

The Government of National Unity in Zimbabwe

Challenges and obstacles to public administration

N T Nhede

School of Public Management and Administration
University of Pretoria
Pretoria
South Africa

ABSTRACT

This article analyses the challenges of the Government of National Unity (GNU) on public administration in Zimbabwe. Conflicts do not only affect the economy, but also adversely affect the liberties of the population of the affected country. In the absence of timely interventions, the effects of internal conflicts may eventually spread to the neighbouring countries. In the interest of regional peace and trade, regional blocs have an obligation to participate in the search for a lasting solution to conflicts in member states. The 29th March 2008 harmonised general elections failed to produce an outright presidential winner. Subsequently this led to the non-recognition of the results of the run-off pitting Robert Mugabe of the Zimbabwe African National Union – Patriotic Front (ZANU PF) and Morgan Tsvangirai of the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC-T), by the local, regional and international communities. This in turn prompted the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC) to intervene in order to avert a leadership crisis by brokering a power-sharing agreement involving ZANU PF and the two MDC formations. The 15th September 2008 agreement marked the historic signing of the Global Political Agreement (GPA) which paved the way for the consummation of the GNU on 13th February 2009. The power-sharing deal has its own problems too. To determine and explore the various challenges and obstacles to public administration arising from the power-sharing agreement, relevant literature was studied, analysed and contextualised. The solution which was meant to achieve political expediency has presented public officials with some unanticipated challenges arising mainly from political polarisation and the politicisation of public institutions. Nevertheless, the GNU has registered a few positive results, but such successes are not within the scope of this article.

INTRODUCTION

The signing of the Global Political Agreement (GPA) by the three principals and the subsequent formation of an inclusive government was well received by Zimbabweans who had endured political violence and an unprecedented economic meltdown. The power-sharing agreement brought hope and high expectations from the suffering public who had anxiously waited for the return to peace and tranquillity that used to characterise Zimbabwean life. Masunungure and Mutasa (2011:138) summarise the people's expectations from the GNU. Citizens have vested interests in the performance of the GNU and harbour great expectations. However their excitement and euphoria get eroded when service delivery is less than satisfactory. Public officials were expected to revive government activities and implement policies which were either shelved or abandoned due to political upheavals and the non-availability of resources. However, the recovery process is being delayed by political squabbles.

Although public officials are expected to be apolitical, the prevailing situation has turned them into political agents of the political parties in the inclusive Government. They now pay allegiance to their political parties rather than serving the interests of Government which employs them. Against the background of political rivalry, officials continue to face a plethora of problems in the execution of their duties. Public officials are expected to implement party policies. Now the dilemma is: policies from which political party? Political parties in the inclusive Government advance party policies yet they know that their policies are quite different and diametrically opposed. ZANU PF has a *Look East policy* while the MDC formations believe that the solution for the Zimbabwean economy lies with the West. As a result there is confusion emanating from running a *parallel government*. Public officials have lost control of proceedings, yet the citizenry expect quality service delivery from Government. One Government official described the GNU as follows: "In ideological and political terms, ZANU PF and the MDC formations are like oil and water and they cannot mix to make a totally legal, fully representative and properly functional inclusive Government capable of delivering goods and services to the people" (*The Sunday Mail* online 23 January 2011). Leadership problems continue to take centre stage in the GNU because it is a marriage of convenience.

POLITICAL STALEMATE

The elections of 29 March 2008 were won by Tsvangirai of the MDC-T but the votes were not sufficient to enable him to form a Government. The presidential election was to be held again on 28 June 2008 in order to determine the ultimate winner between Mugabe and Tsvangirai. The law stipulates that if no candidate obtained a threshold of 50 per cent, then a run-off election would have to be held between the first two candidates (Masunungure and Mutasa 2011:133). The campaign period became very tense that violence erupted in most rural areas and townships. Tsvangirai withdrew from the presidential race a few days before the election citing violence against his supporters thereby reducing the election to a one man race. The election went ahead and the Zimbabwe Election Commission (ZEC) declared Mugabe the winner and was sworn in as the President of the Republic of Zimbabwe.



