been in general not been overtly ideological, however the tendency for party barons with their local bases to compete with each other at the national level posed several kinds of difficulties within the party. First the sustaining of their local base and the furthering of their national standing determined their tactical calculations rather than the furtherance of any coherent strategy, this competition between the barons stirred up factionalism among leaders and top officials that was supposedly based on ethnic grounds associated with certain regions hence regionalism influence in creation of factions.

The MDC-T congress held in 2011 in Bulawayo had tracts of regional fights as acknowledged by Zoli (2011), as the contests intensified party officials went for broke and threw everything, including regionalism and tribalism, into the fray. Tribalism and factionalism made the fight for positions even uglier, for instance, the fight for MDC-T chairmanship between Moyo and Lucia Matibenga degenerated into a tribal battle. The result of all this fierce infighting and dirty politics was to leave the party badly fractured and reeling from exacerbated factionalism and deep internal divisions. The overtime Mutambara and Ncube leadership tussle can be interpreted also along these tribal lines as they are of the different alleged competing tribes.

Considering these tribal and regional plays and allegations it is discreet to note that these have caused factions and splits in both the ZANU PF and MDC formations though it has not been acknowledged by the political players, they have chosen to play it in the hiding yet it's very evident in analysis of their actions, decisions and policies that prove this biasness, which is an explanation of the occurrence of many splits under other pretexts yet in the long run it would have been purely regional and tribal.

3.4) **Constitutionalism**

Constitutionalism as acknowledged by Cambridge Journals online is associated with the study of the constitutive elements of legal and political practice that are central for the assessment of its legality or legitimacy, it analyses the role of fundamental norms, the type of actors, and the institutions and procedures through which legal and political decisions are made. In a more narrow modern sense constitutionalism focuses on the basic ideas relating to justice (such as human rights), procedural fairness and participation (e.g. democracy) and the rule of law as they relate to institutional practices and policies in and beyond the state. In a clearer way constitutionalism in this context will refer to the existence of governing laws in political parties and their adherence to those laws. It is explored in this analysis that some factions and splits that have rocked ZANU PF and MDC are a result of unconstitutional

tendencies, which have acted as push factors driving other members away to form factions and to split against unconstitutional tendencies.

According to Holland (2014)'s speech under the Guardians Council which serves to offer wisdom and advice to national party leadership, in the Herald, it reported that the unconstitutional tendencies by party leaders have caused harm to the party as they are acting against the party's constitution by attacking each other both verbally and physically which is a violation of article 4.6 of the MDC party. The resulting deep and dangerous internal party divisions have separated the party from its values and focus. She further notes that in clear violation of the party constitution, the National Standing Committee has formed factions that are splitting the party down to the grassroots where party structures are openly fighting and injuring one another, the party factions have been acting unconstitutionally by claiming to have suspended each other's leaders. These factional wars cannot be separated from constitutional issues, they are all centred around the constitutional debate which is a highlight of the constitutional attributes to the creation of factions and splitting of parties.

According to the MDC Youth Assembly the 2005 MDC split has been largely articulated to have been caused by the debate whether or not to participate in the senate election in which the party held an internal election which was won in favor of the pro-senate group and the president Tsvangirai is alleged to have dictatorially opposed the results and made a final declaration as the party president that the party was not going to participate in the senate election even if it means the party breaks up, which led to the party split, undermining the rule of the election, which was unconstitutional. These dictatorial tendencies have been regarded as against the rule of law and against the party constitution forcing other members to split out as they accused the party president Tsvangirai of dictatorially overriding the rule of the constitution and election thus leading to the split and the creation of the MDC-Mutambara which later became MDC-N.

These above constitutional issues and other unconstitutional allegations have been said to have led to some factions thus the contribution of the constitutional debate to factionalism.

3.5) **Lack of common ideology**

Lack of a common ideology has also been attributed as one of the drives to formation of factions as they align on the basis of sharing the similar ideology or ideas. Ideology as asserted by Cambridge Dictionary (2015) is a set of beliefs or principles, especially one on which a political system, party, or organization is based. Considering the definition that ideology is a set of principles upon which a political party and its leaders are based, failure to

have this common ideology will lead to factions and splits as said and evidenced by some sources in the politics of ZANU PF and MDC.

Eppel (2008) acknowledges that the 2005 MDC split which crystallized over the issue of whether or not to participate in the senate election was caused by lack of good leadership and lack of ideological unity, with most of more credible Ndebele leadership in one faction, which occurred after years of intense state oppression. It can be deduced from this background that the pro-senate group shared a similar ideology while the anti-senate group also shared a similar ideology in which they would not compromise to exist together in one union thus leading to the split, which is a long time contribution of lack of common ideology shaping factional lines along the party.

According to Magaisa (2015) the reason why Zimbabwe's opposition parties split so much is due to lack of ideological fluency. He asserts that these parties are not formed around firm ideologies that people believe in but are formed around individuals or the need to remove individuals which leads people to find a new person and form another party when they are frustrated with a leader. He acknowledges that it is different with ZANU PF as it has an ideology though criticised but it is there as it holds on to something, ideas like land reform, pan-africanism, indigenization and black empowerment. He further asserts that the MDC was formed by different disparate groups with different interests with the primary mission of removing ZANU PF and Mugabe from power yet there was no firm ideology that brought these disparate interests together thus leading to splits as any group that sees itself better to achieve the goal will just form another party, all these conceptions reveal the contribution of lack of common ideology leading to factionalism and party splits.

ZANU is no exception to splits that are a result of lack of commonness in party ideology as it can be deduced from what is acknowledged by Sibanda (2005) that the 1963 split that led to its formation was due to resentment to Nkomo's tactics and even the following split by Ndabaningi Sithole was also a clash of ideas as he did not like Mugabe's militant agenda, these different tactics and ideas are part of an ideology as in its simpler terms it represent a set of a party's shared ideas, thus ideological differences also contributed to splits in ZANU PF, which is all an expression of ideological contributions to factionalism.

3.6) Unfair distribution of political gains and resources

The way political gains and resources are distributed among party members is an issue of importance to avoid inside wars as those not privileged to gain equally with others will form factions so that they might move closer to the resource and the gain. The disgruntled

members of a party can form factions and use other morals as a smokescreen for achieving power in order to equally acquire the resources and gains or the fear for this outcome can drive to factionalism in order to avoid it happening on one's side.

The lagging behind of Matebeleland in terms of development has been an issue of debate as it can be viewed as some of the influence that has led to ZAPU's split from ZANU PF after the unity accord which is as a result of unfair distribution of resources amongst representatives of different regions in the parties. This cause can lead to splits before the distribution of resources and gains due to future fears that one will be misrepresented in the sharing of the national cake or the political gain, this can be taken as the interpretation of the splitting moves by both the ZANU and ZAPU from the Patriotic Front during the 1980 elections before independence as they already had factions based on regional and tribal lines so it can be taken from this angle that they all had fears that if one gets into power will represent their region and people at the expense of the other so the split to contest for power separately, even the voting characteristics can explain this as the people of Matebeleland and Midlands voted for Nkomo while the other Shona dominated areas voted for Mugabe.

This fear of unequal distribution of political gains and resources has led to the rise of tribal and regional wars in the form of factions in political parties in Zimbabwe, it also explains why Ndabaningi Sithole of the minority Ndaou tribe had to move out of ZANU forming his own party ZANU Ndonga with a stronghold in Chipinge which is dominated by the Ndaou people as he felt that his region would not be equally represented. To support this analysis Sachikonye (2011) asserts that factions are sometimes avenues to power and resources but also to marginalization, an early diagnosis identified regionalism as a major basis of factionalism in ZANU PF, amongst the factional leaders using their region or province as a base were figures like Edison Zvobgo in Masvingo and Simon Mzenda who later displaced Zvobgo and installed his own henchmen like Josiah Hungwe. As time went on, power struggles were expressed through provincial factions not only in Masvingo but also in Manicaland, Midlands and Mashonaland West. All these wars are analyzed as driven by the desire to represent their regions due to fears that the national cake will not be shared equally on those who will have minor influence, thus the role of unfair distribution of political gains and resources in shaping factionalism.

3.7) **External and Western Influence**

Political parties are competitive entities in nature and seek to dominate and override other players so as to acquire power and influence and cannot be devoid from the game of

interfering in the business of other parties to be able to counter them. The fact that they seek funding from external hands makes them to suffer from external interference and influence as they will be getting funding and will have to play the game according to the tune of the resource supplier to enable continuous flow of the funding resource. External influence and western influence have also been said as an outcry in Zimbabwe's political parties contributing to factionalism and splits.

According to Sabelo Gatsheni Ndlovu in the Zimbabwe Democracy Institute report (2014) the cause of the splits that rocked the Zimbabwean political parties since 1963 cannot be explained by one cause but multiple causes but amongst these multiple causes he cites external infiltration as part of the cause to the splits. Kahuni (2014) asserts that the problems of factionalism that rocked the MDC-T are engineered by the West through funding as they create puppet political parties that will serve their interest of enforcing regime change in Zimbabwe which has caused them to withdraw some funding from Tsvangirai then to Biti who now stands on democratic grounds which he is alleged to use as a smokescreen to further the regime change agenda of his western funders who now want a new person to use unlike Tsvangirai who proved incompetent, which has led to these multiple splits.

