

Country: Zimbabwe

Years: 1965-1978

Head of government: Ian Douglas Smith

Ideology: Right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Smith's party as RF. Manzano (2017: 101) identifies Smith as rightist, pointing to him later founding the rightist Conservative Alliance of Zimbabwe. Rubert and Rasmussen (2001) identify Smith's ideology as rightist, writing "he joined a right-wing revolt within the party [Rhodesian Front], which ousted Field and made Smith himself prime minister." In V-Party (2020), 7 experts identify head of government party's ideology as "Right" (2.793) in 1970 and 1974 and as "Right" (2.813) in 1977.

Years: 1979

Head of government: Abel Tendekayi Muzorewa

Ideology: Right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Muzorewa's party as UANC. Nohlen, Krennerich, & Thibaut (1999) suggest that Smith held real power: "Under a new constitutional set-up providing for African majority rule while at the same time safeguarding real power for the white minority, the subsequent elections (17-21 April 1979) ushered in a new government on 1 June 1979 under the leadership of Muzorewa. This being little else but a black puppet regime at Smith's will...." (963). Manzano (2017: 101) identifies Smith as Right. Rubert and Rasmussen (2001) identify Smith's ideology as rightist, writing "he joined a right-wing revolt within the party [Rhodesian Front], which ousted Field and made Smith himself prime minister." Rubert and Rasmussen (2001) corroborate that Smith controlled the Muzorewa government, writing "Muzorewa became prime minister of the newly renamed Zimbabwe Rhodesia. Smith was appointed minister without portfolio, but was generally recognized as maintaining the real power in government." In V-Party (2020), 7 experts identify head of government party's ideology as "Center-right" (0.539) in 1979.

Years: 1980-2008

Head of government: Robert Gabriel Mugabe

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Mugabe's party as ZANU-PF. Jenkins (1997) identifies Mugabe's ideology as left, writing that ZANU-PF "espoused a socialist ideology that was strongly influenced by prevailing ideas about how to achieve development, and by practice elsewhere in

Africa. Although economic policies were tolerant towards the private sector during the 1980s, they coexisted with an ideology of state intervention.” She adds that “For the first decade after attaining independence Zimbabwe’s political leaders were constrained in implementing a full socialist programme by the constitution to which they had agreed in 1979 (in return for promises of aid).” Manzano (2017) corroborates that Mugabe is Left. Perspective Monde (2020) identifies Mugabe as Left. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 12 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU-PF) as 4.2. World Statesmen (2020) identifies Mugabe’s ideology as leftist, writing “Robert Gabriel Mugabe... ZANU... ZANU PF... ZANU-PF = Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (democratic socialist, African nationalist, authoritarian, est.1987)... ZANU = Zimbabwe African National Union (African militant, democratic socialist, African nationalist, merged into ZANU-PF, 1963-1987)”. Political Handbook of the World (2015) identifies Mugabe’s ideology as leftist, writing “By late 1976 Mugabe was widely recognized as ZANU’s leader... At ZANU-PF’s third ordinary congress held in December 1989, the Politburo was enlarged from 15 to 26 members, the Central Committee was expanded from 90 to 150 members, a national chair was created, and ZAPU was formally incorporated into the party... Further, the party’s socialist orientation was redefined to emphasize the Zimbabwean historical, cultural, and social experience. Ultimately, on June 22, 1991, the party agreed to delete all references to Marxism, Leninism, and scientific socialism from its constitution.” In V-Party (2020), 7 experts identify head of government party’s ideology as “Center-left” (-1.602) in 1980, as “Left” (-1.795) in 1985, as “Left” (-1.741) in 1990 and 1995, as “Left” (-1.865) in 2000 and 2005, and as “Left” (-1.781) in 2008. Ortiz de Zárate (2018) writes “To tackle the crisis, at the end of 1989 the Government made a drastic change in its economic policy, exchanging many of its socialist characteristics for others of a liberal nature: it lifted restrictions on imports and foreign investment, launched a campaign to privatize companies. government, reduced public spending and drew up austerity budgets.” Ortiz de Zárate (2019) writes “In 1975 Mugabe moved to Mozambique, recently independent from Portugal and governed by the Marxist Liberation Front (FRELIMO) of Samora Machel... In these years of anti-colonial and anti-racist struggle against a segregationist regime, that of Ian Smith, with a reputation as bad or worse than the one surrounding the South African Apartheid, Mugabe transmitted an international image of intransigent revolutionary and leaning towards Marxism, far removed from the prudence regarding the privileges of the white minority and the ideological pragmatism that he would later exhibit in the first half of his career as a statesman.”

