Challenges faced by Former Liberation Political Parties in Southern Africa. A case of ZANU PF

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RELEASE FORM

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Project title: CHALLENGES FACED BY FORMER LIBERATION POLITICAL PARTIES: A CASE OF ZANU PF.

Programme: BACHELOR OF SCIENCE HONOURS DEGREE IN PEACE AND GOVERNANCE

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As the supervisor for………………………………………………, I declare that this dissertation has been checked for conformity with the faculty guidelines.

Supervisor: MR MBANJE

Signature of supervisor: ........................................

Date: ........................................

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I certify to the best of my knowledge that the required procedures have been followed and the preparation criteria has been met for this dissertation.

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Date: ........................................
DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my family, my late father Rufaro (may his soul rest in peace), my mother Samantha, my brothers and my sisters and my grandmothers Angeline, Bernadette and Adelaide Mawora. I wish you all long life of success and good health.
**ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

Firstly, I would to give thanks to the Lord Almighty for the grace which I was granted during my studies. I would also want to thank Mr Mbanje, my supervisor, who sacrificed and committed his time to guide me through my research project. As a student there are some grey or sensitive areas I wanted to avoid, but my supervisor insisted that I bring them out. He argued that, as he travelled around, he listened to people talking and he kept hearing that, “someone needs to do something about the way this country is being run by a single leader since the 1980s”. So he insisted that I should write everything without fear or favour hoping that millions of other Zimbabweans and I could be that ‘someone’ together.

I would also want to extend my appreciation to ZANU PF Headquarters staff who have moulded me politically, social, culturally, and economically during my internship period from July 2015 to July 2016 with special reference to my immediate supervisor, Mrs Regedzai Mtowodzwa. Again, I would want to appreciate and acknowledge the role played by Bindura University of Science Education, Peace and Governance departments, which enhanced my critical thinking throughout my studies. I want to acknowledge my friends and classmates who have assisted me in different ways. Finally, I want to thank my family, they have sacrificed and supported me right from when I started. May God continue to bless you all.
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ABSTRACT

The study sought to examine the challenges facing Former Liberation Political Parties since independence. The study paid much attention to Zimbabwe ruling liberation political party, ZANU PF. This research used 20 respondents to gather information required. These consisted of 4 respondents from ZANU PF staff, 3 war veterans, 1 representative from the Hebert Chitepo Ideological School, 5 academics and political analysts, 7 political party representatives (ZANU PF and MDC supporters). The study used data collection tools such as interviews, documentary reviews (to present information on how Zimbabweans and others see Liberation Political Parties), and observations. Using these methods was to be able to lessen the negative effects or the weaknesses of each technique selected. For example, observations and document analysis were a bit elusive, while the key informant interviews revealed a greater understanding through acquiring in-depth data. The study demonstrated that people have different views on the challenges facing FLPPs and if whether their liberation legacy could be preserved. The best explained this through the different concepts by the likes of Frantz Fanon, Paulo Friere, Kwame Nkrumah, Mao Tse Tung, Christopher Clapham, Amilcar Cabral among others. Their arguments regarded how they perceived the liberation struggle and the future after liberation comparing it to the Former Liberation Political Parties whose challenges are failure to deliver the liberation promises to the masses due to incumbency, factionalism, corruption, patronage politics, tired nationalism and tribalism. This study recommends that liberation political parties should work towards achieving the liberation promises. The liberation struggle should have greater meaning to the upcoming generation, not that it becomes a memory later will woe but celebrate the role that the African Nationalists played in bring self-determination, politically and economically. Finally, it can be recommended that further research be undertaken in order to unpack various opinions on how the liberation legacy can be preserved.
## LIST OF ACRONYMS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ANC</td>
<td>African National Congress</td>
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<tr>
<td>CCM</td>
<td>Chama Cha Mapinduzi</td>
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<tr>
<td>FLM</td>
<td>Former Liberation Movements</td>
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<td>FLPPs</td>
<td>Former Liberation Political Parties</td>
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<td>FRELIMO</td>
<td>The Mozambique Liberation Front Headquarters</td>
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<td>LMs</td>
<td>Liberation Movements</td>
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<td>LPPs</td>
<td>Liberation Political Parties</td>
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<tr>
<td>MDC</td>
<td>Movement for Democratic Change</td>
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<tr>
<td>MPLA</td>
<td>The People’s Movement for the Liberation of Angola</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NCA</td>
<td>The National Consultative Assembly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SWAPO</td>
<td>South West African People’s Organisation</td>
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<tr>
<td>ZANU PF HQ</td>
<td>Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front</td>
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<tr>
<td>ZANU PF</td>
<td>Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front</td>
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<tr>
<td>ZAPU</td>
<td>Zimbabwe African Peoples Union</td>
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<tr>
<td>ZIM ASSET</td>
<td>Zimbabwe Agenda for Sustainable Socio-Economic Transformation</td>
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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Background of the study

The birth of independence in Africa was through Revolutionary Parties which needed to liberate people from oppressive colonial regimes of the British, Dutch, French and Portuguese (Clapham 2012). Through these struggles, liberation was achieved and former liberation movements assumed power as the new National Governments (Clapham 2012). The legacy of the liberation struggle became a guiding philosophy for these newly liberated states. This was done as time progressed since these nationalists knew that the importance of the struggle would fade in the memories of many people. As such, these nationalist governments made it a point that their struggles would become an inspiration for generations to come (Clapham 2012).

The liberation struggle had a vision, one which was to free the people from servitude; to create peace and democracy; decentralise power and promote equal opportunities for the masses and equity across all groups in society; to enrich the indigenous people in benefiting from their God given resources and most importantly, to shift from minority to majority rule. With this in mind, many were motivated to go and fight for their freedom. The struggle was benched on restoring dignity and humanity for all (Freire 2000).

The transition from liberation movements to ruling governments were founded on a vision to deliver to the masses or citizens. At independence, the nationalists embarked on various
development projects in order to deliver on their liberation promises. The ANC of South Africa embarked on a Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) drive by taking the economy to the people and ZANU PF of Zimbabwe embarked on a free health and education for all and a leadership code which was only visible in the first decade. As years progressed, the liberation vision started to fade as the nationalists began to enjoy the benefits of being in power. Cases of corruption, patronage politics, state coercion, formation of classes (rich and power) and resource capture became to manifest within the Former Liberation Political Parties (FLPP). The study, therefore seeks to analyse the challenges faced by Liberation Political Parties after independence with a major focus on ZANU PF in Zimbabwe.

1.1 Statement of the problem

The liberation struggle was motivated to erode all forms of oppression and minority rule. Its vision was guided by the socialist ideology which is against private ownership property (Mhanda 2005). It believed that means of productions should be owned by the whole society. This shaped the liberation struggle’s goals and promises to the masses in which Liberation Political Parties aimed at ending oppressive rule, and replace with equality and equity, the indigenous people being able to exploit their own resources with total political and economic emancipation (Mhanda 2005). However, the problem is that, many years after independence there is not much to show of the promises made during the liberation struggle. According to Mbango (2012), the masses hoped the rise of the liberation political parties as ruling governments was the foundation of restoring the dignity of the indigenous black African citizens. Clapham (2012) then questions whether these liberations where able to “bring to reality, the ideals that shaped the struggle”. The liberators have become more of the new oppressors as they now live in luxury while the majority of people suffer. The research examined the challenges faced by FLPP in an attempt to discern why they are failing to deliver their liberation struggle promises.

1.2 Significance of the study

The study seeks to inform those in ZANU PF Party, Government, Advisors and the civil society organizations as well as the whole community of the challenges that former liberation movements are facing. It also proposes possible solutions that can assist in the preservation of
the liberation legacy. The study will add to the existing body of knowledge on Liberation movements. It will be significant to tertiary institutions where students would be able to use the information when undertaking their own research work in relation to Former Liberation Movements.

1.3 Aim of the Study

The aim of the study was to examine challenges facing Former Liberation Political Parties in Southern Africa, focusing on ZANU PF.

1.4 Objectives

The following are the research objectives:

- Examine internal and external challenges faced by liberation movements.
- Analyze internal and external problems faced by ZANU PF political party after decolonization.
- Examine possible ways that Liberation Movements can preserve their legacy.

1.5 Research questions

The following are the research questions:

- What are the internal and external challenges faced by liberation movements?
- What are the internal and external challenges affecting ZANU PF Party?
- What measures should FLPP employ in order to preserve their revolutionary legacy?

1.6 Assumptions

- Former liberation movements are facing a number of challenges since their transitions into ruling parties.
- The revolutionary legacy is becoming less important as Former Liberation Political Parties are failing to deliver on their promises to the citizens.
- ZANU PF is failing to deliver its revolutionary goals due to corruption, cronyism, and patronage politics.
- Opposition political parties have emerged owing to the failures within FLPP
1.7 Limitations

The study is focusing on the challenges affecting Former Liberation Political Parties in Southern Africa. Matters to do with the challenges facing liberation political party are of no doubt, a very sensitive area. Respondents to this study might not be willing to disclose information which may threaten their own personal security and that of their families. Those who are familiar with the challenges affecting LPPS are aware of the potential dangers of such research. These risks can lead to persons being labelled enemies of the state threatening national security, thus they are very dangerous. Secondly, the study is confined to Zimbabwe looking into the challenges affecting ZANU PF as one of the LPPs because of time and resources. Thirdly, this research will relay largely on comments made by the respondents which will depend on the political biases or political sympathies respondents may have regarding the challenges facing LPP particularly ZANU PF. Again, due to party biases, relevant or reliable information may be hard to come by.

Notwithstanding the above limitations, this research will not be hindered, the researcher will do all he can to undertake the study. This will be done by observing, conducting interviews to acquire the much needed information and also consult various secondary data (articles, newspapers, magazines and documentaries).

1.8 Delimitations

The study will mainly focus on one party that is ZANU PF in Zimbabwe. Participants from the Parties in Zimbabwe, Civil Society among others will be selected. They will be selected on very high knowledge in the area under review.

1.10 Key definitions

**Former Liberation Movements:** These are political parties which were involved in nationalist movement fighting for independence and were against colonialism. During the struggles these were known as Revolutionary Parties or Liberation Movements.

**Former Liberation Movements in Southern Africa (FLMSA):** This is an association of six political parties (namely ZANU PF, FRELIMO, MPLA, SWAPO, CCM AND ANC) which were involved in the nationalist movements of Southern Africa. They have their roots in the Frontline States.

**Transnational Challenges:** These are challenges reaching beyond or transcending national boundaries or issues relating to or involving several nations or nationalities
**Liberation:** This can be understood as the act of freeing someone from something. Relating to this study, liberation can be defined as the process of freeing people oppressed by oppressive regimes. This can be viewed as a move from minority to majority rule.

**Political parties:** are organisations of a group of people with shared interests and similar aims, which seek to influence and control institutions of government and public policy and the distribution of public resources in society.

### 1.11 Chapter Outline

**Chapter 1**

The major demand of this chapter was to give a description of the challenges faced by Former Liberation Political Parties with a particular focus on ZANU PF party. It tries to explain why liberation movements are failing to deliver the liberation struggle promises to the masses lead.

**Chapter 2**

This chapter is mainly focused on reviewing literature that is similar to the challenges facing FLPP and the reasons why these LPPs are failing to deliver to the citizens. This chapter will discuss the key objectives of the research unpacking in detail the various internal and external challenges that are affecting FLPPs. Finally, it will look in detail, the internal and external challenges facing ZANU PF political party.

**Chapter 3**

The significance of this chapter describes how the research data will be collected as a means to try and answer the research questions in relation to the challenges affecting Former Liberation Political Parties.

**Chapter 4**

Chapter four focuses on the presentation and analysis of data collected in regard to the research in question.

**Chapter 5**

This is the last chapter and it gives a conclusion of the study under review. It will also outline a summary of findings, providing some recommendations and further areas of study in connection with the challenges of FLPPs.
CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

Literature review focuses on identifying similar work that relates to the problem in question. The variety of information gathered will assist in addressing the objectives of the topic. Initially, the chapter will address various concepts on Liberation Movements. Secondly, it gives an analysis of the liberation vision and the current reality on the ground. Again, it will move to examine the internal and external challenges affecting Former Liberation Movements (FLMs). From there, the chapter will shift from a general overview of challenges facing FLMs to a more particular view, looking at challenges facing ZANU PF as a revolutionary political Party. Lastly, the chapter will give a detailed conclusion of what was discussed in the various sections.

2.1 Conceptual Framework

In expressing the challenges faced by Former Liberation Movement, it is difficult to align them to a single theory since the challenges are not fixed but varied. There are both old and new challenges depending on the evolution of the world. Hence, this chapter will use a conceptual framework approach in which various concepts, ideas and writings will be applied. These will include ideas from Mao Tse Tung, Kwame Nkrumah, Steve Biko, Edgar
Tekere, Masipula Sithole, Christopher Clapham, Paulo Freire, Amilcar Cabral, only to mention but a few. Their concepts will explain the varied issues in relation to liberation movements.