The MDC has also put blame over its splitting on the interference by ZANU PF and the CIO into its internal affairs leading to factions and splits, The Insider online (2012) alludes to this view as it cites the commission saying the MDC had been infiltrated by the CIO leading to splits and further disturbances in the factions. The MDC formations have blamed the ZANU PF over many of the factional plays as they even align Mutambara with ZANU PF and blame it over the factional wars that rocked the party. The ZANU PF also blame the Western former colonial states over its factional problems as it views some factions as funded to cause regime change in the country, as it sees even some who split out as puppets of the West. Kahuni (2014) alludes to this view as he cites that political parties that are founded and sustained by western donor funds to cover the West regime change agendas are bound to experience political turmoil as is the case with the MDC formations, ironically the West in its quest to protect its national interests lured the intellectuals in these formations to enter into politics under the guise of academic freedom. The Western objective here was to use the so called academic freedom spearheaded by intellectuals to disturb the state affecting the ruling party to gain political power and then later reverse the land reform and indigenisation programmes, this evidence and more cannot dismiss the contribution of external influence and western influence over factional plays in Zimbabwean politics.

3.8) Lack of firmly established party binding structures

Absence of firmly established party binding structures on its own can lead to the emergency of factional alignments and splits. A political party should be able to devise mechanisms to unite its members into fitting within its ideas and should create a history of common suffering or experiences that it refers to in order to counter factionalism with splits. This has kept ZANU PF to contain factionalism as it is bonded by the liberation struggle history and refers to it consistently which brings a sense of unity and loyalty to the party avoiding members of moving out of the party through splits, unlike the MDC which does not share a long time historical experience, though it might be there it fails to constantly refer to it thus the splits that rocked it. Magaisa (2015) alludes to binding structures that should be there such as structures of discipline, loyalty and patience to maintain the party without splits occurring, which he cites lacking in the opposition parties in Zimbabwe making them to split so much unlike ZANU PF which has these structures respected binding the party together avoiding major party splits. He cites that there are greater costs of leaving the ZANU PF party as seen that even the dismissed members or punished have always been quiet and humble to bear their punishment returning back into the party, the likes of Jonathan Moyo and others which is not found in the opposition forces.

3.9) **Lack of political strategy**

Political parties to survive with influence and power have to have a political strategy garnered by the party leader; failure to have a political strategy will lead to the collapse of the party, to factions and to splits. The political leader should have political skill to quickly address any arising changing events in a healthy way which does not fracture the party and political strategy to counter the opponent parties. Onslow (2011) acknowledges that Tsvangirai's political skills are frequently questioned and widely not respected while Mugabe manages to dominate and win popular support through supreme political skills which involves his ability as an orator and communicator, and his charismatic leadership, which can be interpreted as the strengths that has accounted to his ability to contain factionalism without major party splits occurring unlike in the MDC and all its formations.

Many scholars have attributed ZANU PF's success story to the intellectual capacity and political strategies of Mugabe in which in regard to factionalism he has managed to play around the factions avoiding a party split. According to Chigora (2011) experience counts for a party to be in power which lacks in MDC against their rival Mugabe who is more experienced in politics, and has witnessed the party splits, party wrangles, back stabbing but managed to maneuver his way around. He attributes the splits that rocked MDC to be the cause of inexperience in politics. The lack of political strategy in MDC due to inexperience

has led to failure to manage party splits unlike Mugabe and ZANU PF who now has lots of political experience as evidenced by his ability to maneuver progressively through the challenges hence leading to a good experienced strategy in managing factionalism avoiding major splits in the party.

3.10) **Lack of succession policy**

Issues relating to succession have been very critical in Zimbabwean politics leading to creation of factional lines based on succession grounds, but this has been mainly attributed by lack of clear or succession plans and policies that govern the succession of political party leaders which has led the main political parties in Zimbabwe the ZANU PF and MDC with its formations to be linked to certain leader names monopolizing party controls for years, making it difficult for there to be any leadership transitions leading to splits of ambitious leaders not given the chance to contest the posts by a formal constitutional mandate.

According to Mlambo (2015) factionalism that has currently smacked the ruling ZANU PF party is not about individuals but based on Mugabe's succession power struggle and cannot be ended by the dismissal of a faction as was the dismissal of Mujuru one of the faction leader but can only be solved through the solving of Mugabe's perennial succession question, when it becomes clear on who will succeed him, though some say it will end with the death of Mugabe, however after all this 'hear say' the end to factionalism is to correct on the problem cause which is lack of a succession policy, ZANU PF has to formulate clearly a succession policy and procedures for succession that will explain clearly the leadership transitional terms to solve the succession crisis, unless so the crisis continues as seen in the multiple stories of these succession wars reported in the media as all ambitious candidates will contest as they will see themselves fit for the post as there is no clear requirement for the post, thus the contribution of the succession conundrum to the factional debate.

Magaisa (2015) asserts that the lack of succession planning and the unwillingness by leaders to give way to others are often quoted as major points of disagreement in opposition parties, leading to the formation of splinter organizations. He further asserts that the split of 2014 of MDC Renewal Team was caused by grievance that the party leader Tsvangirai had outlived his usefulness but was unwilling to let go. All these succession wars in the political parties in Zimbabwe have been due to this lack of succession policies which makes the party principals to monopolize the party ruling power as seen by the long stay by Tsvangirai at the helm of the MDC though disgruntlements have been there over succeeding him even over its

democratic relevance, this issue is left unresolved creating more and more splits along the journey to regime change, making Tsvangirai a mimic of Mugabe as regards the commonness of their monopolistic characteristics of maintaining grip on party leadership power, thus succession's contribution to factionalism.

3.11) **Summary of immediate triggers of splits**

The above listed causes of factionalism expressed in this chapter are part of the many drivers to factionalism as they involve both long term and short term contributions to splits. The subsequent party splits that rocks political parties are a combination of multifarious long time players behind the political movements which take the form of all the above listed causes and waits until the final split plug sparks, determining the final major breakaway splits. These sparkers are not necessarily the cause of the splits but are just used as arenas for splits due to the long term dissatisfactions and contributions of factors that would have brought factional alignments which will be waiting for a justifiable cause to split, a hide to the real factional long term drives in the political movements. This last analysis of this chapter summarizes the immediate triggers of the splits that have been used to justify the causes of the splits though they are not the real drives of the splits as will be expressed later in this study's findings on what the real causes are, leading to splits.

The first split of 1963 that led to the formation of ZANU has been justifiably presented as caused by the frictions that rocked ZAPU due to its being banned by the Rhodesian government which threatened its existence as alluded to by Sibanda (2005) and is also sometimes expressed as caused by dissatisfaction of the militant tactics of Nkomo, the following split by Ndabaningi Sithole to form ZANU Ndonga has been justified to have been caused by differences in the militant agenda that Mugabe had while Sithole resented. The events that followed were the factional rebel lines led by Nhari in 1974 in the ZANLA forces of ZANU in which Nhari rebelled with Badza against ZANU and its High Command with the justification that he was dissatisfied with the fact that members of ZANU High Command were squandering party funds abroad in luxury those which were meant for the struggle while the others were suffering as alluded to by White (2003) though they are other factors to that cause.

This was followed with the split from the Patriotic Front of ZANU and ZAPU towards the 1980 elections as Nkomo and Mugabe wanted to contest separately struggling for the presidency as alluded to by Sibanda (2005). This was followed by the dismissal of Edgar

Tekere from certain posts like the ministerial post in 1981 and his final expulsion from the party which led to the formation of the ZUM (Zimbabwe Unity Movement) led by Tekere himself, this was attributed to the fact that Tekere opposed the way the party operated, Mugabe's dictatorial tendencies and sheltering corruption as acknowledged by Chigora (2015). He also acknowledges the following events of the 20th Century ZAPU split by Dabengwa which he termed as regional and ideological in the nature of its cause. There is also a recording of factional lines of dismissed members like Simba Makoni frustrated by the long rule of Mugabe and Jonathan Moyo who stood as an independent candidate in the 2005 parliamentary election and later was reinstated in the party as was dismissed on grounds of challenging the president's plan to appoint Joyce Mujuru as deputy president.

The MDC and its 2005 split attributed to have been caused by the debate over to participate in the senate election. The further split with the formation of MDC-99 led by Job Sikhala over power struggles as acknowledged by Whiz (2009), the splitting of many MDC-T members to stand in the elections as private candidates due to dissatisfactions over the conduct of the party's primary elections and dictatorial impositions of candidates by Tsvangirai. The 2013 MDC-T split and the formation of the Renewal Team largely attributed to the succession struggle and undemocratic unwillingness of Tsvangirai to step down as alluded to by Chigora (2015). He further explains the current succession factional fights in ZANU PF divided along the Mujuru and Mnangagwa camps which led to suspensions and dismissals with Mujuru dismissed from the party on accusations of corruption, assassination attempts and fanning of factionalism in a bid to gain power.

This above summary traces factional events and states the immediate portrayed triggers to splits though they are other long term contributory factors that have led to these splits but this summary highlighted those factors that have been used as smokescreens for splits in the above highlighted political movements.

CHAPTER FOUR

4.0) Negative and positive effects of factionalism

The study of the field of factionalism has proven factionalism's unavoidable nature in any human setup starting from the simplest family arrangement to a broader social grouping, but its necessity has been untold in the public sphere though its evils have been said they also lack deep analysis over their negative extent hence the attempt by this chapter to first explain factionalism and its unavoidable nature then do a cost-benefit analysis over the phenomenon of factionalism to determine whether it has greater costs or benefits to political parties so that it may be possible to devise mechanisms to manage this phenomenon to the benefit and progress of a political movement.