Years: 2009-2012

Head of government: Morgan Tsvangirai

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Lansford (2017) identifies Tsvangirai as a member of MDC-T, referring to him as “Morgan TSVANGIRAI of the MDC” until a split led to the development of his own faction, “Prime Minister Tsvangirai's MDC-T faction.” DPI identifies MDC-Tsvangirai as leftist. Political Handbook of the World does not provide any information on party's ideology. Zamchiya (2013) identifies Tsvangirai as a leftist, writing “The most appealing part of [Tsvangirai's] message concerned social and economic values consistent with a social democratic state.” Perspective Monde (2020) identifies Tsvangirai as Left. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 12 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) as 7.1. Encyclopedia Britannica (2020) writes “Zimbabwe's main opposition party, the MDC-T, suffered a blow when Tsvangirai died in February 2018... [this] launched a bitter struggle for control of the MDC-T party, with Nelson Chamisa and Thokozani Khupe—two of the party's three deputy presidents—splitting the party into two factions... The country's presidential, parliamentary, and local elections were held on July 30, 2018... the MDC Alliance (Chamisa's MDC-T faction and other parties) won 63 seats.” Aljazeera (2020) writes “The Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) has been divided since the Supreme Court ruled on March 30 [2020] that Nelson Chamisa was not its legitimate leader and installed Thokozani Khupe, head of one faction of the party, to lead it in the interim. Most MDC members still regard Chamisa as their leader and accuse President Emmerson Mnangagwa's government of siding with Khupe's faction in the battle for control of the movement... Chamisa, 42, says his party is different from Khupe's outfit after it contested elections in 2018 under the name MDC Alliance while Khupe's ran as the MDC-T party.” Political Handbook of the World (2018-2019) writes “Tsvangirai died... died on February 14, 2018. His death led the party to further splinter, although the various factions reunited in 2018 to support the presidential candidacy of Nelson Chamisa under the banner of the MDC Alliance... MDC-T presidential candidate, Thokozani Khupe, was third” and “Nelson Chamisa... President of the MDC-T faction and 2018 presidential candidate”. World Statesmen (2020) identifies Tsvangirai's ideology as leftist, writing “Morgan Richard Tsvangirai... MDC... MDC = Movement for Democratic Change (social-democratic”. In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify head of government party's ideology as “Center” (0.395) in 2008. Southall (2020) writes “The outcome of the 2008 election was less a democratic compromise than a compromise of democracy. This has encouraged a mode of analysis that has characterized the MDC as an originally militant labour-based party whose radical political direction was subverted by ‘neoliberal middle classes’

under the guise of a popular front. Readily accepting IMF policies and backed by the white farming community, it adopted a right-wing position on the land issue”. Ortiz de Zárate (2018) writes “Officially launched on September 11, 1999 in a ceremony at the Rufaro Stadium in Harare, the MDC presented itself as a formation with a center-left ideology, comparable to Social Democracy (it was later to be admitted to the Socialist International)”.

