Country: Zimbabwe

Years: 1965-1978

Leader: 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 leader party’s ideology as “Right” (2.793) in 1970 and 1974 and as “Right” (2.813) in 1977.

Years: 1979

Leader: 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 leader party’s ideology as “Center-right” (0.539) in 1979.

Years: 1980-2016

Leader: 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 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 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 leader 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 and 2013. 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: 2017-2020

Leader: 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. Varieties of Democracy identifies party affiliation as “Zimbabwe African National Union – Patriotic Front”. DPI does not identify ZANU-PF’s ideology.

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