4.1) Factionalism and its unavoidable nature

The existence and occurrence of factionalism in political parties is part and parcel of the drive of human nature as explained by various theories of Madison, Harmel, Plato and Hobbes and other informative contributions as will be highlighted which have all agreed to explain factionalism as inevitable and part of human society. These theories and the practical examples that history has recorded makes it a realistic fact that factionalism is unavoidable as this is based on what is on the ground rather than just mere theoretical explanations.

According to Madison as long as the reason of man continues fallible and he is at liberty to exercise it, different opinions will be formed, these different opinions and reason will lead to heated and sometimes violent division in society the latent causes of faction are thus sown in the nature of man; and we see them everywhere brought into different degrees of activity, according to the different circumstances of civil society. He concludes from this analysis that the causes of factions cannot be removed, and that a solution instead must be sought by minimizing the effects of factions, this proves factionalism unavoidable. To support this premise it is clear looking in the Zimbabwean context of the factional plays that have been witnessed over time in the dominant parties the ZANU PF and MDC that factionalism and human societies interlink and are in each other's pocket.

This study's practical factional evidence that underlie the historical developments of the ZANU PF and MDC parties proves factionalism's unavoidable nature as the formation of ZANU as a split from ZAPU in 1963 in itself could not distance itself from factions though it was already a faction, it split again with Sithole forming the ZANU Ndonga, as if it was enough and free from factions as Sithole had left Nhari led another factional rebellion following his assassination and his factional colleagues, as if factionalism was now totally dealt with Edgar Tekere led other factional lines until his dismissal from the party up to dismissal of Makoni another faction leader, Dabengwa split again then the recent factional lines of Mnangagwa and Mujuru which led to Mujuru's expulsion from the party and the rise of more factional talks, this ZANU journey alone has proven that factions cannot be avoided though dismissals, splits and assassinations of factions can be seen, more factions will still emerge as it is part of human nature to be aligned to factions. The MDC's journey reflects the same with its first split in 2005 with formation of MDC-T and MDC-M then following MDC-99, MDC-Renewal Team, many independent candidate splits during election times and other splits not mentioned here and factions within the splits proving the same unavoidable nature of factionalism in any human society or movement as one split will produce other splits then multiple splits with the equation continuing like that, with no party being immune to this factional virus hence its unavoidable temperament.

4.2) **Cost Benefit Analysis**

This study here carries out an analysis of the costs of factionalism in political parties and its benefits to that effect in order to be able to determine effective ways of managing it to the advantage of a political party that it may serve its existence in a much easier way winning the electorate and beating other parties without being disturbed by factional issues.

4.2(i) **Costs of factionalism and splitting**

Various contributions have been put to try explain the costs of factionalism to political parties which are a matter of diverging different opinions but this study scrutinizes all as valuable to explain the different angles that these contributions affect political parties in regard to the factional debate.

According to Boucek (2009) factionalism takes three forms which are co-operative, degenerative and competitive. He acknowledges that conflicting factional partialities and polarized party opinion produces splitting pressures and loosen intra-party ties as factions become opposed rather than simply separate. In addition, too much fragmentation complicates decision-making and the enactment of coherent policy packages. Factional

capture jeopardizes prompting a destructive series of factionalism, and parties that monopolize power for a stretched time are particularly rendered to this jeopardy. In the completeness of time, the solitary-minded hunt of factional goals makes public horrific, such as unaccountable governments and misused public resources, which can convert a party into a value-destroying brand. Conversely, too much factional struggle and fragmentation can threaten parties and form decisional stalemate, without valuable leadership and institutional checks and balances to limit scrapping, competitive factionalism dangers running out of control.

According to Kollner and Basedau (2005) factions can weaken the organization and the efficiency of political parties, precise dissent contained in a party and ensuing repression can take parties to the margin of disintegration and beyond. Factionalism leads also to intra-party assessments on personnel that are not based on merit and capability of the people involved but on their factional connection. Faction-based dissent can harm a party's capacity to employ new members, to run effective campaigns, and to enter coalitions, leads to contradictory and blurry positions of a party and thus cases voters' decisions more complicated. It can disturb or block intra-party discussions and issue-oriented debates can be drawn into the vortex of inter-factional power struggles, in some cases factionalism can even be made responsible for corruption within a political party or even within the political system at large. In totting up, factions can harm or decline the moral authority and integrity of personage parties or the whole party system and can threaten the party system and it can lead to increasing suspicion on the part of voters.

Wafawarova (2014) in his Zimbabwe specific contribution asserts that factionalism can make party management a great challenge, and one can focus on the bickering between politicians across the political divide as evidence of this, it can undermine cohesion and efficiency of political parties and he bases his view on citing the example that the president Mugabe lamented the effects of factionalism in relation to succession contenders within the ZANU PF party. He further asserts that in the worst case base it can lead to splits and disintegration as seen with the splintering of MDC into at least five rival groups since 2005. It also leads to mediocrity due to factional affiliation overriding merit in the consideration of office holders as factional leaders focus more on loyalty rather than merit in choosing allies which destroys or reduces a party's ability to mobilize or recruit new members and this can be seen in the by election vote results across the country in which the MDC formations have fared so badly since the ugly split in the year. It leads to blurry policy standings within a party as seen in the

contradicting conflicts of ZANU PF officials over the indigenization policy and over media polarity.

4.2(ii) **Benefits of factionalism**

Factionalism though publicly viewed as an evil it has got its unpublicized benefits which have been explained differently as matters of divergent opinion contributions but are all scrutinized as jointly valuable to this study to present an unbiased overall analysis of the phenomenon.

According to Boucek (2009) factionalism is a multifaceted phenomenon which can change itself in response to incentives, basing on conclusions of factionalized political parties in established democracies he argues that benefits of factionalism are often overlooked as factionalism can acquire different faces of co-operative, degenerative and competitive natures at different times under specific conditions. He explains that a factional configuration has the prospective to raise the aggregate capacity of political parties and to aid intra-party cooperation where centripetal incentives exist, by affording a structure of cooperation among separate intra-party groups, factionalism can broaden horizons of party appeals and speed up party integration to the extent that factions articulate the opinions and policy preferences of divide societal clusters and assemble separate memberships and communities of interests within a solitary group, they can play a constructive role in building integrated parties, in a nutshell, factionalism has the potential to be consensus-building.

Boucek (2009) further asserts that cooperative factionalism can get a bipartisan form and be a force for good if it lessens political radicalism and eases cross-party cooperation by allowing members from opposing parties to moderate the stances of their political heads, as long as it facilitates cooperation factionalism can be good for parties and for democracy. Factions have the potential to widen choices for voters and party followers by providing a mechanism of internal differentiation among leadership contestants and their particular agendas, can also moderate party heads' policy stances and promote the nomination of modest politicians in legislatures and governments. Moreover, a factional structure can empower party grassroots, politicians, activists and the rank and file by granting them a chance in party decision making.

Bousek (2009) acknowledges that factions provide group members with the means to communicate with their heads to be able to bring them to account, he suggests that competitive factionalism may provide for long-term management solutions to heads of complex political parties that monopolize government for a long time and by providing a method of elite circulation it can re-energize democratic politics in sub competitive party systems, however the absence of sufficient safeguards, factional struggle can become excessive, hence to contain factional pressures under management, leaders have to be cautious to this danger and to listen to the worries of dissenting groups within their parties. Three main facets of factionalism have been identified here which are cooperative, degenerative and competitive, with cooperative factionalism which is often associated with party development and regime change being essentially consensus-building. By making easy the comprehensive capacity of parties while safeguarding subgroup identities, a factional organization may be influential in upholding intra-party cooperation and in building integrated parties. As long as it is managed, competitive factionalism can be a force for good. It can widen voter choice where it is restricted for example in sub-competitive party systems; it can improve intra-party democracy; for example by facilitating debate and communication between leaders and followers and by granting rebels a voice. Factionalism can offer a structure for internal power-sharing and conflict resolution.

Looking at the Zimbabwean specific contributions Wafawarova (2014) asserts that positively factionalism kills apathy and generates interests in our country's politics and this may be good, sometimes factionalism furthers a good principle and provides a good sense of belonging to members. It can also be argued that factions promote generational change and he cites Zimbabwe as one nation where an entire generation has struggled roughly to formulate an important contribution to the country's politics. It increases debate and competition within a party which is good and can moderate a party in its actions.

An overall look to the cost benefit analysis, it is evident that there is more literature on the benefits that factionalism brings than its costs which will encourage its management to avoid the costs and utilize its benefits for the good of a political party.

CHAPTER FIVE

5.0) Strategies employed to deal with factionalism

This chapter focuses on an analytical unveiling of the strategies that have been employed by the political parties under study to deal with the phenomenon of factionalism in a bid to avoid its bad attributes to the party's overall progress and the avoidance of major splits as expressed in this study's recorded literature. The reaction that these political parties took to address factionalism shall be taken in this chapter as its strategy to deal with this phenomenon and a number of reactions to factionalism have been recorded in the history of these political parties though some of them were not regarded as strategies, this chapter will refer to such actions as strategies.

5.1) Measures by MDC, and Tsvangirai and the failure to avoid a major party split.

The long factional battle that rocked the MDC party since its formation in 1999 due to its membership of different disparate groups with disparate interests, finally exposed itself in an ugly illegitimate split in 2005 leading to the formation of MDC-T and MDC-M later known as MDC-N, this was due to untimed predictions of events and party member actions which were of a factional nature that would have been managed in time through close monitoring so as to devise mechanisms to avoid the detriment of a major party split, but this Tsvangirai failed to do and predict the direction of events and was caught by the factional saga unaware in the form of the senate debate which carried factional alignments, leading him to make an illegitimate decision that led to a major party split.

