

THE COVERAGE OF ZANU PF FACTIONAL AND SUCCESSION CONFLICTS BY THE  
DAILY NEWS AND THE HERALD PRIOR AND POST THE DECEMBER 2014 CONGRESS

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**Topic:**

THE COVERAGE OF THE PRESIDENT SUCCESSION ISSUE BY THE *DAILY NEWS* AND *THE HERALD*, PRIOR AND POST THE ZANU PF DECEMBER 2014 CONGRESS

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**THE COVERAGE OF ZANU PF FACTIONAL AND SUCCESSION CONFLICTS BY THE DAILY NEWS AND THE HERALD PRIOR AND POST THE DECEMBER 2014 CONGRESS**

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I hereby certify I personally supervised this dissertation in accordance with the department's and the university's general regulations. On that basis I confirm that this dissertation is examinable.

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**Acknowledgements**

I dedicate this piece of study to my wife Rejoice Wendumba thank you for your love your encouragement and support. My parents pastor Teverah and Mrs Teverah I thank you for your financial help and your prayers. My sisters Mai Zulu, Mai Mhasho, Esther and Shantel I love all not forgetting Baba Mhasho you were sent from the heavens. My brothers Bro Tafi and Bro Henry I thank you for your sacrifices towards my school work. This dissertation was not going to get the first-class if it was not for my supervisor Mai Muromo May the almighty God keep on giving you wisdom

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Declaration I, Bellington Teverah (R115847P) do hereby sincerely declare that this dissertation is my own original work that has not been previously submitted to any other university. In writing this work I duly complied with ethical issues and laws governing intellectual property.

Dissertation Title: THE COVERAGE OF THE PRESIDENT SUCCESSION ISSUE BY THE *DAILY NEWS* AND *THE HERALD*, PRIOR AND POST THE ZANU PF DECEMBER 2014 CONGRESS

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**Abstract**

This dissertation seeks to explore, understand and critique the role played by the daily news and The Herald in their representation of factional and succession battles in ZANU PF. The period covered is prior and post the December 2014 ZANU PF elective congress. It is for the first time the factional battles in ZANU PF have been fought in the media. The study is qualitative in nature and it uses the Archival research method in the collection of data. Through content analysis and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) it was established that The Herald has been used as a tool to denigrate the Mujuru faction through character assassination and one sided reporting. The daily news however, sought to fight for the marginalised Mujuru faction by being a counter voice. Journalism ethical standards were however trampled upon by the two newspapers in their coverage of ZANU PF factional fights.

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## **CHAPTER ONE**

### **1.1 Introduction**

Political developments in Zimbabwe since the attainment of political independence in 1980 are in many ways a reflection of political upheavals in the continent of Africa. African politics has been marked by succession wars which have led to the emergence of factions which fight each other to gain political power. Bongmba (2006) is of the view that, most African leaders are unwilling to share, and this has resulted in power remaining in the hands of a few self-anointed leaders. Chatora (2013:5) contends that “Africa has a modern history of failed democracies.” This has been witnessed by the emergence of dictators such as Kamuzu Banda of Malawi, and the military rule in countries like Nigeria and Egypt. African leaders’ obsession with holding on to power has often led to succession conflicts.

My study seeks to describe and understand critically explore the role played by the *daily news* and *The Herald* in the representation of ZANU PF’s recent factional and succession fights. The fights have resulted in serious purging of party heavyweights in ZANU PF. *The Herald* of 17 December 2014 reported that, those who were removed from ZANU PF and government were being accused of fanning and supporting factionalism. Among those who were expelled from the government was the former vice President Joice Mujuru. Mujuru and other ZANU PF bigwigs were reported in *The Herald*, to be leading a faction that sought to topple President Robert Mugabe from power, who has been in power since the country attained independence in 1980. The discussion in this dissertation is necessitated by how the power struggles were fought in the media.

### **1.2 Background of the study**

African leaders have a long history of longevity in office as many have sought to constitutionally and unconstitutionally extend their terms of office by not wanting to cede power ( Mwamba 2006). An example is of Gabon where the constitutional provision on how many terms of office the president should have, was abolished in 2003. Mwamba (2006) gives example Felix Houphouet of Ivory Coast who ruled from 1960-1993, Paul Mbiya of Cameroon ruled for 24years and the Ugandan Yoweri Museveni who has be in power for 21years.

Maina et al (2006) assert that countries like Botswana, South Africa, Mozambique, Malawi and Namibia are a few examples, where a president had to step down and hand over power to

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someone. Nelson Mandela of South Africa is a great example of one leader who wilfully handed power after only ruling for a single five year term. However, some leaders like Malawian Dr Hastings Kamuzu Banda were forced to hand over power due to ailing economic conditions, while some had to hand over power due to old age, after being in office for many years.

Examples of such longest serving presidents include, Dr Hastings Kamuzu Banda of Malawi who was succeeded by Bakili Muluzi after holding on to power for 30 years. In Mozambique Joachim Chissano left the office for Armando Emillo Guebuza in 2004 after ruling for 18 years. In Namibia Sam Nujoma stepped down for Hifikepunye Pohamba after 3 terms. In Tanzania after ruling the country for 5 terms, President Julius Nyerere was succeeded by Mwinyi in 1985, (Mwaura (2006)).

The researcher also argues that it is not only in Africa where heads of states have sought to increase their term in office. Mwaura (2006) posits that at one time former American president Bill Clinton suggested that American presidents be allowed to rule for 3 terms instead of two. This would have seen him running for a third term of office.

Macaphulana (2014) contends that, the succession debate is regarded as taboo in Zimbabwe as it has not been given a public platform to be debated. Any attempt to discuss the issue is seen as an attempt to forcibly remove the legitimately elected government. It is from this background of privatisation of the public office by African leaders that has resulted in tough and restrictive laws being passed to safeguard their power.

Mandaza (2014) asserts that ZANU PF under Mugabe's rule has mastered the art of silencing opposing voices that are a threat to its hegemony, making it one of its surviving techniques. Sithole (2002) further asserts that misunderstandings in ZANU PF have often resulted in loss of lives, as the party treated opposing voices very ruthlessly.

This research pays attention to the authoritarian rule of Mugabe since 1980, whereby crossing the ZANU PF path, has had negative results. Sithole (1999:12) laments that "the Zimbabwean revolution fed on the blood its own sons and daughters, where revolutionary justice was a tool used to kill others." As asserted by Gatsheni Ndlovu (2003) in 1979 the late former deputy secretary for information in ZANU PF Eddison Zvobgo, issued a death threat to people who had worked with Ndabaningi Sithole and Abel Muzorewa in the Zimbabwe-Rhodesia government. This history is vital for the research as it traces back the authoritarian

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tendencies by the ZANU PF government. The practices which the party employed in the revolution are still the same in this day and age, where the revolution has been used as a scapegoat to do away with the opposition.