The MDC-T refused to accept defeat in an election they had not taken part in hence they did not recognise the results. The regional and international communities refused to recognise the run-off election results either on the basis that there was no competition. ZANU PF claims that they won the second round of the polls while the MDC-T maintains that it had won the first round and have the people's mandate to govern (Mapuva 2010:260). The need to hold talks on how to break the stalemate and move forward became apparent. The African Union (AU) and SADC intervened and brokered a power-sharing arrangement between ZANU PF and the two MDC formations. According to the AU, that was an *African solution to an African problem*. The SADC requested South Africa to facilitate the negotiations between ZANU PF and the two MDC formations. Former South African President, Thabo Mbeki brought the affected parties to the negotiation table and eventually an agreement was reached. The principals appended their signatures to the GPA which formed the basis of the consummation of the GNU.

THE GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNITY

On 13 February 2009, Zimbabweans across the political spectrum witnessed the official consummation of the inclusive Government. The three political parties were called upon to make concessions in order to reduce the tension, improve the economy and to agree on a roadmap leading to the holding of free and fair elections. Among other reforms, the writing of a new Constitution became paramount. ZANU PF retained the positions of President, First Vice President and Second Vice President. The MDC-T occupied the newly created Prime Minister and Deputy Prime Minister positions while the MDC-M provided the second Deputy Prime Minister. A comparison of the powers of the President and Prime Minister shows that the power-sharing deal was in favour of the President. Although it is impossible for power to be shared equally, this arrangement was disproportionately skewed in favour of ZANU PF. The unequal power structure has resulted in an unwieldy Government that has generated functional problems (Masunungure and Mutasa 2010:135).

The allocation of ministerial positions in the power-sharing arrangement proved to be a contentious issue. The principals failed to agree on the allocation of particular ministries. They all wanted to be allocated influential ministries such as Ministry of Defence, Ministry of Finance, Ministry of Home Affairs, and the Ministry of Information and Publicity so that they could direct the government's agenda on the one hand and on the other hand safeguard their political interests. Eventually some ministries had to be created to balance the number of portfolios allocated to the different political parties thereby creating not only unnecessary administrative overlaps but also a bloated administrative system to be administered by limited resources. The administrative structures became blurred and a source of confusion and delays in decision making and service delivery. The *politics of accommodation* took precedence over issues of resource availability and relevance of ministries to effective and efficient public service delivery. The heavily amended Constitution had to be amended for the 19th time in order to give legality to the GPA.

CHALLENGES AND OBSTACLES TO PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

Political polarisation

In the current Parliament there is neither a ruling party nor an opposition party; a scenario that is dangerous for democracy. Opposition political parties often provide checks and balances during parliamentary debates. The removal of checks and balances stifles debate and the resultant outcome is the emergence of a group, where the ruling elites will implement policies that will serve their interests at the expense of the Zimbabwean population (Chigora and Guzura 2011:23). Ministers are kept busy in their constituencies when there is a Government in waiting. Ile and Mapuva (2010:39) describe the power-sharing arrangement as a dead end implying that it is an unattainable arrangement given the animosity of the three political parties involved.

The quality of debates has also deteriorated because members of Parliament now debate issues along political lines. Chigora and Guzura (2011:25) observe that in Cabinet, the divisions are glaring as ministers drawn from the three political parties put party loyalty first when they discuss policy issues. The GNU has seen the demise of objective debate. It has failed to deliver on policies due to political polarisation. Cabinet ministers have failed to uphold the virtues of collective responsibility. Instead of supporting Government programmes, they concentrate on how to out-smart and back stab their opponents in the GNU at the expense of improving the welfare of the citizenry. Political parties in a coalition government naturally are the key stakeholders and often their interests collide. The spoilers want to defend the old order while at the same time sabotaging robust efforts to fully honour the pact (Masunungure and Mutasa 2011). Disrupting members from rival political parties contributing to parliamentary debates are not only infringements on other members' democratic rights, but have serious administrative implications. The absence of thorough debate gives rise to lack of substantive policies. The budgetary process has been adversely affected by the divisions in both Parliament and Cabinet. Accusation and counter-accusation lead to accountability problems. No party is ready to shoulder the blame. All the parties in the inclusive Government want to be associated with success stories. When Government policies fail to delivery, an excuse is always found in the name of a rival party.