This study's recorded evidence from different sources acknowledges that Tsvangirai made a dictatorial declaration in address to the senate debate that the party was not going to participate in the senate election as it was not in his interest as the party president though an election had been constitutionally conducted with those in support of the senate contest winning the vote, which made Tsvangirai to publicly announce that the party was not going

to participate in the senate election even if it meant that the party breaks he was ready for standing by his ground, which was his move of dealing with factionalism after losing from a factional contest, the move of making a dictatorial pronouncement against the decision of an internal opposing faction and giving room to break away from the party, leading to a major party split that shook the party greatly in all spheres ranging from public trust, electorate capture, membership composition, financial well-being among other factors not mentioned.

Tsvangirai failed to strategize to avoid a major party split by giving room for a party split rather than avoiding it and by acting unconstitutional by denying the election rule due to failure as a leader to be free from emotional factional evils of hatred and of aligning to certain factions as a leader which a leader is suppose to distance himself from and better play the factions together, looking at gaps incentivizing them to discourage the looming up of a splitting decision as it carries greater costs to a political party as other splits will come into being after the first split and it will result in an uncontrollable cancer that will continue until the final downfall of the political party as seen in the multiple factions and splits that have been recorded in the MDC circles soon after the first 2005 split which could have been avoided to prevent this cause as now it has proven unstoppable.

The MDC-T after splitting from the main MDC was rocked again by factional wars resulting from leadership contestations and other factors in which Tsvangirai responded by dismissing some members aligned to certain factions leaving the faction leaders behind, leading to a constitutional move to suspend Tsvangirai which was interpreted on factional grounds leading to Tsvangirai's counter move to suspend the organizers of his suspension a move that has led to the split that has led to the formation of the MDC-Renewal Team which is another major blow to the standing of the party, and is overallly an expression of poor strategies to manage factions and avoid a major party split which is a threat to the competence of a political party and reflects a lack of proper strategy on the part of the leader. The Tsvangirai dismissal strategy has not solved anything but led to the severity of the factional wars leading to splits rather than avoiding them.

The historical evidence of factional addresses have proven that the MDC, Tsvangirai and its leaders have overlooked the destructive outcomes of unmanaged factions and splits as splits continue to amass and continue to rock the political entities without them being managerially avoided giving advantage to ZANU PF as the opposition parties are growingly losing popularity and overpowering influence to contest ZANU PF and remove it from power.

5.2) Strategies used by ZANU PF, and Mugabe to avoid major party split and control factionalism

Historical assessment has proven that ZANU PF has never experienced a major party split as those of the MDC and its formations as explained here due to Mugabe and ZANU PF's strategies to manage factionalism within the party avoiding the occurrence of the splitting phenomenon. The only split that qualifies to fit this study's explanation of a split in ZANU PF's historical journey is the split of Ndabaningi Sithole forming the ZANU Ndonga and the ZAPU split from the patriotic front, since then ZANU PF has managed to control factions which all arose avoiding a major party split.

After Sithole's factional split factional alignments arose with the Nhari and Badza led factions rebelling in the ZANLA forces but were strategically quenched by assassinations with their allies, de-rankings and dismissals which avoided a party split and brought fear to all ambitious factional appetites, avoiding factional talks and alignments for a long time with the specific focus being on running the struggle only which was a strategy of fear used and it controlled factionalism avoiding a major split in ZANU PF. The 1980 ZANU and ZAPU split, ZANU allowed it because it knew that it was not going to threaten its winning power as it had the majority of regional votes against ZAPU which had confinements mainly in the Matabeleland and parts of the Midlands provinces.

The following factional fights in person of Edgar Tekere led to his removal from certain ministerial posts by Mugabe as a strategy to try instilling loyalty within him and his failure to be loyal with more factional oppositions to the president and party members led to his final expulsion from the party which led him to form the ZUM party and this prevented a party split as the factional causer was dismissed without splitting with a group of people in the party circles. Margarete Dongo and Simba Makoni factional aspirants were also dismissed from the party and formed their political parties, this also prevented a party split as the instillers of factionalism were dismissed from the party. ZANU PF and Mugabe's strategy of dismissal of factional aspirants at early stages worked to avoid a party split as it was timely done before the aspirants led a greater group.

Jonathan Moyo was also dismissed after opposing the president on certain grounds in order to instill loyalty again and it worked as he learnt his lesson and was brought back into the party without a party split occurring. Dabengwa's announcement of the formation again of the ZAPU is not a major blow to ZANU as most old guards and members of ZAPU are still in ZANU PF and have opposed the party as an illegitimate one which is not a major split in

ZANU PF. Mugabe has managed to incentivize well these former ZAPU members and gave them good leadership posts as seen even in the recent appointment of Mphoko as the vice president as a move to quench down factional appetites which has avoided them from launching a major split from ZANU PF.

The recent factional wars that have dominated the media platforms allegedly linked to Mujuru and Mnangagwa have been corrected by Mugabe's timeous dismissal strategy as he dismissed Mujuru the accused faction instigator and her whole faction allies the likes of Mutasa which has led again to stability within the ZANU PF party with the prevention of a major party split as it has created loyalty to the president. There has also been the suspension of party members and the issuing of vote of no confidence which has humbled all factional appetites preserving the ZANU PF party from a major split that it was going to heard to if this was not addressed in time. Mugabe has also employed strategically dictatorial styles inorder to quench diverging interests of members which are part of human nature and society avoiding factional alignment growths and a major party split.

Mugabe has also used his military arm as the commander in chief of the Zimbabwe defense forces to entrench his rule, limiting the rise of ambitious factional figures who would want to contest his position in the party with the fear of the army. The CIO elements also entrench his rule and expose all hidden factions that will be dealt with before they lead a split, which has also managed to maintain the party intact without it recording a major party split and preventing even the occurrence of a coup. Mugabe has managed by his good political strategy to control factional appetites by denying factional figures the posts they will be craving for as seen by the first denial of Mnangagwa of the vice presidency though he had seen himself as the likely candidate, he has managed to play factional leaders and groupings in the party together avoiding their extremism and influence by managing influential posts in the party which has avoided the powerful rise of a faction at the expense of another thus controlling factionalism and avoiding a major party split.

Although there has been suspensions and dismissals of ambitious factional elements this is not a permanent solution to control factionalism and prevent a party split as the problem cause to these factional wars has not been addressed which is the succession conundrum, so sooner or later other more factions will emanate as they will be seeing themselves as potential candidates for the presidential position which might lead to a major party split, this will require a quick strategic address in the form of a clear policy to control and quench down some appetites to control factionalism and avoid a party split.

CHAPTER SIX

6.0) Outcomes, findings and Recommendations

This chapter highlights the research outcomes and findings taken from the ground research conducted through the administration of questionnaires to the headquarters of the major political parties under study, and from the interest groups and an assessment of available literature covering the area of study, drawing the conclusion from the average analytical assessment of these findings and proffering of recommendations basing on the expressed prediction of the future of political parties in Zimbabwe as regards the phenomenon of factionalism.

6.1) Outcomes and findings

Outcomes and findings of the research done are presented here starting with responses from MDC-T officers and politicians then ZANU PF officers and politician's responses then an overall joint assessment of the findings explaining the highlighted trends.

6.1(i) Data presentation

a) MDC-T Officers and Politicians responses to questionnaires

	Factors Examined	Responses recorded	Out of	Percentage rating %
1	Knowledge of what factionalism is	8	8	100 %
2	If factionalism is avoidable	4	8	50 %
3	If factionalism is necessary	3	8	37,5 %
4	If there are factional fights in ZANU PF	8	8	100 %
5	Consciousness of major splits in ZANU PF	4	8	50 %
6	If factionalism can exist in political parties without splits occurring	8	8	100 %

7	If factionalism has caused harm to Zimbabwean political parties	7	8	87,5 %
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Fig 1

Graphical presentation of these findings

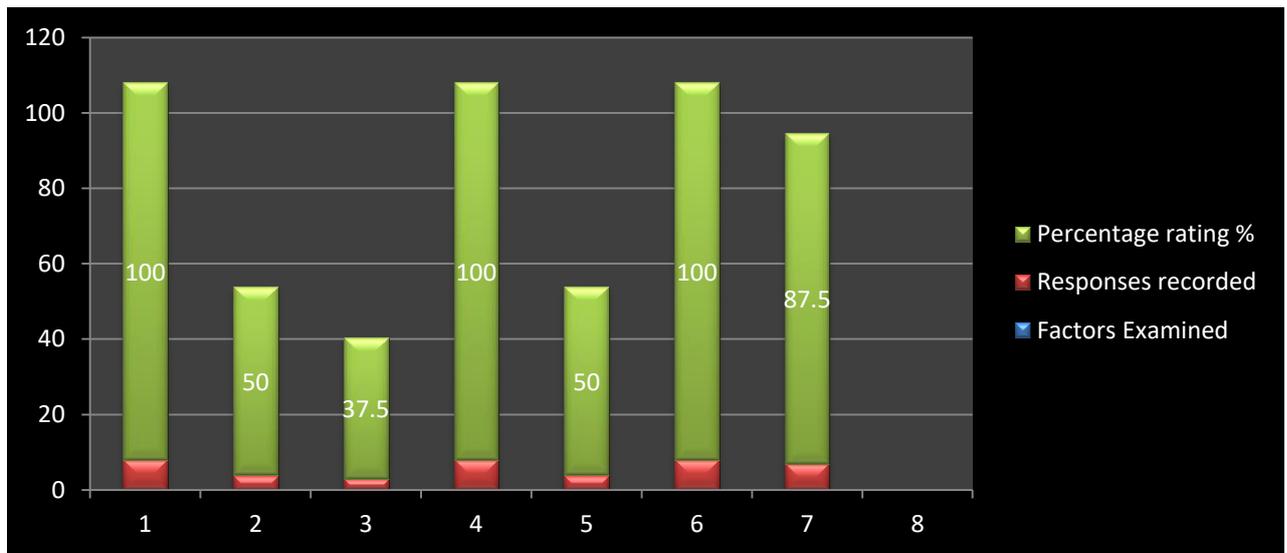


Fig 2

Causes of MDC split

Response factors	Responses recorded	Out of average number	Rated percentage %
External and western influence	1	12	8.3%
Greed, selfishness and desire to dominate others	5	12	41.7%
Infiltration by ZANU PF and CIO	2	12	16.7%
Struggle for power	3	12	25%
Ideological differences	1	12	8.3%

