

Rhetoric of Political Servant Leadership- a review of Zimbabwe's New Political Dispensation (NPD) Servant Leadership Pledge

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Abstract- The Zimbabwe political topography has been a subject of apprehension, pessimism, sarcasm and disappointment. Metaphorically, the nature and type of Zimbabwean politics caused untold destruction of the national value system, weakening of all critical national institutions, undermining the country's beneficial external relations, annihilation of the economic wellbeing of the country and engendering hate, ethnic conflicts and regionalism as a ploy to consolidate political power. This state of affairs has made those willing to engage into political activities (politicking) consider politics a 'declared enemy number one.' Any aspirations for political office at local and national levels is met with disdain and brute force by the existing players because many of them engage into politics to manipulate state institutions for personal gain. The country has degenerated to levels of a rogue state, with most global statistical indicators depicting Zimbabwe as a country worse than those at war. There is a nexus between bad politics and bad economic governance. Ugly heads of fraud, corruption, dishonesty, exploitation, bribery, generalised impunity, nepotism, endemic political indoctrination and state national economic decay are symptomatic of bad politics in a country.

Accordingly, Zimbabweans continue to wish and pray for the integrity of those taking part in the sustenance of our national body politic with calls from right thinking citizens for a total clean-up of our national political processes and systems. Muchadenyika (2015) The majority of Zimbabweans believe that de-risking politics will inevitably inspire and encourage those that are servant leadership material to participate in national political activities without fear of death, loss of wealth, freedoms and endangering immediate and extended family members. Deployments made into state departments are believed to be done on the basis of one's political correctness which is in direct contradiction to the ethos of professionalism and meritocracy. A case of the ruling party's legal affairs secretary automatically become minister of legal affairs or the economic affairs secretary becoming minister of economic planning etc. The eventual outcome of which is systematic destruction of confidence in national institutions, reduced public service standards, increased unprofessional behaviour and impunity substantially creating an uncompetitive Zimbabwean state. It therefore justifies undertaking study, analysing and comparatively evaluating the generally accepted, desired progressive and developmental

politics with our model of Zimbabwe politics particularly as it provides a response to the pledges made by the current Zimbabwe government of servant leadership, pragmatism and democratic governance. (President Mnangagwa Inauguration speech 2018) Whilst, the public pronouncements appear to portray a progressive, accountable and futuristic state, activities on the ground give credence to volatile messy politics which has founded a culture of state structure manipulation needing among other forms, constructive criticism. Servant leadership is subtended by tenets of care, empathy, all democratic principles, good governance practices, building of solid national institutions, creation of a just society that responds to the needs of all and sundry, Kirk Helliker & Tendai Murisa (2020)

Index Terms- new political dispensation, political servant leadership, national institutions, corruption, economic growth

I. INTRODUCTION

Globally, Servant leadership phenomena dates back to the early 18th century albeit in diverse configurations and structures. Larry C. Spears (1970). Mid to late 18th century, Robert Greenleaf muted and identified the model of servant being turned to a leader, strange as it may have appeared then. The model was endlessly motivated in his various writings leading to more writings about this phenomena way into the 21st century. Servant leadership phenomenon was increasingly expanded in many writings particularly where new concepts of leadership development surfaced to enhance the servant leadership philosophy. Scholars and writers incrementally motivated the sanctity of servant leadership with Winston and Patterson (2006) bringing on board the concept of virtue-based leadership (Agapao) The argument that "the virtues of leadership are increasingly becoming the central issue" in the realm of leadership development.

Further, Africa trails behind in harnessing and exploiting the servant leadership philosophy for the continent to exploit opportunities for futuristic, progressive and developmental global leadership. (Ncube, 2001). Servant leadership models are the ideal leadership models though less preferred by the majority of African leaders. Servant leadership is less practised in Africa because it demands that one has to climb down the 'leadership high horse',

humble themselves to become a servant to their followers first and embrace all critical features and values of servant leadership. (Sendjaya et al. 2008) According to Robert Greenleaf (1970) providing elaborate responses to the following questions would set a firm foundation for institutionalisation of servant leadership. “do those served grow as persons; do they, while being served, become healthier, wiser, freer, more autonomous, more likely themselves to become servants? And, what is the effect on the least privileged in society? Will they benefit, or at least not be further deprived?”

The African continent deserves united and coherent regime of servant leaders. A robust, deliberate and intentional process must be undertaken to produce African leader’s conscious of the philosophy servant leadership, which is arguably a shift from the generic African propensity of creating very ‘strong men and women’. These strong men and women are incapable of appreciating good tenets and unending benefits of leadership renewal in their nation states (Nelson 2003). This tendency deliberately complicated peaceful change and transitioning of political leadership in many countries across the continent, Zimbabwe included. Successive leadership renewal brings about sustainable development, capable to engender aspects of open-minded leadership in the new era of globalisation. Graham (1991). Institutionalisation of leadership renewal in Africa in general and Zimbabwe in particular has found no favour with the ruling elite. Far reaching changes continue to be instituted to undermine the processes of change of leadership. Manipulation of national institutions associated with laying a solid foundation for organised, systematic, seamless leadership renewal is rife, particularly in countries ‘with plague of genocide, patriarchy, autocratic leadership, corruption, and human suffering’ (Le Grange). Tenets of forced amendments of national constitutions, governance structures and violence in silencing of citizen

participation in matters affecting institutionalising servant leadership among other governance matters appear to be African leadership default setting (Murithi, 2009). The advantages of which shall be discussed in detail in the sections to follow. This comparative analysis shall shed light on the Zimbabwe political developments, reflecting on an in-depth evaluation of the failure of the founding of the Zimbabwean State predominantly exposing the wrong tenets of institutionalising the defence, protection and consolidation of personal power. The general euphoria post-independence Zimbabwe laid an incorrect national foundation for leadership renewal, institutionalising a culture of service, governance and accountability. (Caston Nyawo and Tony Rich 1981) The evaluation shall further make an in-depth analysis of the pledge for servant leadership made by the New Political Dispensation (NPD) interchangeably known as the second republic, its sincerity, progress made to date and indeed the nexus between intentions and actual delivery of the pledged servant leadership. The paper shall strive to explore best practice, available literature, and expert opinion to propose a hybrid model for appropriate political servant leadership, Zimbabwe may adopt. Optimum Political servant leadership is attained by institutionalising credible processes and systems in the administration of the state supported by a leadership structure with incontestable leadership credentials. A resolute commitment to rule of law, security of property, democracy and good governance makes the deployment of national administrative effort to produce a political servant leadership for a truly democratic country. Yukl, (1990) The key outputs of effective political servant leadership include exponential economic growth, creation of employment, provision of social safety nets, and improving the country’s external diplomatic relations.

Table 4: Characteristics of Servant Leadership

Laub (1999)	Dennis & Bocarnea (2005)	Wong & Davey (2007)	Sendjaya, Sarros, & Santora (2008)	van Dierendonck & Nuijten (2011)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Developing people • Sharing leadership • Displaying authenticity • Valuing people • Providing leadership • Building community 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Empowerment • Trust • Humility • Agapao love • Vision <p>Barbuto & Wheeler (2006)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Altruistic calling • Emotional healing • Persuasive mapping • Organizational stewardship • Wisdom 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Serving and developing others • Consulting and involving others • Humility and selflessness • Modeling integrity and authenticity • Inspiring and influencing others 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Transforming influence • Voluntary subordination • Authentic self • Transcendental spirituality • Covenantal relationship • Responsible morality 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Empowerment • Humility • Standing back • Authenticity • Forgiveness • Courage • Accountability • Stewardship

SOURCE: Adapted from van Dierendonck, D. (2011). Servant leadership: A review and syntheses. *Journal of Management*, 37(4), 1228-1261.

II. BACKGROUND TO THE PLEDGE

Zanu PF of Zimbabwe, as the ruling party, among the liberation movements in Africa, deliberately failed to institutionalise leadership renewal among its rank and file, not only at the top but within its various structures. A paper by William Cyrus Reed (1993) on ZANU and the Politics of Contested Sovereignty in Zimbabwe, recognised that the party has lost its founding ideology resulting in the weakening of claim to sovereignty. This weakness led to what many political scientists continue to debate and failing to reach consensus on nature and form of succession model the ZANU PF party followed to create the New Political Dispensation. According to Dr Ibbo Mandaza, the host of Southern African Political Economy Series (SAPES), political analysts disagree that the circumstances leading to the removal of Robert Mugabe from office as the first secretary of the party ZANU PF satisfy the notion of, not only passing of a vote of no confidence on the seating leader but also resignation by the incumbent from office.

The soft Coup de ta of November 2017

Robert Gabriel Mugabe (RGM) was recalled by his party, which coincided with mass street protests, a development which many less expected as a route mighty Mugabe would follow to leave office of the first secretary of ZANU PF. This development demonstrated a failure of leadership on his part. Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2015) particularized the centrality of Mugabeism in Zanu Pf, his modes of rule, sets of state practices and official discursive narratives prominent in the 'Mugabe era. He further notes that These are not organically reducible to Mugabe the person but are firmly and institutionally embedded within the system of ZANU-PF organisationally.

On the Zimbabwe government side, conditions obtaining during the same period widely fulfilled globally accepted ethos of a processes of impeaching a seating head of state and government. A Combined sitting of parliament and senate invoked the constitutional provisions for the impeachment of a sitting head of state. Mugabe had no choice that to tender his resignation ahead of the finalisation of the impeachment process. Notions of a coup de ta, although still being debated by a number of scholars, were debunked particularly in the case of wholesome citizen participation in a peaceful demonstration and the eventual resignation RGM, the incumbent from office.

Whilst a number of Zanu Pf and Government insiders continue to define the extent of political pressure which was likely induced on RGM, the role of the military was visibly pronounced to the extent that military tankers were observed rolling down-town Harare heightening a contra-narrative of a coup de ta. An announcement to the effect that Robert Mugabe had been put under house arrest by the command element paving way for the securocrats to fish out undesirable elements around RGM and ZANU PF, sustained perception of a military because the military has no constitutional responsibilities to protect ZANU PF party.

In spite of having been banned and suspended from all party activities in the build-up to Mugabe leaving office (Soft Coup De Ta), Emmerson Dambudzo Mnangagwa (EDM) commanded significant support from securocrats in particular and the party structures in general. A combination of the citizenry's wish to see

the back of RGM who personified state and ZANU PF monumental failures since independence, the ZANU PF leadership renewal conundrum and the military involvement, necessitated collective effort to force RGM to leave office. From exile, EDM returned to lead both ZANU PF and the government of Zimbabwe unopposed, thanks to the implementation of the 2013 national constitution.