Judging by the rivalry, the Speaker of Parliament has a difficult duty trying to bring the august House to order during parliamentary debates. Spending much time on trivial issues and heckling one another instead of critically looking at policy issues might result in Parliament churning out ill-conceived policies. This blame game has been counter-productive. Service delivery has not improved in towns and cities where the responsible Ministry of Local Government and Public Works (under a minister from ZANU PF) has failed to work with MDC councillors allegedly due to political and ideological differences (Marumahoko 2010:1). Referring to one similar clash with the parent ministry, the Mayor of Kwekwe, is quoted as having said, "I do not want to rule out sabotage given our different political affiliations. Development has been delayed as a result of these clashes" (*The Independent* 30 March 2012). ZANU PF views the MDC-T as an agent of Western imperialism with a mission to effect regime change in Zimbabwe. On the contrary, the MDC-T accuses ZANU PF of creating the unclear situation affecting the country through years of misrule.



The constitution making process being spearheaded by a Constitutional Parliamentary Select Committee (COPAC) is well behind schedule due to disagreements on what to include in the new Constitution. The draft Constitution could not be finalised in time due to continuous haggling by political parties in the inclusive Government (*The Herald* online 4 April 2012). The concept of consulting the electorate in order to produce a people driven Constitution was marred by intimidation and violence. According to Mutisi (2011:4), progress on the constitution making process has been affected by political differences as each party seeks to influence the content of the Constitution. It is further alleged that people were drilled on what to say before the outreach programme which was meant to collect views from the general public. There have been accusations and counter accusations from political parties on the disruption of these outreach meetings. Mapuva (2010:260) points out that war veterans were involved in mobilising ZANU PF youths to disrupt the constitution-making process.

The media has been polarised with the independent media being viewed as sympathetic to the MDC formations while the State controlled media is considered to be pro ZANU PF. The confusion emanating from the perceived political alignment affects the general public. They are denied their right to accurate information from which they can make informed decisions on their leadership preferences. Sabotage of developmental plans initiated by rival political parties has derailed progress in some Government programmes. Commenting on the delays in the implementation of the Government-approved project of producing ethanol, the Editorial comment of *The Chronicle* points out that the project was falling victim to the politics of the inclusive Government yet such developmental projects were aimed at benefiting everyone regardless of political affiliation (*The Chronicle* online 21 March 2012). Professional ethics and non-partisanship have been compromised as public officials receive instructions from their political parties and from Government as well. However, due to the political polarisation, public officials tend to implement policies initiated or supported by their respective political parties.

The sharing of ministries has exacerbated the tension among Government officials. According to Maxwell Siyanda of *The Daily News*, the differences in policies have manifested mainly in ministries that ZANU PF and MDC share, chiefly the Ministry of Local Government, Rural and Urban Development; Ministry of Justice and Legal Affairs; Ministry of Media, Information and Publicity; and the Ministry of Home Affairs (*The Daily News* 6 May 2012). This also serves to confirm the widely accepted view that ministers and permanent secretaries from the different political parties have failed to work together. They disagree on matters pertaining to their ministries and their missions seem to be outwitting and discrediting political rivals instead of concentrating on implementing substantive public policies meant to improve service delivery. President Mugabe unilaterally appointed all permanent secretaries to the ministries and hence all the permanent secretaries in all ministries are thus ZANU PF loyalists causing difficulty for the MDC ministers (Matyszak 2010). Open bickering has the potential to tear apart administrative structures and perpetuate *parallel government* which is detrimental to quality and efficient public service delivery. According to media reports, there are currently 34 vacant parliamentary seats. The blame has been placed squarely on the GPA for putting a moratorium on the holding of by-elections. People residing in these constituencies have no one to represent them in Parliament (*The Herald* online 4 April 2012). Thus it can be argued that the views, wishes and aspirations of these people have

not been discussed in Parliament because of the administrative challenges faced by the inclusive Government.

