



Four Years into Zimbabwe's Government of National Unity: Assessing the Challenges and Successes From the Civil Society's Perspective

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ABSTRACT

Following a protracted political and economic crisis that led to a massive migration of Zimbabweans for external greener pastures, in 2008, the three main political parties; ZANU PF, MDC-T and MDC entered into a marriage that was meant to ease the hostilities before rescuing the deteriorating situation. The relationship was expected to last for not more than 24 months during which period, a new constitution would have been written before another election was held. This culminated into the Global Political Agreement (GPA) of 2008 which bore the present Government of National Unity in 2009. The paper, therefore, seeks to assess the route, progress and hurdles which the marriage has passed through particularly from a position of the Civil Society Organisations which represent the interests of the masses.

Key words: Government of National Unity, Civil Society Organisations, Masses, Challenges and Successes.

INTRODUCTION

From a layman's perspective, a Government of National Unity^[5] (GNU) is a coalition government, designed specifically to accommodate all participating political players in governmental structures. The governmental structures in question include; the civil service, cabinet, diplomatic posts, the judiciary, army, police and the intelligence service. The rationale in this arrangement is that, equitable participation will diminish the potential for conflict and enhance prospects for national stability, integration and development. The assumption behind this argument is that conflicts arise from exclusion of key political players in national governance structures and over scarce resources

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be they material or leadership positions. Precisely, the Zimbabwean GNU was meant to arrest an alarmingly deteriorating political and economic situation, which had developed over a period of time.

Following a political stalemate over President Robert Mugabe's reluctance to hand over power to the winner of the 2008 March plebiscite, the African Union Assembly, met from 30 June to 1 July 2008 for its 11th Ordinary Session in Sharm El-Sheikh, Egypt, where it expressed its deep concern over the situation in Zimbabwe and called upon political leaders of Zimbabwe to enter into negotiations to establish a Government of National Unity under SADC facilitation. This then brought in the regional mediation by former South African President Thabo Mbeki before handing over the reins to the present President Jacob Zuma. Prior to the Egyptian Summit, there had been the Extraordinary Summit of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) in Dar-es-Salaam in 2007 that was subsequently endorsed in Lusaka on 12 April 2008, (GPA 2008). However, in all these developments, the civil society was excluded.

Theoretical framework

From an understanding that the mere desire to participate in national governance can cause conflicts, it becomes imperative that all political and civil society participants be considered in governance matters as a way of curbing the potential for conflicts. This is what Robert Dahl's Dilemmas of Pluralist Democracy theory of 1982 propounded. The theory focuses on the structures of conflict and compromise through which groups with divergent interests exercise power. For Dahl, conflicting interests were important for good democratic governance. Dahl believed that power needed not be centralised in the hands of single majority hence the need for contested elections that ensure consistent checks and monitoring of the government. (Connolly 1995). In the Zimbabwean context, all major political players were absorbed into the structures of government leaving no-one to oppose from outside. This is what the paper seeks to assess from the perspective of the civil society that is refereeing from outside the government structures.

Background

A national government or Government of National Unity is a broad coalition government consisting of all parties in the legislature, usually formed during a time of crises or other national emergency. Though these coalition governments are an old concept, their application have increased lately and being motivated by a variety of reasons. It would appear that Governments of National Unity have been mainly applied in countries that have low ratings of democracy, rule of law or do not adhere to the spirit of constitutionalism. Coincidentally, these countries are mainly found in the least developed regions and this includes the Sub-Saharan region, Zimbabwe included.

Following the controversial 2008 Run-Off elections whereby President Mugabe claimed victory with 85.5% while his purported rival Morgan Tsvangirai of the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) had 9.3% of the total valid vote, the 11th Ordinary Session of the African Union Assembly held in Sharm El-Sheikh, Egypt in 2008 recommended the establishment of a mediation force led by Thabo Mbeki. The need for mediation came against a backdrop of an alarmingly deteriorating political and economic situation in Zimbabwe that had seen over 4million Zimbabweans crossing the borders for survival while the official inflation rate was well over 231 million percent as of July 2008, rates of unemployment estimated at over 80 percent, acute shortage of food with an estimate of 5.1 million people expected to extend begging bowls and a clearly rigged election, (Dodo 2011).