The servant leadership pledge by President ED Mnangagwa

There are two critical pieces of written speeches by President EDM, the inaugural one of 2017 and his inauguration speech of 2018. Whilst the inaugural speech contains no direct pledge to servant leadership, it is the 2018 Inauguration speech which extensively elaborated on the pledge. *"I am your listening President, a servant leader. In this vein, those who will occupy public office at any level, under my Government will be required to exercise servant leadership in the execution of their duties and to be humble and responsive in their interactions and dealings with the citizenry. Equally, the bureaucracy in the Second Republic will be expected to be development oriented, responsive to the people's needs as well as exhibit high principles of professional ethics and integrity. My administration will therefore expect public sector officials to deliver quality and timely services to the people as well as facilitate business, trade and investment. Bureaucratic bottlenecks, unnecessary delays, lethargic and corrupt activities will not be tolerated. We must as a society encourage and inculcate the culture of hard honest work. The prosecution of perpetrators of corruption will be carried out without fear or favour. In the Second Republic, no person or entity will be allowed to steal, loot or pocket that which belongs to the people of Zimbabwe. No one is above the law. This is a New Zimbabwe, the Zimbabwe we all want"* (Emmerson Dambudzo Mnangagwa (2018)

The commitment for servant leadership is richly packed, sanctions and punishment for those caught on the wrong side of the law is clearly defined and indeed extensive commitment to highest moral standards, inexplicable culture work and servant leadership. (Oakeshott 1983). The paper shall delve deeper into the pledge, defining successes and failures of the NPD in meeting the necessary milestones in servant leadership and indeed providing proposals and remedies where necessary. The paper will further make an in-depth comparative analysis of both the old and new political dispensations demonstrating the various differences which exist between the two.

1. Institutionalisation of the pledge

According to Larry C Spears (2006) a paradox exists between the terms "servant and leadership". Larry further notes that the basic idea of servant leadership is both logical and intuitive. Striking a balance between being a servant to those being led and being a leader who provides strategic guidance requires high levels of discipline and professionalism. Striking the balance requires role clarity, institutionalising procedures and systems and an accountable government architecture capable to appropriately operationalise servant leadership. Further, strengthening existing institutions, creating new ones has a knock-on effect on delivery and accountability in servant leadership.

Institutionalisation of servant leadership begins with the presidium. There are elements necessary to characterise the presidium as a servant leadership institution. Some of these elements are covered by the national supreme law which kick in at the point of taking oath of office. In the matter under review, the 2013 national constitution defines the constitutional powers of the president particularly as it relates to the operation of law, national security and the sovereignty of Zimbabwe. According to the Institute of Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA), a constitution empowers and regulates the exercise of public power by the President among other state arms. It provides a legitimate legal and political basis for proposing and enacting laws. Chapter 5 of the constitution defines parameters of exercise of power, duties, election, removal from office, immunity, remuneration and resignation of the President among other issues. The executive power of the president provides room for abuse of power if not properly regulated and can be manipulated to, not only undermine the constitutional order, but can be exploited to build excessive political power around the person of the president. (2013 National constitution)

In Africa, many Presidents have failed to uphold, defend, obey and respect national constitutional order. (van Hensbroek, 2001). For the person of the President and the ubuntu philosophy becomes a necessary attribute and is often conceptualized based on five social values of survival, spirit of solidarity, compassion, respect, and dignity. Mbigi (1997), Zimbabwe is no exception. In my view Countries, such as Angola, DR Congo, Somalia and recently Zimbabwe, have undergone plunder, destruction, conflict and general economic decay because the institution of the presidency is misunderstood to be incapable of providing appropriate leadership necessary to facilitate economic, social and political advancement. (Marija Seba et al 2012) The president is responsible for putting together a competent executive team whose functions are to operationalise the constitution through enacting national laws and regulations. Snyder, Bruck and Sapin's (1954). The obtaining state of affairs in Zimbabwe signifies lack of meritocracy in public service deployments partly because of constitutional provisions which limit the president to selecting ministers from elected members of parliament. The resultant effect is that the president naturally selects from the party he belongs to. This comes with its own limitations principally as some of the decisions made militate against the ethos of professionalism, good corporate governance and meritocracy. According to Sendjaya & Cooper (2011) provided voluntary subordination, authentic self, covenantal relationship, responsible morality, transcendental spirituality and transforming influence as the behavioural attributes of servant leadership. In the case of Zimbabwe, the exercise of these behaviours is not fully demonstrated because Not all ministerial deployments are servant leadership material. Unrestrained constitutional amendments result in weakening of the supreme law of the land. The predecessor constitution had a record number of amendments some of which became tools of undermining the constitution itself mainly where too much power was invested in an individual, the person of RGM. According to Mike Pence, the outgoing Vice President of the United States (2021) the tendency to weaponize political differences undermines effectiveness of national institutions and democracy and government laws are not of men. According to the Zimbabwe Legal information Institute (ZMLII),

The existing supreme charter has so far undergone in excess of 15 mutilations before it has fully been applied. The legislative reform process has politically suffocated, key provisions of the constitution are yet to define enabling legislation to give effect to the constitutional provisions. The Servant leadership pledge would ensure the full implementation of the constitution, allow all arms of the state to play their designated responsibilities and ensure appropriate institutional safeguards are maintained around key national institutions such as the legislature, executive and judiciary to enhance their efficient operation.

Servant leadership respects the sanctity of life through ensuring creation of social safety nets, poverty alleviation and provision of equal opportunities for all. Institutionalising social protection through provision of highest standards of health, education and social cohesion. public health is critical in underwriting sustenance of a healthy and productive nation. Servant leadership does not thrive on internal ethnic and tribal conflicts caused by deliberate government policy induced underdevelopment. Servant leadership must equitably distribute public services, through devolving governance powers to local levels and ensuring duties and responsibilities among state branches are competently exercised (D Muchadenyika 2014)

State organs responsible for revenue generation, collection and management must function within the prescribed parameters, and must respect all set governance and accountability standards. According to the World Bank, Weaknesses in oversight organs, such as Zimbabwe revenue authority, Zimbabwe Republic Police, Zimbabwe Anticorruption Commission, among others, continues to be suboptimal exposing the country revenue management to high profile pilferage among other inadequacies. Servant leadership respects patriotism (Ondina et al 2016) Streamlining government work simplifies its work plan and prevents incidences of institutionalised graft, theft and corruption.

Creation of employment, descent work, through a robust macroeconomic framework is a necessity, on its own an integral component of servant leadership. Formal organised labour is a requirement for economic competitiveness. In my opening delivery on the occasion of the CEO Africa Roundtable Annual conference, I underscored the fact that Institutionalising the coordination and activities of non-state actors among other important stakeholders, creates the needed national cohesion, buy-in and ownership of national programming. I further observed that Incidences of labour unrests and strikes find no room in an environment of collective work for collective benefit and unity of purpose. Basic values and principles as articulated in the supreme law of the land can be made legally enforceable facilitating the contribution of the Zimbabwe citizenry in matters of national development as it engenders people freedoms, innovation and creativity. Further constitutionally enshrined values, such as the principle of non-discrimination or non-sexism, provide a legal basis to prevent legislation, regulation or state action that conflicts with those values. They constrain the ability of the state to act against human rights abuses and dignity, for example by protecting freedom of speech and assembly, or by prohibiting unlawful detention, forced labour or cruel punishments.

The Zimbabwe constitution (2013) also institutionalises what the government should do for its citizens, beyond the provision of education and healthcare, protection of the environment, responsible management of natural resources.

Servant leadership allows the state to provide Procedural limits, ensuring limits on how the state can act, in order to prevent arbitrariness, corruption, oppression, discrimination, and the misuse of public office for personal gain. Agulanna, C. (2006). In spite of the existence of enabling constitutional provisions, Procedural limits that include legal rights that promote procedural equality in the operation of the law and administration, such as 'due process' rights ensuring a fair trial or a right to approach the administration in one's own language have been flouted with impunity. According to the Zimbabwe human rights watch dog (Zimrights) The reoccurrence of arbitrary arrests of citizens in order to investigate has cast suspicion on the new dispensation as to its capacity to accommodate pluralism, institutionalise safety of citizens defence of their rights and protect national diversity.

Role of Chapter 12 institutions as enablers of servant leadership

Chapter 12 independent institutions called independent commissions are key in supporting and entrenching human rights and democracy in Zimbabwe. They serve to protect national sovereignty and indeed sovereign rights of the people. They are created to enhance the promotion of transparency, accountability, good governance and ensure suitable remedies are developed to minimise deficiencies of a democratic dividend. Checks and balances in all arms of the state are necessary to ensure wholesome protection of national assets, peace and international laws. The independent commissions need to be seen to be independent and must demonstrate that they are not influenced by any persons, sector or grouping in the exercise of their mandate. The constitution further highlights that 'they must exercise their functions without fear, favour or prejudice' (The Zimbabwe 2013 national constitution)

Derek Matyszak, Lawyer with Institute of Security Studies observes that the new political dispensation is generally misunderstood to have mastered the art of suffocating and outsmarting the independent commissions, their operations and constitutional standing. He further notes that They appear to be micromanaged by the executive arm of the state particularly the commissions associated with human rights, media and electoral activities. Allegations of nepotism and politically motivated deployments into these commissions has undermined stakeholder confidence and their work will thus become superficial according to Zimbabwe Lawyers for Human Rights.

The servant leadership pledge was placed under the microscope during the period 2017 to date due some politically influenced developments which led to the incarceration of media personalities, the adjudication and awarding of tv licences, election related litigation, death of protesting citizens among other matters. Independent commissions would have demonstrated their independence, partiality and lack of prejudice by ensuring all matters covered under their various terms of reference were competently dealt with. The inability of these commissions to satisfactorily discharge their duties cast a shadow of doubt that they are truly independent hence the persistent belief that the servant leadership pledge was hollow. Chapter 12 institutions, central to democracy they may be, are accountable to parliament in all their activities. The same accountability to parliament is extended to the executive and the judiciary. Whilst their

independence, impartiality, effectiveness and integrity are to be respected, parliament in its oversight role and constituted by elected representatives of the electorate, can extend its oversight role other areas of the organs of the state to entrench a culture of responsibility and accountability.

The political servant leadership pledge and Demilitarisation of the state

The constitution is categorical on the function and mandate of the national defence forces. The defence forces constitutional role is to protect Zimbabwe, its people, its national endowments, and its interests ensuring the country's territorial integrity. The defence forces must not only guarantee national security but uphold the national constitution. The national defence force, in execution of its duties, should not be seen to be operating in a partisan manner, promoting the agendas of national political formations, to be seen to be engaged in human rights violations particularly curtailing people's freedoms. They are institutionally not an appendage or members of any political organisations.

The general perception of the alignment of the national security institutions in general and some senior members in the security commandant in particular, with the ruling Zanu pf party pause a threat to erode the confidence of the citizens in the security services. The command element's declaration that they facilitated the leadership renewal of Zanu Pf, a political formation, at the height of the removal of RGM from office demonstrates, their partiality, principally because of the famous press statement delivered on national television, that they were concerned that ZANU PF was undergoing internal disintegration and strife hence their intervention to save it from further collapse. The servant leadership phenomenon takes no account of manipulating the defence forces for political party interests. The defence forces are trained for combat in defence of territorial integrity of the country and not to perform basic crowd control of citizens engaging in protests and demonstrations.