Fig 3

Chart presentation of findings

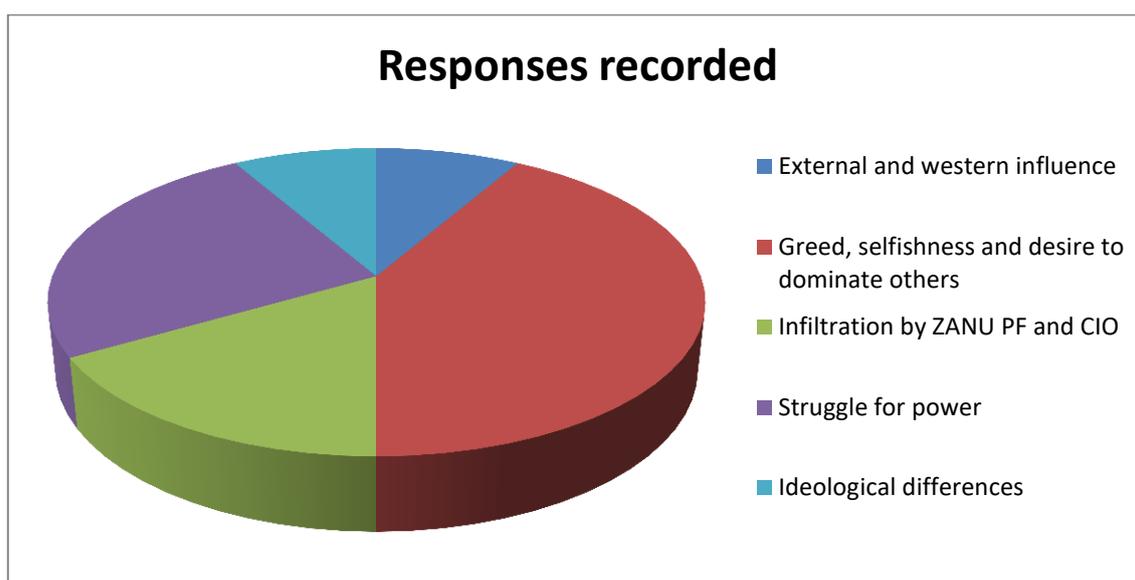


Fig 4

Major causes of factionalism in Zimbabwean politics

Causes under study	Responses recorded	Out of	Percentage rating %
Struggle for power	7	8	87.5%
Greediness, selfishness and the desire to dominate others	4	8	50%
Tribalism and regionalism	1	8	12.5%
Succession issues	3	8	37.5%
Unconstitutional tendencies	1	8	12.5%
Lack of common ideology	1	8	12.5%
Unfair distribution of wealth and resources	0	8	0%
Western and external influence	3	8	37.5%
Lack of party binding structures	0	8	0%

Fig 5

Pie chart layout of findings

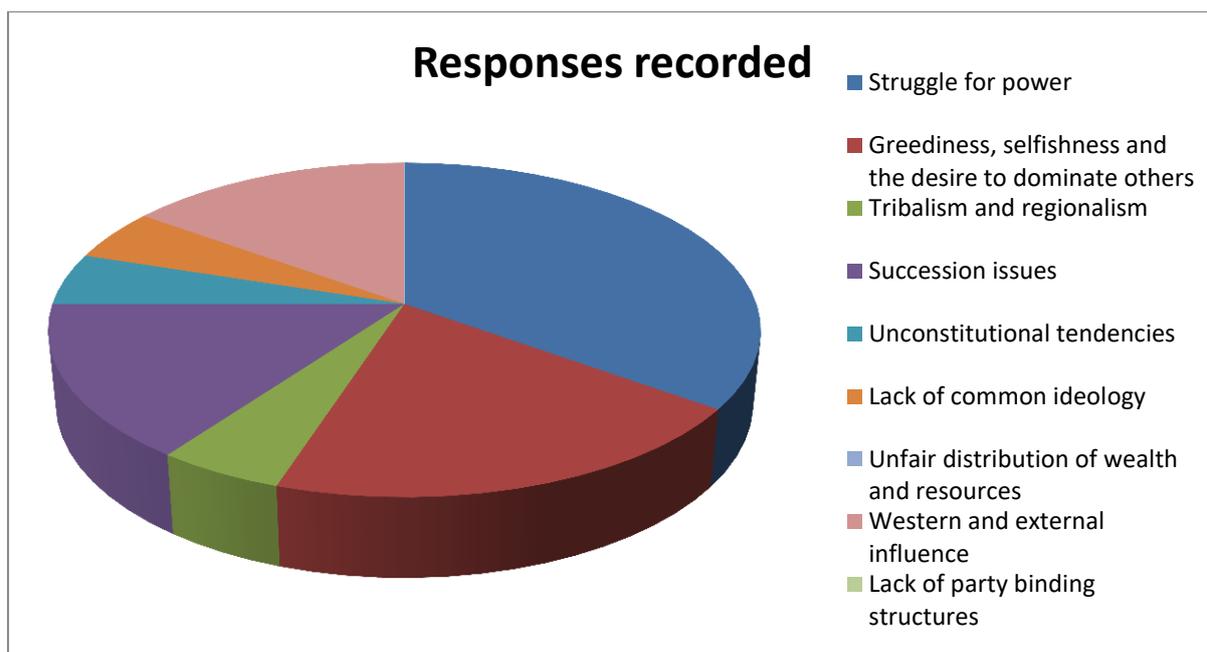


Fig 6

Written explanatory responses to why MDC failed to avoid a major party split

- Because of its nature being a movement of diverse volunteers in a democratic setup
- An intention to split is unavoidable except to manage the damage
- It manages its politics by allowing the rogue elements to move out of the split
- It is the democratic right of people to split
- It failed because of conflicting personal interests
- Because of lack of lack of engagement and cohesion among leadership; they lacked openness to each other
- Members involved failed to agree on certain issues e.g. leadership issues.
- It was necessary to limit out sell-outs and reactionaries.

b) ZANU PF Officers and politicians responses to questionnaires

Factors Examined	Responses recorded	Out of	Percentage rating %

1	Knowledge of what factionalism is	8	9	88.9%
2	If factionalism is avoidable	4	9	44.4%
3	If factionalism is necessary	5	9	55.6%
4	If there are factional fights in ZANU PF	6	9	66.7%
5	Consciousness of major splits in ZANU PF	3	9	33.3%
6	If factionalism can exist in political parties without splits occurring	5	9	55.6%
7	If factionalism has caused harm to Zimbabwean political parties	8	9	88.9%