The quest to stay and retain power at all costs by Mugabe led to the ex-ZIPRA forces being viciously crushed, after they were accused of opposing Mugabe's rule. These atrocious and heartless killings which were allegedly perpetuated by Mugabe in the early 90s came to be known as Gukurahundi (Gatsheni Ndlovu 2003). The zeal to retain power by Mugabe has led him to release his men on innocent civilians and has resulted in heavy loss of lives. This notion is supported by a statement issued by Mugabe cited in Gatsheni Ndlovu (2003:7) when he said:

Where men and women provide food for dissidents, when we get there, we eradicate them. We don't differentiate when we fight, because we don't know who is a dissident and who is not.

This he said during the period of Gukurahundi, where almost every Ndebele speaking person was victimised in a bid by Mugabe to wipe away all opposition. In 2008 after losing election for the first time to the opposition MDC-T, Mandaza (2013) says that Mugabe withheld the elections results for almost a month after realising that he had lost. He further asserts that the formation of a Government of National Unity (GNU) with the opposition was a sign that Mugabe will never agree to lose power at any cost.

Gatsheni Ndlovu (2003:19) is of the view that "ZANU PF under Mugabe's rule has ruled under monolithic unity rather than multiplicity and pluralism." This has seen those who tried to raise their opinions being expelled or suspended from the party and government. Rugare Gumbo and Jabulani Sibanda were in 2014 expelled from the party after being accused of trying to dispose Mugabe. In this regard, Masitera (2010:5) crafted the term "politics of domination in Zimbabwe"; this has acted as a barrier that has foreclosed the expressing of divergent views, in the ruling party.

Mandaza (2007:15) postulates that Mugabe in 2007 said at a rally he was not going to allow his enemies to oust him from his position prematurely, "If I want to extend my term I can contest for the elections next year." In 2008 Mandaza further quotes Mugabe saying, "I can

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lengthen my term and have another six years for that matter.” Wyk (2013) further asserts that on Mugabe’s 74<sup>th</sup> birthday he dismissed the idea of retirement as he said his retirement would result in the collapse of ZANU PF. He referred to himself as a youthful old man. All this has created pressure within the party leading to Dzikamai Mavhaire, a former cabinet and politburo member being suspended from the party in 1998, for dismissing the idea that the party was going to die after Mugabe’s death (Mandaza 2007).

With reference to this background, I aim to undertake my research on how the two leading newspapers in Zimbabwe, *The Herald* and *The daily news* covered the issue of succession wars and factionalism in ZANU PF prior and post the December 2014 congress. In this research, focus is on the representation of Mugabe and ZANU PF, by both the privately and publicly owned print media.

### **1.3 Statement of the problem**

The thrust of the study is to investigate, analyse and critique how the issue of succession in the ruling ZANU PF party as represented by the print media, has led to ferocious infightings. The conflict is believed to have been caused by factionalism and has led to the former vice president Joice Mujuru and other senior and founding members being expelled from both the government and the ZANU PF party. It is for the first time that such a thing has happened in the party, and my focus is on how both the privately and the publicly owned media have represented the whole issue of succession and factionalism in the ZANU PF party.

### **1.4 Significance of the study**

Discussions on the succession debates have often dwelt much on the authoritarian nature of certain heads of states. This view is echoed by Mwaura (2007) when he posits that in some African countries like Kenya, possible successors have been silenced. This happened through the brutal killings and assassinations of those perceived to be aspiring successors by the government. All these brutal acts shows how the incumbents have managed to forcefully silence the issue succession.

Ethnicity has also been figured out as the cause of succession conflicts. Wyk (2007) is of the view that there is an umbilical cord relationship between power and ethnicity in Africa. This has often resulted in political conflicts. Kopsieker (2006) has however propounded that the manipulation of the electoral process has often led to succession debates, where leaders

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impose themselves against the will of the people. Mwaura (2006) further notes that at times succession in Africa has been hindered by the intervention of multinational co-operations, who keeps on sponsoring certain dictators in their bid to have access to mineral resources. Mandaza (2013) posits that longevity in office has often led to factionalism and this has often manifested in intra party conflicts. The ZI Policy document (2012) is also of the view that succession debates have often been fuelled by in-orderly written constitutions, which are not clear when it comes to the appointment of a successor.

With a vast number of scholarly articles having been written about political succession, this research however is unique in the aspect that the succession debate in Zimbabwe has recently been fought in the press. It is for the first time that ZANU PF factional battles became so nasty, in that the media which are the modern day public sphere turned to be a political sphere where factional and succession battles were fought. It is also significant to note how the succession debate nearly led to the split of ZANU PF with party bigwigs fighting each other over influential positions. This research is rather an extension of what has been studied about succession debates in Africa but it differs from other studies, as it looks at the contribution of print media to the discussion of the recent succession debate and factionalism in the ZANU PF party.

The thrust of this study lies in the issue of representation of the president succession issue by both the privately and the publicly owned press. The main focus is on how language has been used to delegitimise certain individuals who seemed to oppose Mugabe, within ZANU PF in the prior and post December 2014 elective congress. The research notes that for the first time the privately and publicly owned media spoke and are still speaking about factionalism in the ZANU PF party but rather with a different language. More so the researcher will try to find out if the ethics and code of conduct, which guides the operation of media houses were followed in their coverage of the succession debate.

### **1.5 Research objectives**

*This study seeks to:*

- Examine how the media became political actors in the Zanu PF succession saga which saw provincial chairpersons and other position holding cadres being expelled from ZANU PF.

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- Analyse the Habermasian public sphere in relation to succession debate in Zimbabwe.
- Establish the ZANU PF factional fights as presented by the Print media and how Mugabe has dealt with the issue.

**1.6 Research questions:**

**1.6.1 Main research question**

- In what ways have the publicly and the privately owned media provided a free platform to discuss the succession issue in Zanu PF?

**1.6.2 Sub research questions**

- How partisan is Zimbabwean media when it comes to political issues?

**1.7 Delimitations**

This research is limited to the period from August 2014 when Grace Mugabe entered into official politics. Although there have been factional fights in the ruling party before, this study looks at the latest post-election period. The study also focuses on the print media, with the researcher choosing to study the contents of *The Herald* and *The daily news*. The study is not concerned with the inside articles of these newspapers but it only focuses on the headlines and the top stories. *The Herald* and not the *Chronicle*, was chosen because it is the most widely read publicly owned newspaper in Zimbabwe, and the paper has been accused of being the mouthpiece of the ruling party. *The daily news* on the other hand, was chosen because it is the most widely read privately owned newspaper in Zimbabwe, and has been accused of being a mouthpiece of the opposition. Recently Amai Mugabe has accused the daily news of being a Mujuru mouthpiece. This study strictly focuses on the succession and factionalism in the ZANU PF party and not in another political party.

**1.8 Limitations**

In a country like Zimbabwe where there is a polarised media environment, *The Herald* has been accused of being a ZANU PF mouthpiece, while the *daily news* is also accused of being the opposition MDC-T's mouthpiece. The criminalisation of discussing the succession issue may also lead to some newspapers censoring relevant issues pertaining to the succession debate, for fear of victimisation.