The police service, according to the 2013 national constitution, must perform the role of investigating, detecting and preventing criminal activity in country. A professional police service preserves the internal security of Zimbabwe, protects and secures people and property, maintains law and order in accordance with the supreme law of the land and indeed is national in character. The police service is subordinate to the people, professional and non-partisan in all their activities. Deployment of members of the defence forces in the police service terrain subtends the notion of a military state meant intimidate citizens as they embark on their day-to-day lawful activities, save for natural disasters and community development assistance. Servant leadership invokes capacity to utilisation of state power for a competent government whose central objective is efficient utilisation of state resources. The dual deployment of both the military and police service for internal security enforcement is uneconomic is an unnecessary cost to the national purse. Further, the military has no business in programs such as command agriculture because the responsible ministries do have adequate installed capacity to ensure national food security. Combination of extension officers and military personnel to manage agriculture extension works demonstrates inability of the state to sweat resources efficiently.

Broadly, the occurrence of petty criminal activities and the impunity in the security establishment reflects badly on the national leadership. A highly disciplined force is a highly effective force. Failure to reign in on petty corruption by the police service in all their activities demonstrates the extent to which the country has systematically undermined the operations of this key government agents particularly on the quality of training, promotions and related deployments. Law enforcement by nature must demonstrate the sophistication of our national capacity to maintain internal peace and harmony, on its own a key ingredient of constitutionalism and national development.

Zimbabwe revenue authority is an important agent of the state which is deployed to ensure efficient collection of revenue on behalf of the state. Nabbing High profile and petty corruption, theft and white-collar crimes partly fall under their purview. The general disintegration of the revenue authority further dents the reputation of the NPD servant leadership pledge chiefly in public demands of citizenry lifestyle audits, a redefined culture of work, and commitment to duty are concerned. Revenue losses are at their all-time high with company and related taxes barely meeting set targets, cross border corruption on the rise and general decay of necessary corporate governance ethics globally associated with the revenue authorities.

Zimbabwe national roads authority has been converted to a revenue collecting agency responsible for all tolling in Zimbabwe. Whilst its terms of reference are wide, the roads agency has predominantly been about collection of toll fees and other road taxes. The state-owned enterprise falls under the ministry of Transport and infrastructure, set out to manage the national road network, "providing secure, stable and adequate reservoir of funds, to fund effectively, the maintenance of the national road network through fixing, collection, disbursement and monitoring of funds usage for preservation, enhancement and sustainable development" (Ministry of Transport Website) There is a direct relationship between an efficient and effective ZINARA and the state of our national road network.

The dilemma the country finds itself in, of poor corporate governance in all the SOEs, failure of appropriate company management systems continues to weaken all state-owned companies, ZINARA included, particularly with complexity in the ZINARA's duplication of terms of references with local authorities. The collection and disbursement of revenue by ZINARA to local authority zones undermines the notion of devolution, decentralisation, specialisation and beauracracy.

The political servant leadership pledge and Depoliticization of the state

In normal democracies, ZANU PF, the ruling party in Zimbabwe is considered a mere political party, existing as a non-state actor, whose membership is voluntary. Its existence is governed by legislation on voluntary organisations which also governs organisations such as development associations, church organisations, business associations among others. ZANU PF, however locates itself differently in the body politic of Zimbabwe. It is differently structured from other various voluntary organisations because of its reputation in organising and executing the war of liberation. One therefore develops interest in answering to the question of founding values and principles of this political

party, provide an informed resume on whether the institution still satisfies these novel set of ethos that delivered independence to Zimbabwe.

ZANU PF has 'metarmorphed' into this huge political animal, superintending over a country whose reputation is associated with failure to manage chronic diseases, crippling poverty, internal strife, incessant political conflicts, nepotism, tribalism and dictatorship. (Bland, 2011; Smoke, 2003). The global reputation of Zimbabwe now falls on superiority of political partism, particularly where the obsession with consolidation of political power by all means reign supreme. Of grave concern is the level of political protection of general impunity and nepotism associated with the current new political dispensation. The presence of strong men and women, with very strong political party backgrounds and have very low levels of understanding of the philosophy of rule of law, servant leadership, national macroeconomic competitiveness, human and people security and culture of service as an integral footing in national development is a dent on government reputation.

The recognition of the supremacy of Zanu PF party to all other stakeholders including the state engendered a culture of entitlement. The character of the party is associated with protecting theft, expropriation and high-level corruption, all in the name of defence of the party. Many a party cadre in ZANU PF believe they are entitled to freebies dished out by state employees, a political manoeuvre developed at the height of land reform and war veteran compensation period. Purging of ethical, qualified and professional public servants accused of failing to submit to the dictates of the party led to degeneration of the state into a coordinated looting machine insensitive of the survival of citizenry at large. The party organs unrestrained habit of hate speech, threats and violence to settle political differences necessitated the creation of a politically protected click empowered to influence normal activities of government. Further, Deployment of serving military personnel into the civilian structures of the state and ZANU PF political party structures to superintend over critical national government processes led to the destruction of key national endowments particularly the productive assets, natural resources and economic enablers. Violence, threats and intimidation became so effectively coordinated resulting in maiming of citizens, exposing them to harm with perpetrators going scot-free because of political protection.

The case of the current Member of Parliament for Buhera South, Hon Joseph Chinotimba who verbally confronted the then President of Malawi, President Bakili Muluzi in 2001 reflects the levels of endemic impunity. "*We are very concerned about the worsening economy, the decline in the rule of law, and the spread of violence and political instability in Zimbabwe,*" *Malawian president, Bakili Muluzi, the chairman of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) as he opened the two-day summit attended by the presidents of South Africa, Namibia, Mozambique and Botswana.*

The coordinated seizure of agriculture land owned by foreign white farmers, during the period starting year 2000, weakened our national security laws and law enforcement institutions. Consistent with this process, all national security organs were coerced and directed to protect the aggression led by the party. No aggravated land redistribution complains received

befitting and fair investigations. All land related cases brought before the judiciary protected those that were perpetrators the majority of whom were ZANU PF party cadres. This period has a record number of Accelerated (1980 national constitution) constitutional amendments. The regional SADC tribunal was discontinued on the instance of Zimbabwe because all the cases heard between Zimbabwe government and the white farmers were in favour of the white farmers, all to the frustration of ZANU PF. ZANU PF Party politics in Zimbabwe has significantly thrived on information asymmetry. The party ensured state control of information channels and to be used as a tool for deliberate misinformation, spreading political indoctrination and banter, misleading the nation on any crucial national developments in the process. Party cadres exploited this institutionalised political protection and engaged in unrestrained siphoning resources from government through political programs such as reserve bank run mechanisation, maguta, command agriculture and indigenisation and economic empowerment initiatives. The untenable levels of impunity and entitlement have a very significant historical underpinning. Africa wide, liberation movements played a significant role in the liberation of their countries and proceeded to forge alliances under the auspices of the then OAU now AU. The liberation grouping included South Africa's ANC, Tanzania's Chama-chama-pinduzi, Mozambique's Frelimo, Namibia's Swapo and Zimbabwe's ZANU PF among others. Without delving deeper into the mechanics and character of the alliances, other liberation movements reformed quicker and embraced the concept of leadership renewal from within, setting up sustainable institutional framework to achieve national development in their states. Most of the countries, by year 2017, had successfully transitioned from one leadership to the next with relative ease. Founding fathers of these countries lived to see their countries progress under new leadership. Nelson Mandela of south Africa, Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia among others saw transitions beyond their founding political dispensations.

According to Dr Simba Makoni, former finance Minister in the Zimbabwean government and former Executive Secretary of SADC, obsession with retaining personal political power by Robert Gabriel Mugabe (RGM), set a very shaky political foundation for Zimbabwe primarily his ability to exploit all ZANU PF party structures and state institutions to effectively protect his political hegemony. He successfully entrenched his being the political demagogue of Zimbabwe. Those who were close to him would ensure they ringfenced their proximity, for their individual benefit. Dr Makoni further underscored the depth with which the ZANU PF party had drifted far and wide from its founding values, all in the name of consolidating RGM's stranglehold of personal political power. Aaron Rwodzi, in his journal article "Reconciliation: A false start in Zimbabwe? (1980-1990)" chronicled the complexities of electioneering in Zimbabwe. In concurrence with Dr Simba Makoni's views, Aaron observed that Zimbabwe electoral processes since the 1980, remained ethnic despite appeals by key political actors for the electorate to think nationally. Electoral machinery was calibrated to guarantee a predetermined electoral outcome at all times naturally employing coercive tactics, force, manipulation of voter statistics among other heinous strategies. Playing game of numbers, where local political groupings were all allocated some influential ZANU PF

political party position, employing the Chinese Mao tactic, of instilling fear in the communities. Employment of tactic to ensure that the citizens do not depart from the required party ideology particularly by use of a sophisticated divide and rule tactics, a rogue, militant, careless and dangerous party cadre. The party existed in traditional leadership, state organs, regional organisations and some international organisations.

According to Dr Ibbo Mandaza of SAPES Trust, the post-independence command element also became critical in mobilisation of communities to pledge ZANU PF allegiance mostly with the experience of mass mobilisation attained during the liberation struggle. An attempt was previously made to turn Zimbabwe into a one-party state, a development which led to internal strife partly attributed to the killing of innocent civilians in Matabeleland, the Gukurahundi.

According to J Mclean, With unemployment, inflation, poverty levels, and interest rates all running above 50%; with its external debt crisis and severe shortages of food, fuel, water, and electricity; with an AIDS epidemic killing 2500 per week and an estimated quarter of its adult population HIV positive; with its nominally socialist government (one run by the same party that led a successful liberation struggle just two decades ago) riddled by rampant corruption and paralysed by the policy conditions laid down by its IMF/World Bank patrons whom it still periodically labels 'imperialist'; with the same socialist government bogged down in an unpopular war in the Congo while it tries to repress and co-opt worker-community struggles for democratic constitutional and economic reforms at home, contemporary Zimbabwe seems to defy systematic analysis. (Burkett, 2000: 471) Despite the obvious inherent weaknesses in ZANU PF, the unidimensional approach by opposition groups particularly the MDC, has not made significant pressure to wrestle power from ZANUPF. The opposition is weak in strategy to mount a formidable force to take power. The heterogeneity of opposition political formations is composed of civil society activism on its own a heaven for turfism, multiplicity of interests and lake of political depth. Given the downward spiral into corruption, authoritarianism and economic collapse, serious opposing political tactics would have succeeded to push ZANU PF to submission. The inclusive government is a near example. Student activism, non-governmental organisations, academia and to some extent some business associations have failed to influence the body politic to adopt progressive politicking because of the fear of ZANU PF and security service reprisals. Servant leadership thus becomes an obvious necessity in order to realign, national culture of politics, create a robust government structure and a coherent strategy achieve national competitiveness.