In the Pedagogy of the Oppressed, Paulo Freire’s (2000) ideas are bench on the need for former colonised to totally emancipate themselves from colonial hangover. He expresses deep concern on the need of the oppressed to liberate themselves and become free from servitude. He likens freedom to restoration of humanity and dignity as he states that the “struggle is to recover their lost humanity” (Freire 2000). In addition, he warns against the oppressed becoming the new oppressors after the achievement of independence. He says “for the struggle to have meaning, the oppressed must not become in turn the oppressors of the once oppressed or oppressors but restore humanity of both” (Freire 2000). In this regard, Freire (2000) sees genuine decolonisation as a process whereby there should be genuine forgiveness and reconciliation. The oppressed should learn to forgive the former oppressor and both should work together for the betterment of both. He warns that within the struggle for liberation, the oppressed, should not turn into the new oppressors (Freire 2000). Freire (2000) argues it as a rare peasant promoted as they identify themselves as part of the oppressive class. This has been the weakness of most Liberation Movements replacing the oppressor to become the new oppressors themselves.

Frantz Fanon (1967) on the other hand, derives similar ideas in Black Skin, White Masks. His thrust was on how the black man is found of emulating the white man. He says, “I do not come with timeless truths: fervor is the weapon of choice of the impotent; the black man wants to be white, the white man slaves to reach that human level” (Fanon 1967). By this, he tries to explain how the white man has acquired wealth and power, in which the black man always wants to emulate. Just as Freire, he offers a particular definition for dignity, which is not located in seeking equality with the white man and his civilisation and also not about assuming the attributes of the master (Fanon 1967). Fanon (1963) expresses how the inferiority complex has played a crucial role leading to black people ending up emulating their oppressors. The problem now is that are African governments genuine, independent or these are just mere assimilators of the former colonisers?

Building on the above ideas, Karl Marx’s perspective of class struggle becomes handy in explaining the various class struggles found in society and how they also link to liberation movements in the post-colonial era. Marx believed that society is divided into different classes which are always clashing over divergent interests. To him, society was made up of two classes which were the exploiters and the exploited. Freire (2000) refers to these classes
as the oppressors and the oppressed. The oppressors or exploiters are the minority and the exploited or oppressed constitute the majority (Gumede 2010). Consequently, due to these societal differences between the Whites and Blacks, Liberation Political Parties then came to the fore as a way of fighting for self-determination, freedom, social justice; dignity and majority rule (Mhanda 2005). However, the types of liberation movement governments that came up after decolonization are seen by scholars such as Makumbe (2010) as not different from the colonial masters. This has led scholars such as Mbango (2012) to describe the independence process “as just a change of hands”.

Nkrumah (1980) builds on Marx as he concurs with his ideas in his book *Class Struggles in Africa*. He argues that classes were temporarily sub-merged in the struggle for independence only to win political freedom, after; they reappeared with increased intensity (Nkrumah 1980). His argument is that after independence the African Bourgeoisie were still benefiting at the expense of the masses as still lay in preserving a capitalism, both socially and economically. Nkrumah (1980), just as Friere (2000) and Fanon (1967), expresses deep displeasure at how the new elites emulated the oppressor. He stresses that they ape the way of life of the old colonial masters and are determined to preserve the status and power inherited from them. He further says “these (African Bourgeoisie) live in position of privilege- a small, selfish, money-minded, reactionary minority among vast masses of exploited and oppressed people” (Nkrumah 1980). Nkrumah’s prophetic writings still stand true to this day, FLMs in the SADC region have found themselves trapped within a capitalist zone. They pretend to be socialist oriented in policy formation yet on reality grounds, they are serving their own interest. This has created a class between the have and the have-nots, those that have gone to war and those that did not.

Mao Tse Tung’s (1937) Guerrilla Warfare concept pays much attention on how a liberation movement can be strengthened. He points out that, the Liberation Movement should be able to arouse and organise the people as well as achieving internal unification politically (Mao Tse Tung 1937). This would call for unity of purpose on the oppressed who are fighting against oppression. Hence, this unification should not only be a means to achieve freedom only but also for the development of the newly liberated people. If the purpose of the struggle was to empower the masses, then according to Mao that was supposed be a major goal of an independent state. However, African Liberation Movements still have a lot of homework to do in this regard. The goals that were to be achieved at independence still remain elusive and a pipe dream to the majority of the people. In reality, FLMs have totally lost their focus of empowering the majority economically but rather, they have fattened their pockets.
Amilcar Cabral in Unity and Struggle concerns himself about the liberation struggle, its goals and the future. He argues that, the struggle is timed at defending the people and to safeguard their interests. He advances the notion that, the struggle is driven by the need to secure the realities leading to struggle. He says “it is impossible to struggle efficiently for independence of the people and it is impossible to establish an effective armed struggle unless there is a known reality and unless we really start from the reality to wage war” (Cabral 1979). Struggles are different, these can range from economic, social and political struggles. Cabral defines struggle as a daily action against oneself and against one’s enemy. Cabral (1973) like Mao (1937), believes that the “struggle is for the people, by the people” (Cabral 1973). This means the true independence is premised on putting those who were last first. This is consolidated by his belief that revolutionary Parties should operate efficiently being aware of historical imbalances and striving for better living standards of the masses as well as improving the thinking and behaviour of those is the Party.

Christopher Clapham gives an account on the challenges that these liberation movements faced from their shift from the liberation front (Battle Field or Bush) into ruling governments. He measures the extent to which liberation movements have achieved their goals basing on the reality on the ground against the goals that helped to shape the revolutionary struggle (Clapham 2012). According to Clapham, the essence of the liberation struggle was to bring democracy and peace to the masses. Failure to achieve this, would lead to the masses perceiving the revolutionary struggle as a curse rather than a blessing. His major goal was to express the challenges to which former liberation movements faced in their transition from revolutionary Parties to Governments.

### 2.2 The Liberation Vision

It is important to outline the Liberation vision as it is the guiding principle to which Revolutionary Parties were formed and the revolutionary struggle took place. These revolutions in Africa and the globe at large had similar reasons for waging war against oppressive regimes. The concept of Guerrilla Warfare established by Mao Tse Tung was a method most struggles used to gain independence. In Southern Africa, different Parties were formed and they worked together towards achieving the intended vision. The need to end class struggles, racial discrimination, slavery and ethnicity rose through Pan Africanist and African Nationalist ideas giving a new renaissance or beginning for Africa. Therefore, Liberation Movements were formed, as the name denotes, to free these countries from oppressive rule.
Clapham (2012), states that liberation is defined by struggle. The struggle should have strong reasons why it should occur. The ideals which shape a liberation struggle are an ability to arouse and organise the people and also arousing internal unification politically (Mao 1937). The need to go to the “bush” and what needed to be achieved afterwards, gave birth to liberation struggles. Several reasons why a revolution has to occur are given by Christopher Clapham (2012). These are liberating people from oppressive government; putting an end to minority rule; fighting for rights of the oppressed; bringing people’s freedom, democracy and peace; fighting to enrich the indigenous people; and giving them the right to exploit their God given resources for their benefit and development as well as promoting equity and respect of human right across all groups in society (tribe, race, gender and ethnicity) (Clapham 2012).

These were some of the reasons why movements such as ZANU, ZAPU, Rwandan Patriotic Front, African National Congress, MPLA, FRELIMO, SWAPO, Chama Cha Mapinduzi had to take up arms to fight against the oppressive colonisers and regimes. Achieving the liberation dream was significant to end all the oppressive actions of the oppressor (Friere 2000).

Notwithstanding the liberation vision, there are also some questions which need to be answered especially whether these liberation movements would bring to reality the ideals that shaped the struggle (Clapham 2012). Another question was on whether the liberators would not create a new method to which they would not become the new oppressors (Friere 2000). The struggle was meant to assist the indigenous people to restore their humanity and a third question would be, was this goal achieved? Most of these questions have gone unanswered as the reality on the ground is different from what the masses were promised during the struggle. The following sub-heading will seek to answer some of these questions, weighing the Liberation vision and the reality after.

2.2.1 Analysing the Liberation Vision versus the Current Reality

The Liberation Movements faced different challenges, before independence and during the transition becoming ruling Governments. Clapham (2012) states that after the attainment of independence, Revolutionary Parties moved to become New Governments within these parties in which vicious fighting took place between rival movements, that is, between ZANU and ZAPU in Zimbabwe, ELF and EPLF in Eritrea, MPLA, FNLA and UNITA in Angola. These struggles occurred as a way of determining which one of them would be the ultimate beneficiary of the independent state (Clapham 2012). This posed a challenge in achieving the liberation vision as power struggles would bring another challenge which
would destroy unity of purpose among the fighters. Failure to unify politically, Mao Tse
Tung argues, would have a bearing on future governance of that state in relations to
succession politics or power struggles.

The liberation vision became elusive because the liberation movements not only inherited the
oppressive structures of the former colonial governments, but also became more like the
former colonisers. According to Freire (2000), for a struggle to have meaning, the oppressed
should not in turn become the oppressors and should strive to restore humanity and dignity
among the oppressed. Chazan (2008) notes that, coercive colonial governments became
similar to those used by independent governments as black men oppressing other black men.
ZANU PF’s use of force and inconsiderate actions are argued as a continuation of the White
Settler regime but only this time; its violence on blacks by other blacks. Good examples
would be situations where political violence is used to gain support to win elections; and the
2005 Operation Murambatsvina which showed how the Revolutionary Party had lost its
legitimacy by demolishing people’s homes (Power 2003). During the struggle, they preached
democracy and peace, and today these are far from that reality.

Inequality among races (Blacks and Whites) was a major reason why vanguard parties were
formed. Their aim was to bring about equality and equity among all groups in society; to
distribute resources equitably for the benefit of the marginalised masses in that country. This
was the vision that had motivated people to wage a liberation struggle. However, greed,
selfishness and self-love, took precedence over what the masses hoped for. Participation in
the liberation struggle became an open door for some to grab key posts in government.
During the struggle, ZANU PF leaders agreed not to own any property but this changed a few
years after independence (Mhanda 2005). The need to emulate the former oppressors and also
to become rich or powerful became their personal goal (Mbango 2012). Fanon (1967) accuses
the black elites of emulating whites while distancing themselves from the poor masses after
independence. Hence, at independence, instead of eliminating classes, the liberation
movements embraced and cemented them. Consequently, in the end, two classes were
created, the privileged and the oppressed. The rich ended up exploiting the poor in order to
increase their wealth and the poor remained poorer, thus, there was a huge gap between the
rich and the poor (Nkrumah 1980). Mbango (2012) concurs with Nkrumah arguing that in
Zimbabwe there is an income gap where the rich are “very filthy rich but the poor are real
filthy poor”. These are what Fanon (1963) terms the pitfalls of liberation consciousness.
When a liberation movement fails to deliver what it promised the masses during the struggle,
this usually leads to discontentment among the population. The legitimacy of those in power becomes questionable leading to various challenges.

2.3 Internal and external challenges faced by Former Liberation Political Parties (FLPPs)

2.3.1 Internal challenges.
Internally, former liberation Movements face a challenge of power struggles. These struggles are mainly as a result of ethnicity and tribalism or racism which at times has led to civil wars. According to Clapham (2012), liberation victories also became a contest for ‘movement hegemony’, in the course of which vicious fighting sometimes took place between rival movements. Examples as mentioned elsewhere, could be ZANU and ZAPU in Zimbabwe, ELF and EPLF in Eritrea, MPLA, FNLA and UNITA in Angola, where fierce struggles took place in order to determine which one of them would be the ultimate beneficiary of the independence cake (Clapham 2012). This has led to a situation where one group would be enjoying the fruits of struggle at the expense of the other. Wiegink (2015) writes on the remobilisation of RENAMO calling it a “our time to eat” mentality. In Zimbabwe, tension between the Ndebele and Shona led to Gukurahundi and in South Africa, the racial tensions can all be traced to unequal distribution of power and resources. Hence, these struggles are what MasipulaSithole succinctly emphasises on in his book, “Struggles within Struggles”

Corruption is another challenge affecting liberation movements. Fagbadebo (2007) defines corruption as any form of deceitful and immoral conduct by someone who is entrusted with a position of authority or power and is used for his or her personal benefit. Ayittey (2006) describes corrupt states as predatory monsters or as gangster states that use “complicated systems to control and regulate, to plunder and steal from the productive class, the peasantry”. He further states that, the elites placed to run African governments, loot and misuse their positions extorting and depositing the pillage in overseas banks (Ayittey 2006). Fagbadebo (1996) adds that corruption has eroded accountability and transparency within the state. Such cases include an unaccounted US$15 billion worth of diamond money in Zimbabwe which just vanished in thick air (Zimbabwe Independent 2016, 14 October). Saul (2008) also notes that in Mozambique, President Guebeza of FRELIMO Party, is alleged to have owned an expansive business network; similarly, in Namibia, the party elites are also accused of living in comfort while ignoring the needs of the poor majority (Saul 2008). Corruption has eroded the basic principle of legitimacy among most liberation movements.
Notwithstanding the above vice, patronage politics or patron-client relationship (Nepotism) is also a challenge affecting former liberation political parties. Patronage politics is a form of politics where there are binding relationships between leaders and followers and the patron offers favours in return for political support, material goods, and or other services (Alexander and McGregor 2016). Powell (2016:412) defines patron-client relationship as development of ties between two parties that are unequal in status, wealth and influence to which, the formation and maintenance of the relationship depends on reciprocity in the exchange of goods and services. Former liberation political parties have eroded the idea of meritocracy as the selection of key positions in government or in the party are not granted on merit but on social relationships. Wiegink (2015:7) argues that, political power is not only about ‘eating’; it is also about how powerful people – in this case, political leaders – distribute resources to their followers.