### **1.9 Structure of the Study**

The study is comprised of six chapters; with chapter one accommodating the introduction, the background of the study, the statement of the problem, the significance of the study, objectives, the main research questions, the sub research questions, delimitations and limitations of the study. Chapter 2 discusses the literature review and theoretical framework. Chapter 3 contains the research methods and methodology, and with chapter 4 accommodating the organisational structures of the two papers under study. Chapter 5 carries the data presentation and analysis. Lastly chapter six concludes with the summary of the study and recommendations.

### **1.10 Summary**

This chapter has tried to lay a foundation for the research as it has introduced what the study is about and where it is coming from and is supposed to go. It has also identified the main concerns which the researcher ought to address in the following chapters.



## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **Literature review and Theoretical framework**

#### **2.1 Introduction**

Literature review is concerned with discovering and analysing what other scholars have written about the topic you wish to study, (Airasian, 2003). In this chapter the researcher endeavours to link the study to already published articles from various scholars and researchers on the issue of succession.

##### **2.2.1 Politics and Factionalism**

Factionalism has always been part and parcel of politics and it symbolises the struggle for power in the political world. Factions are various groups who share diverse opinions and their bone of contention is to assume powerful positions so they can have an upper hand. In Zimbabwe, the ZANU PF party has been divided between the Mujuru and the Mnangagwa factions. Factions always threaten the balance of power and often factional battles may at times turn nasty, as they will be trying to outclass each other.

Boucek (2009:9) asserts that “political parties are collective entities where rivalry, dissimilar and conflicting opinions come out.” These however lead to internal pressures which manifest in intra party factionalism. This view is supported by Panebianco (1998) when he says different political actors who have different political interests are unified under the flag of a political party. The foundation of this unity is the sharing of ideas and different resources. Stiftung (2014) traces the history of factionalism to the days of the French revolution where the Jacobins and the Girondins were the major groups competing against each other. He further asserts that authors and philosophers such as Bolingbroke viewed factionalism and factions as opposition to public spirits or stumbling blocks.

This view is also shared by Masiko-Kambala (2004) who posits that the term ‘factionalism’ denotes diverse interpretations, ranging from a neutral assessment of different power blocs within a party or organisation to a value-laden interpretation that associates factions with patronage and even self-interest (if not self-enrichment).

This study is in agreement with the assertion as it has been witnessed in Zimbabwe where the opposition party MDC-T has split into more than three factions. More so in ZANU PF the

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Mujuru and the Mnangagwa factions were both jostling to assume powerful positions within the party for self benefit (Macaphulana (2004).

Coming from a modernisation perspective, political factions are seen as “proto” parties, thus are credited to the early stages of the modernisation theory. This is where people stray from the usual political ways of undertaking certain things (Chambers (1963). Harold Laswell cited in Koller and Basedau (2005) posits that factions are little groups within a big political unit and their bone of contention is nothing but power. These groups may have differences in the application of things, but they always agree on principle. This has been witnessed in the ZANU PF party where all the factions agree that Mugabe is their leader.

Matlosa (2007:5) attributes factionalism in Africa to the “hostile relationship by politicians towards their competitors.” The researcher subscribes to this school of thought as intra party divisions have often manifested during election periods. Leaders often jostle for positions from primary elections to congress elections. Bongmba (2007:15) attributes factionalism in Africa to what he termed “privatisation of power” by leaders. He goes on to say power is no longer competitive or negotiated; as most African leaders have privatised the public office by manipulating the constitution just to remain in power.

However, Mwaura (2007) sees factionalism in politics being structured and championed by the elites and spreading to the grassroots. He further asserts that the central theme to the game of factionalism is the access to power, and this often leads to ethno conflicts. The researcher also shares the sentiments with Bongmba (2007), as most African leaders tend to create more enemies by their hold to power. This attracts the ire of those who feel, that they should also be given a chance to participate in the public office.

Masiko-Kampala (2004:5) defines how various factions within a political party operate:

Different factions compete over party control using the instruments of state to tilt the balance of power in their favour, including using patronage to reward those who are loyal to a faction in power and punishing opponents in all manner of ways.

This view is relevant to this discussion given the political developments that led to the ZANU PF party’s factions, accusing each other of vote buying and manipulating the media for their own benefit. The main aim of all these factions is to get access to power, thereby rewarding all those who helped in the struggle.

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Masiko-Kampala (2004) further argue that the media have a crucial role to play, when it comes to promoting unity and avoiding divisions caused by factionalism. Furthermore through the media the people have one voice and without it people are misled and thus disempowered. However this research takes a different approach towards the operations of Zimbabwe media. The researcher is of the view that the media clashed on the factional and succession fights within the ZANU PF party. This led to disunity among the ZANU PF party members in the run up to December 2014 congress and cases of violence being reported against members of different factions.

The **ZI** Policy Document (2012) observes that factionalism and succession battles often leave the economy unattended. This is because leaders will be fighting for different political interests at the expense of the economy and the nation at large. Wolf (1996:12) also asserts that “when a country’s economy and resources are depreciating or are being mismanaged, tensions often lead to conflicts and divisions (factions); this may lead to demands of new leadership.” This view also holds much water as bad governance has led to splinter groups who think that they can be a better alternative.

Furthermore the **ZI** Policy Document (2012) posits that factionalism has negative effects on political progress in a country. This assertion is supported by the political developments in Zimbabwe at the time of the Government of National Unity (GNU) where implementation of reforms was held back by political conflicts, within ZANU PF and MDC-T political parties. The Research Advocacy Unit (RAU) (2014) contends that factionalism in opposition political parties, often leads to failure to take advantage of the limitation of the ruling party. This has been the case with the MDC-T party when it failed to take advantage of factional and succession fights in the ZANU PF party and win the electorate’s heart (RAU (2014). However Koller and Basedau (2005) are of the view that factionalism often paralyses the stability and institutionalisation of political parties. This has been witnessed in some cases where elections have been lost at the expense of divisions and hatred among party officials.

Some scholars however see the positive side of factionalism, Sferza (2002: 171) cited in Koller and Basedau (2005) is of the view that factionalism is the same as a double edged sword. It can lead to the thinking of new ideas and it allows competition among politicians to deliver. However on the other hand factionalism stalls progress as various factions will be

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fighting to sabotage each other. This has been witnessed in Zimbabwe where the new economic blue print, Zimbabwe Agenda for Sustainable Socio Economic Transformation (ZIMASSET)'s implementation has been stalled by the ZANU PF party's infighting. This in turn has had negative effects on the country's economy.

This notion of privatisation of power leads to complaints from the people who feel they should also be allowed to lead. This is supported by Weber (1990) who contends that there is often disagreement by members of a social affiliation to those who enforce themselves in opposition to the will of other people. This resistance often manifests itself in various groupings called factions. Mwamba (1997) further attributes factionalism to ethnicity where different ethnic groupings within a political party will be trying to outplay each other. This is witnessed in the battles in Burundi between the Hutus and the Tutsis, and in Zimbabwe the Ndebele, Karanga and the Zezuru are various ethnic groups who have sought to outclass each other (Mwaura, 2007).