During the same crisis, health and education services had literally collapsed. According to the International Organization for Migration (IOM) (2007), 41% of all active Zimbabweans had left the country to South Africa, United Kingdom and other destinations through official channels as at 2007 only. Similarly, the transport sector had also collapsed due to two main elements: fuel shortage and inaccessible road network. It was all these calamities that finally pushed both regional leaders and local leadership to eventually settle for negotiations. Through quiet diplomacy by Mbeki, by September 2008, the concept of the Global Political Agreement (GPA) was already in place. The GPA sought to establish a GNU. According to regional and some local experts, this was considered the best panacea to the crises at hand hence the need for a speed implementation of the prescription. However, in all these deliberations, the civil society was excluded and that left the general masses ignorant of how their lives and future were being decided by a few politicians despite the fact that all along, they had been part of the struggle to rescue a sinking titanic.

As all these events were happening, behind the scenes, the civil society was also designing some possible solution to the crisis as evidenced by the 9 February 2008 launch of the Zimbabwe People's Charter in Harare. The Charter basically sought to reconstruct an operating environment conducive for human and economic development. This forum attracted 33 civic society organisations and agreed that the following key areas needed to be re-visited if Zimbabwe was to develop ever again; political environment, constitutional reform, economic and social welfare, gender, elections, national value systems, fair labour standards and the youth needs^[6].

The life of the GNU expired in February 2011 after its 2 year term. However, all the parties to the agreement concurred to its indefinite extension as none of the key result areas had been achieved. It appeared as if all had a stake to benefit out of the extension; for Authur Mutambara of the MDC, he felt his party was almost dead and he was propping up its resume through his presence in government; for Tsvangirai of the MDC-T, he felt he had not delivered any of the promises to the people. Besides, he wanted a new constitution as per the GPA; for Mugabe, he felt any foreign-supervised

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election would hand over power to Tsvangirai and so was comfortable with all the delays. Now four years into the GNU, what has really been achieved, what have been the major challenges faced by the GNU. This assessment will be made from the civil society's eye as it has closely followed the developments in the marriage from a safe distance.

Government of National Unity (GNU)

Writers have proffered differing arguments on the main influences to the formation of governments of national unity. Oyugi (2006) gave out some of the schools of thought that were presented by other scholars on the same subject matter. The first school of thought argued that GNUs were necessitated by the need to push and win policy delivery adoption and implementation. The other school maintained that oversized governments of national unity are created when the biggest part coalesces while it has minority seats. The third school of thought gives out that oversized GNUs tend to be formed by like-minded parties.

Oyugi in his presentation went on to give out that GNUs or coalitions in Africa can be divided into two distinct generations: the first generation refers to coalitions that were established either on the eve or soon after independence. Most of these were found to be in former British colonies. The above situation was supported by the fact that the British unlike other colonialists, prepared for the independence of African states by ceding others powers to elected African leaders. In this generation were such countries as Nigeria-1957-1959, Kenya-1962-1963, then Zaire-1960-1961, Uganda-1962-1966, Mauritius-1970-1982 and Zimbabwe-1976 and 1979 (ibid).

The second generation refers to those that came after the establishment of multi-partyism in the 1990s and followed the collapse of the bipolar world. This era had left-leaning Afro-Marxist governments: Zimbabwe under Mugabe, Angola under Augusto Neto and Eduardo dos Santos, Mozambique under Samora Machel and Joackim Chisano, and the then Upper Volta under Sankara (ibid). Oyugi (2006) gave out that under this generation, there are only four countries that managed coalition governments: Mauritius, South Africa, Kenya and Malawi. The first country to achieve coalition government under this generation according to Oyugi was South Africa in 1994 before Malawi had also followed suit in the same year. In 2002, there was Kenya and Mauritius in 2004.