Mistrust and rivalry have cascaded down to the local levels of public administration. Some chiefs and village headmen have publicly declared their political affiliations. Because of the vicious rivalry among the parties in the GNU, participatory development has been crippled. ZANU PF ministers and candidates have often openly declared, during political rallies in opposition constituencies, that the people will see little government food aid, assistance with agriculture inputs or development so long as the area continues to support an opposition party (Matyszak 2010). Unfortunately, government assistance has been politicised as well. Despite all this, the leaders have failed to stand up to these challenges and obstacles to public administration. The *fractured* political landscape has exposed public officials and threatened the viability of some meaningful developmental initiatives considered to be sponsored by a rival political party. Development and funding opportunities are lost while the leaders are embroiled in trivial and sabotage issues. In early 2012, the ZANU PF leaders in Masvingo banned 29 Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) operating in the province for failing to comply with the national registration requirements. The NGOs were also accused of meddling in politics by pursuing the regime change agenda and were labelled foot soldiers of the MDC. However, the Association of Non-Governmental Organisations (NANGO) vehemently denied the allegations and lamented the negative implications the move will have on rural people in the province who were relying on these organisations for food aid (*The Zimbabwean* online 15 February 2012).

Unresolved GPA issues

The inclusive Government has made life difficult for public officials because of the non-implementation of some of the reforms agreed on in the GPA. Economic activities have been paralysed by the illegal economic sanctions that have not yet been lifted. Zimbabwean companies cannot resuscitate the economy when they cannot trade with their partners in Europe due to economic sanctions. The deadlock among the three political parties that form the inclusive Government is difficult to be resolved, as ZANU PF is adamant to make further concessions when the illegal economic sanctions are still imposed on them while the MDC-T argues that these are targeted sanctions meant to punish individuals for violating the rule of law. "The sanctions debate in Zimbabwe has also become polarised, with ZANU PF on one side accusing the MDC of renegeing on its promise to have these restrictive measures removed, and the MDC on the other hand arguing that the removal of such measures is dependent upon visible democratic reforms by ZANU PF" (Mutisi 2010:4). From a ZANU PF perspective it cannot be business as usual when they cannot travel overseas and conduct Government business and when they cannot reach out to their supporters in Europe.

Media and security reforms have not been fully implemented and from an MDC perspective, nothing has changed in terms of media coverage. They are still victims of propaganda and ridicule by the State media. There is no balanced coverage of events and party activities by the State media. As a result ZANU PF still enjoys exclusive access to State media while the MDC formations receive unlimited coverage from the private media. The non-implementation of security reforms has inhibited the fair application of the rule of law. The continued selective application of the law has contributed to the tension filled

relationship among officials in the inclusive Government. Security chiefs have openly declared their allegiance to ZANU PF. This has made the application of the rule of law very difficult in that junior officers cannot be seen to be contradicting or working against their superiors. Security departments are expected to be apolitical and professional. Their duty is to defend the country and the citizenry regardless of their political persuasions when they are under attack.

If the parties to the GPA remain in their deeply entrenched positions, public officials continue to face challenges in the execution of their duties. The public expects government officials to deliver quality services yet they do not have the resources. When public officials fail to meet the expected performance, politicians also accuse them of trying to sabotage government programmes. The current administrative challenges have placed public officials between a rock and a hard surface. Failure to implement the outstanding reform as recommended by SADC presents serious challenges to public administration.

Ideological differences

The political parties that formed the GNU are of different ideological persuasions. Their historical backgrounds are fundamentally different. These differences have been a source of discomfort. ZANU PF portrays a Marxist outlook while the MDC-T is more inclined towards Western capitalism. According to Jonathan Moyo, the coalition Government was not a viable solution to the crisis because it brought ideologically irreconcilable political forces together, hence the inclusive Government is an awkward and dysfunctional structure (*The Sunday Mail* online 23 January 2011). At its formation the MDC members were largely drawn from labour unions, academics and students who were disgruntled with the ZANU PF government. As a nationalist party that fought in the trenches for the independence of Zimbabwe, ZANU PF views the MDC formations with suspicion given their links with the West in general and Britain in particular.