Factionalism is another challenge posing a threat to former liberation political parties. It is premised on an organized and cognizant crowd which has approaches that are not equivalent to those of the organized group of politicians (Rose 1964). Beller and Belloni (1978) define factions as any organized group that are created within some other group and compete with rival groups for power. Factionalism in political parties can also be comprehended as a form of conflicting groups in an organisation (Maor 1997). According to Buzz South Africa (2017) there are factions in South Africa; the pro-Zuma and Anti-Zuma factions. The Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) also creates factionalism within the ANC as they now have a factional group they are aligned to (Buzz South Africa 2017). In Zimbabwe, within ZANU PF, is it alleged that there are two major factions namely “Generation 40” (G40) and “Lacoste” (Buzz South Africa 2017).

The generational gap is another challenge which threatens the future of former liberation movements. A generation gap is a difference of opinions between one generation and the other relating to beliefs, politics, or values (Clapham 2012). It can also refer to a perceived gap between younger people and their parents or grandparents. Former liberation movements are failing to adapt to and connect to the new generation and the liberation generation has failed to provide for the demands of the new generation (Tsvangirai 2017). Clapham (2012) argues that, liberation movements find it difficult to ‘recognise that anyone could have any equivalent right to rule’ and that the liberation record determines party positions. Gumede (2010) concurs with Clapham (2012) arguing, there are “old-style leaders” whose reason in holding on to power is because of their liberation struggle credentials. This goes against
Cabral’s (1979) arguments that revolutionary struggle is for the people and that everyone is entitled to benefit from the state politically, economically and socially.

Former liberation political parties have failed to fully implement policies and also formulate policies that drive economic emancipation or development. Due to high levels of corruption, patronage and kleptocracy; policies have not succeeded in most cases. Mbango (2012) argues that, liberation political parties have failed to fully implement innovative ideas. He further argues that blueprints in Zimbabwe “never saw the light of day”, the Land reform was ZANU PF’s biggest chance to improve the lives of the majority. Mbango (2012) observes that when the land reform was undertaken, it did not benefit as many people as expected and he blames this to greed and manipulation of the system in order to benefit the nationalists or elite.

The coming on the political scene of opposition parties, has also been a major threat to the existence of FLPPs. The introduction of the multi-party system saw the formation of powerful opposition parties which were calling for new developmental ideas and were capturing the needs of the youth and the urban population (Mbango 2012). Mbango (2012) argues that the huge challenge facing FLPPs comes from failing to meet the expectations of the masses and failing to adapt to the changing world. Power (2003) argues that, the electorate gave MDC a frightening number of seats in parliament (MDC 57 out of 120 seats) from major cities. In South Africa, the Democratic Alliance (DA) took advantage of the intra-party fights and confusion in ANC by holding aggressive campaigns against it (Mbango 2012).

2.3.2 External challenges.

Externally, former liberation movements have alleged that, their major threat are Western democracies. Mbango (2012) argues that, these liberation political parties blame the Northern governments for working tirelessly to promote regime change and replace FLPPs with their puppets. The trade unions and civil society groups took sides with opposition political parties especially from the 1990s onwards (Sutcliffe 2013). Ranger (2004) notes that, in Zimbabwe, the MDC was labelled to be a puppet of white imperialists and this led to a polarized society with one group calling itself ‘revolutionaries’ while calling their opponents ‘sell outs’. The opposition parties became enemies of the nation (Raftopoulos 2009). However, Yeros (2002) argues that, opposition movements are western-donor driven and they reflect a neoliberal ‘good governance’ agenda; guided by regime change.
2.4 Challenges faced by ZANU PF political party

Despite the broad transnational (internal and external) challenges faced by former liberation movements, ZANU PF also has a fair share of challenges which are also impacting negatively on its political survival. These challenges include political, economic and social challenges as will be analysed in detail below.

2.4.1 Political Challenges

Incumbency is a challenge that threatens the existence of the ZANU PF. The Party faces this challenge as it is one of the last revolutionary Parties to be in a complex transnational dilemma. This argument emanates from the fact that, the President; who happens to be the leader of the party as well, is argued to have overstayed in power (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2015). His clinging to power is seen by scholars such as (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2015, Mbango 2012, Power 2003) to have weakened the revolutionary Party. Rugare Gumbo argued that ‘Zimbabwe was not a Mugabe Dynasty where he should rule forever’ and the late Solomon Mujuru is also alleged to have said Zimbabwe cannot suffer or be held back by one person (Zimnewsblog 24 August 2015). Power (2003) argues that, Mugabe is one of the last surviving members of the club of African Big Men, a club that included the likes of Mobutu SeseSeko, of Zaire, and Daniel ArapMoi, of Kenya. These men led necessary and bold opposition to colonial rule, but then grew addicted to power and its opulent trappings (Power 2003). The statement made by Zimbabwe’s first lady, Grace Mugabe, at a rally shows that it is not only President Mugabe who has overstayed in power but there are also others within government who have also overstayed. She said “it defeats logic that some people who have been in Government with President Mugabe since 1980 say ‘He has overstayed in power’ when those criticising him, have also been there since 1980” (The Herald, 5, March and 2017). This clearly shows that, African leaders and their cronies do not want to hand over power to others. Incumbency causes weaknesses in governance institutions and also leads to a loss of legitimacy of the party resulting in the masses losing hope and confidence in a political party. It also drives away investors. Therefore, incumbency is a major threat to the existence of the Party.

In addition to the above, failure to define a clear succession plan is another challenge affecting the party. Is it because of sycophancy and patronage that the party has failed to appoint a successor to take over. One can argue that, maybe the party has embraced the idea of life presidency, where at its rallies they say ‘we will vote for President Mugabe even in his grave’ (The Herald, 25 May 2016). Another reason is that, some people would like to protect
their interests which would be threatened if Mugabe gives up power. Succession disputes have become the language of the day, both within the party and outside. Another problem is of who is fit to fill in the shoes of the President? Clapham (2012) states that, the major criteria of succeeding another leader in a revolutionary party is based on one’s participation in the liberation struggle. He notes that, “those who did not participate in the struggle, including those who were young to have had any chance of doing so, are expected to take second place to war veterans” (Clapham 2012).

Building from the above, factionalism is a challenge facing ZANU PF as a result of the incumbency and failure to define a clear succession plan. Hill (2013) defines factionalism as a concept in political anthropology that is used to describe groups of people formed around a leader who reject the status quo and actively work against established authority within a society, such as state institutions, political parties, or economic interests. The true enemy of ZANU PF is within and it could only be destroyed from within (Mbango 2012). Factions began during the liberation struggle and became more serious at the Mgagao Declaration which led to the expulsion of Ndabaningi Sithole replacing him with Robert Mugabe and Simon Muzenda (Sibanda, 2005). After independence, Edgar Tekere pulled out of the party creating ZUM. According to Mandaza (undated) there were other factions in ZANU PF prior to the 1994 congress. These included factions of Kumbirai Kangai and Dydmus Mutasa which were timed by expectations that Mugabe would give up power during the Congress (Mandaza undated). Following were the Tshlotshlo declaration; the Gamatox and Chipfukuto camps and currently the beef between the purported Lacoste and G40 groups.

Moreover, these factions are aimed at removing Robert Mugabe while in their respective groups they have different individuals whom they want to succeed him. Makumbe (2010) argues that, there was a faction which saw Mugabe staying in power until he dies. He further says that, in “State of denial”, “There are two major factions, one led by Joyce Mujuru and her husband (the rtd General Mujuru), the other one led by Emmerson Munangagwa; each of these factions are struggling to succeed Mugabe. However, what these two factions did not realise was that, there was a third faction, which was led by Mugabe and which wanted him and him alone to stay in power until he dies” (Makumbe 2010). Factionalism has destroyed the party. In trying to resolve their internal differences, the party has deviated from serving the interests of the masses as well as its vision, objectives and goals.

Lack of inter-party democracy is a challenge affecting ZANU PF party and is also promoting succession disputes and factions. According to Amartya Sen cited in Power (2003) democratic governments should win elections, face public criticism and have a strong incentive to
undertake measures that promote development. This should be reflective from the internal operations of the party. The ZANU PF constitution (2014) is not clear or there are no terms set for the president of the party. This has created a concept of ‘one centre of power’ leading to the complete absence of constructive criticism within the party.

ZANU PF has deviated from its core liberation vision, objectives and goals. Scholars such as (Gumede 2012, Mbango 2012, Southall 2014) have called it the great betrayal in which the founding principles have been set aside at the interest of expediency. The party’s 1980 manifesto’s aim was to liberate Zimbabwe from the oppressive coloniser and establish a “nationalist, socialist Pan-Africanist and democratic Republic of Zimbabwe.” The manifesto stipulated that, “Zanu (PF) believed that power was to be vested in the people both in respect of the party and in respect of the government of the country” (ZANU PF Manifesto 1980). Mhanda (2005) also adds that, the reason that led to the liberation struggle was a struggle for self-determination, democracy, freedom, social justice, human dignity and peace. The manifesto was guided by thirteen principles which included; freedom of speech, assembly, association, procession, demonstration and strike action, freedom from racial discrimination, the right to life, right to personal property, (ZANU PF Manifesto 1980). This was followed by a leadership code which was to be followed by the leaders and those who participated in the liberation struggle. Nearly four decades after 1980; the Party is no longer reflecting the interests of the manifesto; hence, the masses have lost hope in the party questioning its legitimacy.

In addition to the above, the party has lost its liberation ideology which is another challenge it is currently facing. Mhanda (2005) argues the reason that led to the liberation struggle was a struggle for democracy and peace. He argues that, there existed two groups during the struggle, that is, the Nationalists and the poor peasantry. However, he notes that, the elite African nationalists in Zimbabwe were fighting a war which was different from the poor peasants in rural areas who were totally opposed to the white racial system while the elite were fighting to be equal with the white man. According to the Solutions Tower (2017), administration systems enacted never served the interests of the poor peasantry, but existed to gratify the power aspirations of the nationalists. Therefore, the party deviated from its liberation ideology soon after attaining political independence.

Patronage politics is another major challenge facing the party; and it has since then eroded the concept of meritocracy. Clientelism or patron-client relations are a form of politics in which ties between leaders and followers are personal. The patron grants favours in return for political support, material goods, and other services (Hall, 1977). Osei (2012) argues that,
there should be ways to which the party should relate to its supporters either through clientelism or through charisma. Appointment to government and party positions is based on a social relationship of connection. The party plays a populist role which has hindered the flow of the economy, causing corruption and misuse of state funds (source?). There are issues of ministers appointed who are related to the president and those loyal to him who protect his sort of faction or position (Lodge and Fakir 2015). Again, through patronage there are cases of vote buying, manipulation of votes which clearly depicts how the party has lost its hope from the masses. For instance, the fast-track land reform (Power 2003), cancelling of electricity bills and food handouts programs were a sign of vote buying used by the party (Daimon 2016).

2.4.2 Economic Challenges

Misuse of funds and the failure to realise priorities have caused economic challenges that is affecting ZANU PF. Power (2003) argues that, the country's economy in 1997 was the fastest growing in all of Africa; now it is the fastest shrinking. She sarcastically argues that, a onetime net exporter of maize, cotton, beef, tobacco, roses, and sugarcane now exports only its educated professionals, who are fleeing by the tens of thousands (Power 2003). Two incidences which were instrumental in disrupting the economy were the expedition in DRC and granting of reparations to war veterans. Cox and Anderson (2009) argue that, Zimbabwe's deployment of troops to the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) as well as the unbudgeted war veterans’ packages caused an economic collapse. The expedition in the DRC was interest based as argued by Power (2003). Mugabe had his eye on the Congo's riches and his acquaintances enriched themselves through diamonds, cobalt, and timber. Bratton and Masunungure (2011) also agree that the DRC expedition led to the personal enrichment of most senior military commanders and strategically positioned politicians who won mining concessions and transport contracts.

Corruption is another major economic challenge faced by ZANU PF political party. High levels of corruption have eroded the dignity of the party as those who are responsible are not arrested or are held accountable (Hoffman 2012). Chabal and Daloz (1999) like Ayittey (2006) describe African countries as ‘predatory’ and that economic development was being held back by the scourge of corruption and lack of accountability within these states. Hoffman (2012) simply defines corruption as theft from the poor. Corruption has also eradicated legitimacy in ZANU PF as those who are now in office now abuse those offices for their own benefit (Mbango 2012). Corruption appears in different forms such as extortion,
bribery, fraud and nepotism. There is also now corruption of the poor, where the political elites manipulate the poor for their own advantage.