Coalition governments are formed through inter-party bargaining whose duration is not constant and is determined by a variety of variables like attitudes of the parties, past relations of the players, party ideologies and several other factors. However, in Britain during the post-war period, only four days were needed to form a Government and other European countries ranged in the same duration: Denmark, France, Norway and Sweden. Similarly, in Ireland and Germany, formation of governments takes between two and three weeks while the average in Austria is over five weeks, and in the Netherlands, ten weeks. By contrast, GNUs in Africa are characterised by

lengthy negotiations revolving around personality issues and matters of ideology. Typically, this was experienced in Kenya and Zimbabwe where other eminent personalities had to intervene to break the ice. (ibid)

The negotiation of government of national unity is usually undertaken by a small group of senior figures from the bargaining parties whose main concerns are policy matters. It has also been observed that negotiating teams are rarely large, since this would extend the potential for disagreement and for compromising secrecy. It is not unusual for the party leaders to remain aside from the negotiations, offering a final tier for resolving disputes. In Zimbabwe, the negotiations were conducted by two people from each of the three parties involved and these would periodically update their principals on the developments. Skeptics have also argued that while small teams around the party leaders may aid swift, trusting and leak-free negotiations, they are likely to increase the concern among the parties' elected members and supporters that their interests will be compromised.

Other research findings indicate that parliamentary party groups are often involved in the negotiation and ratification of GNU agreements. This was typically evidenced in the Zimbabwe negotiations where one of the popular Presidential candidates Simba Makoni was not involved in the negotiations since he had not participated in the parliamentary elections. Makoni had garnered over 7% of the total votes cast during the first round of the March 2008 Presidential election in Zimbabwe and by the prevailing standards, he had achieved a lot. At the end of the negotiations, the three negotiating principals agreed to the Global Political Agreement (GPA) that culminated into a GNU with a 31 member cabinet. Based on the proportion of the number of representatives in parliament, the cabinet portfolios were distributed as follows: ZANU PF 16, MDC-T 12 and MDC 3.

Governments of National Unity have been noted to apply differently. In some cases, it is motivated by the desire to keep or pay back for the friendship that would have been shown by another part. A case in point is that of the Democratic Republic of Congo in 2006 when Joseph Kabila coalesced with the opposition that had supported his second round campaign (Ngwazi 2007). There are also coalition governments that are formed to avert crises like the 2008, coalition in Kenya that was meant to stop violence and accommodate all the stakeholders in the dispute. Other coalition governments are motivated by the requirements of the constitutions. Typically in 2010, Britain's winning Conservatives had to coalesce with the Liberal Democrats to form a government. In 2002, Kenya's Rainbow Coalition was created to win against the ruling party. There are some coalitions that are entered into simply to avert the recurrence of either violence or conflicts. These coalitions tend to bind for as long as the chances for violence or there is more potential for violence to erupt. A case in point could be that of Mauritius that has had three coalition governments in 1970, 1976 and 1991 (www.allafrica.com). Similarly, in 1987, Zimbabwe had another GNU that was created following the alliance between the ruling ZANU PF and the opposition PF-ZAPU and primarily to avert the recurrence of national conflicts between the majority

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Shona and minority Ndebele nations^[7]. A coalition government necessitated by the need to secure majority in parliament was established in 1994 in Malawi. This was between the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the Alliance for Democracy (AFORD) where the former took up the Presidency while the latter assumed the vice presidency. Apparently UDF had not garnered the required majority to form a government.

In South Africa in 1994, there was an ANC-led Government of National Unity, headed by Nelson Mandela, and included members of the National Party and Inkata Freedom Party. This GNU was amongst others designed to contain national hostilities and avert possibilities of recurrence of conflicts.

Civil Society Organisations

Civil Society Organisations have traditionally served to alleviate the problems of the societies and lately, they have grown to challenge national and global politics and undemocratic systems. However, in the creation of governments of national unity, these have tended to support the idea particularly when they believe that the alliance has the capacity to end the crises. In the majority of cases, Civil Society Organisations represent the vulnerable and underprivileged societies and in this case, they will be doing it in good faith believing that the alliance will only end as per the coalition agreement and give room to the existence of opposition politics.

Article 23 of the SADC Treaty recognizes that civil society including NGOs have a role to play in the process of regional integration and development. As such, during the GPA talks the civil society hoped to be roped in and make their contributions on behalf of the general masses. Unfortunately, non-state actors, including NGOs, trade unions, churches, private sector, academia, students' movements and other stakeholders were, not actively involved in the negotiation process. These too had their expectations; constitutional reform; discussions on national healing; Zimbabwe elections, national healing and reconciliation amongst others.