Mapuva (2010:256) concurs with Moyo that ideological differences between Mugabe (of Marxist orientation) and Tsvangirai (of the capitalist school) have seen them and other senior government officials failing to work together. According to ZANU PF this historical development, gives the party the leverage to play the role of *big brother* in the shaky inclusive Government. They have always defended their misgivings on the MDC's involvement with the West by alluding to the fact that many people lost their lives fighting to liberate Zimbabwe from the yoke of colonialism and that history has taught them how the imperialists would always want to come back through the back door; and this time using the MDC-T leader as their front man. They accuse the MDC formations as political parties without traceable records of leadership and governance issues. The MDC formations accuse ZANU PF of dwelling too much on history when the country is in an economic crisis because of poor implementation of policies and the absence of leadership renewal.

The MDC-T argues that for Zimbabwe to extricate herself from the current economic crisis it needs friends with the capacity to help and the European Union is one such bloc. While the MDC formations pin their hopes on the West, ZANU PF believes genuine and all-weather friends are found in the East hence the decision to perpetuate the *Look East policy*. With the inclusive Government embroiled in such accusations and counter accusations and the principals remaining stuck to their positions and political beliefs, public

officials find themselves at the mercy of politicians. They cannot exercise professionalism and remain apolitical when they are expected to implement decisions coming from different political masters.

Lack of political will

Despite the formation of the GNU, problems have continued to trouble the inclusive Government. Although reduced in magnitude, political violence and intimidation are still a cause for concern. The political leaders have called upon all perpetrators of violence and intimidation to desist from harassing their political rivals and forge a unity of purpose that shows that Zimbabweans have matured politically. Nevertheless, calling for an end to violence without compensating the victims of political violence and taking stern corrective measures against those who continue to abuse others in the name of their political parties may not yield positive results. Chigora and Guzura (2011:24) note that the power-sharing agreement offers little scope for dealing with past human rights abuses hence national healing has been received with mixed feelings. The GNU must unequivocally demonstrate that it has the political muscle and the political will to eradicate political violence and intimidation. The unity of purpose must be visible. Threats alone may not deter would be offenders.

Although the GNU assigned three ministers to spear-head the reconciliation process, the effort has not been very fruitful. Despite the noble effort to promote national healing and reconciliation, there are arguments as to whether the national healing and reconciliation project should be led by politicians, given the politics of partisanship that have characterised the political landscape of Zimbabwe before the formation of the GNU (Machakanja 2010). The irony behind the reconciliation drive is that while the programme focuses on forgiveness, a group of youths known as *Chipangano* is allegedly forcing non ZANU PF Harare residents to attend ZANU PF functions. Thus, according to Matyszak (2010:117), there is no intention of addressing the restorative, truth-telling and prosecutorial components of *justice* when victims of violence are simply exhorted to forgive, forget and move on. Without taking punitive measures against the group such activities will continue to tarnish the image of the party and the inclusive Government. Similarly, the State media has also reported that MDC-T youths are alleged to have beaten up police officers who were on duty. Such lawlessness impacts negatively on public administration as it continues to tear public institutions apart.

The leaders have to act decisively on lawlessness in order to instil confidence in public officials and also protect them from political hooligans bent on destabilising the inclusive Government. The leaders should pay attention to public officials who are now inclined to serve their political masters at the expense of the general public. Citizens now fear to express their views at public meetings convened to solicit public views on developmental issues lest there are reprisals from political opponents. The public has been very sceptical about the reconciliation drive being led by politicians when it is well known that parties to the inclusive Government are more interested in pushing forward their individual political agendas. Scepticism on the effectiveness of the reconciliation mission has been rife in communities which experienced intimidation and violence because the alleged perpetrators of violence have not been brought before the courts to respond to the allegations being levelled against them.