2.4.3 Social Challenges

Unequal distribution of wealth and resources is a social challenge affecting ZANU PF. Mhanda (2005) argues that, there were different interpretations of the liberation struggle by the Nationalists and the poor peasant. While the elite Nationalists were fighting to be equal with the white man, the poor peasants were opposed to the white racial system (Mhanda 2005). This meant the elites wanted to restructure the existing repressive system in which they would benefit from privileges at the expense of the poor people (Solutions Tower 2017). Marx perceived these as classes of the exploiter and exploited. Mbango (2012) describes these classes as the rich being “filthy rich” and the poor being “filthy poor”. The land reform did not benefit the masses but through greed it was manipulated to make the elite enrich themselves (Mbango 2012). Therefore, these incidences define why hope is now fading within the masses on their support for ZANU PF.

Tribalism or ethnicity is another challenge affecting ZANU PF political party. Masunungure (2005) defines ethnicity as the culture of people within any a given geographic region, including their language, tradition and religion. Soon after independence, civil wars broke out along ethnic lines to determine which of the groups would be the ultimate beneficiary of the independence cake (Clapham 2012). Zimbabwe faced a clash between the Ndebele and Shona which was referred to as Gukurahundi. Power (2003) asserts that, Mugabe was threatened by the Ndebele who constituted about a fourth of the country's population, and his key political enemy, Joshua Nkomo. To this day, there are still grudges that exist between the two ethic groups symbolised by the formation of the Umthakazi group. This also emanates from the failure of ZANU PF to fully implement an effective national reconciliation policy. Therefore, this has a negative impact on its dignity and legitimacy which is leading to its influence to go down.

ZANU PF has been associated with reverse racism and this is a challenge threatening this liberation political party. This is exactly what Friere (2000) warns against, the oppressed becoming the oppressors. Friere (2000) encouraged the oppressed to reconcile with the former oppressors and work together towards restoring humanity and dignity of the masses. This is exactly what President Mugabe preached on independence saying “…The wrongs of the past must now stand forgiven and forgotten. If ever we look to the past, let us do so for the lesson the past has taught us, namely that oppression and racism are inequities that must
never again find scope in our political and social system...” (Mugabe 1980) However, this was not reflected in the land invasions of the “third chimurenga” (Kriger 2003). According to Kriger (2003), the land issue was seen as the significant reason behind the liberation struggle leading the ruling party to interpret the land occupations as a way of eliminating racial land inequalities. This had a negative impact on the party’s legitimacy whilst the land issue was also interpreted as a way to punish urban settlers and workers under white farms for having voted against the referendum (Power 2003).

2.4.4 External Challenges

Economic sanctions are also challenges which threaten the former liberation movement. Mahuku and Mbanje (2011) define sanctions as measures applied in response to perceived wrong doing by a state such as an act of aggression against another state or human rights violations from the perspectives of international conventions. Sanctions are a form of economic warfare that does not discriminate between the ruling elite and the general populace (Mahuku and Mbanje 2011). These sanctions came about as a result of allegations levelled against the revolutionary Party for failing to adhere to the principles governing the existing world such as democracy and respect of human rights. Cox and Anderson (2009) argue that sanctions imposed on the ZANU PF government by the United States and European Union have a negative impact on agriculture and industry causing reduced gross domestic product, minimum export earnings. Kegley and Wittkopf (2004) confirm that the effects of sanctions have a negative bearing on local people. This has steered the unpopularity of the ruling party as it is blamed for the suffering that the masses are going through.

2.6 Chapter Summary

This chapter focused on the various ideas and concepts that were used to explain the challenges faced by former liberation movements. Ideas from Mao Tse Tung, Amilcar Cabral, Frantz Fanon, Paulo Freire, Kwame Nkrumah among others were quite essential in analysing the contemporary circumstances in which liberation movements, now find themselves in. It was noted that most liberation movements have deviated from the liberation vision as well as the promises that they had made to the masses during the struggle. The major concerns raised were that; liberation movements now face challenges ranging from class struggles, incumbency, corruption, generational gap, factionalism, personality rule to patron-client relationships and so on. Consequently, some people are now pinning their hopes on opposition political parties to deliver on what the liberation movements have failed to do.
CHAPTER 3

3.0 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter gives a discussion of how the information was collected from different sources as it was analysed in Chapter 4. It gives a view of the research type and design, data collection methods and tools used, sampling criteria as well as ethical issues applied throughout the research process. All in all, this serves to justify the method adopted by the researcher to achieve the stipulated research objectives in Chapter One. To answer to the research questions, focus was on ensuring reliability, validity and effectiveness of the research findings.

3.2 Research Design

According to Creswell (2009) a research design refers to the overall strategy that one chooses to integrate the different components of the study in a coherent and logical way. The design chosen will assist in addressing the research problem efficiently, that is, it includes a plan for the collection, measurement, and analysis of data. Chiromo (2006) notes that there are many
types of research designs and these include Case study design, Causal design, Cohort design, Cross-sectional design, Experimental design and Descriptive research design. In this research, the researcher used the case study design.

A case study research design is the investigation of one or more specific instances of something that comprises the cases in the study (Gomm 2000). A case can be something relatively concrete such as an organisation, a group or an individual, or something more abstract such as an event (Gomm 2000). These can include: In-depth study of a small number of cases, often longitudinally (prospectively or retrospectively). Data are collected and analysed about a large number of features of each case. Cases are studied in their real-life context; understanding how the case influences and is influenced by its context is often of central interest to case researchers. Cases are naturally occurring in the sense that they are not manipulated as in an experiment (Yin 2009). The case study design was essential in this research based on the challenges faced by Former Liberation Political Parties in Southern Africa with a major focus on ZANU PF.

3.3 Research Methodology

Quantitative and qualitative research methods involve very different assumptions about how research should be conducted and the role of the researcher. The researcher chose to use the qualitative research method in an attempt to find out how people perceived various phenomena. Different people had different perspectives, thus, the researcher’s experiences, beliefs, and values were incorporated into the research design and analysis of data. Chiromo (2006) notes that the term qualitative research encompasses several approaches to research that are quite different from one another, yet all qualitative approaches have two things in common. Firstly they focus on phenomenon that occurs in natural setting, that is, in the real world. Second they involve studying the phenomena in all their complexity (Chiromo 2006). Therefore, data can be put together through surveys, interviews, focus groups, observation, ethnographic and conversational analysis (Giacomini 2009). The most commonly used qualitative approaches are focus groups and in-depth interviews. Data collection of this research was done through in-depth interviews and desktop reviews (observations).

Graziano and Raulin (2000) note that the important feature of qualitative research is to “work up” one’s research materials to search for hidden meanings, multiple interpretations, implied connotations and unheard voices. Understanding the challenges that affect Former Liberation Movements are based on different perceptions of the population, their opponents and those within the party as well. This design (qualitative research) seeks to give multifaceted
descriptions and to explain these various perceptions (Chiromo, 2006). Qualitative research is often referred to as the naturalistic approach because it involves observations and interpretations of reality, through these, the researcher incorporated information regarding participants’ beliefs, attitudes and experiences gathering the full understanding of the research in question. Observations made by the researcher were buttressed by the various perceptions of participants in assessing the challenges faced by Former Liberation Political Parties and determining possible solutions for preserving their legacy.

3.4 The Sample and Sampling Procedure

3.4.1 Population

A research population is generally a large collection of individuals or objects that is the main focus of a scientific query. It is for the benefit of the population that researches are done. However, due to the large sizes of populations, researchers often cannot test every individual in the population because it is too expensive and time-consuming. This is the reason why researchers rely on sampling techniques. There are two types of populations which are Target Population which refers to the entire group of individuals or objects to which researchers are interested in generalizing the conclusions. The target population usually has varying characteristics and it is also known as the theoretical population and Accessible Population is the population in research to which the researchers can apply their conclusions. This population is a subset of the target population and is also known as the study population. It is from the accessible population that researchers draw their samples.

3.4.2 Sampling

Sampling is defined as a process of selecting a proportion of individuals or objects from a population, as such the selected sample involves elements who represent similar characteristics of the entire group (Leary 2004). The key issue of a sample was to allow the researchers to study individuals from the population at to derive results from their responses which was used to present and analyse the data. Thus, in this research, purposive sampling technique was applied. This choice of sampling is justified because it was applicable to participants for a study who represent a large group from the area they were selected. Thus, the researcher used sample of ZANU PF supported, War Veterans, ZANUPF officials, MDC members, and other civil society organisations who were well vested in this area. These participants were aware of the challenges affecting liberation movements and largely those affecting ZANU PF.
3.4.3 Purposive Sampling

McMillan (1999) defines purposive sampling or judgmental sampling as a sample chosen in a deliberate and non-random way to achieve certain aims which are relevant to answer the research questions. A purposive sample is a non-probability sample that is selected based on characteristics of a population and the objective of the study. In this regard, the researcher acquired information from particular people who are in the know-how of the subject in question. These include, ZANU PF supporters, political activists, academics and MDC leaders, War Veterans, Hebert Chitepo Ideological School staff and other ZANU PF officials. The advantages of this sampling method were that information was gathered from key respondents that are very central to this study.

3.5 Data Collection Techniques and Instruments used in the study

According to (Leary 2004), data collection are ways or methods used to collect or gather data, it normally involves observation. The researcher applied various methods approach in the study, these include observation, In-depth interviews n the research and document analysis. The researcher used both primary and secondary data collection methods as a means to enhance the depth of information in the area or study in question. In secondary data, newspaper articles, journals, internet sources, documentaries and internet blogs were used to gather information. The researcher focused more on in depth interviews as they were instrumental in obtaining past and present information from the horse’s mouth. Therefore, material from newspapers and journals were just complimentary information to the available data.

3.5.1 Data analysis

Richie (2003) understands document as a social research method and as an imperative research tool which is an invaluable part of most schemes of triangulation. This refers to the numerous techniques used in analyzing and interpreting data obtained from assessing documents and records relating to the study in question. Documentary method involves examining a number of written materials. A document can be understood as something which can be read regarding various aspects of the social world. The researcher also used newspaper articles and journals as supplementary instruments in document analysis.
Newspaper articles and journals are secondary data sources which are available and refer to
data that has been collected and analyzed by someone and published (Robson2011). The researcher was cautious in selection of the newspaper articles and journals to visit. The advantage of newspaper articles and journals were that information was available and accessible at any time whether online or in libraries.

Various books and novels were used in this research as part of the secondary data. These are important (newspapers, books, journals and internet sources) as they were used to compliment the data obtained through use in depth interviews and observations. The researcher consulted various books, journals, manifestos, rallies, interviews, documentaries and speeches relating to the challenges faced by FLPPs.

3.5.2 Observation

Observation is a technique that involves systematically selecting, watching and recording behaviour and characteristics of living beings, objects or phenomena. Observation of human behaviour is mostly used as a data collection technique. It is mainly in two ways, that is, participant observation, the observer takes part in the situation he or she observes and non-participant observation, the observer watches the situation, openly or concealed, but does not participate. The researcher focused on non-participant observation, which allowed the study of the dynamics of a situation, frequency counts of target behaviours, or other behaviours as indicated by needs of the research work. The researcher monitored the behaviour, actions and attitudes of the members and leaders in ZANU PF in response to the challenges affecting former liberation political parties. The researcher observed the nature of operation by ZANU PF, the set manifestos versus the needs of the general masses, the role of its opponents and the responses and comments made by citizens regarding challenges facing ZANU PF.

3.5.3 In depth Interviews

An in-depth interview is a qualitative research technique which includes carrying out individual interviews with a minimum number of respondents to explore their viewpoint on a particular idea, program, or situation (Michael 2002). For instance, asking participants and staff who understand the study to gather their experiences and expectations. These share various thoughts they have relating the study and research in question.

According to Adamchacketal (2000), in-depth interviews are useful if one requires detailed information about a person’s thoughts and behaviours and also in exploring issues in depth.
In this light, the researcher interviewed a number of respondents from ZANU PF, MDC, independent candidates, academics, war veterans and other officials. These assisted the researcher to acquire various responses which were valid and reliable, answering research questions and objectives. Dilution of these respondents using interviews is essential as the researcher was able to create a balance regarding biases from the respondents consulted. The researcher managed to acquire data even more than expected as some respondents shared their deep displeasure, concern and worry about the challenges facing FLPP and mostly the issues threatening ZANU PF. Hence, in depth interviews held made the researcher understand the emotions facing the respondents consulted relating to this research study.

In-depth interviews were significant in this study as they provided grounded data as compared to other data collection methods, such as observations. Participants were free and relaxed to disclose information relating to this cause which made the interviews more interesting and even other important issues (but not relevant to this research) were discussed in order to enhance the researcher. Another advantage drawn from in-depth interviews were that participants who were chosen were available and created time for the researcher, therefore making the data collection procedure easier.