Effects of State- Party Conflation and Zimbabwe political economy

Zimbabwe has undergone economic malaise of monumental proportions leading to near state collapse particularly during the period 1995-2009. The former central bank governor, popularly known for his role in the demise of the Zimbabwe currency called it the casino economy. State capture, state-party conflation and dictatorship innuendoes raised their ugly head during this period leading to record hyperinflation, record unemployment levels, collapse of social services, high citizenry mortality rate as a

consequence of cholera among other hygiene related diseases, politically motivated conflicts and deaths. The new political dispensation pledge clearly denounced this state of affairs with clear commitment to differently operate the affairs of the state. Scholars continue to haggle over what they call misplaced optimism by the citizens stemming from the general belief that the second republic can walk the talk, correcting the misnomers of past as well as instituting appropriate safeguards to sustain good governance mechanisms. The adage that the mind that created the existing problems may not be the same to correct them appears to be true. Others argue that the same mind that has created the problems may be the most effective in being part of the solution. Either way, the obtaining state of affairs manifests in a state under siege from a multiplicity of ailments compounded by party-state conflation. Prof Mugano, University of Zimbabwe concurs with the notion that Party deploys into government departments, party direct and indirect influence on government well-being and party superiority over the state continues to undermine any probabilities of creating a progressive professional state administration. Populist policy decisions made by the Zimbabwe government for the period 2000 to date reflect the usual character of the governing party with state resources being devoted to porous programs such as presidential input schemes, command agriculture, free public transport systems (ZUPCO) and many other state-owned enterprises. The Auditor general in several audit reports decry the existence of general laxity in accountability and this is a consequence of existence of wholesome well-established elite accumulation by the politically connected particularly from the ruling ZANUPF party. Land audit unearthed high profile multiple farm ownership dating back to fast-track land reform, the auditor general exposed the blatant issuance of multi-million-dollar tenders to undeserving entities especially at ZESA (the electricity supply authority); corruption at Hwange Colliery Company Limited and endemic corruption within local authorities demonstrate an existence of a coordinated pilferage machine. Further, the state organ responsible for audit of state expenditure (The auditor General's Office) continue to raise concerns of the state failure to produce credible books of accounts, programs of this nature being repeatedly undertaken for political gain. Parliamentary portfolio committees on budget and public accounts have exposed corruption and pilferage of monumental proportions, legislative and legal remedies proposed vehemently ignored by the government. Strangely all characters implicated in some of the gravest corruption incidences continue to be free to this day putting under spotlight the seriousness of the commitments made to the nation under the servant leadership pledge in 2018. For the state to navigate the developmental route, national institutions ought to be stronger than individuals, political parties, ethnic groups or any sector interests and the requirement to institute appropriate processes and systems to be integral in the running of the affairs of the state. Depoliticisation of the work of the government is only achieved as a consequence of principled state leadership. Achieving a corruption free Zimbabwe is as a *consequence* of broad institutional reforms undertaken to make the state embrace principles of accountability, openness and implementation of global best practice in the management of the state resources and execution of public service functions. Political leadership must engender a culture of honesty work, reporting and disclosure to increase confidence and integrity of the state.

Removing political activism and deployments in all critical functions of the state is a sufficient remedy necessary to facilitate state meritocracy, public service performance management and rewarding of acceptable levels of public services performance as well as desired work output.

Some socialist countries, such as China, resorted to Criminalising mediocre performance by state strategic deployments and this led to a movement towards professionalism in government. Entities such as ZISCO, Hwange, ZESA among others, whose role is enabling the economy to function would require use of best available professional skills. Scholars of local governance argue that Reorganisation of all local authorities is an immediate necessity, particularly ensuring a return to the democratic framework of local governance. Garbage collection, impassable trunk, feeder and access roads, crippling shortages of safe processed drinking water, food insecurity, a depleted public transportation system are clear evidence of state incapacity, not only to depoliticise local governance in Zimbabwe, but the obsession with politicisation of local government service delivery. Progressive countries, with strong national institutions would put sanctions on all non-performing ministerial portfolio holders with classic cases having been those who superintended over the decay of ZISCO Steel, disintegration of a sophisticated state mining portfolio held under Zimbabwe Mining Development Cooperation including revenue and investment losses in Marange diamonds among others. Mechanisms to facilitate a Whole government approach to state efficiencies and effectiveness are necessary driven by the executive arm of the state. Working in silos has been characteristic of the Zimbabwean state with each portfolio holder protecting independence of their own portfolios on its own a demonstration endemic weakness on the part of the state.

The perennial rift between the ruling and opposing parties in Zimbabwe naturally spills into government particularly between ZANU PF and the MDC. This rift has been one of the biggest undoing in the performance of the state. The current state of affairs shows that ZANU PF has reigns on national government, and MDC controls 90% of all local authorities is the major cause of local government disintegration because the two major political parties chose to make these a fertile ground for destructive politics. Naturally ZANU PF believes in centralisation of local government control and the party resists all forms of devolution and deregulation of state functions despite them being a 2013 national constitutional requirement. According to Tinashe Carlton Chigwata et al(2019) in their paper titled ‘ Supervision of local government in Zimbabwe: The travails of mayors’ The state of the country's capital city, Harare, testifies the extent and gravity of political challenges between the two big political parties and these have sunk the capital city among others particularly with the historical manipulation the urban councils act to ensure it centralises local government control.

III. THE SERVANT LEADERSHIP PLEDGE AND THE POLITICAL ECONOMY

Macroeconomic experts believe that efficient management of National railways of Zimbabwe, GMB, ZESA, NOCZIM, Hwange, Sables chemicals, cold storage company and the huge government mining portfolio in diamonds, gold, platinum, iron and steel under ZMDC, MMCZ and ministry of mines has a

knock-on effect on economic growth. The general consensus is that leaving these institutions in their current state continue to be a drain on the national purse. Their operations are traditionally manipulated by strong political interference, bad corporate governance and death of competent skilled professionals needed to superintended over their corporate survival. Literature indicates that the traditional Zimbabwean economy was driven by ZESA, NRZ, Sable Chemicals, Hwange Colliery Company, and ZISCO. These five public companies collectively contributed to employment creation, human capital development with key technical skills undergoing on the job training on these entities, facilitated exports growth economy wide, contributed highly to GDP and had a very strong regional market presence. **These** companies were the backbone of national value addition and beneficiation including the globally recognised agriculture sector. In his prognosis on Historical Perspective on Zimbabwe's Economic Performance: A Tale of Five Lost Decades, Daniel Makina presented a chronological unravelling of the political economy of Zimbabwe. He commenced by giving an analysis of economic performance within a framework of four periods. These periods were the pre-independence period, the post-independence period of controls, the economic liberalization period and the economic crisis period. This prognosis demonstrates the gradual deterioration in economic performance experienced by Zimbabwe stemming from unsuitable and wrong macroeconomic policies. Makina further deplored the complexity of weakened national institutions principally the role of the monetary policy regime in exacerbating macroeconomic instability. This prognosis supported the notion of Too much government (irrational controls) than governance (opaqueness and lack of accountability)

Obsession with ownership of under-performing national assets diverted state attention from the doctrine of optimum sweating and performance of these assets to achieve optimum results necessary for economic growth. The analogy of owning 10% of an elephant being more preferred to the owning 100% of a rat seized to make economic sense to economic planners hence the push for wholesome and forced farm and company ownership. The gradual obliteration of agro-processing companies, banks, and agro-insurance which historically supported agriculture sector and its value chain linkages resulted in making land a dead asset. The intensity of traditional linkages which existed between agriculture and manufacturing led to increase of manufactured exports, itself a major contributor to foreign currency generation in Zimbabwe. The servant leadership pledge gaps continue to manifest through the deterioration of manufacturing related infrastructure from energy and power, water and sanitation, logistics, communications and skills development.

Government subsidies which are a consequence of populist political policies wherein government dishes out free public services and others at suboptimal costs (freebies) with no fiscal space is demonstration of failure of government to demonstrate tenets of good macroeconomic management and administration. A Competent government facilitates self-sustenance of their citizens be they corporate or individual. According to Davison Muchadenyika, in his paper titled: Zimbabwe's New Constitution and local government: Implications for central-local relations "*Current local government problems arise from the structure and nature of centre-local relations. Local governments' capacity has been severely affected by conflict, political interference,*

"bankruptcy decentralization" (without transfer of resources, competencies and decision-making authority to local level), corruption, low citizen participation and lack of accountability. The scholar demonstrates the ineffectiveness of these two policy instruments to induce efficiency at local level administration in Zimbabwe because of exogenous factors, chief among them politics of centralisation of power.

The General manipulation of fiscal and monetary policy instruments

Zimbabwe has a historical reputation of developing countless government policy documents some of which have been adopted, polished and implemented in some regional countries. Economic planners agree that fiscal and monetary instruments operationalise national medium- and long-term economic blueprints. These instruments are integral in giving effect to prioritisation of effort, attention and resources to areas of importance in any defined fiscal period in pursuit of achieving desired macroeconomic objectives. Economic players generally study, not only the economic blueprints, but the subsequent budgets and monetary policy statements.

Zimbabwe's economic blueprints do not build on each other which fundamentally affects their fluidity. Each blue print starts and ends with its own objectives. There is no significance to both the preceding and incoming ones, which destroys policy continuity and progression on it's on a demonstration of absence of sustainable long-term national vision. Deployment of fiscal and monetary instruments and resources makes incremental economic and social benefits. This in turn facilitates long-term macroeconomic planning and a signal for a country's preparedness to attract long-term money necessary for key infrastructure programs. The last fifteen years has seen the introduction of a number of macroeconomic blueprints a few of which enabled the country to achieve double digit growth, celebrate budget surplus and indeed inched forward in meeting our national debt repayments.

In the past two decades, Monetary authorities have repeatedly, directly and indirectly participated in quasi fiscal activities. The central bank's creation of investment vehicles to engage in private businesses in real estate investments, inputs manufacturing and supply, gold mining and refinery, fuel procurement, mechanisation and the hiving of non-performing private loans among other activities undermined the integrity of its traditional function as the lender of last resort. According to International Finance Institutions (IFIs), Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe (RBZ) culpable of creating national debt through ZAMCO and other State-Owned Enterprises. These activities compounded national debt exposure complicating the country's ability to contract fresh international finance assistance. Accurate accounting, reporting and disclosure, according to the to the IFIs, is central to bankability and integrity of national statistics "*Due to this reclassification by the mission team, government liabilities increased from the outturn statistics and the government deficit increased to account for transfers to public corporations*".

Hyperinflation by nature is monetary phenomenon. The adage that bad money chases away good money turned out to be correct and relevant to the Zimbabwean circumstances. Introduction of rogue currencies in the form of bearer cheques,

bond notes, treasury bills and other such repository instruments led to the demise of the national currency and erosion of confidence in both the local currency and in the central bank. The incessant contradictions in the implementation of monetary and fiscal policy instruments widened their discord with the national blueprints hence militating against the achievement of the set national objectives.