In as far as governments of national unity are concerned; the Civil Society Organisations' role is to carry out awareness programmes that focus on citizens' rights vi-a-viz the new governance system. They do this through making people aware of their expectations from the government, how the government is supposed to function and all the other issues around the question of democracy. They also need to defend the citizens' political rights and advocate for the respect of the rule of law. Closely akin to the issue above, is the question of advocating for democracy. The civil society usually promotes democratic systems to prevail and ensure that the ordinary citizens are also included in the processes by way of voting or inputting their views in the policy formulation and the subsequent implementation.

The civil society also takes up the responsibility to lead constitutional reforms and advocating for constitutionalism. By their nature, Civil Society Organisations have an advantage of operating outside the legal framework and the whims of political control hence they can challenge the status-quo.

The civil society also has the capacity to enforce the adherence of the coalition government conditions by the alliance partners. They also have the resources to monitor the adherence from outside the government circles. One of the issues that most Civil Society Organisations and Non Governmental Organisations are traditionally known for is the provision of resources to the needy sections of the society. These resources can come in the form of financial resources to the coalition government for the achievement of its manifesto and obligations to the citizens. Unfortunately, when Mbeki designed his negotiation team, deliberately or otherwise, he decided to leave this section of the society out. However, the civil society still participates in the GNU through confrontation or collaboration.

Constitutionalism

This is a concept of guaranteeing separation of powers, checks and balances, and power sharing. It is the strict adherence to the dictates of the constitutional requirements whereby national leadership or political parties can decide to ignore the constitutions simply because no-one has any power or guts to ask them to account for their conduct. Constitutionalism requires that whatever is agreed in the GNU be strictly adhered to and never seek to take shorter routes to finalities. However, unfortunately, the Zimbabwe's GNU has not been able to stick to the dictates of the GPA largely out of gross mistrust, skepticism and sheer criminal mindedness on the part of the leadership concerned.

Good Governance

Good governance is not a matter of government only but a situation of multiple criss-crossing relationships in which different and various actors in the public and private sectors at national and international levels play various roles, sometimes mutually reinforcing and complementary, sometimes conflicting, but always following the same principles and practices that are agreed as constituents of good governance. Various institutions have defined good governance differently with most attributing it to democracy. According to the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA) (2003:8-9), "*good governance encompasses a range of actions aimed at creating more open, participatory societies, and promoting greater accountability and transparency in public affairs*". Governance is good when it is effective, efficient and when participation, interests, and livelihood of the governed are the core motives of the leaders' actions at every level of society.

The concept of governance, just like human rights is a subjective and debatable issue. It is to some extent determined by culture, religious background, previous governance systems and level of literacy and democracy. However, there are some basic universally accepted characteristics of good governance; constitutionalism, rule of law, justice, dedicated leadership and participatory and democratic decision-making.

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There is also security of person and property, respect, protection, and promotion of human rights and basic freedoms, transparency and accountability, equity, effective and efficient delivery of Public Services amongst others. Good governance is delivered through a systematic structure which is coherent and complimentary to each other. Amongst some of the sectors involved in good governance are; Local governments institutions, Private sector institutions and Civil society institutions

According to UNDP (2002), good governance advances sustainable development for a number of reasons. First, enjoying political freedom and participating in the decisions that shape one's life are fundamental human rights. The report indicates that in those African countries where leaders are not elected or selected by election like Libya, or where elections are rigged like in Zimbabwe, choices are severely restricted and the denial of these rights is a denial of human development. Good governance also helps to protect people from economic and political catastrophes such as famines and other crises. UNDP believes that there is a direct correlation between bad governance and famines. Third, good governance can promote sustainable development by empowering citizens to influence policies that promote growth and prosperity and which reflect their priorities (ibid).