This literature has helped in bringing out the various facets of factionalism and its roots in African politics. It has also managed to bring out how the media can be used to advance agendas of different factions as political communication takes shape.

### **2.2.2 Politics and succession**

The issue of succession has been a very complex one in the history of African politics, as leaders have stayed in office for a very long time without terms limiting them. Most leaders who personalised power exhibited dictatorial tendencies where opponents have been dealt with heartlessly. However, in some countries succession has been carried out smoothly with the public office being open for everyone who wishes to compete in the race.

Mwaura (1997:7) describes political succession as "the politics of leadership control over access of the state." Taylor (1972:4) further asserts that "political succession is associated with conflicts as it involves the fight for political control, in order to achieve supremacy in the exercise of authority." This assertion can be linked to where the Mujuru and Mnangagwa factions were trying to outclass each other in various party elections like the youth league elections. This was done to get the most influential positions in the party structures.

Mugari (2008:1) contends that:

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The shift from autocratic despotism to democratic systems of government which saw the ouster of a generation of former liberation movement leaders from power, viz: Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, Kamuzu Banda of Malawi, Mobutu Seseseko of former Zaire and the fall of the apartheid government in South Africa transformed a political mind-set inimical to political pluralism.

Although this has been seen as a transition towards democracy in Africa, it should be noted that some countries have achieved this transition through regression and manipulation of the constitution against the people's will.

Mwamba (1997) also asserts that succession in Africa has been carried on efficiently and calmly. This is supported by Le Vine (1973:1) who says that Africa is a good example where leadership change has been practical. However Matlosa (2007) shares a different perspective as he contends that succession of presidents mainly in Africa is associated with inconsistency and it is not straightforward. The researcher also subscribes to Matlosa's argument as most African countries although they have experienced succession of leaders, have often come with bloodshed and with potential successors being victimised, beaten or killed.

Matlosa (2007) argues that political leaders have adopted an oligopoly type of control, which has often led to the party being reduced to one leader. This has seen political parties being mainly controlled by the leaders who formed them. Bongmba (2007:12) posits that "political authority has often remained in the hands of minority leaders. He further argues that in the post-colonial era, African leaders deployed a divine might in which they are seen as gods. They also sought to change the constitution just to stay in power." This view is also shared by Mandaza (2013) who further contends that nationalist leaders like Mugabe have created for themselves a deity force, as they are now being identified with names such as Baba (Father), soul of the nation and great nationalist. This has seen them being treated as super human beings.

Moyo and Ashurst (2007) also shares the view that that some African leaders like Mugabe have stayed in power for a long time not because people liked them, but rather because of the existence of an unlevel playing field when it comes to election time. This view was further supported by the minister of Information and Broadcasting Services Professor Jonathan Moyo cited in Moyo and Ashurst (2007) when he argued that voter threats existed especially in rural areas, where at times the army and the police will be deployed to terrify the people.

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Mandaza (2007) also supports that a close relationship with the military and the police has helped some African leaders to hold on to power for a long time. This has been done at the expense of building a democratic structure in Zimbabwe and Africa as a whole. This has won Mugabe political mileage as people were told that if they voted for the opposition there would be war and they would lose their land.

It has also been evidenced in the article published by the *NEWS DAY* of 17 November 2014 where South African High Court ruled that Zimbabwe's 2002 elections won by Mugabe were not free and fair. Each and every election in Zimbabwe since 2002 has been marked with allegations of voter intimidation and in 2008 Mandaza (2010) posits that Mugabe used violence when he had lost the first round of the elections to Morgan Tsvangirai of MDC-T. This led to the dearth of many opposition activists with some being abducted in broad daylight. This shows that Mugabe will sacrifice to do anything in order to stay in power.

The official entrance into politics by the first lady Grace Mugabe as the new women's league leader was viewed by Macaphulana (2014) as post Mugabe's plan to secure for his wife a top political position so that he may select her as his heir when he steps down from office. This will in turn help in defending the legacy and welfare of the Mugabe's dynasty. However, the Crisis in Zim Coalition document (2015) argues that Grace Mugabe is introduced into the political terrain to stem perceived and real aspirations, especially, by Mujuru and her backers to rise to the presidency during Mugabe's lifetime. This view may however point out to a weak president who is no longer strong enough to deal with the internal issues of his party, and his wife is now being used to fight on behalf of her husband.

Macaphulana (2014) further posits that succession in Africa has often been delayed as political parties have contributed in creating gods in the shape of their presidents, whom they find tough to remove. This can be likened to the Shakespearean way of God being responsible for ordaining kings, and removing them will lead to political unrest. The researcher is also of the view that leaders like Mugabe, who have ruled for more than 30 years, have been seen as irreplaceable within the ruling party, thus he has been given the title of a life president. Mandaza (2013:41) posits that "the succession crisis is due to the idiosyncrasies of incumbents who like to die in office." This is seen in the majority of presidents in Africa like the Malawian Bakili Muluzi who died in office. Wyk (2000) however posits that in the 1980s and 1990s, Africans demonstrated against privatisation of

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power, and pushed for limited terms of office for presidents. In Zimbabwe however it took the GNU to draft a new constitution of the country which limited the president's term of office to two.

Mwamba (2006) is of the view that leaders continue to find new ways of eliminating the opposition so that they can consolidate their power. This has led to the public office being personalised by some greedy leaders. Bongmba (2007) posits that a Machiavellian tendency of self love is seen in African politics, where leaders take advantage of the loyalty of their citizens. This has been witnessed in Cameroon where president Ahidjo is said to have cultured the faithfulness of the masses for his own individual advantage. This study also discusses the Zimbabwean situation where, President Mugabe has safeguarded the Mugabe dynasty by promoting his wife to assume political positions. Mugabe has also managed to use party diehards for example Constantine Chiwenga, Perence Shiri, Joseph Made, Ignatius Chombo, Saviour Kasukuwere and many more. These loyal cadres have been given influential positions and they keep on being reproduced and rotated in different ministries because of their loyalty to Mugabe.

Mwamba (2006) argues that African leaders have a long history of longevity in office as many sought to constitutionally and unconstitutionally extend their terms of office not wanting to cede power, let alone anointing a successor. This is further supported by Onslow (2011) when he says in Africa politics is individual, referring to the centralisation of power on one person. Wyk (2007:5) shares the same view as he posited that "revolutionary leaders are unwilling to give up power." The researcher gives an example of Zimbabwe where the president holds all influential positions from commander in chief of the defence forces, to the first secretary of the party.

Moyo (2007) blames the problem of succession in Africa to incumbents who fear to be prosecuted when they leave office, thus they opt to die in office. She goes further to pronounce that the MDC-T leader Morgan Tsvangirai once said official pardon from prosecution was the only thing that would make Mugabe to resign. This view is however criticised by Mandaza (2006) when he argues that many plans aimed at giving Mugabe a dignified departure have failed to materialise. He goes on to say that Mugabe has been offered voluntary departure among other options like an official role in which Mugabe was not going to be openly involved in the operations and duties of the executive.