According to the International monetary fund staff country reports, "As part their five-year project of the Enhanced Data Dissemination Initiative (EDDI) 2 Government Finance Statistics (GFS) Module on improving GFS and public-sector debt statistics in selected African countries, a mission was conducted in Harare, Zimbabwe during April 15–26, 2019" the country engaged them on a number of areas. The outcomes gave rise to recommendations that the Government of Zimbabwe must comply with its own public finance management act of 2009, account for extra budgetary units and allocations to State Owned Enterprises (SOEs), management of pension funds statistics, enhanced coordination and cross ministries collaboration (whole government approach concept), comply with requirements of public debt management act of 2015 and indeed institute sanctions for those found to complying with set process and procedures. Countless times, the fiscal and monetary authorities have appeared before portfolio committees of parliament responsible for budget

and finance as well as public accounts. According to the parliament of Zimbabwe 'These are Committees designated according to government portfolios to examine the expenditure, administration and policy of government departments and other matters falling under their jurisdictions as Parliament may by resolution determine' Their levels of fiscal and monetary transgressions are sufficient to demonstrate the disconnect between the broad objectives of the national blueprints and the resource allocative capacity to meet these objectives.

The office of the auditor general is a constitutional organ, operating under an act of parliament, Audit Office Act [Chapter 22:18], created 'To examine, audit and report to Parliament on the management of public resources of Zimbabwe to improve accountability and good corporate governance' a number of transgressions on almost all government and public institutions continue to be flagged to facilitate corrective actions by those deployed to exercise the oversight roles. To date no high-profile cases, particularly those that are not politically protected among implicated individuals and institutions, has been concluded. The auditor general audits Governance issues, Procurement of goods and services, Revenue Collection and Debt management, Employment Costs among other responsibilities.



Source: RBZ

Is Zimbabwe not Ripe for an Audit storm?

The remodelled Chinese State Capitalism, the strategic change in the Role of the State and Business in Chinese Development Cooperation in Africa, denotes a new form of economic colonialism for African states in general and Zimbabwe in particular. China's broadened and rising participation, business and economic cooperation in Africa, has created significant debate about China's Africa tactic and its nexus with the benefits for Africa's development. Is China- Africa relations a case of 'snake in the grass' According to Langton Mukwereza et al, China is locating itself in global economics as either a collusive state whose

business and economic relation with African states are misleading. China-Africa economic relations are driven at the level of nation-state hence closely integrated into Chinese value chains particularly driven by the Chinese obsession with Africa's public infrastructure projects and quest for primary products in agriculture and mining. The Chinese diplomatic interest in its international relations strategy, save for historical liberation ties with Zimbabwe, in particular and the rest of Africa in general, is natural resources and primary agriculture and minerals. Can Zimbabwe cut and paste the Chinese economic model and implement a raft of measures for in-country macro-economic

performance? This may be a challenge because of differences ideological underpinnings and political culture.

China, Zimbabwe's declared all weather friend, has gradually metamorphosed from a command economy buoyed by sophisticated public enterprises performance in the past 25 years to a hybrid macro-economic phenomenon that still recognises aspects of communism, embracing selected open market strategies to enhance its national and global competitiveness. Peculiar to Chinese national development ethos, is the country's commitment to accountability and zero tolerance to corruption among other principles.

"The audit storm"

"According to China Daily, Eastday.com November 3, 2004, Auditor-General Li Jinhua, while delivering an audit report to the Standing Committee of the 10th National People's Congress on June 23, 2003, the report brought to light 1.4 billion yuan (US\$170 million) of the 2003 budget that had been misused or wrongfully appropriated by 41 of 55 government offices, triggered a nationwide debate and concern over government efficiency and corruption. A decision was made to the effect that China has to institute an Audit of China Senior Military Officers, its national audit office (CNAO) Revealed Widespread Corruption, Land Ministry Fund Embezzlement Come to Light, Auditing Outcome on SARS (Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS) Fund Released, and Audit Report Reveals Weaknesses in Tax System. The Report Sheds Light on Lax Bank Regulations, Officials Misusing Education Funds Fired, Big Problems with Some Chinese College Cities, Audit: US\$170 Million Misused in Budget, and Industrial and Commercial Bank of China (ICBC) Lost 1b yuan in Bad Loans.

IV. THE NATIONAL INTEREST BASKET

The historical failure by political protagonists to circumvent a reputation of political violence, political intolerance, and polarisation in Zimbabwe is entrenched in the operations of the ZANU-PF party and its myopic view that any opposing political groupings are an appendage of former colonialists, therefore pose an existential threat to both the state and ruling party. *"ZANU-PF views opposition parties as counter-revolutionaries that work with the enemy to reverse the gains of independence"*. Tofa M. (2020). The post-independence Zimbabwe made ZANU PF to locate itself as the only revolutionary grouping with the divine authority not only to enjoy uninterrupted right to state power but also the custodian of national patriotism, basically because of its claim to the liberation struggle that brought independence to Zimbabwe. Overly exaggerated patriotism on the part of ZANU PF has led to the disintegration of collectivism, national consciousness, unity and nationalism among the Zimbabweans. Members of the ruling party are perceived to be the aggressors and lead the gravy train, corruption and violence, the alleged cause of the obtaining national instability.

According to Morgenthau, national interest is *"the protection of physical, political and cultural identity against encroachments by other nation-states"* Charles Lerche and Abdul defines it as *"The general, long term and continuing purpose which the state, the nation, and the government all see themselves as serving."* Brookings Institution believes national interest is:

"What a nation feels to be necessary to its security and well-being ... National interest reflects the general and continuing ends for which a nation acts.", whilst —Vernon Von Dyke says that *which states seek to protect or achieve in relation to each other. It means desires on the part of sovereign states. The values, desires and interests which states seek to protect or achieve in relation to each other"*

Competent and futuristic national leadership develop the art of creating national convergence, a coherent citizenry socialised to collective peace and stability. Visioning by nature is a leadership phenomenon. There is strength in a citizenry diversity and cohesion, a progressive leadership exploits the diversified capacities to achieve desired national long and short objectives. To achieve the desired objectives, servant leadership facilitates a deliberate program where all national stakeholders converge to create an indisputable basket of national interests. First in that basket is the supreme law of the land, the national constitution, followed by the national anthem and national flag. A broad non-partisan platform is the most appropriate tool to facilitate processes such as this one. Depoliticization of communities, avoiding individual and sector interests as well as presenting a framework of free thinking, free movement and free speech are necessary and sufficient conditions to ensure development of a wholly embraced national interest basket. Like the national constitution process, the national interest basket must contain elements which are not be debatable; no single individual or political grouping are to be allowed to pursue gain sectorial limelight and objectives out of this collective process. Once completed the national interest basket will form a firm foundation of those components, activities, symbols, groups and personalities all Zimbabweans shall collectively defend and be identified with for generations to come. These shall be the source of national pride, national energy and national work ethic as the nation thrives for global competitiveness. The national interest basket will energise young Zimbabweans to innovate and generate national pride, on its own a representation of national togetherness and national cohesion. No amount of discrimination on ethnic and tribal lines is accommodate in efforts to enhance the process of creation of a national interest basket. The more heterogenous the nation is the robustness the conversation and debates are. W. David Clinton indicates that national interest can be a common good of the national society, set off from the international environment, and there are national interests as the concrete objects of value over which states bargain, within that international setting. *He further reviewed six interpretations of the national interest, the international society that legitimates various state interests, and the demands of ethical action, and concludes that statesmanship which relies on both definitions of national interest can provide the best guide to ethical state conduct within the "anarchical society" It therefore follows that essential attributes of this process evaluated guided by need to develop a truly Zimbabwean national interest basket.* Critical are requirements informed by our foreign policy interests strategically locating Zimbabwe as a unique and equal partner in the broader geopolitical terrain and global economics. Converging on a truly Zimbabwean identity which brings out the cultural, physical and political standing. Our history, heritage and culture, our economic ecosystem, national human security, territorial integrity will define the parameters around which our decision-makers, public

opinion makers, party political activities, sectional or group interests and political and moral folkways will educate the citizenry on components the country may wage a war to defend. The ultimate objective will be to facilitate national Prosperity, Peace, Ideology, Justice, Prestige, Aggrandisement and Power. V.V. Dyke (1984) Streamlining our national efforts, recognising our various interests and competences eliminating any forms of coercion will lead into creation of a truly united Zimbabwe.

V. ROLE OF OTHER NATIONAL STAKEHOLDERS AND NON-STATE ACTORS

The adage that one who pays the piper dictates the tune to be played ranks relevant to the administration of most non state actors. Prima facie, the difference between state and non-state actors is that state actors are basically coherent set of actors given the mandate to subsist by way of a popular voting. They exist as a result of a political process that facilitates the stakeholders to deploy a selected group of people, allow them to function under delegated authority to engage in government on behalf of the majority. Non state actors' function in a similar fashion albeit under different set of circumstance. Traditional political science scholars in the unipolar world, considered non-state actors as agents of and conduits for colonisation and foreign interests. The multipolar world, due to the incessant globalisation, non-state actors have become critical development and oversight agents. They are key partners in national and global development particularly in areas of sustainable development goals. Beyond the physical presents of the non-state actors in various domains, the prevalence of technology has simplified the activities of non-state organisations. Recognising the primary state role as that of provision of life enhancing social, political and economic enablers, national security, social services, law enforcement, healthcare and food security, governments have now embraced outsourcing some of their traditional functions to non-state actors predominantly in environment, transport, healthcare and providing food security and education.

In Zimbabwe, elaborately so, non-state actors are present as non-governmental organisations, business associations and international agencies such as the United Nations, African Union and Regional Economic Communities. The list further links to activities of sub-sector private business groups, employers' associations, various types of media organisations, political parties, voluntary associations in the form of community-based organisations and housing or community development cooperatives. Whilst the traditional predisposition and engagement with some of these stakeholders was somewhat frosty, their role is integral in achieving national development objectives. Their elaborate works in local communities, business among other sectors, facilitate development of local and national solutions to national challenges, provide oversight to the state and its organs, as well as participating in policy making, implementation monitoring and evaluation.

According to Sustainable Insight (2009), non-state actors Support to actions aiming at achieving more efficient cooperation, fostering synergies and facilitating a structured dialogue in the area of development between civil society networks and local authorities, simplifying the implementation challenges that may be faced by the state. In spite of their capacity advantages in some

way, non-state actors are efficient in coordinating *'public awareness of development issues and promoting education for development, to mobilise greater support for actions to address environmental changes as a consequence of climate change. Their works at multinational corporations'* level has increasingly shaped global governance by influencing the articulating, negotiating and implementing of policy at local, regional and global levels. They also exist in advisory capacities in expert areas both at local, regional and international levels.

Business associations on the other hand play a pivotal role in harnessing national capacities for business incremental development, national economic competitiveness and internal relations. They influence national economic agenda setting, socio-economic and socio-political policy discourse, provide important guidance on sustainable economic growth particularly the provision of quality goods and services, employment creation and poverty alleviation.