Government of National Unity Successes

Building and maintaining a government of national unity can be hard work. GNUs depend on mutual respect that creates a space for both parties and recognizes the right of the other party to continue to exist in its own right. Creating a coalition requires that both sides have strong negotiating skills, are willing to make concessions, and force decisions on their coalition partner as seldom as possible. While every government has a "coalition crisis" when unforeseen events occur, early conflict resolution is key to maintaining the coalition. Acknowledgement is, therefore, made to the effect that coalition governments can offer both negative and positive alternatives.

The Zimbabwean GNU has to some extent helped in averting serious political and economic crises that were imminent given the hostilities that existed between the main political parties; ZANU PF and MDC-T. The fact that the two formations were working 'together' meant that they were now sharing some responsibility in most of the matters to do with national governance. The GNU during the period under review has also to some extent managed to work as a team. Given the level of hostility and enmity that existed between ZANU PF and MDC-T largely based on their divergent ideologies and sheer mistrust, it is amazing to see leadership of these parties seated on the same table. Four to six years ago, it was unimaginable to think of such a coalition. This friendliness has equally to some extent cascaded down to the grass-roots members who have either halted or reduced politically-motivated violence.

Since political independence in 1980, Zimbabwe has survived under a government of national unity as a way of balancing national interests, development and power especially between the Shona and the Ndebele entities. Over the period, this arrangement has been disappearing naturally. The 2008 coalition, therefore, ushered in a new lease of life to the concept of national balance. The allotment of posts to different parties; Tsvangirai a Shona and deputised by Mutambara and Thokozani Khupe a Shona and Ndebele respectively while the same arrangement did cascade downwards, factored in national interests. This arrangement has over the period maintained national differences on vice as all nationalities have been equitably represented in government. The government has during the period managed to make deliberate changes in some policies and programmes. The general populace has over the period advocated for an environment where people can venture into either vending or small scale entrepreneurship to earn a living. Deliberately, the Ministry of Finance has either scrapped or reduced import duty on some of the wares that market vendors trade like clothing. Similarly, duty on import vehicles was also reduced to allow low income workers to secure their own cars cheaply.

On the foreign relations front, where ZANU PF government had soured relations with the international world, the other parties to the coalition have been able to make amends thus benefitting the entire nation. Zimbabwe had during the period strained its relations with the West. However, when the MDC-T came in, it managed to create some forum for talks and some trade. This development is, however, minute to be recognised. Closely akin to the above is the question of accountability and transparency on the part of the government. Prior to the GNU, ZANU PF felt that it was not accountable to anyone as there was no serious threat to its existence. This complacency, however, ended with the coalition as the other parties could monitor and supervise from within government circles. From year 2000, ZANU PF government has been in the habit of viramenting other budgets and incurring unbudgeted costs as it irregularly funded agriculture. Most of the expenditure could not be accounted for by any one. However, with the coalition in place, funding towards agriculture has either been coordinated and professionally disbursed or simply stopped. In the end, this has put some control on deficit and national debt. This has been indicative of the beauty of coalitions in governments.

GNU Challenges

While it is universally accepted that coalition governments are established to correct the imbalances or crises that a country might have gone through, most of them tend to fail as expected due to a variety of reasons. While there may not be many of these that completely fail to the point of outright collapse, most fail to function effectively and the shortcomings may be seen in the undercurrents and the quality of the service delivery.

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The essence of any government is to oversee development and if that is not done, it is either because there are no resources or that it is on the variation of the definition of development. However, underdevelopment or non-development can mean the failure of the total institution. In the case of the Zimbabwean coalition government, it has literally failed in that the essence for which it was created has not been achieved or attained. The government is under fire for amongst other things; rampant corruption, nepotism, profligate spending and lethargy and failing to attend to political squabbles that have grossly affected the development agenda.

Among some of the conditions around the GNU were that power was going to be shared equitably and reasonably among the three participating parties. That was done albeit with some shortfalls perpetrated by President Mugabe as one of the three principals to the agreement. The coalition government further failed when Mugabe decided to usurp all the executive powers contrary to the terms of the coalition agreement. Mugabe also undermined the other principals; Tsvangirai and Mutambara's authority by ignoring their voices and concerns. Generally, all the principals dishonoured some of the critical conditions and terms of their agreement thereby rendering the coalition government irrelevant. It has also been observed that one of the principles of the coalition was to ensure and make peace following the violence and conflicts that had characterised the entire election period of 2008 and the subsequent post-election hostilities. However, peace as expected did not come hence the realisation that the coalition government has failed in Zimbabwe. On a number of occasions, the other party (MDC-T) has threatened to withdraw from the alliance arguing that the other parties (ies) have been unfaithful and dishonest to the agreement.