Some senior security officials and traditional chiefs have publicly declared their political affiliation and in some cases individuals have been threatened with unspecified actions



should they not publicly surrender and defect to the other political party. "These security chiefs publicly identify with ZANU PF not only because of the party's ideals but also because of the economic benefits derived from this association" (Mutisi 2011:4). This lack of political commitment to the GNU is most worrying. The leaders have not been firm in denouncing and discouraging reckless utterances with the potential of creating despondency that will tear the GNU apart.

Since the inception of the GNU, the leaders have demonstrated that the inclusive Government was a marriage made under duress. The leaders were mainly interested in safeguarding the interests of their individual political parties. They tussled for ministerial positions, diplomatic posts, appointment of governors and other senior positions in government. So intense were the squabbles that former South African President, Thabo Mbeki as the facilitator had to intervene to break the impasse. The tussle for particular ministries shows that the different political parties want exclusive control of the security and economic issues of the country. They wanted to take advantage of the peaceful environment to perpetuate their political agenda thereby exposing their lack of commitment to the inclusive Government. It appears that from the inception of the GNU, the three political parties were searching for individual political credit and personal glory by monopolising the success of the GNU. Such were the squabbles that the GNU ended up exceeding the number of ministries stipulated in the GPA and having co-ministers sharing the Ministry of Home Affairs. This arrangement has given credence to the commonly held view that Zimbabwe is operating a *parallel government*. The allegations that senior ZANU PF ministers snub meetings called by the Prime Minister when other ministers attend such meetings have fuelled the *parallel government* speculation. Resistance to the new executive Prime Minister undermines the good functioning of the new administration (Mapuva 2010). The overlap in some ministries coupled with the absence of a clear cut reporting structure in ministries such as Home Affairs divides the ministry along political lines. MDC-T sympathisers would want to work with the MDC-T co-minister and ZANU PF stalwarts would prefer working with the ZANU PF co-minister. The sharing of ministries and lack of political commitment to real power sharing has created administrative challenges with public officials. The organisational structure has become unclear and confusing thereby causing unnecessary delays in service delivery.

The tension and suspicion among rival camps remain and has made service delivery difficult. Some recent media reports point out that food and service delivery are being linked to politics and such developments are quite disturbing. This is tantamount to vote buying and is a serious threat to democracy. The use of politicians to lead the reconciliation process has had limited successes.

Structural defects

Differences in the interpretation of some sections of the GPA and provisions of the Constitution of Zimbabwe: Amendment No. 19 has created friction within the inclusive Government. The President has made several appointments without consulting the other principals in the inclusive Government as stipulated in the GPA. The MDC formations have described these appointments as null and void. They insist on being involved and consulted on the appointments of senior Government officials while ZANU PF asserts that it is the

Presidential prerogative enshrined in the Constitution of Zimbabwe (Mutisi 2011). The big question now is: which of the three documents carries more weight? the GPA, Constitutional Amendment No.19 or the old Constitution of Zimbabwe? Regrettably for the GNU, the President has chosen to abide by the old Constitution especially when appointing officials to senior and sensitive government positions. "The legislative requirements of consulting each other among the principals have been thrown out of the window and what remains is the older version of the political leadership in the country" (Mapuva 2010:260). In the absence of a harmonised position, the appointment debate will continue to present serious challenges to public administration in Zimbabwe as the other parties in the inclusive Government cry foul for not being consulted before the appointment of senior government officials. In the absence of clear and distinct structures, Zimbabwe is going to witness the gradual displacement of career civil servants by partisan Government officials; a development which is not good for state affairs. All the parties in the inclusive Government are guilty of exacerbating the gradual erosion of career civil servants.