The environmental crisis the globe is currently undergoing needs all hands to the deck, in the management of water bodies and water provision, natural disasters management and food security. Business associations are also important in coordinating rights-based business, industrialisation in the third world in particular, and ensuring the equitable management of natural resources such as extractives and agro-based value addition. Governments may not be efficient in enhanced science-policy interaction for optimum economic policy ecosystem, non-state actors bring on board necessary relevant expertise to bridge the gaps. It is therefore progressive for state actors to create institutionalised platforms for close interaction with non-state for value adding networks, private public dialogue (PPD) sufficient for seamless accumulation of policy advice, evaluation of implemented decisions, as well as to contribute to national policy output legitimacy and integrity. The dichotomy however lies within the regulatory framework instituted by the state, which appear to outlaw activities of some non-state actors somehow creating a cat and mouse relationship with some of these organisations. This is as a consequence of the denial of factual, robust constructive criticism particularly where the state is found on the wrong side of the agreed implementation targets. The Zimbabwe experience is fraught with politicisation of development discourse, opaqueness of the state architecture and indeed the sensitive suspicious diplomatic debate on foreign interest in Zimbabwe's national sovereignty. There is more to gain for national progress, foreign policy objectives, industrialisation, provision of social safety nets and achieving national cohesion if all the necessary ingredients of servant leadership are conflated with a well calibrated stakeholder synergistic engagement. The role of the state is predominantly facilitative allowing all non-state actors to optimally exploit their collective capacities and expertise to compliment the works of the state.

VI. THE ECONOMY OF THINGS.

The Economy of Things is a level attained when a country exploits its technological sophistication to develop value from utilisation of technologies, engendering a digital economy, and embracing the wholesome use of the internet-based programming and packages. Countries which have progressed in this area in Africa include Rwanda, whose internet connectivity has covered

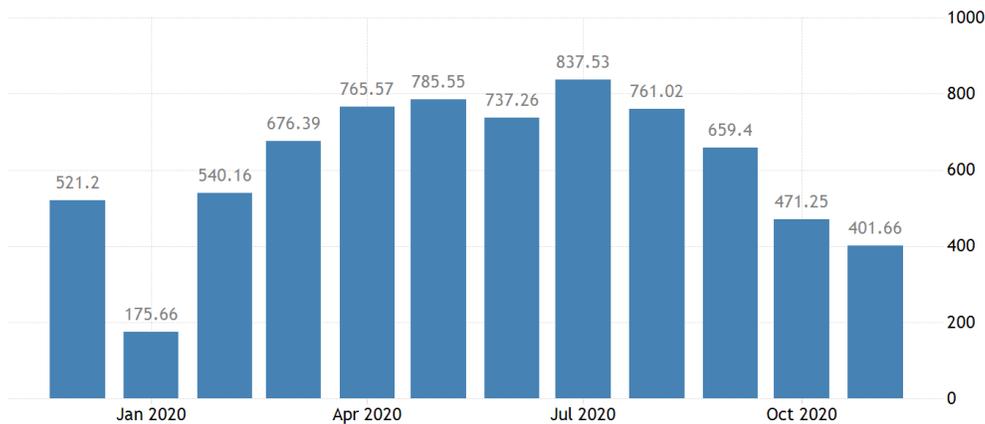
most of the productive sector of the country including attracting global investors. Zimbabwe lags behind in the internet of things because the legal framework which does not support in total, conversion of our physical assets to digital assets, despite uncertainties as a consequence of disruptive technologies, disruptive digital markets, big data, industry 4.0, defining global competitiveness.

Since time immemorial Zimbabwe, like many an African economy, has remained a dual enclave economy, with unprecedented levels of poverty, repeated cycles of macroeconomic recessions, capital flight resulting in low levels of investment, high trade balance driven by imports of most basic commodities, corruption and rent seeking as well as destructive politics. One would also attribute the state of the Zimbabwean economy to endemic structural deficiencies and rigidities largely as a consequence of dependence on primary products exports driven by commodities and mineral resources. Furthermore, Zimbabwe needs to deal with the scourge of underdevelopment, predominantly demonstrated by the gaps in managing the crippling national debt, brain drain and global isolation. While some scholars further an argument of the obtaining peace and stability, the predominant perception of a deficiency of democratic space continues to militate against all efforts to exploit opportunities in global value chains, international markets and indeed access to cost effective lines of credit.

Progressive economies plan their economies to respond to provision of social safety nets, rehabilitation and re-equipping

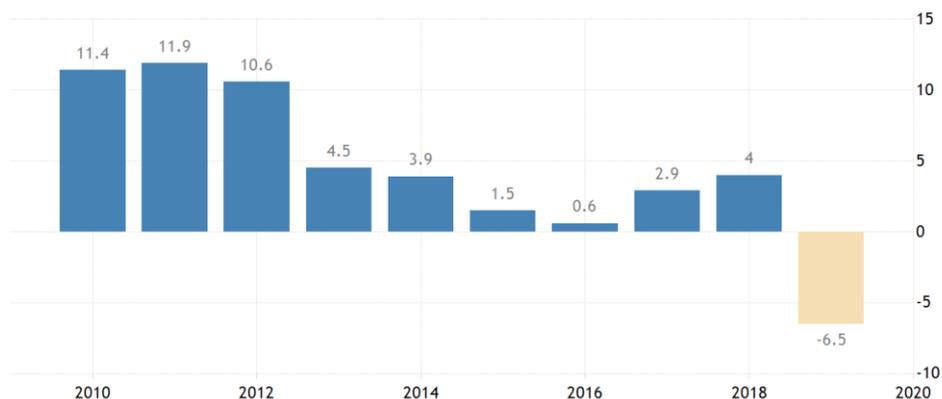
health delivery institutions, ensuring sufficient supply of drugs and availability of chronic medicines. Schools and education institutions are a key constituent in human capital development currently affected by the novel corona pandemic. The integrity of macroeconomic data and information is crucial in informing productivity and planning of economic activities across all sectors of the economy. Economic stability is achieved when the country produces high standards of infrastructure in itself an important opportunity for private sector investment through PPPs.

On assuming office, the new dispensation was clear what lied ahead in terms the general economic condition. Of concern are official unemployment thresholds. The integrity of data is normally the initial step to bankability, trust and confidence building. The ILO definition of employment has led to the dehumanisation of the population because the definition includes informal sector as gainful employment hence the modest 4.8 % unemployment as at December 2020. A proper recalibration of the data is needed to ensure the state enhances its strategies to safeguard big business in the country. Whilst the argument does not seek to belittle the role of informal economy, which according to the given numbers is the significant threshold, some of the miniature jobs undertaken by the informal workers are too dehumanising to warrant recognition on gainful employment. The state shows that they are desperate to report modest statistics where they are not due.



SOURCE: TRADINGECONOMICS.COM | RESERVE BANK OF ZIMBABWE

Figure 1. Inflation trends



SOURCE: TRADINGECONOMICS.COM | ZIMSTAT, ZIMBABWE

Figure 2. GDP Growth Rate

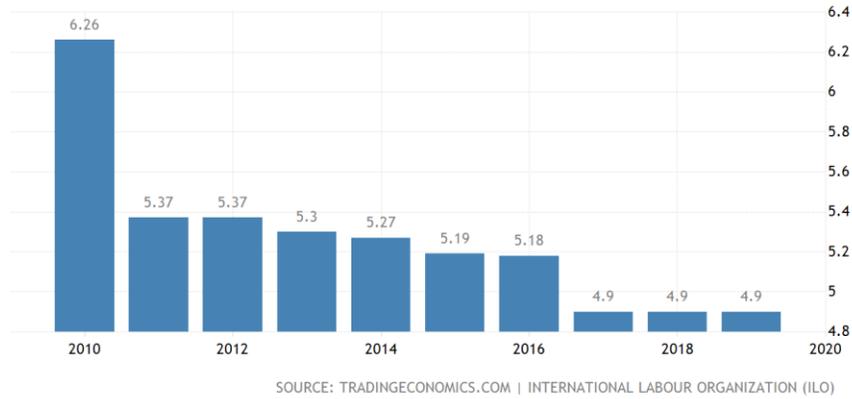


Figure 3. Unemployment rate

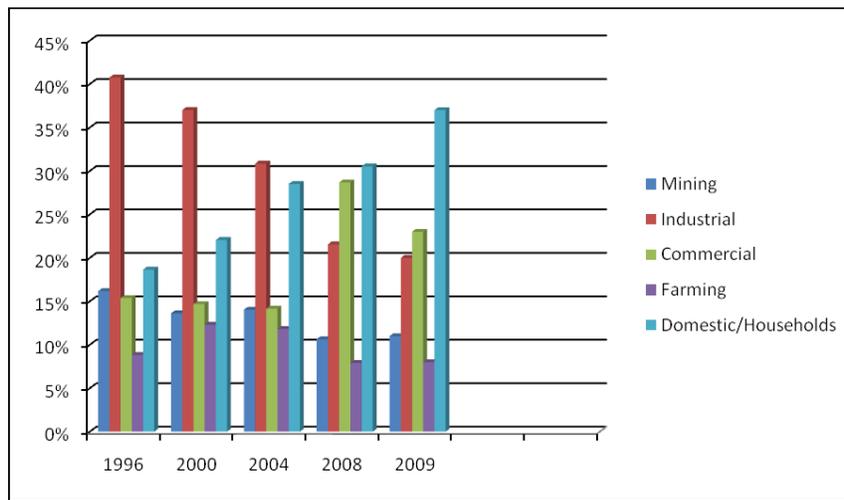


Figure 4. historical trends - power consumption

Overview	Last indicator	As at
GDP annual growth rate (%)	-6.5	December 2019
Unemployment rate (%)	4.9	December 2019
Inflation rate (%)	402	November 2020
Interest rate (%)	35	October 2020
Balance of trade (usd millions)	-77.3	June 2020
Current account (usd millions)	311	December 2019
Current account to GDP (%)	-2.2	December 2019
Government debt to GDP (%)	77.2	December 2019
Government budget (% of GDP)	-11.1	December 2018
Corporate tax (%)	25	December 2018
Personal income tax rate (%)	24.72	December 2020
Corona virus cases (persons)	12151	December 2020
Corona virus debts (persons)	318	December 2020
Corona virus recovered (persons)	9894	December 2020
Currency	80.13	October 2020
Stock Market (Points)	7171	December 2020

Table 1: Zimbabwe facts and figures
Source: Trading Economics

There is a correlation between corporate governance and voluntary risk disclosure. Whilst the state persists with massaging macroeconomic data and statistics, there are fundamental policy imperatives key to unlocking productivity and enhancing business confidence largely making inroads into safeguarding company balance sheets. Crippling foreign debt must be depleted, coupled with realigning interest rates, review of overnight accommodations a means to exterminate speculative borrowing and reducing non-performing loans. ZAMCO is an unnecessary political shield to protect and safeguard macroeconomic indiscipline. It must be disbanded.