Fig 7

Graphical presentation of findings

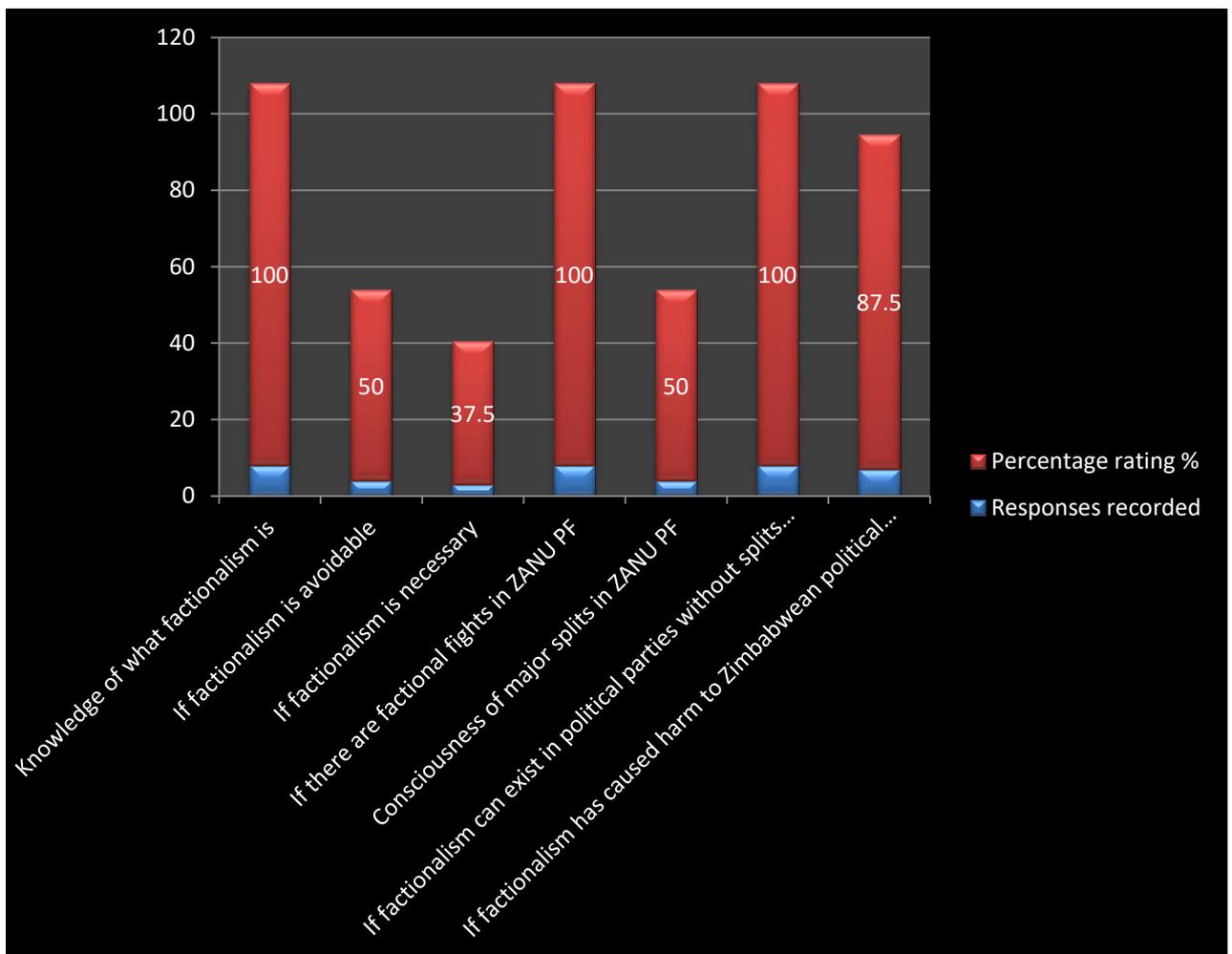


Fig 8

Causes of MDC split (Responses by ZANU PF alignments)

Response factors	Responses	Out of average	Rated
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	recorded	number	percentage %
Power struggle and mongering	3	12	25 %
Greed, selfishness and desire to dominate others	5	12	41.7 %
Disorganized leadership	1	12	8.3 %
Lack of ideological clarity	1	12	8.3 %
Ideological differences	1	12	8.3 %
External influence	1	12	8.3 %

Fig 9

Pie chart presentation of findings

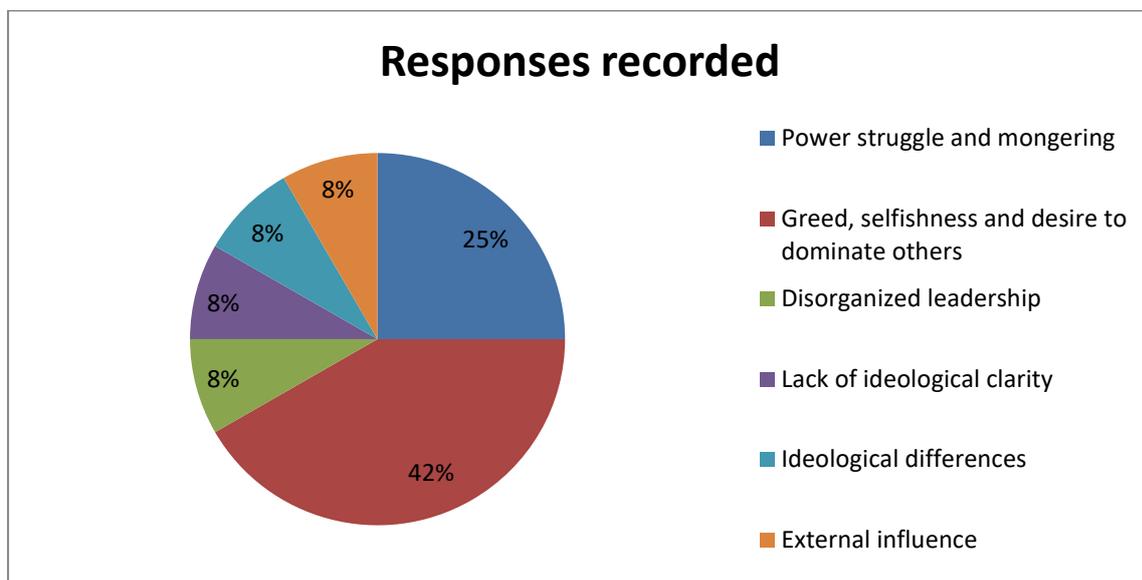


Fig 10

Major causes of factionalism in Zimbabwean politics

Causes under study	Responses recorded	Out of	Percentage rating %
Struggle for power	6	12	50
Greediness, selfishness and the desire to dominate others	6	12	50
Tribalism and regionalism	3	12	25
Succession issues	4	12	33.3
Unconstitutional tendencies	3	12	25
Lack of common ideology	4	12	33.3
Unfair distribution of wealth and resources	2	12	16.7
Western and external influence	1	12	8.3
Lack of party binding structures	1	12	8.3

Fig 11

Chart presentation of findings

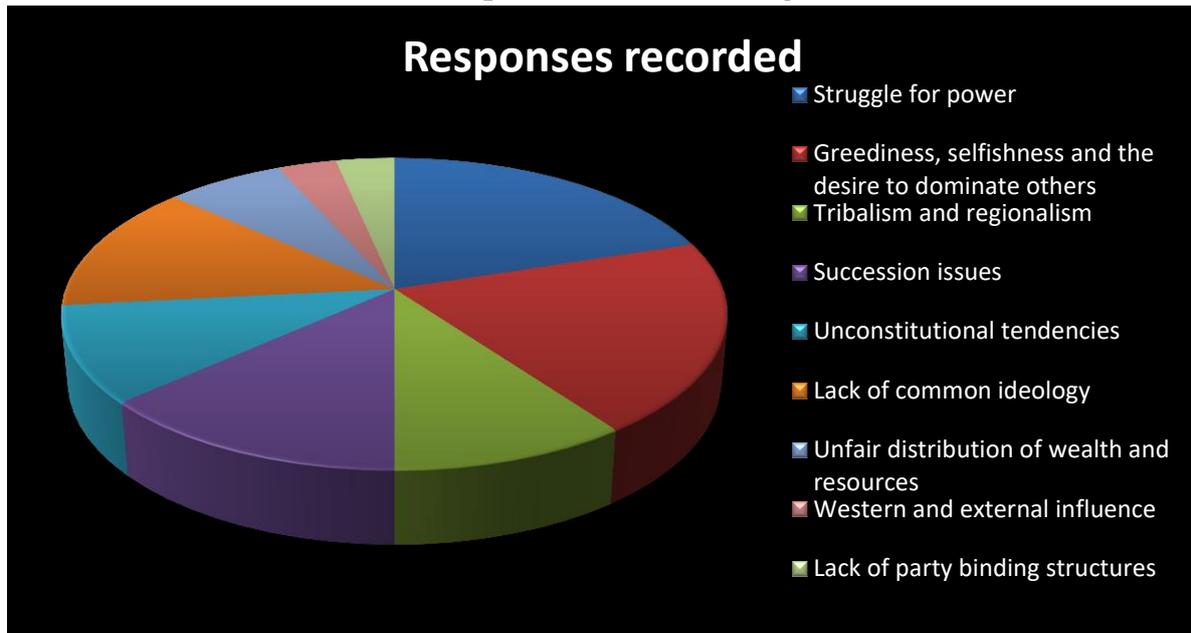


Fig 12

Written responses to why MDC failed to avoid a major party split (ZANU PF side)

- Because the aims of the faction leaders was to succeed the leader
- MDC is full of egoist and megalomaniac leaders
- It has never been coherent, but different political and social groupings with different interests
- Was formed in a haste, has no grounding in the social juncture and is a reaction to problems
- Lack of tact and strategy on the part of the leaders
- Pride is the main cause of the splits, lack of common ideology, and sharing the same principle and lack of viable leadership that could manage the factional battles
- Lack of knowledge amongst the leaders as well as having background forces that influence the running of the party e.g. E.U.
- It was unavoidable because Tsvangirai is not a competent leader
- They don't have a firm foundation except riding on protest politics.

6.1(ii) Overall summary, and interpretation of all the findings and analysis of the diagrams trends

The given tables show the statistical findings and the following diagram after every table shows the graphical or chart display of those findings, with the first six figures (Fig) representing the MDC-T side responses and the other following six figures starting at Fig 7-12 representing the same study responses from the ZANU PF side.

Fig 1 examines a multiple number of factors necessary in the study of factionalism that will aid in reaching the final study destination of an unbiased research result. The responses from the MDC-T side show that they all know what factionalism is, half of them view it as avoidable while a quarter of them view it as necessary. They show full knowledge of factional fights within the ZANU PF party and half of them yield to the idea that there are major party splits that rocked the ZANU PF party since its formation though half of them do not view the same. They all show belief that factionalism can exist in a political party without splits occurring and most of them show belief that factionalism has caused harm to Zimbabwe's political parties. On Fig 3 and 4 there is an opinion based explanation of factors that caused the MDC split in which they responded to only five factors with a big number of them acknowledging the split to have been caused by concepts of the human nature; greediness, selfishness and the desire to dominate others, followed by the struggle for power, then infiltration by ZANU PF and CIO, and lastly western influence and ideological differences playing a minor role. Fig 5 and 6 highlights their responses to what they view as the major cause of factionalism in Zimbabwean politics which they largely attribute to the struggle for power followed by the human nature as the major drives.