3.6 Data validity and reliability

3.6.1 Validity

The researcher sought to understand the beliefs about the nature of reality and humanity (ontology), the theory of knowledge that informs the research (epistemology) and how that knowledge may be gained (methodology) (Burrel and Morgan 1979). Validity refers to the credibility of the research whether if the findings authentic. The major focus of validity is benched on methodological reflexivity because, all the aspects of research are both pragmatic and hypothetical (Patton, 2002). Kvale (1996) postulates that validity involves ensuring the quality control throughout the research study. The important aspect of testing validity of a research is to defend the claims of knowledge that are competing with other claims (Kvale 1996). The researcher applied a sampling technique that acquires information from participants who are well vested in this area, thereby, making the research work valid.

3.6.2 Reliability

Leedy and Ormrod (2010) define reliability as the extent to which a specified to measure yields, consistent observation of similar facts from one to another. The researcher prepared
questions which covered the issues given by each objective. Interview guides were pre-
examined in an effort to note doubts, issues that were not relating to the objectives of the
study. Precise questions were asked to avert ambiguity and questions followed a sequence of
each other. The aim was to ensure corresponding responses from the participants.

3.7 Data collection procedures

The researcher proposed scheduled appointments with the selected participants and
interviewed them using the interview guide in their convenience. The good response given by
the participants made the data collection procedure to end in a short period of time.

3.8 Data presentation and analysis

The researcher used tables to discuss and analyse data obtained through the data collection
procedure. The study also made use of analysing content presenting information acquired
from secondary sources such as books, internet sources, journals, documentaries and
interviews. In presenting data from in depth interviews with academics, ZANU PF officials,
MDC, other participants, the researcher made use of thematic issues in data analysis.
Challenges facing FLPP or ZANU PF in general were available on news paper articles,
journals, internet sources, manifestos and online documentaries. Qualitative data was
requested from interviews held with intellectuals, politicians, ZANU PF supporters, MDC
leaders, among others who were well vested with this study area.

3.9 Research Instruments

The researcher held a pilot interview before the first interview planned took place. This was
meant to improve the worth of the interview questions and the way the interviews were to be
conducted. The interview process was modified consistently process given the varying
interpretations that were encountered during the field work. Four interview guides were
prepared for this study. One was used for academics, ZANU PF youth, ZANU PF officials
and the other for encompassing all groups in society (Parties, CSOs and citizens) relating to
the study. The major aim of the interview guide was to assist the researcher at the data
interpretation and analysis level.
3.10 Ethical Consideration

Ethics are the rules of conduct in research (Kvale, 1996). In every research conducted, researchers need to be more sensitive and respect the various communities to which their research is being undertaken. Ethics can also be defined as the norms or standards for conduct that distinguish between right and wrong (Bryman and Bell, 2007). Ethics help researchers to deal with ethical predicaments that arise in conducting a research (McBurney 1994). In this research, various ethical considerations were taken into account in the interest of participants chosen.

3.10.1 Informed consent

Informed implies understanding, and free consent implies a lack of pressure, the researcher shall provide service to participants under free and informed consent (McBurney, 1994). Researchers should not misinform participants to their own advantage but rather use clear and understandable language to conduct the interview. Against this background, the researcher applied informed consent by asking for permission from the participants, explaining in detail and in the language they understand on the research study. The researcher also respected the beliefs and values of the participants within their sample they were representing.

3.10.2 Anonymity

The researcher made a strong effort to guarantee anonymity and confidentiality of all those who participated in the study. The researcher in promoting anonymity made sure that no names were used during data presentation and analysis to refer to various inputs made by participants in this research.

3.10.3 Interview ethics

During the interview, the researcher explained about taking note (in writing down) the issues emerging from the discussions. It was done in order to eliminate any forms of suspicions that usually emanate when a participant realised that he/she was being recorded.

3.11 Chapter Summary

This chapter was guided by the research topic and has captured tools, techniques and methods used in the collection and gathering of necessary data or information analysed in chapter 4. The chapter highlighted the strengths and weaknesses of the data collection tools and they
were applied producing reliable data. This chapter applied ethical considerations which were used in this study. The methods and techniques outlined were used in relation to the challenges facing FLPPs. The following chapter gives a detailed analysis of the research findings.

CHAPTER 4

Data Presentation, Analysis, Interpretation and Discussions

4.0 Introduction.

The chapter gives an account of the research findings or data collection. The data was collected using interviews, observations and secondary sources. The information from interviews and observations is presented, interpreted and analyzed in relation to the research objectives and research questions. Secondary documents will be used to identify similarities and differences from the findings (interviews and observations). The chapter engages in a discussion to link the findings and the literature review of the research. The discussion adds up knowledge, filling some of the gaps in relation to the challenges faced by Former Liberation Political Parties. Data collected is illustrated using tables and graphs.

4.1 Demographic information of participants.

Information in relation to this research was collected through interviews from War Veterans, ZANU PF staff members (Harare Headquarters), Hebert Chitepo Ideological School staff, Academics, ZANU PF and MDC supporters and Key Informants. The table below illustrates the interviews and target population responses.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Target group</th>
<th>Targeted response</th>
<th>Actual response</th>
<th>Response Rate %</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ZANU PF HQ Staff</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>War Veterans</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>60</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hebert Chitepo Ideological School representatives</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>Academics</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>ZANU PF supporters</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>MDC supports</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>75</td>
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</tbody>
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### 4.2 Presentation of research findings

#### 4.2.1 Challenges facing Former Liberation Movements (FLM).

##### 4.2.1.1 Incumbency

The most pressing challenge raised by respondents was that Former Liberation Political Parties are failing to hand over power to other party members. This is in line with the contention raised Makumbe (2010) that, “Liberation Movements do not want to hand over power and that is within their DNA”. Other scholars such as Mbango (2012), Clapham (2012) and Southall (2013) have also concurred to what Makumbe is saying noting that there has never been a change of leadership, and these liberation political parties use their war history to hold on to power. What the above scholars and respondents are saying has a close link to what President Mugabe said at the 2009 conference. He said “they want to take the country that we won by the gun, shall it be taken by the pen, it will not happen, we will go back to the bush, can you equate a gun to a pen? A gun is mightier than a pen. I will throw away the pen in my pocket and say lets get back to the struggle, lets go back to war” (State of Denial 2010).
4.2.1.2 Corruption

Another challenge raised was that of corruption which had eroded legitimacy, transparency and accountability of most FLPPs. Respondents used words such as “greed”, “heartlessness”, “opportunism”, “looting”, “embezzlement” and so on to describe the corrupt activities of the leaders in the liberation movements. Corruption was seen to have created a culture of impunity in which those involved in corrupt activities were moving scot free. Some of the examples raised included the Zimbabwe Development Education Fund Saga and the looting of oil resources in Angola. Scholars such as Power (2003), Bratton and Masunungure (2011), Ayittey (2006), Saul (2008) and Southall (2014) have also raised issues of corruption within FLPPs. Saul (2008) points out that, in Mozambique, FRELIMO, Guebeza owned an expansive business network and in Namibia, he accuses party elites of living in comfort while ignoring the needs of the poor. What most of the respondents said about corruption is closely linked to the corruption cases raised by the above scholars.

4.2.1.3 Factionalism

Factionalism was another challenge facing liberation movements. Many respondents saw factionalism as emerging out of failure of these parties to come up with clear and well defined succession policies.

One respondent said that

*It is because there is no inter-party democracy, that is why we have factions and those challenging overtly are eventually dismissed.*

Another respondent added that:

*The dismissal of the MPLA Secretary General Juliao Paulo after he had challenged president Eduardo do Santos shows how factionalism works. ZANU PF members were also dismissed basing on the term “watuka Mugabe, watuka first family” (an insult to the President is an insult to the whole first family). I believe that factions operate covertly in a bid to strategise how best to remove the one at the helm of power.*

The responses coming from the above respondents are in line with the arguments raised by scholars such as Clapham (1980), Makumbe (2010), Sibanda (2005) and Mbango (2012) who argued that opposition political parties take advantage of the intra-party fights and confusion in liberation political parties. Factionalism can be a vice to any political party, as the party members involved in such covert struggles waste time in concentrating on how to gain the reins of power instead of focusing on the development of the country. Where there is factionalism, there is no unity of purpose.
4.2.1.4 The Generational gap

The generational gap is based on the argument that former liberation movements are failing to connect with the younger generation. The liberation political parties have failed to adapt to the 21st century generation and there is a complex transition dilemma. An MDC respondent argued:

*The ZANU PF old guard is out of touch with what is happening on the ground. They need to groom the youth so that it will be easier when their time to govern comes. As the situation stands, ZANU PF is a stagnant party following irrelevant ideas coming from old men and women who are supposed to be in retirement spending time with their grandchildren.*

A ZANU PF respondent also argued that:

*The youth in our party have not yet been given challenging posts to lead within the party. All we see are some old faces running the show. At times what these people say in terms policy, is completely out of this world. I believe its high time the party gives some of our young university graduates better posts in the party.*

What these respondent are saying are in line with Fanon’s (1967) argument that these leaders always want to remind the masses on the liberation struggle without moving forward to meet the current demands. Tsvangirai (2017) argues that there is a huge disconnect between “the liberation generation and the new generation” as liberation political parties have not live up to the expectation of the masses especially the youth. The liberation movements have been overtaken by the demands of the new generation (Tsvangirai 2017). As noted by Fanon (1963) and Tsvangirai (2017), liberation political parties are too pre occupied with post achievements instead of embracing the new ideas before them as to map a new way forward.

4.3 Challenges facing ZANU PF party.

4.3.1 Political Challenges

4.3.1.1 Ideology

The majority of respondents questioned ZANU PF’s ideology; as they argued that the Party had lost its ideological paths. The respondents gave varied views on whether ZANU PF’s ideology was still based on Socialism, Marxism and Maoism.

One respondent said:

*The ideology of ZANU PF is based on Socialism and Marxism. These are driven by the need to forward equal rights, opportunities and democracy. This ideology has been largely influenced through its relations which China and Russia.*
Other respondents argued that this ideology was only clear during the time of the struggle for independence and the first decade of independence. Some went to say that as soon as ZANU PF acquired independence the whole ideology and values were lost and its principles also faded. Scholars such as Mbango (2012), Mhanda (2005), Clapham (2012), agree with this contention stating that soon after achieving independence, liberation movements did not bring to reality their liberation promises and goals. A respondent from the MDC party in concurrence with the above scholars pointed out that:

*Can you imagine that I was once a member of ZANU PF. The ideology was very clear before and immediately after independence. Currently, one cannot even tell whether the ideology is still there. The party only refers to its ideology whenever things get tough but really, they have lost it. After the war, the party forgot about everything and they were motivated by taking over the businesses of the whites. The party took people for granted and so I saw it fit to join another party which was offering better alternatives.*

An academic also had a similar perspective as he pointed out that

*In the beginning, ideology was clear and revolutionary, but the party now has been highjacked by opportunists and so the ideology is no more. If you put the Zimbabwe’s policies in South Africa right now, see if they would not work. They will, it is just in Zimbabwe, these fail because of the opportunists.*

In addition to ZANU PF’s loss of its ideology, some respondents out rightly stated that the ideology no longer existed. Their arguments were based on the idea of the policies in Government that ZANU PF established which are more inclined towards capitalism than the revolutionary ideology. Despite these policies having some radical views on paper, in practice it quite different as most of these policies are actually liberally oriented. Scholars such as Southall (2013), Mbango (2012), Mhanda (2005) and Saul (2008) have argued that the African nationalist knew what they were waging war against but, it is disappointing soon after attaining independence, the liberation movements exposed their cluelessness on how to take their people forward. One respondent also argued that:

*The ideology was lost immediately after independence shifting to a more capitalistic ideology (market driven ideology) where the privileged only benefited.*

This above argument is in line with Mhanda (2005) argument that usually at independence, those who only benefited elites especially those that had fought the liberation war, they turned into capitalists overnight. Clapham (2012) stresses that, those who did not participate during war took a subordinate place to war veterans in terms of access to state resources as compared to those who had participated in the war. A respondent argues that those who benefited at independence took over the businesses and companies then, the ideology was lost. He said:
The ideology has shifted from the (Marxist-Leninism) Socialism to a market driven society were the blacks have forcefully taken over businesses. The businesses have mainly benefited those who are privileged or the elites in power that time.

A respondent from the Herbert Chitepo Ideological School argued that:

*On paper, the Party still remains socialist on issues to do with land, indeginisation policies and resource nationalism. The ideology was toned down in order to mobilise the donor community.*

This respondent strongly believes that the ideology was socialism but in later years it became more of capitalism though it still retains some elements of socialism based on land reform, indigenisation and resource nationalism. The causal effect for a shift in the ideology was due to external influence in which conditions and reforms dictated aid assistance. Scholars such as Chabal and Daloz (1999), Heliker (2012), Bratton and Masunungure (2011) have argued that Economic Structural Adjustment Programs (ESAPs) carried various conditions to which countries had to adjust and adopt for them to access loans from the Bretton Woods institutions. Robert Mugabe once said in Parliament that it is difficult to exercise or build socialism against a capitalist background (State of Denial 2010). In this statement, he referred to the time that Zimbabwe wanted to borrow money from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank (WB).