Whilst efforts to create a USD \$12 billion dollar mining vision by 2030 are commendable the mortality rate of large-scale gold mining companies is a cause for concern. Institutionalised, deliberate disorganisation in artisanal mining sector continues, it sufficiently fulfils the dominance of political hand behind the general chaos associated with this sector. Government has no institutional capacity to define the state, nature, quality and sustainability of artisanal mining in Zimbabwe principally in gold mining. Repeated high profile cases of gold smuggling demonstrate the dilemma the state faces in regulating this sector. All said and done, the cost accruing to the state as a consequence of massive environmental damage is of astronomical proportions with potential for future budgetary difficulties if any efforts to correct this damage are to be employed. Organised mining in Zimbabwe has massive room to unlock opportunity for enterprise development particularly where prospects for local procurement, mineral processing and beneficiation and value chain linkages exist.

VII. THE ZIMBABWE DIPLOMATIC BODY LANGUAGE

According to the Government of Zimbabwe, the country's Foreign Policy defines a set of goals that seek to outline how Zimbabwe will interface at an official level with other countries of the world and, to a lesser extent, with non-state actors in pursuit of our national economic, political, social and cultural interests. (Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade -MFA&IT). To optimally exploit the diplomatic relations with the world, Zimbabwe has to study and assess the attitudes of other countries towards itself ahead of forging with them bilateral and multilateral relationships. Of necessity is the need to ensure those countries interests do not undermine the territorial integrity of Zimbabwe its pursuit to exploit and deliver political, economic, and social goods. Globally, national interest formulation seeks to protect the country's national interest, engendering the ethos of national security, sovereignty and the prosperity of its people particularly as it seeks to guarantee the safety and security of its citizens. Foreign policy formulation also takes into account requirements of its domestic policy driven by various government agencies. Integrating Zimbabwe in all regional and continental economic communities, promoting South-South cooperation through the Group of Fifteen (G15), the Group of Seventy-Seven (G77) and other organisations; and promoting international peace, security and co-operation through the United Nations support of Zimbabwe's domestic and foreign policy objectives.

It is against this background that the second republic pronounced itself eloquently on the need to relocate Zimbabwe back into the league of nations. Recurrent spats between

Zimbabwe and the western country's as a consequence of historical diplomatic hitches remain a noose on Zimbabwe's neck particularly as it relates to the nature, type and structure of Zimbabwe's domestic policy. The country, beyond the land question, has become a regional problem child capable of compromising regional peace and security, attraction of regional foreign direct investment and indeed the maintenance of sound diplomatic relations between Africa in general and southern Africa in particular and Europe and America. The specifics of diplomatic fallout between Zimbabwe and the west dates back the period of struggle for independence with the later having wedged a bitter combat war to attain independence.

However, post-independence, Zimbabwe has remained firmly rooted in liberation struggle disposition, making repeated errors of omission and commission in the execution and administration of the Zimbabwean State. Whilst the interface between national goals and the resources necessary to attaining them is the perennial focus of statecraft, it is the exercise of harmonising mechanisms to define them that engenders national peace and security. According to R.C. Snyder, H.W. Bruck and Burton Sapin, in their writings '*Decision-making as an Approach to International Politics*' (1954), the environment for making diplomatic decisions is as equally important to the country as the outcomes of the diplomatic engagement.

Countries, globally, sign up and ratify treaties on various subjects such as peace and security, human rights and rule of law, food security and international peace. Article 38 of the Statute of the International Court of Justice is just but one of many such treaties which binds countries to:

- International conventions (treaties), whether general or particular, establishing rules expressly recognized by the contesting states;
- International custom, as evidence of a general practice accepted by law;
- The general principles of law recognize by civilized nations;
- Subject to the provisions of Article 59, judicial decisions and the teachings of the most highly qualified publicists of the various nations, as subsidiary means for the determination of the rules of law.”⁶⁷

In Zimbabwe's International Relations: Fantasy, Reality and the Making of the State, Julia Gallagher unravels the understanding of foreign policy by Zimbabweans. “Gallagher notes that most conceptions of statehood deal only with the state—the government itself, and its relations with the wider world. Gallagher, however, shows that in Zimbabwe, ordinary citizens play a role in conceiving Zimbabwean statehood: in concert and sometimes in conflict, they create a statehood that is more comprehensive than it might otherwise be. Given the unique experience of postcolonial states in the international system, and the unique position of Zimbabwe even among those postcolonial states, Gallagher presents an attractive option for understanding a complicated nation”

Under the late RGM, the country had a reputation of confrontational engagement at all international platforms particularly those hosted by United Nations. Its foreign policy option was informed by this desire to claim African statesmanship, representing the interests of liberation movements, some of the middle east countries and indeed a charm offensive in Asia and South America. Due to its bad politics, the country acquired a reputation of perennial political and ethnic conflicts which undermined internal peace and security in the process, mainly leading to devastating macroeconomic and social strife. Foreign policy decisions were undertaken to remove the country from the common wealth and African Growth Opportunities Act (AGOA), among other multilateral arrangements due to incessant pressure the country received to realign its constitutional obligations. Allegations of human rights abuses as a result of the country's inability to obey the rule of law and obsession with contested election processes remain relevant to date. The country engagement with international finance institutions has been frosty compounding macroeconomic problems, ballooning domestic and international debt. Failure to respecting international agreements, largely the bilateral investments, promotion and protection agreements stand out as part of the drivers of international

isolation mainly those associated with the agricultural sector. Reengagements with the affected countries will require Zimbabwe to acknowledge its complicity first and proceed to respond to the need to provide solutions to these historical issues as well as commitment to further improve the conditions of engagement as required by the international community.

Whilst effort and resources continue to be deployed in creating new alliances in middle east, south America and Asia, the historical reputations continue to militate against the country's capacity to attract necessary trust and confidence from these new frontiers. The country is a high-cost producer because it is rated high risk in the global financial systems so accessing cheaper lines of credit is a mammoth task. International statistical indicators on competitiveness, cost of doing business, corruption, and investment attraction do not rate the country favourably. It is against this background and of superior importance that Zimbabwe's foreign policy pundits take note of this glaring reality in all our diplomatic engagements. Ultimately Zimbabwe must curve its own niche in global value chain linkages and exploit opportunities as an equal member of the league of nations.

Figure 5: Zimbabwe Corruption ranking



SOURCE: TRADINGECONOMICS.COM | WORLD BANK

VIII. THE POLITICAL SERVANT LEADERSHIP MODEL

According to Pallavi Awasthi, an American scholar, in her recent September 2020 article, Servant leadership is a highly inclusive style for municipal leaders particularly during the novel COVID-19 pandemic. She notes that Servant leaders rely on empathy, emotional healing, community service and ethical orientation to collaborate with multiple stakeholders in managing crises. They build trust with stakeholders both within and outside their areas of responsibility and institutional settings. Achieving community and institutional objectives drives their developmental agenda and they work through an empowered followership sometimes riding on strong moral and spiritual character of their constituencies. They are empathetic in the face of increased complexities, they depend on highest demand of ethics,

community organisation, service orientation, and community collective effort to achieve sustainable development. Community servant leadership is custodian of wider understanding of selfless commitment to sustainable provision of health and safety, food security and access to equitable social services befitting of a secured and developed community.

In an ideal setting where political servant leadership is extensively respected, embraced and applied, the below template helps in harmonising activities of political community, company or national servant leadership in line with global best practice. Entrenching these seven pillars in all processes of deploying resources in various activities, decision making and monitoring and evaluation of progress made will provide a framework for checks and balances.

Table 2: Pillars and Traits of servant Leadership

Seven Pillars of Servant Leadership	Traits Than Define Each Pillar
1. Person of Character	1. Maintain Integrity 2. Demonstrate Humility 3. Service a Higher Person
2. Puts People First	1. Display A Servants Heart 2. Mentor-minded 3. Show Care and Concern
3. Skilled Communicator	1. Demonstrates Empathy 2. Invites Feedback 3. Communicates Persuasively
4. Compassionate Coolaborators	1. Express Appreciaion 2. Build Teams and Community 3. Negotiate Conflicts
5. Has Foresight	1. Is A Visionary 2. Displays Creativity 3. Takes Courageous and Decisive Action
6. Systems Thinker	1. Comfortable with Complexity 2. Demonstrate Adaptability 3. Consider the Great Good In All Their Actions
7. Leads With Moral Authority	1. Accept and Delegate Responsibility 2. Share Power and Control 3. Create a Culture of Accountability
Taken From: Seven Pillars of Servant Leadership by James W. Sipe and Don M. Frick, 2009 Paulist Press	

To create sustainable, well-coordinated and functional national governance architecture of a country capable of delivering desired political, social and economic goods, political servant leadership generally is sensitive to harmonisation of the factors that enhances democratic tenets of servant leadership. Using the Zimbabwe new dispensation political pledge, its performance to date is sufficient to develop a Political Servant Leadership Model that encompasses attributes, characteristics and institutional safeguards to underwrite sustainable national development.

The model below, like in Pallavi Awasthi’s (2019) prognosis, borrows a much from national governance and public service best practice, consolidates it and define the major indicators of political servant leadership adequate to positively impact a nation’s happiness index.

The linear model

$$PSLM = (sni+c+rl+nle+nhi+csgwe+p+phs+sp+msg+gird+fs+dgg+ec+eat\dots) x^n - (iisc+il+ ib+bwe+bcgar+ptwcc+ rt nec+pv+dl\dots) X^n$$

Wherein to sustain the **Political Servant Leadership model (SLM)**, a national governance architecture must commit to

grow Strong National institutions (SNI), Constitutionalism (C), Rule of law (RL), National and Local, Government efficiencies (NLE), National Happiness Index (NHI), Culture Service and good work ethic (CSGWE), Productivity (P), Peace and Human security (PHS), Security of property (SP), Macroeconomic stability and growth (MSG), Good international relations and diplomacy (GIRD), Food security (FS), Democracy and good governance (DGG) , Expertise and Competence (EP) and Effective Application of technologies (EAT).

Political Servant Leadership model (PSLM), Thrive to eradicate Institutionalised, Individual and Sectorial corruption (IISC), Impunity and Laziness (IL), Irresponsible behaviours (IB), Bad Work Ethic (BWE), Bad corporate governance, accountability and Reporting (BCGAR), Petty theft and white-collar crimes (PTWCC), Regionalism, tribalism, Nepotism and ethnic conflicts (RTNEC), Political violence and politicisation of state activities (PV) and Disobeying the law (FL).

Factors for incremental entrenchment in institutionalisation of good governance necessary for effecting political servant leadership.