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Political leaders in Africa compared to Europe and the USA have been accused of having a history of staying in power beyond reasonable terms, and this has been caused by their overestimation of the electorate support. Kopsieker et al (2006:4) posits that:

Although in theory succession could come through elections, the combination of a president and party chairman with enormous executive and political power, created a modern chief who would rule until he died.

Underpinned by this understanding, this research looks at the 91 year old president in Zimbabwe, who still says he is a young old man who is still strong to rule.

The issue of succession in Zimbabwe is the most talked about issue due to the ailing health of Mugabe and at 91 his party has endorsed him to stand again in 2018 as their candidate. The media have been playing different roles with the privately owned media calling for the resignation of Mugabe. The publicly owned media have on the other hand represented Mugabe as irreplaceable and portraying him as fit to rule.

### **2.2.3 Manipulation of the Media for political purposes**

The media have been a site of political struggles, where representations and framing becomes the order of the day. Politicians have taken advantage of the media to spread propaganda and to ensure that they stay in power. Hall (1982) contends that the power of the media is responsible for constructing representations, and in the course meaning out of actions is created. This research aims to analyse and critique how the media have been used by politicians to delegitimize each other.

Communication works simultaneously with information as sources of power and counter power, of supremacy and social change in many societies (Castells, 2007). The end result of the battle is to win the minds of the people, by politicians. This has rendered the use of force less effective to the shaping of the minds. Louw (2005) further asserts that for political parties to stay alive they base themselves on socialised communication. This is made possible through manipulating and influencing the minds of the people through the mass media.

This study subscribes to the neo-Gramscian perception of popular culture as a site of ideological struggle, where dominant groups fight to stamp authority, while less influential



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masses refuse to accept the authority, (Hall, 1997). The media have been a battlefield between the dominant factions in the ZANU PF party, witnessed when Mugabe castigated *The Herald* for reporting along factional lines, thus weakening the party by dividing the people, (*The daily news* of 15 April 2014).

Mandaza (2008:15) posits that those with political and financial strength are always working at, “putting restrictive legislation to deny entry into the media market by independent players.” This is because politicians know that the media have the power to influence the thinking of the people. Mugari (2013) goes further to claim that the politicians job is made easy by disinformation, misinformation and propaganda which helps them to mislead the masses. This view is also supported by Louw (2005:34) who says that “the media have become the new king makers as they help in shaping the opinion of the people.” The research subscribes to this argument as in many African countries the governments are still manipulating the public owned media to spread their propaganda, which help them to stamp their dominance on the masses.

Louw (2005:15) further contends that “media discourses are struggled over because they legitimate and de-legitimate particular hierarchies of positions and the incumbents of such positions.” The media thus have the power of positioning the masses through the use of discourse. One may give an example of the framing of Mugabe by the publicly owned media, where is seen as a great nationalist. This leads to the masses to view Mugabe from a positive note.

Zaller (1999) posits that for politicians, communication is an important resource which helps to reach out to the masses and in the process winning their minds. Hence they seek to manipulate the media for political mileage. This view is also shared by Onslow (2011) when he argues that the state has used the publicly owned media to re-write and re-pack history so that it can use it to delegitimize and legitimate grievances. The researcher notes that in countries like Zimbabwe the history is continually being re-written and some people are being removed from history. This has been done to forward the ruling party agenda of staying in power. Bongmba (2007) posits that both the private and publicly owned media have been forbidden by the state to publish stories or information critical of the state. This has led to the media losing its watchdog role, as they have become mouthpieces of the elite.

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Fairclough (1995:58) posits that, “Communication is a field of struggle, and language is used to exercise authority.” Representation of political and social issues between the privately and publicly owned media has become a game of politicking. Mhiripiri (2013) also shares the same sentiments as he contends that the media are a place of struggles where political wars are fought. Louw (2005) sees power as not an automatic process, but rather a result of a struggle. This struggle is fought through the media and the playground has never been equal, as some are more advantaged than others. In election times, the opposition has always suffered from marginalisation in the publicly owned media, where they are not equally represented.

Chatora (2009) emphasises that in authoritarian regimes, the privately owned media have played a messianic role as they enter the public sphere that has been disempowered. They have tried to bring to the table the issues that are overlooked in state controlled media. Mugari (2008) is also of the view that, politicians favour a less knowledgeable citizen to a knowledgeable one because a less informed one is easy to influence. This has led the role of the media to be likened to an exhibition stand where the media are in the business of exhibiting politics and propaganda, instead of providing a forum for debate. Chatora (2013:25) also agrees that “current politics are mediated politics,” as the media take the centre stage and they stand in the middle of the citizens and the politicians. This view is also shared by Muromo and Ndawana (2012:8) when they argue that “The media take the role of agenda setters in informing, shaping and overseeing public discourses.” The media have thus become key agenda setters, shaping people’s minds on what they should think about through framing of stories (Cohen, 1995).

This research also subscribes to the argument by Entman (1989:78) who contends that:

To influence people to think in a certain way is to influence what they think about, by providing them with readily made information. This has in turn fashioned democracy without citizens, in place of citizens we have publics who are herded and steered by the ruling elite.

This has been the role of the media as they divert people from thinking and discussing on the burning issues of the day, but rather setting agendas for them thus influencing what they think about.

Bongmba (2007) also posits that in countries like Zimbabwe, editors and scribes are viewed as civil servants by the state, who ought to serve as mouthpieces of the state. Nimmo and

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Combs (1990:18) share a similar view when they argue that “politics has developed into second hand truth, as most citizens do not have the opportunity to contribute in active politics. They relatively rely on the mediated politics by the media.” The media have been used by those in power to create consumers of information, who remain to be fed day in and day out.

The uniqueness of this research is that, in Zimbabwe it is for the first time that the succession debate and factionalism in the Zanu PF party has reached alarming levels, thus threatening to change the status quo. The interest of the researcher is on how the media have represented these conflicts. These conflicts were a result of the publicly owned media’s attacks on the agents of the state, including the former vice president and other former senior government officials. Mandaza (2008) posits that the publicly owned media in Zimbabwe is anti-opposition. However, this research tries to discuss various discourses that were postulated against those who were viewed as a threat to Mugabe’s rule, by both the publicly and privately owned media.

## **2.3 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

It is envisaged that this piece of work attempts to provide insight on how the media especially *The Herald* and the *daily news* have tackled the issue of succession in Zimbabwe. This study is consistently guided and informed by various theories, among them the Habermasian rational concept of the public sphere.

### **2.3.1 Public sphere**

The theory of the public sphere explains a place where people gather together to freely talk about and recognise problems affecting them. This will then influence or lead to political action. The Habermasian public sphere is likened to a practical community which is not noticeable or touchable in nature, but is made up of individuals gathered mutually, to talk about the desires of the society and the state at large. Habermas (1989:37) argues that:

The success of the public sphere depends on the public’s use of its reason. It is only through a critical debate on matters of interest that that public sphere was founded and this however worked to shape the state policies.