### 4.3.1.2 Liberation Vision

ZANU PF’s other challenge has been its failure to deliver its liberation vision, goals. This led it to losing among various groups and organisations. During this discussion, there were a lot of interesting facts and responses from the respondents. Some respondents noted that the major goals were to attain political and economic emancipation, freedom from opppression, democracy and equality among all social, ethnic, religious and tribal groups. Freire (2000) also notes that the oppressed revolt to restore and return their dignity and humanity. Clapham (2012), Mbango (2012) and Mhanda (2005) concur arguing the vision was to acquire self determination, social justice, peace and democracy.

One of the most controversial issues was that of Land on whether it was the main reason for waging the liberation war. Some respondents dismissed that the land issue while others supported that the issue was the driving force behind the liberation struggle. Those who dismissed argued that land came as a way to try and regain ZANU PF’s lost legitimacy in the 2000 elections. The land reform program steered a number of questions and arguments whether it was an achievement of the liberation vision or it was just a political gimmick.

An MDC supporter said:
The land was an important issue but in this case, it was manipulated to restore the dwindling support for ZANU PF. They realised that after 20 years, the memories of the liberation struggle were fading and so they embarked on the land reform program to rekindle their support. They then wanted to use mechanisms such as force and fast track land acquisition as a way to regain their fading support the masses.

Another Academic in support of this view said,

*It was not about the land, if it was about the land, why would they not wait and distribute it after the 2000 election. This was clearly a strategy to win an election.*

A youth respondent argued that

*Whenever the party foresees that it will lose an election, it always finds methods and ways to win. The land issue in 2000 and the 2008 election violence are examples to show what the party does when it feels threatened before an election.*

From the above responses on the land issue, the MDC supporter, Academic and youth respondents had the same views on Zimbabwe’s Land reform programme. Power (2003) and Kriger (2003) are in line with what these respondents arguing that soon after losing the constitutional referendum, Mugabe called out for a ‘third chimurenga’, unleashing a violent country-wide land grab. Their grievance was how the land issue was handled and also who actually benefitted from that programme. However, a key informant argued that the land issue was the major reason why the liberation struggle was fought. He pointed out that:

*In 1997 Robert Mugabe met with the white farmers and told them that there can never be peace unless the masses benefit from. The agreement at that moment was to those who had land to spare would allocate it to the stat. The land was not being seized but being bought.*

(State of denial 2010)

Therefore, the land issue was a major cause of the struggle, however, the way it was handled and fast tracked raised questions. Some scholars like Power (2003), Makumbe (2010) viewed this scenario as reverse racism which Freire (2000) warns against and Mugabe (1980) in his reconciliation speech. Sibanda and Maposa (2014) also concur noting that land was an perceived as birth-right to many Zimbabweans but from the Western perspective, it was a form of racism and abuse of human rights.

Notwithstanding the arguments raised by the above respondents, some respondents have argued that the political emancipation and land were the most important goals that drove the people to war. These argue that issues to do with managing the economic system had a lot to do with the land. The response taken by ZANU PF supporters in grabbing land was mainly because of the 1997 letter written by Clare Short rejecting any responsibility that Britain had in regard to meeting the costs of land purchase in Zimbabwe (*Mail and Guardian*, 22 December 1997) that violated the 1979 Lancaster House agreement on land. Therefore, and academic had this to say:
The land question was a driving factor for the liberation struggle. The economy is equal to land, if you do not own land, it is equivalent to poverty. Through the land apportionment act, land husbandry act, were coupled with the oppressive labour taxes that many grieved leading to the revolutionary struggle.

In addition, the party has deviated from its revolutionary vision. Respondents in this regard that the party has long forgot about its revolutionary vision. Respondents used the statement that “they no longer have the people at heart” to describe the lost liberation vision. Mbeki (2010) agrees that former liberation movements have lost their vision. On paper, the vision is still clear relating to the policies made which are people centred (Land Reform, Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Policies, Zimbabwe Agenda for Socio-Economic Transformation) but on reality it is long gone. Failure to fully implement these policies has been blamed on corrupt and opportunists who use them to their own interest (Mbango 2012)

One of the respondents said:

*On paper, largely on paper yes, a lot of policies that been put in place, the indigenisation, community share ownership trusts, but what is on the ground shows a different picture. There is no unity in that revolutionary party, if there is not unity; it will only be talk and talk. This then compromises the efforts of the party.*

Moreover, a different respondent argued that the party was still living up to its revolutionary vision. However, there are impediments such as infiltration, corruption especially from the youth who do not understand the founding ideology of the party. He was determined that if these issues were addressed effectively, the party’s vision would become more visible and come to fruition. The respondent said:

*Yes, the party is still living up to the vision but not as enthusiastically as it did before the war. Infiltration, dissenting voices speaking against the founding principles of the party and youth grabbing positions of influence leading to corruption have had a negative impact on achieving the vision.*

However, some respondents noted that the liberation struggle is becoming a tool for intimidation and this threatens its relevance among the masses. This argument is in line with Clapham (2012) that the liberation was becoming more of a curse than a blessing. The liberation struggle brought about independence; however, people can hardly relate to the liberation as have being a blessing. Mbango (2012) concurs arguing that the founding nationalist of Africa’s liberation movements were resolute and knew what they were waging war against, many suffered imprisoned, tortured and some paid the ultimate sacrifice. The respondents shared divergent opinions with most of them being of the view that the liberation struggle was becoming more of a curse than a blessing. However, some pointed out that this did not out rightly ignore the achievements that the party had done since independence.
MDC respondent argued that:

*It has become more of a curse, the country is liberated now, we can no longer talk of the liberation. They are liberating us from what. It is now used to suppress or intimidate people, especially if you did not participate in the struggle. They say “wakaendakuhondo here, wakaendakuhondo here” (did you participate in the war). Some even have the energy to say so but they are imposters because they did not even participate in the war.*

This respondent was angered by the way those who are said to have gone to war are benefitting at the expense of others. What the respondent said is in line with scholars such as Clapham (2012), Mbango (2012) and Southall (2012) The Nationalists failed to transform the lives of the masses largely because of greed which manipulated the system to enrich themselves. Hence, to many (especially the youth), this liberation might become more of a curse.

Another respondent said:

*If you compare Rhodesia under Smith, and Zimbabwe under Mugabe, you might find yourself wanting to go back to Rhodesia. In as much as that regime was exploitative, in terms of catering for development and the economy, there was a lot that they did. I do not know if the existing government would be able to develop the likes of Kariba Hydro-electric plant, generally the infrastructure.*

The state of the economy has forced some people to perceive the Smith regime as being better while others think that there is no difference between the existing and previous regimes. Mbango (2012), Freire (2000) argued it was just an exchange of hands. Clapham (2012) notes that a failure to achieve the goals and promises of the liberation; has eclipsed the relevance of the struggle. Nkrumah (1965), on the other hand, blames these failures as coming from neo-colonialism and imperialism. However, in most of these countries, there is majority rule but only a minority benefit. This in line with Freire’s (2000) warning to FLPPs, that the oppressed should avoid becoming the oppressors. The once oppressed can become very oppressive even more than the previous oppressor. Nietzsche notes that “He who fights with monsters must take care lest he thereby become a monster”. Consequently, that can be a reason why most people now prefer the previous government than the present ones. Most of the respondents mentioned the issue of greed and manipulation of resources by a minority.

The some response below, shows the concern of a respondent in this regard. An academic highlighted:

*It is becoming a curse, there is nothing that you can still emulate from ZANU PF. The greed and opportunism have destroyed the whole fabric of this former liberation party.*

The respondent mentions greed and opportunism as having taken centre stage within the party, and this appears to have eclipsed the role played by liberation fighters in the struggle.
Southall (2013) concurs to this arguing, that the disturbing tendencies of careerism, corruption and opportunism were affecting the party. These vices are now outweighing the good and hence, this compromises the legacy of the party in the future.

Responses from other respondents were based in protecting the interests of the party and these respondents disqualified the assertion and it had become quite more clear that those that defended the party did not consider the term ‘constructive criticism’, as most of their arguments mainly centred on imperialism or some sort of infiltration in the minds of the growing generation. An academic and political analyst simply said

*It is an insult to those who died for the nation, period.*

A ZANU PF supporter argued that

The liberation is clearly a blessing, these are sentiments used by external forces or opposing forces to taint the image of our party.

Scholars such as Clapham (1980), Hill (2013) and Lodge (2015) have observed that in a patron client relationship, those who are benefitting from the favours coming from their clients or the system will always defend either their client or the whole system. This might be the case with the responses coming from the above respondents.

### 4.3.1.3 Internal or External Challenges

On the issue of whether the challenges faced by ZANU PF were either internal or external. The majority of respondents pointed out that ZANU PF is affected more by internal rather than external political, social and economic challenges. They argued that “ZANU PF is its own enemy” or “ZANU PF does not have external challenges”. This is in line with Mbango (2012) who argued that the enemy of liberation movements is within the political parties themselves. The internal challenges they mentioned included factionalism, corruption, nepotism (patronage politics), a deteriorating economy, failure to implement policies, leadership crisis (failure to establish a succession plan), incumbency, no democracy, no inter-party democracy, tired nationalism, disunity, authoritarian rule, the transition to adapt to the modern world among others. They stressed that these challenges have compromised on the revolutionary’s party’s promises that it made at independence.

### 4.3.1.4 Factionalism

On factionalism the respondents pointed out that the party was facing a huge challenge with the G40s and Lacoste factions which are causing disunity and mistrust in the party. What
these factions are after is to succeed the president with each faction having its own perception of who would succeed the current president. Makumbe (2010) noted that, there are two major factions, one led by Joyce Mujuru and her husband (the rtd General), the other one led by Emmerson Munangagwa, each of these factions are struggling to succeed Mugabe. President Mugabe admitted that the party was suffering divisions. At the ZANU PF 2009 Peoples National Conference, said that the party is fighting itself and eating itself. This secondary data shows the challenge that the party is facing which is even creating confusion among party supporters. A youth respondent said that:

We are no longer sure were the party is going. Nhasimuriku supporter nhinginechigarochaakapihwa, mangwanaabviswa, nHINGiaISWAMANGWANAACHOAABVISWA.Hapasisinachandingati chine musorochirikutwa ne party yanguuyehatichazivakuti to supporter ananiendetatarisana ne election, tinotodyiwachete. (we are no longer sure where the party is going. Today support this one in his position, tomorrow he is expelled, a replacement has been made, the following day he or she has been removed again. There is nothing good I can point that my party is doing, right now we do not know who to support, and we are suppose to be preparing for an election. We will be defeated)

An academic also concurred arguing that:

We do not even know what ZANU PF is anymore, the lack of unity of purpose is leading people to lose hope in the Party.

The above responses show the confusion that is within the people which is in line with Mandaza’s (undated), question on whether there will be a ZANU PF after Mugabe. Kollner and Basedau (2005) have noted that factions negatively affect political party systems leading to loss of legitimacy and the relevance of a political discourse.

4.3.1.5 Inter-party democracy

Inter-party democracy was noted as another challenge facing ZANU PF party. A number of youth and other respondents argued that there was no inter-party democracy pointing out that there should be principles of voting within the party. This would not only be limited to the president but to other members of parliament where their terms in office are limited so as to pave way for others with innovative ideas of development. Again, in ZANU PF, there is no constructive criticism, as anyone who criticises the party is purged or labelled a traitor.

One youth respondent had to say:

The election of leaders is not clear, a number of terms for the President or Members of Parliament is needed. These should be limited to a number of years in representing the parliament. It does not make sense to keep on retaining the same old guard.

Another also argued that:
There is no democracy in the Party, this is a serious challenge, and there are purges whether skilfully or by death. The Party is now carrying the characteristic of a fascist regime.

The two respondents share a similar voice that there is clearly no democracy in the party. One is lamenting against the office terms of the president and some members of parliament who have stayed in those positions for so many years while the other focuses on purges taking place in the party. Nyathi (2010) questions the integrity of a President who should stand for everybody and should condone violence, is the one who directly threatens those that oppose him with death. This comes after observing the various purges that have taken place in ZANU PF after the 2014 Congress, where a number of people were expelled and suspended. This clearly shows that constructive criticism is not tolerated in ZANU PF.

4.3.1.6 Incumbency

Respondents overwhelmingly raised the issue on incumbency (clinging on to power) or the issue of life presidency. They raised deep concerns on the leadership crisis in ZANU PF where the party is putting hope and trust. This was due to the ‘Va Mugabe chetechete’ (Mugabe only) slogan which they argued had put the party to a threat. Respondents all agreed that there was need for new ideas, that correspond with the demands of the 21st Century.