Another strong challenge to the GNU comes from the security services' chiefs who have vowed that they will never recognize the other parties to the agreement. This has seriously jeopardised the transition to democracy as these have at some point threatened to carry out a coup-d'état should Tsvangirai of the MDC win any election. The existence of the Joint Monitoring and Implementation Committee (JOMIC) established under Article XX11 Of GPA was set up with the mandate to monitor the implementation of the G P A and ensure that that Agreement is implemented to the fullest extent possible in letter and spirit. However, its role and effectiveness have been seriously interrogated as it has failed to meet its expectations. There has been gross abuse of power by the principals, deliberate avoidance of the set procedures and protocol by the same principals and similarly illegal conduct by the security chiefs and yet JOMIC has never intervened.

Constitutional Amendment 18 and 19 have been viewed by the generality of the civic society sector as illegitimate. From the sentiments that were expressed during the 4th commemoration of the Zimbabwe People's Charter, the forum concurred that the amendments were clashing with the civil society that argued that they (amendments) were bent on imposing a constitution on the people. The failure by the GNU to avail a people-driven

constitution within the set time frame and even well after has been considered a dismal failure. The establishment of the Parliamentary Select Committee (COPAC) by government to spearhead the drafting of a new constitution was considered out of the expectations of the people. The civil society has always argued that the failure of the 1999 Constitutional Commission constitution draft was because it was not people-driven. Therefore, they still argue that this attempt should never be led by government but wholly owned and driven by the people. The rationale behind their argument is that once government gets involved, the security services will poke their nose and manipulate the whole systems and views of the people. Indeed, this is what the security services sector has done, taken over COPAC and twisted the views of the people to fit their desires.

Four years down the road, the GNU has not implemented any of its pledges and promises on the political environment. Elements of the opposition political parties and civic groups are still being tormented by repressive laws that hinder their freedoms; Public Order and Security Act and the Criminal Law Reform and Codification Act, (Zhangazha 2011).

In 2008, Jestina Mukoko, the Director of Zimbabwe Peace Project and two of her subordinates were arrested and detained for over ninety days without any charges and without anyone knowing their whereabouts (kidnapping). In 2010, during the period when people were airing their views for consideration in the COPAC-led constitution, affiliates of National Association of Non-Governmental Organisation^[8] (NANGO) went on the ground to raise awareness on the issues to be lobbied in the new document. The government banned these affiliates arguing that they were influencing the outcome of the constitution-making process. Further to that, twenty of these particularly from Zimbabwe Lawyers for Human Rights (ZLHR), Zimbabwe Civic Education Trust (ZIMCET) and Zimbabwe Peace Project (ZPP) were either arrested or tortured by ZANU PF youth militias and war veterans. Similarly, the Director of Centre for Research and Development (CRD), Farai Muguu was arrested and detained for weeks in May/June 2010 for allegedly interfering with the goings on in Chiadzwa diamond producing district. CRD had produced a report supporting claims of the diamonds being 'bloody' and tantamount to empowering the Kimberly Process Certification Scheme (KPCS) to ban their sale on the world market.

The government has also failed during the 4-yea period to re-establish a sound economic and social welfare base. Prior to the infamous 1999-2000 land invasion era, Zimbabwe was endowed with vast resources and vibrant industries that produced for export. However, most of them either closed or relocated across the borders leaving the local labour jobless. As the economy worsened, people resorted to foods from across the borders, inflation soared to 18-digit levels, and all social services collapsed; health and education institutions literally closed, water and electricity had become a dream while refuse and sewer in all urban centres had become an eye-soar. Most roads had collapsed and salaries for most Zimbabweans had been eroded such that they could no-longer buy a loaf of bread. However, the civic society believes

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that the current economic situation has not bettered the lives of the ordinary person as they can still not afford most of the available services like education, health, transport and basic food. According to the civil society organisations, the situation has only reversed such that all the previously unavailable resources are in abundance and yet unaffordable to the ordinary person. According to Lovemore Madhuku^[9], Chair of the National Constitutional Alliance, people thought the GNU had improved their lives when they compared the difficult lives that they lived during the 2007 to 2009 to the present. Madhuku argued that the fact that the basic life that any person is entitled to has not been achieved is a clear indication that nothing has improved. He argued that any measurement or benchmark for the GNU performance must be the availability of basic services at affordable rates to the lowest person in society.