CONCLUSION

A power-sharing agreement should not be a marriage of convenience, devoid of total commitment to the national cause. It must be borne in mind that the GNU was born out of the desire to bring together Zimbabweans and establish common ground before holding free, fair and credible general elections. Nonetheless, the impending general elections seem to have ignited anxiety among principals, their political parties and party supporters. Party officials in the inclusive Government have placed party positions ahead of government positions to the extent of employing dirty tricks against political rivals as a way of gaining political support and in the process compromising the quality of service delivery. Under the GNU, public officials should remain apolitical and developmental programmes should not be politicised either. In cases where public officials have ceased to be apolitical and developmental programmes have been politicised, the leaders have an obligation to jointly depoliticise the public institutions in order to uphold professional ethics, accountability, transparency, fairness, citizen participation, good governance, and democracy. Zimbabwe currently needs to revamp public institutions if it is to overcome these challenges to effective public administration that have been institutionalised. With total commitment from the GNU these challenges and obstacles to public administration can be overcome.

REFERENCES

- Chigora, P. and Guzura, T. 2011. The Politics of the Government of National Unity (GNU) and Power Sharing in Zimbabwe: Challenges and Prospects for Democracy. *African Journal of History and Culture*, 3(2):20–26.
- Ile, I. and Mapuva, J. 2010. Citizen Participation and Democracy – Safeguarding Citizen Participation Through Government of National Unity (GNU) or Democracy Violated? *Journal of Public Administration*, 45(1):30–42.
- Machakanja, P. 2010. National Healing and Reconciliation in Zimbabwe: Challenges and Opportunities. Institute of Peace Leadership and Governance: Africa University: 1–16.



- Mapuva, J. 2010. Government of National Unity (GNU) As a Conflict Prevention Strategy: Case of Zimbabwe and Kenya. *Journal of Sustainable Development in Africa*, 12(6):247–262.
- Marumahoko, S. 2010. Testing the boundaries of fiscal decentralisation for urban councils in Zimbabwe. Masters thesis, University of the Western Cape: 1–64.
- Masaka, D. 2011. Moral Paralysis in Zimbabwe's Economy: A Challenge to the Government of National Unity (GNU). *International Journal of Politics and Good Governance*, 2(2.2):1–25.
- Masunungure, E.V. and Mutasa, F. 2011. The Nexus between Disputed Elections and Governments of National Unity in Africa. *Africa Insight*, 41(1):129–142.
- Matyszak, D. 2010. *Law, Politics and Zimbabwe's 'Unity' Government*. Harare: Konrad Adenauer Stiftung.
- Mutisi, M. 2011. Beyond the Signature: Appraisal of the Global Political Agreement (GPA) and Implications for Intervention. *The African Centre for Constructive Resolution of Disputes (ACCORD)*, Issue # 004:1–7.

ELECTRONIC SOURCES

- The Chronicle*. 2012. Leaders must stop politicising national projects. *The Chronicle* (Online), Available: <http://www.chronicle.co.zw/index.php?view=article&catid=39%Aopinion-a-analysis>. Accessed: 16 April 2012.
- The Daily News*. 2012. No end in sight for ministers squabbling. *The Daily News* (Online), Available: <http://dailynews.co.zw/index.php/news/9296-no-end-in-sight-for-ministers-s>. Accessed: 7 May 2012.
- The Herald*. 2012. Time the GPA parties abandoned comfort zones, went for elections. *The Herald* (Online), Available: <http://www.herald.co.zw/index.php?view=article&catid=39%Aopinion-a-analysis&i>. Accessed: 4 April 2012.
- The Sunday Mail*. 2011. GPA mixes like oil and water. *The Sunday Mail* (Online), Available: <http://66.135.59.88/index.php?view=article&catid=39%3Aopinion-a-analysis&id=12>. Accessed: 17 May 2012.
- The Independent*. 2012. Mayors slam Chombo. *The Independent* (Online), Available: <http://www.theindependent.co.zw/local34865-mayors-slam-chombo-.html?tmpl=com>. Accessed: 5 April 2012.
- The Zimbabwean*. 2012. Thousands face starvation as Masvingo governor bans NGOs. *The Zimbabwean* (Online), Available: <http://www.thezimbabwean.co.uk/news/zimbabwe/56334/thousands-face-starvation-a>. Accessed: 9 May 2012.