These sentiments concur with those raised by Makumbe (2010) when he argued the in the party there was a third faction which was led by the President and which want him and he alone, to stay in power until he dies. Power (2003) argues, Mugabe one of the surviving members of the club of African Big Men, Mbango (2012), concurs arguing that there has never been leadership renewal in ZANU PF and NdlovuGastheni (2015) also adds President Mugabe has been in power since 1980. This also resonates with the utterances that the first lady Grace Mugabe has made at political rallies where she boats that supporters would cast their votes even if Mugabe was in a grave (Herald 26 May 2016). It is also clear even in the slogans the party embarks on “One centre of power”, “Mugabe the only centre of power” (Ndlovu-Gastheni 2015). Some have even gone to say that because of that one centre of power system, party democracy has been eroded and through this, the problems that the party is facing are because of the life president.

One respondent argued:

*The problem is kamunhu kaya, vakabvisakamunhu kaya things will start to shape, ma structure anozvibatanidzaega. (the problem is of one person (President Mugabe), if he is removed then things will take shape)*

Another respondent stressed that:
The party has failed to realise potential in other leaders other than President Mugabe. For a healthy system, it is not wise to put trust in one person especially a 93 year old President.

A third respondent said:

My friend, there is need for leadership renewal, there is need for new ideas that can integrate with the existing world. As it stands the Party is not clear about tomorrow, so are the hopes of the people in the Party especially for us the youth.

The above respondents show deep concern about the future of the party due to incumbency. The major argument is that the party is failing to come up with another leader other than the current one, President Mugabe. The major danger here is of promoting life presidents. Malema (2017) also noted that leaders must come and go in reference to President Mugabe.

As pointed out by other respondents, Nyarota (2010) attributes the President’s long stay in power to a personalisation of power. He argued that Mugabe believed that he was chosen by God to lead Zimbabwe and believes that no one has the capacity to replace him (Nyarota 2010). Mugabe believes that he was the only leader appointed by God, are only there to justify Mugabe’s long stay in power (The Southern Daily; 30 March 2016). Consequently, the President’s long stay in power has led some respondents to argue that there is no democracy in ZANU PF but a dictatorship of a military type. One respondent went on to say Zimbabwe is a synonymous to a military state. This is in line with Freire’s (2000) argument where he says the oppressed can turn in to the new oppressor, or by Fanon (1967) also concurs with what he calls ‘Black Skin, White Mask’.

4.3.1.7 Patron-Client Relations

Patronage politics is another challenge faced by ZANU PF. This has led to factionalism within the party. Patronage politics has eroded the whole idea of merit or meritocracy. The arguments raised by respondents are that, some people acquire political positions or government positions are based on the idea of ‘who do you know’. This is done to regain political legitimacy (winning an election), enriching themselves and protection. Most of the respondents agreed to this challenge highlighting that, issues to do with nepotism had a negative impact on the party. The patron-client relationship was seen by respondents to be a method used by the party leaders for vote buying and also for creating a sort of hedge around the First family in order to protect its interests. A respondent noted that some ministers in cabinet and those who hold high posts in other government departments are related to the President as a nephew, son, brother or son in law. What is interesting to note is that those that do not serve the interests of the patron are purged or expelled from the party. One respondent said.
The party uses grants especially state resources to buy votes, in 2000, they used the land, and in Mashonaland West, they tried to allocate residential stands in order to rally against Temba Mliswa.

The above respondent clearly shows that the party state resources to campaign during elections. Boas (2001) has also noted that patron-client networks became accepted, and therefore indispensable; they provide protection not only for the individual, but also for the community. The Party creates social relationships with its supporters and this guarantees them a hope of winning elections. For instance, one respondent pointed out that, the fast-track land reform program, residential stands, the Brasilia agricultural input schemes, and the command agriculture are used as bait by ZANU PF to gain electoral votes. These findings also link with the research findings of scholars such as Power (2003), Bratton and Masunungure (2011), Mashingaidze (2008) and Moore (2003) that ZANU PF exploites state resources to its own advantage. Appointments made through patron-client relations have not only weakened the party but also have exposed the lack of a clear revolutionary vision from these who lead the party. A respondent therefore argued that:

Look my brother, there is a lot of nepotism in ZANU PF and these guys do not even know an inch what they are supposed to be doing in those high offices. Mzukuruwa Mugabe, sakangaaendeapa, mukwashawa Mugabe ngaaendekwakati. Zvinozobuda here nyikayachoinozoendeka here nhaimunininawangu.(He is the president’s nephew so he should get such and such a post, this one is his son in law, so he should be given that position. Where then are we going as a country? Is this sustainable my young brother)

The respondent highlighted how merit is undermined for “who do you know” patronage relationship. The majority of respondents also highlighted the above weakness within ZANU PF. Scholars such as Cammack (2007) argues that patronage politics becomes a political regime based on the personal use of one man or party of public resources and the preferential (instead of meritocratic) appointment of civil servants. The patrons are therefore concerned about creating a hedge around their territory; hence, they appoint those that serve their interests. However, in doing so, it also impacts negatively on service delivery bringing the revolutionary vision to nought.

4.3.2 Economic Challenges facing ZANU PF

4.3.2.1 Corruption

Corruption was regarded as one of the most critical challenges affecting ZANU PF. Respondents argued that all forms of corruption be they; political, social or economic, they were destroying the legitimacy of the party. The respondents argued that there are no mechanisms set to deal with corruption and this has created a culture of impunity among the
elites or leaders in ZANU PF. Most are relatives and the always try to cover each other. One respondent said:

*The party has failed to address corruption; nothing has been done to denounce corruption, except talking about it at rallies. In China, they have a motto that ‘Anti-corruption should affect all flies or tigers’. So Zimbabwe and ZANU PF should do the same.*

An academic added that:

*The ZIMDEF saga is a clear cut of corruption and mis use of funds, what then did happen, nothing, this is now creating a culture of impunity and it has an impact on the state of the Party.*

The respondents are worried that those involved in corrupt activities are never arrested. They are left to move freely which can be attributed to patronage politics or nepotism. This is referred to by Cammack (2007) as a system of a ‘one phone call’ or ‘who do you know’. Fagbadebo (2007), Ayittey (2006) and Saul (2008) that corruption has undermined transparency and accountability. Ayittey (2006) describes these states as “predatory or gangster states” who loot resources for their personal benefit. Fagbadebo (2007) notes that such type of patron-client relationships take primacy over the formal aspects of politics such as, the rule of law, well-functioning political parties, and a credible electoral system. Therefore, the legitimacy of the party is eroded and so its revolutionary vision.

**4.3.2.2 Policy Implementation**

Failure to implement policies by ZANU PF is another economic challenge affecting the party. Most respondents were in agreement that Zimbabwe has good policy frameworks in the Southern Region, but the major challenge comes on the task to fully implement the policies. Respondents were quick to point out that the failure to implement these policies was mainly because of the misuse of funds, elite capture and corruption. This is in line with Mbango’s (2012) argument that many blueprints have never succeed, Land reform was ZANU PF’s big chance to improve the lives of the masses, but is only benefited a few because of greed. This has led to a heavy burden on the economy making people to blame the party for failing to run the country well. An academic pointed out that:

*ZANU PF has one of the best policy frameworks in the region. The theme is about involving the people in economic activities. From the policy perspective, the vision is there, but on implementation there is an elite capture on the projects and programs. Political elites have access to resources and this usually impacts negatively on policy implementation in that some politicians block or hijack good policies meant for the masses.*

In concurrence, another academic stressed that:
Zimbabwe came up with good policies of indigenisation and empowerment, but it has been grabbed by opportunists who use these to serve their own interests. If these policies are implemented in a transparent way, then a lot of people could have benefitted from them.

The respondents were deeply worried on the lack of will power within ZANU PF to see to it that its policies are well implemented. They see this failure as emanating from greed, personalisation of power and elite capture as having damaged the credibility of the party. However, respondent at the Herbert Chitepo School of Ideology argued that there were both external and internal factors at play, which were sabotaging some of these policies. Notwithstanding what the above respondent is saying, many scholars such as Ayittey (2006), Southall (2015) as well as some respondents have argued that the ZANU PF party has failed to implement its policies due to greed and corruption.

4.3.2.3 Economic Sanctions

Sanctions were described as hindering economic growth in Zimbabwe (Cox and Anderson 2009, Gono, 2008), but some respondents did not buy that line of thought. A respondent argued that:

*Haungabemariwotangakudaku blamer murungu for ma sactions (you cannot steal money and blame the whites for the sanctions)*

An academic concurred arguing that:

*Heaping blame on sanctions shows immaturity within the party. Remember, during the UDI (Smith Regime) they faced horrible sanctions but their economy was very stable and prosperous. They managed to burst sanction and so why not Zanu PF. Cuba is another case, let us not blame sanctions for our own problems.*

The above respondents are dismissing the fact that Zimbabwe’s economic woes should be wholly blamed on either neo-colonialism, imperialism, sanctions or the whites. Some respondents put the blame on Economic Structural Adjustment Programs. However, the majority of respondents were of the view that ZANU PF’s economic mismanagement has a lot to do with the situation in which the country found itself in. Power (2003) argues Zimbabwe’s economy was the fastest growing in 1997 across Africa, but now it is the fastest decreasing. A responded pointed out that ZANU PF is threatened more by internal rather than external challenges. This concurs with Mbango’s argument that liberation political parties should not worry much of the external enemy because the greatest enemy is the party itself. However, a ZANU PF supporter argued:

*ZANU PF has no internal challenges, it always deals with them, Mai Mujuruvakadzingwa (Mrs Mujuru was expelled) and that did not disrupt ZANU PF activities. It is external challenges such as infiltration by the west that are a heavy burden on the Party.*
Another respondent said

*It is all about infiltration my brother. Even the challenges that ZANU PF is facing from within, factions, power struggles, and the economic crisis; are all the doing of external forces. They have a hand in causing some disruptions within the party.*

These views and responses are ‘pro-party support language’ and they ignore internal issues to do with corruption, patron-client relationships and mismanagement. These party supporters speak the same language with a strong conviction that the party is being infiltrated. However, evidence coming from documentary sources as well as some of the respondents show that the party is to blame for most of the challenges that it is currently facing.

### 4.3.3 Social Challenges facing ZANU PF

#### 4.3.3.1 The Generational gap

The generational gap was widely contested by the respondents especially the war veterans and the youth. The majority of youth pointed out that there was a generational gap in the party while others especially the war veterans argued that, the party had equal representation. The youth argued that they were not involved much in the top party positions as these were only reserved from the old guard. As such, the party served the interests of the old guard more than it did those of the youth. A youth argued that:

*There is a huge generational gap in ZANU PF. Currently they have extended the age and definition of a youth in order to preserve their interests. Now, the youth in the party do not have any influence but are rather used as instruments to help protect the interests of the leaders in the party.*

A youth mockingly pointed out that:

*Youth survive in the party by playing adult. You need to behave like an old madhala (man) so that you fit in ZANU PF. The party’s leaders fear the capacity of young people and this has made some to call ZANU PF an old people’s party.*

The majority of youth respondents argued that there was no generational gap in the party. The argument was that the youth who given the positions within the party hardly serve the interests of the youth by they end up their own interests as well as the old guard. Joining ZANU PF and acquiring a position has been seen as a key to access resources with one respondent saying “*Ukajoina ZANU PF, unodya*” (if you join ZANU PF, you will benefit). Therefore, joining ZANU PF has become a gateway to access resources and to have some authority. Other respondents argued that the generational gap that the youth are giving
reference to, is only meant to have more of them in top positions so that they abuse state resources. The youth respondent stressed that all people in the party are well represented. He argued that:

There is no generational gap in the party. It is merely a creation by some individuals so that they exploit positions to their own advantage.

ZANU PF war veterans have blamed the youth for the challenges facing ZANU PF. The youth are seen to have no respect and discipline and their efforts are nothing but disastrous to the party. The youth disagreed with this arguing that just because they fought the war, we should respect them but a political system should be able to pick talent and nurture it and ZANU PF is not doing such things. From the above arguments, it can be noted that ZANU PF needs to groom young men and women for future leadership posts. This will strengthen the party assuring it for continuity in years to come. The youth need to appreciate the vision and ideology of the party. However, as the situation stands, ZANU PF has failed to be inclusive as regards to the grooming of youths for future leadership positions. Consequently, this will lead to factionalism and a total political decay of the party in years to come.

4.3.4 The possible solutions for preserving the legacy of ZANU PF.

This section is mainly guided by the findings coming from the above section. Respondents agreed on the fact that there was need to reforming and restructure ZANU PF political party. Reforms within are necessary in order to make it relevant in the 21st century. The reforms according to most respondents include putting an end to incumbency; positions in government and Party are to be granted on merit; ending patronage politics; creating effective development oriented policies; lessening the generation gap; committed to ending corruption at all levels; ending political violence; factionalism and promoting inter-party democracy (constructive criticism). There will be great strides if ZANU PF political party adheres to the above recommendations.

A ZANU PF staff member pointed out that:

There should be an end to one centre of power. Leadership renewal is vital in order to save ZANU PF in the coming elections.