The youth have also expressed their dissatisfaction at how the GNU has fared during the last 4 years of its existence. The youth through some of the civic groups that were interviewed indicated that the economy did not look bright enough to create jobs for all the thousands of youths who are in need of the jobs. Apparently Zimbabwe at any given moment has a total higher education enrollment of over 75 000 who also expect to secure life changing placements. The youth sector has also indicated that the majority of them have been abused by politicians in committing crimes particularly during campaign eras. The other concern by the youth was that there is no deliberate policy that affords them some quota in government facilities to ensure their representation.

The civil society, according to Ncube (2011) strongly believes that the media sector is still operating under draconian laws that do not allow freedom of journalist or their houses to write freely and express their views. The other concern is that in 2011, the Broadcasting Authority of Zimbabwe (BAZ), irregularly constituted by the relevant Ministry, issued out two broadcasting licenses to Zimpapers Talk Radio and ABC Communications ahead of every other applications. The media fraternity feels the GNU has not done anything in trying to free the operating media environment.

The other challenge that the GNU has encountered has been the belief of infallibility which the local leadership has embraced over a long period. This is rampant within the leadership in the GNU so much so that no-one is ready to cede power to anyone. This is evident in Mugabe's reluctance to hold free and fair elections, Mutambara's reluctance to step down from his Deputy Prime Minister's position regardless of his defeat from the party's helm and Tsvangirai's denial to have his party hold an elective congress as per the party's constitution. These attitudes are directly contrary to the former President of Zambia's belief which he aired out after his defeat by Michael Sata in 2011 when he said, Masunungure (2011: 1), "*We have an expression in the village: When the dance is over, stop dancing.*"

In February 2009 after signing to become Zimbabwe's Prime Minister, Tsvangirai addressed thousands of his supporters at Glamis Arena in Harare where he promised to pay civil servants rates above the poverty datum line in

foreign currency. Four years down the road, none of the civil servants has ever received anything half the poverty datum line. Presently, the poverty datum line is pegged at US\$540.00 and yet the salary rate is around US\$250.00, (CCZ 2011).

CONCLUSION

A Government of National Unity leads to more consensus-based politics in that a government comprising differing parties with different ideologies would need to concur in matters to do with governmental policy. A Government of National Unity better reflects the popular opinion of the electorate within a country. However, those who are against the concept of governments of national unity believe that such governments have a tendency to be fractious and prone to disharmony.

Through research, it has been established that governments of national unity cannot take place if one of the parties views the other party as enemies and adversaries as opposed to opponents that share the same national policy for national development. Indeed, this is the scenario that has affected the performance by the Zimbabwe's GNU whereby all the three parties consider each other as pathological enemies and would want as much as possible to outwit the other at the expense of the ordinary vote. Four years down the road, Zimbabwe's GNU has not really performed to the satisfaction of all the stakeholders as these stakeholders tend to have different tastes and desires. However, this second GNU in Zimbabwe's history of 32 years should serve as an important indicator and benchmark for future coalitions locally or abroad.

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Endnotes

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- [5] GNU and coalition government will be used interchangeably in this paper.
- [6] Information gathered during the 4th commemoration of the Zimbabwe People's Charter on 09/02/12.
- [7] Nation in this paper refers to a tribe or ethnicity. The latter two have been avoided for their negative and derogatory connotations.
- [8] Reports presented during NANGO organized constitution-making forums in Zimbabwe in 2009 at the Rainbow Towers meeting.
- [9] Paper presented at the 4th commemoration of the Zimbabwe People's Charter (ZPC) in Harare on 09/02/12.