Years: 2013-2016

Head of government: Robert Gabriel Mugabe

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies head of government as Mugabe, and identifies Mugabe’s affiliation as ZANU-PF. HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies head of government as Mugabe, and identifies Mugabe’s affiliation as ZANU-PF. Jenkins (1997) identifies Mugabe’s ideology as left, writing that ZANU-PF “espoused a socialist ideology that was strongly influenced by prevailing ideas about how to achieve development, and by practice elsewhere in Africa. Although economic policies were tolerant towards the private sector during the 1980s, they coexisted with an ideology of state intervention.” She adds that “For the first decade after attaining independence Zimbabwe’s political leaders were constrained in implementing a full socialist programme by the constitution to which they had agreed in 1979 (in return for promises of aid).” Manzano (2017) corroborates that Mugabe is Left. Perspective Monde (2020) identifies Mugabe as Left. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 12 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU-PF) as 4.2. World Statesmen (2020) identifies Mugabe’s ideology as leftist, writing “Robert Gabriel Mugabe... ZANU... ZANU PF... ZANU-PF = Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (democratic socialist, African nationalist, authoritarian, est.1987)... ZANU = Zimbabwe African National Union (African militant, democratic socialist, African nationalist, merged into ZANU-PF, 1963-1987)”. Political Handbook of the World (2015) identifies Mugabe’s ideology as leftist, writing “By late 1976 Mugabe was widely recognized as ZANU’s leader... At ZANU-PF’s third ordinary congress held in December 1989, the Politburo was enlarged from 15 to 26 members, the Central Committee was expanded from 90 to 150 members, a national chair was created, and ZAPU was formally incorporated into the party... Further, the party’s socialist orientation was redefined to emphasize the Zimbabwean historical, cultural, and social experience. Ultimately, on June 22, 1991, the party agreed to delete all references to Marxism, Leninism, and scientific socialism from its constitution.” In V-Party (2020), 7 experts identify head of government party’s ideology as “Left” (-1.781) in 2013. Ortiz de Zárate (2019) writes “In 1975

Mugabe moved to Mozambique, recently independent from Portugal and governed by the Marxist Liberation Front (FRELIMO) of Samora Machel... In these years of anti-colonial and anti-racist struggle against a segregationist regime, that of Ian Smith, with a reputation as bad or worse than the one surrounding the South African Apartheid, Mugabe transmitted an international image of intransigent revolutionary and leaning towards Marxism, far removed from the prudence regarding the privileges of the white minority and the ideological pragmatism that he would later exhibit in the first half of his career as a statesman.”

Years: 2017-2019

Head of government: Emmerson Mnangagwa

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Lansford (2017) identifies Mnangagwa among the leaders of ZANU-PF, including in its list “Leaders: Robert Gabriel MUGABE (President of the Republic and President of the Party), Joyce MUJURU (Vice President of the Republic and Vice President of the Party), Emmerson MNANGAGWA.” Jenkins (1997) identifies ZANU-PF as leftist, writing “espoused a socialist ideology that was strongly influenced by prevailing ideas about how to achieve development, and by practice elsewhere in Africa. Although economic policies were tolerant towards the private sector during the 1980s, they coexisted with an ideology of state intervention.” She adds that “For the first decade after attaining independence Zimbabwe’s political leaders were constrained in implementing a full socialist programme by the constitution to which they had agreed in 1979 (in return for promises of aid).” Freytas-Tamura (2017) furthers that Manangagwa “was an avid supporter of Mr. Mugabe’s most controversial economic policy — the expropriation and redistribution of land that had been controlled by white farmers since the era of colonialism.” Perspective Monde (2020) identifies Mnangagwa as Left. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 12 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU-PF) as 4.2. World Statesmen (2020) identifies Mnangagwa’s ideology as leftist, writing “Emmerson Dambudzo Mnangagwa... ZANU PF... ZANU-PF = Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (democratic socialist”. Political Handbook of the World (2015) identifies Mugabe’s ideology as leftist, writing “ZANU-PF’s third ordinary congress held in December 1989, the Politburo was enlarged from 15 to 26 members, the Central Committee was expanded from 90 to 150 members, a national chair was created, and ZAPU was formally incorporated into the party... Further, the party’s socialist orientation was redefined to emphasize the Zimbabwean historical, cultural, and social experience. Ultimately, on June 22, 1991, the party agreed to delete all references to Marxism, Leninism, and scientific

socialism from its constitution... *Leaders... Emmerson MNANGAGWA*". In V-Party (2020), 7 experts identify head of government party's ideology as "Left" (-1.781) in 2013 and as "Center-left" (-0.786) in 2018.

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