Fig 7 and 8 starts to present ZANU PF side responses of the same issues under study. They show response that almost all of them know what factionalism is, almost half of them view it as avoidable and over half of them view it as necessary. Almost three quarter acknowledge to factional fights within their party, slightly above a quarter of respondents show consciousness of major party splits in the ZANU PF party since its formation, a bit above half of them believe that factionalism can exist in political parties without splits occurring and almost all of them believe that factionalism has caused harm to Zimbabwe's political parties. On Fig 9 and 10 they respond to causes of the MDC split which they attribute much to human nature concepts of greediness, selfishness, and the desire to dominate others, followed by struggle for power, then at the lowest same rating is role of disorganized leadership, lack of ideological clarity, ideological differences and external influence. On Fig 11 and 12 on what the major cause of factionalism is in Zimbabwean politics, they highly attribute it to the

struggle for power and human nature concepts of greed, selfishness and constant desire to dominate others.

A joint comparative analysis of the findings reveal that all of the two side political groups know what factionalism is and almost half of them believe it is avoidable though they reflect contradictory opinions over it being necessary as the MDC-T side has a lower response to this while ZANU PF shows a greater faith in its necessity shown by its high response to the matter. They contradict over the presence of factional fights in ZANU PF but the average assessment of responses demonstrates that they are factional fights in the party and responses against this are biased. They both subscribe to the idea that there are no major splits that have rocked the ZANU PF party since its formation as shown by their low responses to the matter. Both demonstrate a complicated response to the idea that factionalism can exist in political parties without splits occurring as all from the MDC-T side believe this while a bit above half from the ZANU PF side believe the same, this is analyzed as complicated in the sense that the MDC-T believe this idea yet practically don't yield to see it possible as they have failed to achieve it, though their opponent are average in their belief, they have managed to experience it for years, this reflects poor leadership not lack of enlightenment on the side of the opposition movement as it believes in what it cannot work to make it possible. They all subscribe to the idea that it has caused harm to Zimbabwean politics.

In their responses to what caused the MDC split, they both highly acknowledge it to greediness, selfishness and, the desire to dominate others and the struggle for power which is averaged acceptable as true explanation, though they highlight other different points such as infiltration by ZANU PF, and CIO into MDC and disorganized leadership these are both critical contributions to the split explored in this research backed by the available literature review. They both highly attribute the struggle for power and human nature tenets of greediness, selfishness and constant desire to dominate others which also house the struggle for power within them as the major cause of factionalism in Zimbabwean politics which this study overallly accepts as the observed and unveiled major cause of factionalism due to an overall analysis of findings and given literature backing this study.

The researcher faced challenges of lack of timely response to the questionnaires but later the respondents highly responded after a long time of patient waiting and adherence to multiple referrals which was enough to produce an unbiased outcome from both the ZANU PF and MDC-T headquarters. Responses from the ZANU PF side recorded 90% while the MDC-T side recorded 80%. There was no compliance from the interest groups which the research mainly targeted NANGO's responses but all this did not limit the research from reaching an

unbiased research judgement as they were only to be considered for giving substantiating information.

6.2 Untold positive outcome of factionalism

This study has unveiled a lot about the untold positive outcome of factionalism which is necessary in politics for the utilization of factionalism for political progress within political parties. If closely and timely managed this study has unveiled that factionalism can lead to productive cooperation of different intraparty factional groups broadening horizons of party needs and the articulation and response of a party to different societal needs and interests reflected in these different groups, which makes it consensus-building. It can be a force for good and democracy as it lessens political radicalism by moderating stances of the party leaders which is a cleansing of the party. It leads to the nomination of modest politicians in legislatures and governments as they will be a variety of leadership contestants with different competing ideas, agendas and policy stances and this again moderates party leaders.

Through factionalism a political party can be able to review itself of its weaknesses and empower itself into strength by taking into consideration the factional opinions and respond to them in a healthy time. It helps political parties to make clear succession policies and avoid the monopolization of power through response to factional uprisings. Factionalism improves intraparty democracy by facilitating debate and dialogue between leaders, and followers, and by giving rebels a voice and by widening voter choice which is also a positive development it brings. If properly managed it can create a structure for internal power sharing, and conflict resolution which is good for party progress, even for the avoidance of dictatorship and power monopolization. It can be viewed also as positive as it exposes rogue elements, sellouts, reactionaries and party back paddlers who will be removed for the progress of the party without a major party split occurring or harm to the political party. Other points to quantify this view are stressed out in the cost benefit analysis.

6.3 How factionalism can be positively utilized politically for party progress without suffering a major split

This research study has proven that factionalism can exist in political parties without a major party split occurring, a clear presentation of ways to achieve this is thus stressed out here as deduced from the research findings responses available in the questionnaires and the literature reviewed.

The other side of this study has highlighted clearly the positive outcomes of factionalism and that it is an unavoidable phenomenon hence it requires to be utilized its positives to quench down its negatives that political parties may not fail as one way or the other this phenomenon will just arise and needs to be managed. Basing from this background the first step to utilize factionalism positively without a major split occurring is that leaders should strategize ways to manage factionalism prior their rule to avoid surprises that factionalism brings to their parties and rule. There should be a systematic analysis of factional trends within the political entity, close monitoring and timeous response to the trends to avoid a major party split and this can be done through the following ways addressed.

Political parties should have a clear firm ideology that serves the interests of the party, in which ideological teachings will constantly be conducted to achieve common objectives and remove personal egos of members and leaders that are raised above the interests of the party; this will lessen factional alignments driven by ideological clashes. There should be equal awarding of opportunities to party members, and factions, and well incentivizing of all the different faction alignments to quench down grievances associated with unfair distribution of political gains and wealth, as this will lead to the creation of greater costs of leaving the party thus discouraging a split and contain factions within the entity without them causing harm to the party. There should be the building of a team spirit within the party to avoid individual groupings which consequently can grow into splitting factions, and this can be achieved by continuous communication among the party barons and members avoiding secretive gatherings and groupings under the party canopy.

There should be continuous communication and transparency in the conduct of party business to avoid factional alignments which are a result of anti-corruption arising or suspicion. There should be tolerance in the free expression of differing views, but members should be trained to be loyal to party positions and decisions and humble themselves to rally behind the decisions of the majority chosen for the progress and stability of the party. There should be constitutional clarity on pertinent issues, clear succession plans and leadership structures to avoid factional ambitions that arise due to lack of a laid down procedure over prominent issues such as those of succession as seen in the Zimbabwean politics. There should be strict discipline and penalties for perennial factionalists done through timeous dismissals, de-ranking, demotions, suspensions and other disciplinary measures to enforce loyalty and discipline as it is a cancerous disease that damages the loyalty and behavior of other members. Leaders should have the right skill to manage the different views of members and devise ways to mend relations and striking cooperative balances between the factional

groups. There should be the striking of tribal and regional balances to avoid factionalism based on these factors. The party leader should manage the party in a strategic way that members will always have the fear of the unknown due to the unpredictable nature of the unbiased and un-aligned actions of the leader; this will quench down all ambitious factional appetites and bring loyalty and discipline. Information should be available for all to avoid media blackouts and there should be inclusion of members in almost all angles of decision making.

All this if strategically done through close monitoring of factionalism will lead to the effective positive utilization of factionalism for party progress without the political party suffering the whirls of a major party split, factions will just exist under control and being contained but without a split occurring and this is evidently proven in the research through an analysis on the ZANU PF factional journey which does not record major party splits for a time but just more of dismissals of factionalists without the party splitting.

6.4 The major causes of factionalism explored

The 21st Century Zimbabwean politics has recorded a rise in factional politics as it has seen factionalism take an interesting direction with a lot of events driven by this phenomenon occurring which has dominated the media fraternity making it an issue that needs current attention to be analyzed and addressed as there remain confusion over the real cause of this phenomenon, this research study has unveiled the drive of the human nature of greed, selfishness, and the constant desire to dominate others as the major and overall cause of factionalism though it clothes itself in many forms as expanded here.

This research has explored a lot of factors that have been cited as the causes of the factional wars that rocked Zimbabwean political parties since their formation through case studies of the ZANU PF and MDC, which are vast but a close analysis at all of those factors show that they fall under one umbrella explanation which is the drive of the human nature as explained by an ancient philosopher Thomas Hobbes, that man is driven in all his actions by greed, selfishness and a constant desire to dominate others which makes this phenomenon unavoidable as avoiding it is ending the existence of mankind. Factionalism in Zimbabwe has been explained as caused by the struggle for power, greediness, selfishness, tribalism, regionalism, unconstitutional tendencies, ideological differences, unfair distribution of resources, western influence, external influence, succession issues, with the human nature tenets scooping a high response to explain the cause of this phenomenon but all these factors

explained as causes all are the different dimensions which the human nature manifests itself in, thus making it the major cause of factionalism unveiled in this research.

According to a recent study by Chigora (2015) to explain the same cause of this phenomenon, he cites greed, creed and need as the major drives behind factional plays but a close analysis done by this study to the same principles cited shows that they are again a manifestation of human nature, making it the drive behind factional actions, as in creed he explains the need to cleanse one's self which is selfishness as one highlights other's wrongs for his selfish standing even to dominate others which made Mujuru a threat expelled as she also wanted dominance, though she was not the only corrupt figure in the party even those who ruled her out are cited in the media in corrupt tendencies, on need it's all selfish interest pursuance, the need to dominate others and greed to accumulate more which is all human nature. The struggle for power is a drive of selfishness and the constant desire to dominate others which has been explain in the Tsvangirai-Ncube factional fight, Tsvangirai-Biti factional fight, Mnangagwa-Mujuru factional fight and Mugabe versus factionalists fight, which is all human nature as these all are selfish in seeking and monopolizing power for their own selfish ambitions at the expense of the well-being of the party and seek constantly to dominate others and never to be under anyone as shown by their actions. Tribalism and regionalism have been used to create factions as the leaders are selfish to represent only their tribes and regions at the expense of the other tribes and regions which is why these Zimbabwean parties split in the sides of the Ndebele and Shona camps that explains the ZANU and ZAPU split, MDC Tsvangirai and Ncube split.