Due to the nature of its practices, the public sphere ought to be free from the intervention of state and the market forces. Fraser (1992:23) states that “the public sphere is a place of

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production and flow of discourses that may be critical.” The public must feel free to discuss the political issues of the day without facing any intimidation from the state.

Rutherford (2003) contends that the public sphere ensures the smooth process of public opinion needed to legitimise power in a democratic society. McKee (2005) also sings the same song as he argues that each and every society needs a functioning public sphere which helps in promoting free will and fairness among citizens, who all chip in their ideas forming a broad agreement. However, Dahlgren (1995:7) laments that “because of political laws in the current world the assembling of vast numbers of people is often forbidden, hence the media have come to be chief institutions of the public sphere.” The laws such as Public Order and Security Act (POSA) are some of the laws that have forbidden people to gather without a police clearance in Zimbabwe.

The political economy of the media which points out to the forces behind the operations of the media are in the business of giving salience and prominence to particular topics, thus setting agendas. The ruling party have used the publicly owned media to preach its propaganda and set parameters when it comes to reporting about the post Mugabe period. This has also been noted by Zaffiro (1984), Saunders (2002) who posits that Mugabe’s ZANU PF party has tried to control public opinion formation through the use of the media. This however, contradicts the ideal public sphere which must be free from government intervention.

The media as the modern day public spheres have failed to provide a free public sphere. Rather, the public sphere has been turned into a private sphere where there is an element of inclusion and exclusion with regards to one’s political affiliation (Susen 2011). This view is also shared by Mugari (2012) who posits that some themes are elevated at the expense of others and they are in turn regarded as public opinion. The media in the modern day age are acting as purveyors of propaganda in what has been termed as political marketing. They are on day to day setting topics to be discussed, whom to include, the modus operandi and the limits. Habermas (1976) however argues that there should be an equal participation in the public sphere. The researcher is of the view that in Zimbabwe, the public sphere has become the entrance through which privileged and personal interests are achieved.

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Habermas (1976) bemoans the surfacing of the mass press as it led to the refueledisation of the public sphere. The change involved private interests assuming direct political functions, as powerful co-operations came to manipulate the media through advertising. This in turn led to the construction of inactive consumers who wait to be fed with the constructed truth. The public sphere has thus lost its beauty and originality of a political nature, at the expense of commercialisation.

The political economy of both the publicly owned and the privately owned media has been largely influenced by the market forces and editorial comment. Important debate is watered down and made neutral behind the doors of political economy, concerning the selection and presentation of the material. McKee (2005) posits that the public sphere cannot be limited to the mass media only, as human interactions on various platforms on burning issues of the day constitute to the public sphere.

The format of the news is presented in a way that does not give room to interaction, thereby denying the public to present divergent opinions (Spilichal 1999). *The Herald* has been in the habit of stripping the robes of patriotism from every Zimbabwean who may want to oppose the president; hence it has not provided a public debate on the issue of succession. This research thus subscribes to the notion by Habermas (1989:56) when he says, “The world shaped by the mass media is a public sphere in outward show only.” News events are exploited to create an impression or to set an agenda that suits the needs of the ruling elite.

The public sphere is supposed to be a forum for discursive interaction; this is where the hegemonic struggles take shape. The media have however ceased to be ideal public spheres as participation is marked by inclusion and exclusion of certain voices because of political reasons.

### **2.3.2 Representation**

The term representation carries with it a wide range of meanings and interpretations. “ In the literacy theory, representation is normally defined in three ways; to look or resemble, to stand in for something or someone, and to present a second time, to re-present,” Chandiler (2002). Hall (1995) holds the view that power and communication are twin brothers as they cannot be separated, while Williams (2003:21) “argues that the media are the main actors in the game of representing. This is because they occupy the space between viewers, listeners and readers

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and the outside world. In the game of representation the story teller has been separated from the audience and mediation and repackaging of the truth takes shape.

The media have been accused of not representing the truth but rather they are in a business of re-presenting the truth. Muromo and Ndawana (2012:7) argue that “The media actively contribute in the making or manufacturing of a reality that disseminate the ideologies of their sponsors.” Hall (1997) asserts that representation and culture goes hand in hand, and the opposite is true, representation is rooted in language. He goes on to argue that power regularly and time after time thrives to fix meaning to prop up its agenda, hence the researcher noted how the media were used by politicians in order to do away with their opponents.

The publicly owned media has worked to legitimise the expulsion of Mujuru from office. This was done to portray the negative side of Mujuru, thus justifying her expulsion from office. Foucault (1983) contends that representation is a match of influence, it is concerned with power and it imposes itself as reality and knowledge. The representation of the succession debate in Zimbabwe by the publicly owned media showed various power contestations by factions within the ZANU PF party.

Quran (1997) argues that the media have been polluted by the market forces. Content is now influenced by the political economy and the advertisers who determine the news outcome. This is witnessed in the modern day age where the media have been accused of selling the readers to the advertisers, all in the name of profit. It is plausible to assert that the media represent reality where salience and prominence are added to certain issues. We thus live in a mediated world where the media do not reflect issues we face on our everyday life.

The media repack the truth and what we get to read is the mediated truth (Hall 1997). Underpinned by this understanding the researcher is of the view that the media in Zimbabwe have re-presented and re-package the issue of factionalism in political parties. In representing reality the media are in always framing and agenda setting certain stories. (McQuail (1994:40) postulates that the “The media ceased to be mirrors of society rather they now construct representations that support the welfare of the influential classes,” This notion may also be compared to Gramsci explanation of hegemony, when he talks of gaining the

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approval of the masses by the elite. The gaining of consent thus helps the elite to stamp their dominance.

Thompson (1995) posits that hegemonic struggles are political struggles where people want to be the favoured. The dominant media taking for example *The Herald* are always counter producing dominant ideas in society which favour the president and ZANU PF at large. However the dissident media for example the *daily news* is always fighting against dominant ideas of dominant groups that seek to impose Mugabe as good leader, in the counter hegemonic struggles.

Read (2007:8) posits that “the media are cultural industries which help in naturalising power.” The media supply the masses with political lenses through which they see things, thus leading to political action. In conformity with this significant theory, I thrive to highlight that the media is an ideological tool, which can be used to include and exclude certain issues. Propaganda assists levels of liking and disliking and it also helps in creating political blinkers. In Zimbabwe Mugabe has been portrayed as God given in publicly owned media, hence there is no need to fight over his post. The element of inclusion and exclusion of vital events is done to spread and advance certain dominant ideologies.

The researcher thereby introduces ideology from a Marxist perspective. Chatora (2013:15) posits that Marxists defines ideology as “a set of beliefs and systems that help to give good reason for the actions of those in authority.” This is achieved through distorting and diluting the actual truth. This also led to the ZANU PF party to pass votes of no confidence on the Joice Mujuru aligned chairpersons, and other party bigwigs, for fanning factionalism in the party.