Table 3: The Model

Positive Multiplier factors, multiplied by 'X' raised to the power 'n'		Negative Multiplier factors, multiplied by 'X' raised to the power '-n'
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Strong National institutions (SNI) - Constitutionalism (C) - Rule of law (RL) - National and Local Government efficiencies (NLE) - National Happiness Index (HI) - Culture Service and good work ethic (CSGWE) - Productivity (P) - Peace and Human security (PHS) - Security of property (SP) - Macroeconomic stability and growth (MSG) - Good international relations and diplomacy (GIRD) - Food security (FS) - Democracy and good governance (DGG) - Expertise and Competence (EP) - Effective Application of technologies (EAT) - etc 	Minus	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Institutionalised, Individual and Sectorial corruption (IISC) - Impunity and Laziness (IL) - Irresponsible behaviours (IB) - Bad Work Ethic (BWE) - Bad corporate governance, accountability and Reporting (BCGAR) - Petty theft and white-collar crimes (PTWCC) - Regionalism, tribalism, Nepotism and ethnic conflicts (RTNEC) - Political violence and politicisation of state activities (PV) - Disobeying the law (FL) - etc
	= Optimum Political Servant Leadership	

And the net effect is a Political servant leadership capable of delivering sustainable national development. The more political servant leadership unlearns the negative multiplier effects the more sustainable management of national resources becomes. Increasing positive multiplier effects has a knock-on effect on country competitiveness and delivery of sustainable economic growth. Extinction of negative effects from all our national governments and their public institutions provides incremental value proposition on the attainment of a democratic dividend necessary for sustainable peace and national progress. Negative multiplier effect, according to the model, on a range of 0 -10, is

best nearer 0 than 10. The greater the difference between positive and negative multiplier effects the better and more sustainable the national governance frameworks and public service performance is. Institutional accountability is guaranteed when negative effects are at their all time low.

IX. THE SERVANT LEADERSHIP PLEDGE, DELIVERY AND RECOMMITMENT TO A CULTURE OF SERVICE

Progressive 21st century countries deploy their national resources to processes which enhance technologically driven sustainable economic growth underpinned by innovation, protection of the national interest, protection of people’s rights and freedoms and effective state administration. The doctrine of innocence until proven guilty engenders commitment to globally accepted best practices of equality before the law. To alleviate poverty, economic enablers are central particularly availability of water and sanitation, rail and road transport, energy and power provision as well as social services related infrastructure.

Ultimately, the pledge leads to development of a strong and solid national brand key to ensuring a wholly accepted, embraced and respected national identity. The pledge must assure all national stakeholders of this absolute credentials to a sophisticated national endowments administration framework. Perception of Institutionalisation of corruption among other vices have undermined the integrity of national public programs, processes and institutions. The decay of a culture of hard honest work (rewarding of mediocrity and punishing super performers) in endemic.

According to a book on Reforming the Public Sector: How to Achieve Better Transparency, Service, and Leadership (2012) by Giovanni Tria and Giovanni Valotti, “ *Pressure from citizens is growing regarding the quality of services provided, combined with the widespread perception of inefficiency and backwardness of the public sector as a whole*” The book recognises the instability of the operating environments in which governments exist which requires bureaucratic innovation, flexibility and adaptation. Servant leadership responses to the tenets of globalization and internationalization of business and the need for public agencies to reform their activities are of the highest necessity. Governments must respond to uncertainties accruing from the incessant globalising and there is need for public sector reforms necessary to develop capacity for managing risk, resources and effective service delivery.

Illumination and Obfuscation of the new Political Dispensation (NPD) in Zimbabwe?

The NPD came into being because it needed to correct what it called the excesses of the old dispensation particularly what was characterised as the infiltration of ZANU PF by undesirable elements within and outside the ruling party, hence the need to defuse a potential national security threat. According to the writer the illuminations are the positives and achievements scored by the NPD, and the Obfuscations are identified shortcomings of the NPD. The Zim-Citizens-Watch, an organisation that tracks the conversion of promises made during election campaigns into policy measures, the NPD, has to date failed to surpass 50% of its promises (www.zimcitizenswatch.org). Besides the establishment

of six Anti-Corruption Courts; the amendment in 2018 of the Money Laundering and Proceeds of Crime Act and Exchange Control Act (which empowers government to seize assets of people who fail to disclose the source of their wealth); the recruitment of new commissioners at the Zimbabwe Anti-Corruption Commission to replace the previous commissioners who were ineffective in combatting corruption; academic establishment of Special economic zones authority, enactment of ZIDA, and a number of disputed constitutional amendments, the NPD continues to fall short in meeting the requirements of the servant leadership pledge. Excesses of the state out number what can be registered as successes made to date.

The government makes a number of claims around the successes it has scored to date. These claims remain subject of debate mainly because of the questionable integrity of public statistics and asymmetry of information by the state. Government also believes de-dollarizing headlines its initial set of positive accomplishments. Economists are of the view that to sustain macroeconomic stability, Zimbabwe must revert to the use of multicurrency. The more government continues to declare de-dollarization as a monetary policy achievement, whilst there is an increasing use of the USD by the transacting public, exposes government's commitment to principles of honesty, integrity of its public information, sustains the perception of deliberate information asymmetry.

Government further believes the unpopular Pfumvudza programme is a master stroke meant to reduce the effects of loss of in country draft power. Zimbabwe experienced one of the most destructive domestic animal diseases during the period 2019/2020, which appeared to straddle national veterinary capacity. The introduction of Pfumvudza is partly attributed to general acknowledgement by the NPD that the historical global reputation of capacity endowment to deal with effects of national head related veterinary problems is extinct.

Government boasts of progress made in the area of infrastructure, with notable and visible examples of the completion of the Chiredzi-Tanganda Road, the expansion of Robert Gabriel Mugabe Airport still in progress, works on the Makuti-Chirundu and Karoi-Binga roads currently in progress and Dam projects in Causeway, Gwayi-Shangani and Marovanyati at various advanced stages of completion.

The highly rated \$4.2 billion USD Great Dyke Platinum Mine, long beyond schedule, remains on the list of the NPD accomplishments. Concerns that the identified investor, who benefitted from the expropriated Zimbabwe Platinum Mines claims, has no capacity, not only to develop a mine of the claimed magnitude but to sustain mining operations in the Zimbabwean VUCA environment. Included in the raft of celebrated achievements are the Implementation of a new school curriculum, pronouncement on the Compensation for white former farm owners to the magnitude of \$3.5 billion, expected to end years of land dispute, in itself an acknowledgement of the disorganisation and disorder associated with the land reform program. Budget transparency the perennial distribution of farm inputs and mechanisation assistance to farmers as well as the \$18 billion ZWL stimulus package, to help regenerate our economy post-COVID19 complete the list.

The NPD's dramatic Failure to exploit the post transition state of positive national euphoria, jubilation, optimism, goodwill

and positive energy (an important factor of national buy-in and ownership of government programs) headlines lack of political strategy to harness opportunities for national cohesion. Retention of the old dispensation administrative beauracrac , both at government and party level, militated against exorcizing the NPD of the old political and administrative habits (New wine in old wine vessels). Local government administration, an ongoing collapse of social services exclusively in health and education, superintending over a bad human rights record, habitual political intolerances and heavy handedness hence the repeated clamp down on civil society activism and opposition political activities provides similarities, not only with the old dispensation but celebrated dictatorships globally.

Repeated claims of stolen elections and Political illegitimacy as a consequence of a disputed supreme court determined political outcome required a deliberate response to calm this perception, key to minimising crippling country risk profile. Prof Tony Hawkins of the University of Zimbabwe believes that the Suspicion that the state engages in systematic manipulation of key national economic statistical data in an effort to present a positive image of macroeconomic performance undermines integrity of the state. An aggressive shift to neoliberalism clearly demonstrates positive energy towards re-establishment of working markets and policy initiatives in the form of the Transitional Stabilisation Programme (TSP) recently succeeded by the medium-term National Development Strategy 1, validates the notion of good intentions to economically develop the country.

X. CONCLUSION

The coming in of the NPD in Zimbabwe is a case of a square peg in a round hole. In reality, there is consensus that change in Zimbabwe was not organic, it was only a change of the head of state but not the governance system that has existed over the past four decades. The general lethargy in engendering a raft of political and economic reforms despite elaborate assurances and commitments by the NPD at the 2017 inaugural speech and 2018 inauguration of the new government, deepened the notion of 'militarised electoral authoritarianism'. Significant toning down, low bellicose and confrontational rhetoric coupled with 'rhetoric-action' gap has militated against the ability of the NPD to satisfy frugal conditions of political servant leadership pledge as at the inauguration of the new government despite the obtaining positive euphoria, support and optimism engulfing the nation at the time. According to Professor Eldred Masunungure, the NPD is "loud on rhetoric and subdued on action basically translated as a surfeit of rhetoric but a dearth of action". US senator Chris Coons, addressing the United States Congress on congressional hearing on Zimbabwe in 2018, as quoted in the local weeklies, reiterated that "*If you read a transcript of our meeting with President Mnangagwa, if you read transcripts of his speeches, if you read the editorial he wrote in the New York Times, he's saying all the right things. Our challenge is the doing.*"

The paper therefore concluded that the pledge for political servant leadership became more of political podium statements with little or no commitment to operationalising the statements. Scholars have converged on the assertion that the NPD has become worse both in form and character, that the predecessor

one. Whilst it is recognised that the NPD amplified economic rhetoric in all its dealings, it has failed to institute necessary conditions for creation of an economically competitive Zimbabwe. Evaluating all the necessary characteristics of effective servant leadership, assessing global best practice and indeed instituting an honest comparative analysis, the NPD has not satisfied the requisites of the pledges made particularly in ensuring sufficient, dependable national institutions, development of effective national programs, processes and systems to eradicate a bad macroeconomic, social and political governance ecosystem, punctuated by rising regionalism and political patronage.

The developed political servant leadership model will demonstrate that a combination of incremental efforts on Positive Multiplier factors all multiplied by 'X' and raised to the power 'n' less the eradication of all Negative Multiplier factors multiplied by 'X' raised to the power '-n' will present a net effect of optimised political servant leadership hence the potential for achieving a developmental state status capable of leading the country towards the intended upper middle income status. The desired 2030 vision of an upper middle-income country as a consequence of sustained double digit economic growth is easily a reality in our life time when conditions of the political servant leadership model are achieved. A statutory instrument galore of 2019, the number of proposed constitutional amendments and the general increase in corruption demonstrate that there are deeper national capacity deficiencies necessary to railroad effective servant leadership and related strategies to create a progressive Zimbabwe. The NPD, also faltered on international re-engagement because, beyond the rhetorical political and economic reforms sufficient to convenience international investors that the country had genuinely turned a corner, the obtaining macroeconomic circumstances remain perilous, as markets naturally take positions suspiciously with the intention to continue evaluating the potential macroeconomic improvements before committing whilst the NPD plays catch-up. The rigidity of the state, role of the military, the ruling party and sanctity of the independence of the government institutions in discharging their duties continues to undermine prospects of regaining lost trust and confidence, destroying the proper organisation of the state and its various sophisticated functions necessary for discharging servant leadership as pledged.

Accessing international finance and investment has repeatedly eluded the country because of a number of factors particularly the inability of the country to service its current obligations, capacity to contract new debt and the ever-decreasing complementarity of macroeconomic policies. One therefore concludes that political pledge on servant leadership is not just rhetorical but a failed complex and sophisticated mix of good governance components, institutional integrity and a commitment to democratise leadership, on its on an effective tool for robust implementation of defined national programs designed to meet national objectives.

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