This respondent is arguing against incumbency. The party should be in a position to change its leaders in a very democratic and transparent way in order to eliminate the culture of cultism. Change of leadership means bringing new ideas, which are in line with new global trends. Some respondents are worried about the president’s long stay in power that they are calling for an end to this and not an end to the party. This is in line with NdlovuGatsheni
(2015) and Mbango (2012) lamentation that there has never been leadership and the country only knows of one president. Some respondents continued to say that “it is not healthy to put so much trust in one leader, it proves that the party has failed to find another leader to replace Mugabe”. Hence, ending incumbency or changing of leadership in a democratic way could be a possible solution to legitimise ZANU PF as a political party.

The Party needs to be committed in corruption at all levels. It needs to go beyond the rhetoric of just writing laws as well as establishing commissions but not putting such mechanisms into practices. The party needs to bring all those involved in corrupt activities regardless of influence, position and office to book. This is important in that it assists in restoring the dignity and legitimacy of the Party and Government. The party needs to work extra hard in putting in place mechanisms that are efficient in preventing corruption as well as coming up with harsh penalties to deter those who might want to involve themselves in such corrupt activities.

Patronage politics as noted in the above section has had a very negative impact on the party. This means that Party or Government positions should be granted on merit and not on nepotistic grounds. The party’s worth will be restored, its dignity is consolidated thus, paving way for the preservation of its revolutionary legacy. The masses can benefit a lot if these who are appointed within government are well focused, intelligent, innovative and incentive in the execution of their duties.

The Party needs to reduce the generational gap through the inclusion of youth in all aspects of decision making. This leads to a dilution of ideas that are instrumental to the development of the country socially, economically and politically. It helps create a sense of party ownership within the youth supporters. This helps consolidate the legacy of the revolution especially if youth are upright, hardworking and patriotic.

ZANU PF also needs to come up with effective developmental policies which can improve the lives of the general public. The policies as have been argued by some scholars should not be party centric but should reach out to everyone irrespective of one’s political affiliation. The current policies are only benefiting the politically rich or privileged. A radical change is needed to revamp policies so that they benefit the majority. Anderson () argues that, a public policy should be guided by the concerns of the general public or the consumers of those policies. The inclusion of every citizen, rich or poor, will minimise unnecessary creation of classes, which are founded by an unjust political system.
4.4 Chapter Summary

The chapter presented, analysed and discussed the research findings. The data was mostly presented through discussion and analysis. Key issues emerging from the research findings are that were that Former Liberation Political Parties are facing a number of challenges, ZANU PF in particular. It has been pointed out that incumbency, patronage politics, corruption, the generational gap, lack of inter-party democracy; factionalism and tribalism are the major challenges affecting these parties. Respondents highlighted that the challenges had a bearing on the parties’ dignity and legitimacy which was fading as they cannot connect with the 21st century demands. The chapter also outline a number of possible solutions which ZANU PF and other Liberation political parties can adopt in order to preserve their liberation legacy. The next chapter gives a summary of the major findings, recommendations and areas for further research.

Chapter 5: Summary, Conclusions and Recommendations

5.0 Introduction

This chapter gives an overview of the research findings and offers solutions to the challenges presented here. This chapter focuses largely on a brief analysis and interpretation of data that was presented in Chapter 4. The chapter also offers recommendations for future studies on Former Liberation Movements.

5.1 Summary of findings

The study sought to identify challenges facing Former Liberation Movements, particularly the challenges affecting ZANU PF as a revolutionary party since independence. The study was interested in identifying various internal and external challenges affecting Liberation Political Parties in the 21st Century. In order to have a full understanding of these challenges, the study applied various concepts and ideas from Frantz Fanon, Kwame Nkrumah, Paulo Freire, Christopher Clapham, Mao tse Tung among others. Based on the interviews, observations and document analysis, the research sought to answer the questions on the challenges facing Former Liberation Movements, and ZANU PF as well as to identify solutions for preserving its legacy.

The research found that Former Liberation Movements were facing challenges politically, socially and economically. Former Liberation Movements are failing to clearly to adopt and
adapt to the demands of the 21st century. There is a generational gap where revolutionary leaders are not much interested in grooming the youth for future leadership positions. They are actually more interested in manipulating the youth to their own political advantage. Some youth are used as instruments of political violence against opponents. Other youth are now distancing themselves from these parties since they believe that these revolutionary leaders have nothing to offer. This emanates from the fact that revolutionary leaders are more interested in enriching themselves and their relatives as the expense of the masses. Corruption was also seen to be greatly undermining the legitimacy of these leaders and the political parties they lead. A pertinent observation was that of incumbency where FLPPs do not want to hand over power to other members within the party. A mechanism of inter-party democracy was lacking in FLPPs such as ZANU PF and MPLA, Angola. Namibia’s SWAPO, Mozambique’s FRELIMO, ANC of South Africa and Chama cha Mapinduzi of Tanzania were seen to be more democratic in terms of handing over power to other members within the party. However, at times this was done grudgingly or a leader would choose his favourite candidate to succeed him.

The research went also identified the challenges peculiar to ZANU PF. The challenges were of a political, economic and social nature. Politically, it was found that ZANU PF had lost its legitimacy, vision and liberation goals, meaning that, it no longer had the masses at heart. It was found out that the party was facing an ideology crisis by deviating from its liberation vision which was the benchmark for the struggle and party disciples. The deviation from ideology and vision was mainly because of careerism, opportunism, greed and corruption, nepotism and failure to fully implement policies.

The study found out that ZANU PF is its own enemy as evidenced by cases of factionalism within the party. Factions were seen to be a result of lack of inter-party democracy within the Party. The factions are aimed at succeeding the current President, R.G Mugabe. This was as a result of a leadership crisis where the Party is failing to choose another leader besides President Mugabe which is quite unhealthy for a party to put all hopes on a 93year old leader. The issue of incumbency was regarded as the major cause of its challenges bedevilling the party. The impact of the above challenges fulfils the contention that “ZANU PF can only be destroyed from within”.

The study also found out that youth were crucial in preserving and protecting the legacy of any revolutionary movement. However, the growing issues of ‘Tired Nationalism’ among the youth were a major challenge threatening the future of ZANU PF. In failing to transcend to suit the interests of the so called “tweeter generation” the party is losing its popularity among
these youth. Representation of the youth in ZANU PF was mainly based on the need to gratify personal interests. Joining the party was seen as a key to access benefits as well as loot resources. Hence, only a small group of rowdy and greedy youth benefit from this. The majority of the educated youth have opted to stay away from the party they view as consisting of thugs and murderers.

Arguments also came up that sanctions were playing a crucial role in destabilising ZANU PF from achieving its intended goals. However, the majority of respondents disagreed with this assertion pointing out that sanctions had less negative impacts on the economy as compared to ZANU PF’s mismanagement of the economy. Various comparison were drawn to support their arguments which included cases such as Rhodesia under Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) and Cuba whose economies continued to succeed when sanctions had been imposed. Hence, it was argued that the party was suffering more from internal challenges as compared to external challenges.

5.2 Conclusions

Depending on the data, information presented and findings, a conclusion which can be drawn is that Former Liberation Movements are losing legitimacy. This emanates from a failure to meet the current global demands. The liberation political parties are now characterised by factionalism, power struggles, corruption and patronage politics. ZANU PF, a revolutionary movement has also lost its legitimate right to rule, due to corruption, lack of inter-party democracy, factionalism and incumbency. ZANU PF deviated from its ideology and vision leading to youth growing within this era to think that the liberation legacy is more of a curse than a blessing.

However, though the ZANU PF is facing a multitude of challenges, this does not necessarily mean that its revolutionary legacy cannot be preserved. Through the findings, possible solutions were proposed such as reforming or restructuring within the party, put an end to corruption and the party committing itself to working towards the development of the country. Among these proposals, one of the most pressing challenges which need urgent attention was that of incumbency. The party needs to put an end to the one centre of power culture and leaders should come and go. This would help in legitimising the revolutionary party.

5.3 Recommendations

The study recommends that; for ZANU PF to preserve its legacy, it should:
• Revisit its ideology and vision, and commit itself to fulfilling the liberation promises.
• Promote unity of purpose among its leaders and members of the party.
• Put an end to leadership cultism, incumbency or hero worshiping and the one centre of power culture.
• Conduct a reality check and see its problems in order to find solutions.
• Eliminate all forms of corruption, putting strict penalties on those found guilty no matter how weak or powerful they are.
• Create provisions for inter-party democracy, constructive criticism and mechanisms that improve a flexible succession plan. In order to end factionalism and power struggles.
• Identify leadership talent and nurture it regardless.
• Promote appointments of officials on merit and not on social relationship (patronage politics or clientilism).
• Apply more democratic principles within the country and improve the protection of human rights. This also means including members of other political parties in cabinet.
• Put in place mechanisms and effective methods for the full implementation of policies.
• Promote equality among people, that is, land and resources should not benefit the minority but the majority.
• Come up with a leadership code, Leaders “No man will own property which they are not accountable for”

5.3 Areas for further study

This research recommends that further studies may be carried out in the following areas:

• African leaders and the incumbency disease. A case of ZANU PF and MPLA.

• Youth in politics: A case of ZANU PF.

• The relevance of Liberation Political Parties in the next five decades. A case study of ANC and FRELIMO.

5.4 Chapter summary

This chapter gave a summary of the objectives according to the findings and analysis. It mentioned the key challenges affecting Former Liberation Movement and those that affected
ZANU PF particular. Some recommendations were given on how liberation movements can preserve their legacy. Recommendations for further study were also highlighted and the major findings of the study were that Former Liberation Political Parties as well as ZANU PF were facing a number of challenges threatening their existence, which included; factionalism, cultism, corruption, authoritarian rule and lack of inter-party democracy. In summation it was found out that ZANU PF has lost its vision for the masses, lacks coherent ideology and its now being seen by many as a party that has lost the legitimacy to govern.

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Appendices

Appendix 1

INTERVIEW GUIDE: FOR KEY INFORMANTS, ZANU PF HEBERT CHITEPO IDEOLOGICAL SCHOOL AND ACADEMICS.

“The Challenges faced by Former Liberation Political Parties (FLPPs), paying much attention to ZANU PF”.

1. What are the internal and external challenges affecting Former Liberation Political Parties.
2. To what extent do you understand about the ideology and values of ZANU PF?
3. What was the liberation vision, the objectives and goals (that drove people to war)?
4. Is the Party still living up to the revolutionary vision (the reason why they went to war)?
5. What are some of the challenges that the party is facing since independence?
6. Do you think educating the youth through the ideological school will assist in preserving the liberation legacy of ZANU PF (give a reason for your answer)?
7. What is your opinion on the assertion that “the liberation is now becoming more of a curse than a blessing”

8. Which of the two challenges affect ZANU PF more, external and internal?

9. What are the possible solutions for preserving the legacy of the Party?

Thank you for your time

Appendix 2

INTERVIEW GUIDE: FOR REPRESENTATIVES FROM ZANU PF STAFF MEMBERS.

“The Challenges faced by Former Liberation Political Parties (FLPPs), paying much attention to ZANU PF”.

1. How long have you been working at the Party Headquarters?
2. How much do you understand about the ideology and values of the Former Liberation Parties?
3. What are the internal and external challenges affecting Former Liberation Political Parties.
4. Do you think the revolution/struggle for independence brought economic and political emancipation in Zimbabwe?
5. Has the ZANU PF party managed to achieve its revolutionary promises?
6. What are some of the challenges that the party is facing, since independence?
7. Which challenge do you think carries more weight than the others?
8. Which of the two challenges affect ZANU PF more, external and internal?
9. What are the possible solutions for preserving the legacy of the Party?

Thank you for your time

Appendix 3

INTERVIEW GUIDE: FOR YOUTH REPRESENTATIVES.

“The Challenges faced by Former Liberation Political Parties (FLPPs), paying much attention to ZANU PF”.

1. How much do you understand about the ideology and values of the Former Liberation Political Parties?
2. What are the internal and external challenges affecting Former Liberation Political Parties.
3. Do you think the revolution/struggle for independence brought economic and political emancipation Zimbabwe?
4. Has the ZANU PF party managed to achieve its revolutionary promises?
5. What are some of the challenges that the party is facing, since independence?
6. Which challenge do you think carries more weight than the others?
7. Do you think there is a generational gap between the youth and leaders in ZANU PF?
8. What do you consider to be the weaknesses of the generational gap?
9. Can you give me your opinion on the assertion that “those who did not participate in the struggle, are subordinates to war veterans”
10. Which of the two challenges affect ZANU PF more, external and internal?
11. What are the possible solutions for preserving the legacy of the Party?

Thank you for your time

Appendix 4

INTERVIEW GUIDE: FOR ZANU PF SUPPORTERS.

“The Challenges faced by Former Liberation Political Parties (FLPPs), paying much attention to ZANU PF”.

1. How much do you understand about the ideology and values of the Former Liberation Political Parties?
2. What are the internal and external challenges affecting Former Liberation Political Parties.
3. Do you think the revolution/struggle for independence brought economic and political emancipation Zimbabwe?
4. Has the ZANU PF party managed to achieve its revolutionary promises?
5. What are some of the challenges that the party is facing, since independence?
6. Which challenge do you think carries more weight than the others?
7. Which of the two challenges affect ZANU PF more, external and internal?
Thank you for your time.