The researcher noticed that it was all done to shift the minds of the nation from the important issue of the day, which is the issue of succession. When a certain belief dominates the mass media, it implies the elite behind that ideology have power of controlling the thoughts of the people (Thompson 1995). This shows that the power to control what people think about resides in the media, thus the rich dominant groups and politically muscled people have the control of people’s minds.

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Okomu (2002) likens the media to an evangelical pulpit which awaits the priest or the preacher to come and give a sermon, for no one has the power to question the pastor when he is still on the pulpit. In as much as if there are no congregates who have the nerve of inquiring the validity of the message, they are bound to accept the message at face value thus control takes shape. Information can either lead to the enlightenment or bickering of people's minds, thus when people fail to analyse circulated information, domination and manipulation takes place (Okomu (2002).

The researcher gives an example to the alleged presidential coup of Mugabe before the December 2014 ZANU PF congress. *The Herald* went on to publish rumours uttered by the first lady as facts and news. Although the story lacked tangible evidence it was made to be the truth, thus ideology and propaganda are at the core of the media's operations.

Habermas (2006:21) contends that:

Indoctrination is perpetuated by the dominant powerful groups, who allow no alternative views to be heard, since the authority and the power to command what to and what not to be published resides in their hands.

The media are thus elitist in their operations as an only the voice of the powerful and influential people in society is heard. This has negative effects especially as critical issues like succession to be debated in the public sphere. The mainstream media are always diverting the attention of the masses from debating on political issues of the day.

Representation is always weighed in favour of the elite class in the society at the expense of the marginalized or subaltern groups through the media. There is marginalization by exclusion, in which one is not at all talked about and marginalization by inclusion, where one or a group of individuals are always negatively portrayed.

## **2.4 Summary**

This chapter looked at literature review in which the researcher has tried to link this study to other relevant published material. Various themes including factionalism, succession and manipulation of the media by the state have been studied. The chapter also looked at the theoretical framework where the researcher used the theory of representation and public sphere to see how they fit in the operations of the media in Zimbabwe.



## **Chapter Three**

### **Research Methods and Methodology**

#### **3.1 Introduction**

The researcher in this chapter gives a clear description on how this study was carried out. Various methodological elements in this segment highlight the root which was taken by the researcher to address themes related to this research, thus coming up with a focal point. In this chapter the various ways which were used in collecting data are discussed.

#### **3.2 Research Design**

This requires one to bring together various facets of the study in a consistent and rational manner. Kumar (2005) is of the view that a research design is connected with, structuring and strategising when investigating. This helps in coming up with appropriate answers to questions of research or objectives. This piece of work is guided by the qualitative research methods and it makes use of the interpretive of the approach in presenting and gathering and discussing its findings (Bryman, 2004; Corner, 1996).

Qualitative research deals with giving well comprehensive descriptions of particular situations, observing events and reviewing documents (The SERVE Centre, 1997). This research gives a description of how *The Herald* and the *daily news* covered factionalism and the succession debate in the ZANU PF party prior and post the December 2014 congress. The qualitative research method helps the researcher find out the nature in which the succession debate was represented and framed by the two newspapers namely *The Herald* and *the daily news*.

The multiplicity of my methodologies, are appropriate in addressing the research questions that I have crafted. The researcher also strives to establish how the media have handled the succession debate. This is valuable in giving clarity, on how the newspapers can act as a double edged sword in building and destructing political carriers of certain people.

##### **3.2.1 Population**

Bryman, (2004.87) states that “Population is the universe of units from which a sample is to be selected.” Mertens (2005) posits that a population is made up of all the subjects under

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study; it makes up the whole of research. The research critically analyses the two newspapers namely, *The Herald* and the *daily news*, to assess on how the media have reported on the Zanu Pf party's factional battles prior and post December 2014 congress. The two newspapers were selected for their differences in the representation of news. *The Herald* is publicly owned and the *daily news* is privately owned, thus they always differ in their representation of stories. News articles were selected starting from 1 September 2014 to 30 March 2015. The time frame allowed the research to select as many articles as possible.

### **3.3.1 Purposive Sampling**

Purposive sampling works on the necessary know how of the population, its elements and also the kind of research aims (Babbie, 1990). This type of non-probability sample can be also called judgemental (Babbie, 1990). It has also been called purposeful (McNealy, 1999). Gary Henry (1990) breaks purposive sampling into diverse approaches namely, the most alike and unlike cases, typical cases and critical cases. The sample was non-randomly selected, as the research only looks at the front page stories of both newspapers.

A purposive sample of both *The Herald and the daily news* was used in this study. This was useful for the research as I was able to identify front page stories that talked about the factional fights within the ZANU PF party. It also helped in selecting front page stories that were associated with the succession issue prior and post the December 2014 ZANU PF elective congress. The research collected a total number of 60 articles from both newspapers. Through purposive sampling the research made sure that all the articles collected were not inside stories but front page stories of both newspapers. Out of the 60 articles collected, 10 articles from each newspaper were selected to represent the whole population. This was done due to the homogeneity of my population so selecting 10 articles still made good representative samples. The research also reduced the number of samples to 10 as submitting them to content analysis and CDA requires a lot of attention and time as well.

### **3.4 Methods of data collection**

Marshall (2006) posits that there are four methods which are used to collect data in a qualitative research. These are namely participating, direct observation, interviewing and analysing available material like documents.

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This research employed archival research in collecting and gathering data. The data was available in the form of news articles published in *The Herald* and *Daily News* prior and post the December 2014 congress. Articles under study had an equal chance of being selected, after gathering the data the researcher was able to analyse the data.

### **3.4.1 Archival research**

Archival data is a word which is used to refer to the records that are gathered regularly in a society, community, or institute (Webster, 1985). For purposes of this research, archival data was appropriate as it deals with the data that already exists. Donnell (1992) refers to archival data as the type of information that already exists. In this study newspapers were used.

The data that I used was assessed from online news websites of both *The Herald* and the *daily news*. Old newspapers from the institution's library and media studio were also used for the purposes of this research. This type of data is important compared to other types as it is fast and it saves time as one will be analysing material that is already there. Since the research is on the media coverage of factionalism and succession battles in the ZANU PF party. Only relevant newspaper articles from both *The Herald* and *daily news* were used.

William and Avialo (1993) posit that archival data can be handled in many ways. It can either be analysed or the old data can be fused with the new data so as to get a contrast. The researcher used this method to see changes in the representation, for example the portrayal of Mujuru by *The Herald* before and after the December 2014 congress. More-so the data was used to see the portrayal of factionalism in the ZANU PF party, by both *The Herald* and *daily News* before and after the December 2014 congress. The data was also used to compare how the two newspapers represented President Mugabe in relevance to the ZANU PF factional and succession battles.