Factionalism has been also attributed to be caused by unconstitutional tendencies of leaders which are also driven by selfishness and the desire to dominate others as the MDC senate issue where Tsvangirai was cited as unconstitutional, he pursued his selfish interest because the party under the human nature drives follows after the pursuit of personal interests and if those interests are challenged one can act unconstitutional to safeguard his selfish interests which is what Tsvangirai did by the dictatorial decree and this Mugabe always do when cited as unconstitutional. Ideological differences are just selfish interests' differences as through one quenching down his human nature animalistic drive can be loyal to the chosen ideology and still avoid splits as long as his interests are catered for. Unfair distribution of resources and gains is tempering with one's selfish interests and a drive of greed by other members which makes factional wars inevitable.

External influence, western influence and infiltration are movements in pursuit of selfish interests by whoever is in this custody and they are given room to influence by the selfishness

of the internal members of the affected party who become puppets, it be the west they will be pursuing their interests of regime change and the need to control Zimbabwe again, if it is the CIO it will be Mugabe pursuing his interests of maintaining his selfish grip on power, thus it's all human nature. Succession issues and wars are caused by firstly the selfishness of the party leaders to maintain on the helm of power without giving room to others driven by their selfish appetite and secondly it is the desire to dominate others that makes one to fight over a better dominating position which is just but human nature.

All this above evidence reflects clearly that factionalism is caused by only a single explained phenomenon of human nature which has the explained tenets of greed, selfishness and the constant desire to dominate others though it manifests itself in many justifiable factors as explained which have a link to a single of the human nature tenets or at some cases to all, making human nature the unveiled major and supreme cause of factionalism explored.

6.5 The future of political parties in Zimbabwe as regards factionalism.

The future of political parties in Zimbabwe in response to factionalism is an unclear contradictory one as it is subject to change due to changes taken in the predicted moves but it is likely to take the direction of this explanation. If the ZANU PF party does not address the succession issue, more factions are likely to emerge in ambition to succeed the president up until the chasing of factionalists becomes not feasible as it will lead to the party's disintegration into numerous groups hence its downfall and by dismissing factionalists it will create more enemies and reduce members and supporters making it to likely lose the electorate and election hence its downfall. The same is likely to happen in all the political parties if they don't develop succession plans adhered to.

The expelled member of ZANU PF Mujuru is likely to form her own party as she will see that there is no clear room for returning back into the party's circles and will not risk making a coalition with opposition due to fear to be labeled a traitor by the support she has of the comrades which she would likely lose if she takes such a move. If she forms her own party she is likely to weaken the ZANU PF party but will not herself gain power to rule the land as her numbers are likely to be small as many supporters of ZANU PF are behind Mugabe unless if Mugabe is replaced. ZANU PF is likely not going to take Mujuru back to cleanse itself of ills to gain political mileage if she fights back but is likely to take her back if she is loyal as the costs of losing her might be more than returning her back. If donors continue to fund political parties they is likely going to be growth of an influx number of political parties created for profit purposes and not to stand for the people.

The opposition parties of the MDC are likely not to re-align as they will not agree on Tsvangirai's overall rule who is likely not going to accept to step down or be under anyone but if they were to align they are likely to grow powerful and be able to dislodge the ZANU PF party especially if they all join forces because it is already weakened by factional wars and has grown less popular due to the boredom on supporters due to the long monopolistic rule of Mugabe. If opposition fail to develop succession plans and become democratic they are likely to split the more in their multifarious camps. Individual members of political parties should be able to quench down, and control their selfish appetites and human nature's animalistic drive to be able to be loyal to party leaders unless they do so more factions and splits will rock political parties. Party leaders should fully strategize to manage factionalism within their parties in the ways expressed in this study then they will avoid party splits but unless this is taken into consideration in the leadership approaches they are likely to split the more and grow weak that they will never taste the sweet cake of power to rule Zimbabwe.

Recommendations

This study has managed to expose factionalism's negative and positive attributes and ways to manage it to avoid party splits thus recommendations are proffered to all the concerned boardies, mainly targeting political parties so that they will not be weakened by factionalism and fail to deliver the democratic service of governing to the populace of their respected countries. These recommendations are mainly given to Zimbabwe's political parties but are functional in any society of human gathering and in any political party elsewhere.

Political parties should not undermine the harm that can be brought by unmanaged factionalism as this will lead them to experience the disastrous cancerous effects of this phenomenon and fail to respond rightly for every response that will come in this phase would be an untimed wrong reaction that will weaken the political entity and lead to splits, thus recommendations are given that political parties should devise strategies to manage factionalism, closely and timeously monitoring it so as to be able to contain it without it causing harm to their political parties but actually aiding progressively to their political entities without a party split occurring. It is recommended that political parties make use of the benefits of factionalism highlighted in this study and that they strategically employ the strategies expressed in this study on ways to manage factionalism without a split occurring for this is what is needed to deal with this unavoidable phenomenon for party progress and strength, as the failure to be strategically positioned to manage factionalism is what has weakened the Zimbabwean political parties especially the opposition movements and the strategic response to this phenomenon is what has aided ZANU PF and Mugabe to stay long at the helm of power without being dislodged as the study highlights.

Conclusion

Factionalism has shown itself that it can be so destructive and derail political parties of their strength to compete politically to the achievement of power, this has been seen by the expression of all the factional evils that have developed over time in Zimbabwean politics since the formation of the ZANU PF party in 1963 and the coming of the major opposition movement the MDC in 1999, in which factionalism was recorded taking an interesting form with the occurrence of many major party splits to the continual weakening of the opposition movement in Zimbabwean politics aiding ZANU PF to remain at the helm of the country's political power. The lack of knowledge on the need to strategically manage this phenomenon is what ruined the opposition movements as they overlooked its negative effects, which Mugabe and ZANU PF was fully aware of through the long serving experience he has had in his long rule, which aided the party to survive factionalism for long without any major party split occurring that might have led to its detriment. The opposition movements proved lack of knowledge that factionalism though unavoidable it can be managed and contained without a major party split occurring yet progress being recorded to the satisfaction of the electorate. This has been highlighted through literature review to the background of the problem, factors leading to factionalism, cost benefit analysis of this phenomenon under study, strategies employed to deal with it by political parties under study, outcomes, findings, future projections and recommendations to political parties to enable them manage this phenomenon.

Over and above this knowledge gap over factionalism is what this project has unveiled with the highlighting of the major cause of this phenomenon which is human nature and the need to control it to avoid factional appetites and to enable the progress of a political entity in representing its people in a more strategic way, which is projected to lead to the development of powerful competent political parties that will dominate power without being dislodged.

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Appendices: Structured Interview Questions

Interview Questions to political parties leaders and representatives.

1. We understand that issues of factionalism have been in the rise in Zimbabwe's politics dominating the media fraternity, basing on this background are there really any factional fights in Zimbabwe's political parties mainly the ZANU PF and MDC?
2. What do you think is the major cause of these factional wars and the subsequent splits?
3. Is factionalism necessary?
4. Can factionalism be avoided?
5. Why did the MDC split?
6. Why did MDC fail to manage the party splits?
7. Has there been any major party split within the ZANU PF since its formation and why is it so?
8. Can factionalism be there in political parties without splits occurring?
9. Has factionalism caused harm to Zimbabwe's political parties and politics?
10. How can factionalism be managed or what strategies can be employed to manage factions while avoiding party splits?
11. How do you view the ZANU PF move of dismissal and suspension of party members as a move to manage factions?

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Questionnaire to Political Parties and Interest Groups.

Introduction

This questionnaire serves as a research instrument for a research titled *An analysis on the causes of factionalism in political parties in Zimbabwe: The case of ZANU PF and MDC from 2005 to 2015*. The purpose of this research is to analyze the told and untold causes of factionalism and unveil the real drives leading to party splits and be able to proffer recommendations and strategies that can be used by political parties to manage factionalism without it causing harm and splits to their parties.

Instructions to respondents

1. Please answer by ticking in the appropriate box. You may also provide additional details where necessary in the spaces provided.
2. Please do not write your name or any other details that may personally identify you.

Questions:

1. Do you understand what factionalism and splitting is in the context of political parties? Yes No
2. Is factionalism avoidable? Yes No
3. Is factionalism necessary? Yes No Give reasons for your answer.....
.....
.....
4. Are there any factional fights within the ZANU PF party? Yes No Explain
.....
.....
.....
.....
5. Has there been any major party split that has occurred in ZANU PF since its formation? Explain why
.....

.....
.....
6. What caused the MDC to split?

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

7. Why did MDC fail to avoid a major party split?

.....
.....

8. What do you think is the major cause of factionalism among these in Zimbabwean politics; (**Tick the appropriate and you are allowed to tick twice**).

- The struggle for power
- Greediness, selfishness and the desire to dominate others
- Tribalism and Regionalism
- Unconstitutional tendencies
- Lack of common ideology
- Unfair distribution of wealth and resources
- Western influence
- Lack of party binding structures
- Succession issues

- If the major cause is not highlighted list it here/explain answer.....
.....
.....

9. Can factionalism exist in political parties without splits occurring Yes No

Explain the cause of the given answer.....
.....
.....

10. Has factionalism caused harm to Zimbabwe political parties? Explain.....
.....
.....

11. What strategies can be used to manage factionalism to avoid party splits and enable party progress.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

Thank you for your precious time and responses.