### **3.5 Methods of Data Analysis**

Data analysis can be best described "as a method a researcher uses to condense data to a story and its interpretation," (Schensule 1995:15). The process of data analysis in qualitative research range from interpretative, anthropological and collaborative approaches (Miles and Huberman, 1994). The interpretation approach is used in this piece of study, as it provides the means for discovering the useful understanding of meaning and actions (Strauss, 1987). The

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researcher submitted the collected data to content analysis and critical discourse analysis, to help the research in coming up with appropriate and reliable findings.

### **3.5.1 Qualitative Content Analysis**

Krippendorff (1980:19) defines it as “a research method for making replicable and valid inferences from data to their context.” Weber (1990) posits that content analysis as a research technique has interests in the actual content together with internal characteristics of the media. It is efficient in that content is selected according to plain and constantly applied rules. Content analysis is objective in that the researcher’s individual judgements and biases must not be part of the findings. More so content analysis is reliable because of it is unobtrusive and nonreactive, as it can be used without upsetting the setting in any way. Where the emphasis lies, is the duty of the researcher to establish after the data have been collected (Rodgers, 1996). Thus the study will critically analyse the collected articles to see where the hidden meaning is.

Content analysis was employed by the researcher as it requires studying mechanisms of communication which include published documents. In analysing data in the newspapers the research critically studies the choices of words and literature used in political stories. Glassner and Loughlin (1987) posit that content analysis paves way in finding literal meaning of words of the text. This in turn helps the research in coming up with a conclusion on how the writers of texts visualise the social world they are in. Weber (1990) contends that in content analysis media texts can be compared from different times, thereby noticing the past differences. For example content analysis helped in noticing the changes in the portrayal of Mujuru by *The Herald* before and after the December 2014 congress.

Content analysis is useful in establishing the impartiality of stories in both *The Herald* and *daily news* when they covered the succession debate. Emphasis was in identifying the most used words and in authorship analysis. For example the continuous use of the words like “damp squib” by the *daily news*, referring to the ZANU PF December 2014 congress. Through studying both newspapers the research looks for different themes that emerged from the headlines that were published. The stories which were published carried different themes, for example the theme of a God ordained Mugabe by *The Herald*. To add the researcher in the process of analysing media texts and applying the Harold Laswell method concept of who, says what, in which channel, to whom, with what effect? (McNamara 2003).

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Through content analysis and critical discourse analysis, this study shows the form of *The Herald* and the *Daily News* representations of the issue of factionalism and the succession debate in the ZANU PF party. The study is able to ask and answer questions such as; what information is conveyed by the reports, what do the reports focus on and what do they ignore, what do the reports refer to, what do the reports mean, and what do the reports assume readers already know?

### **3.5.2 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)**

Discourse is the word which refers to texts and talk of in different forms and types ranging from conversations to recognized or printed texts. “Critical discourse analysis is thus mainly determined in analysing content, organisation and how the text functions,” (Wetherell 1987:23).

Through subjecting the news articles of the *daily news* and *The Herald*, to Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), the researcher aims at establishing their input in providing a true public sphere on the issue of succession before and after the ZANU PF December 2014 congress. CDA is concerned with analysing interactions of domination, prejudice and power control as manifested in language (Wodak 2001:2).

This research through applying CDA analyses how do influential groups in a society manage public discourses, to influence the minds of the people. In doing this the research looks at how the publicly owned *The Herald* newspaper was used by those with political muscles to negatively portray Mujuru and all those associated to her. The battle to control the minds often faces resistance from dominated groups in counter hegemonic struggles. The research thus analyses how the “dissident” media the *daily news*, helped in fighting dominant ideas which were being spread in *The Herald*.

Fairclough (1997) notes that critical discourse analysis needs to primarily look at social problems and political issues, for it to address its aims. This research is guided by this theory as it looks at political conflicts in the ZANU PF party and how they went on to be fought in the media. The vital element in CDA study is the struggle for power within social groups (Wodak, 1997).The study however, focuses on the struggle for power between the Mujuru and the Mnangagwa faction and how the media were used as an ideological tool in the process.

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Critical discourse analysis (CDA) “is a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context,” (Van Dijk 1997:6). In this regard this research looks at how power struggles within the ZANU PF party were reproduced and presented by *The Herald* and the *daily news*. The power struggles manifested in factionalism where the Mujuru and the Mnangagwa factions were contesting for power. News headlines from both *The Herald* and the *daily news* were submitted to CDA. This helped in coming out with different themes that were dominant in both newspapers.

CDA can also be used to refer to different methods used in the study of texts that originate from wide-ranging disciplines (Wodak, 2000). Critical discourse analysis is appropriate for this study as it does not treat language as unbiased or guiltless in the reflection of the world we live. It rather sees beyond the neutral as it brings out diverse constructions in social existence (Fairclough, 1989). For example language used by the *daily news* in the portrayal of Mugabe, points out to the old incompetent leader who does not want to cede power.

Fairclough (1989) posits that critical discourse analysis, views how dominance and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context. The model fits well with this study as it investigates how the media were willing recruits in the ZANU PF factional wars. Various names like Gamatox and Weevils were constructed to insult political rivals in the ruling party. This research is guided by Fairclough’s approach to discourse as he postulates that discourse manifests itself in ideology and the link between a text and society is mediated.

Van Dijk (1997:5) posits “that content analysis has less to do with meaning but rather with more perceivable features of discourse in most cases words.” Critical discourse analysis was chosen in trying to dig for hidden statements which may be behind the coverage of the talks. It is thus important in digging for some hidden meanings.

### **3.6 Ethical considerations**

As it should be in every research to observe ethical issues, this research makes sure that no false story is constructed. Each story in this research is not altered or re-written to suit the research’s findings. Peters (2001) asserts that ethics are the study of standards, conduct and

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moral judgement. The research is therefore guided by the ethical standards and no false information is included.

### **3.7 Summary**

Chapter three focused on the methods and methodology. Thus, various methodological aspects discussed in this chapter enabled the research to come up with the study and findings. Among the methods discussed include archival research, purposive sampling, content analysis and critical discourse analysis.

## **CHAPTER 4**

### **ORGANISATIONS ANALYSIS**

#### **4.1 Introduction**

This chapter discusses the structure of the two organisations under study, namely *The Herald* and the *daily news*. Various themes like ownership and control, historical background, editorial policies among other are discussed.

##### **4.2.1 *The Herald***

*The Herald* is a daily and publicly owned newspaper in Zimbabwe

##### **4.2.2 Organisational History**

The organisation traces back to the 19<sup>th</sup> century, with Fairbridge launching the forerunner being launched on 27 June 1891, for the Argus group of South Africa (Nyarota 2006). It was first published on a weekly basis and it was written by hand. In October 1892 that is when it changed its name to be called the *Rhodesian Herald* that is when it started being printed. This also saw other publications like *Mashonaland Herald* and *Zambezi Times* being introduced. The *Rhodesian Herald* served the main purpose and desire of Cecil John Rhodes desire to spread his ideologies of empowering white people (Karen 2010).

According to Moyo (2005) the Rhodesian Printing and Publishing Company (RPPC) was later introduced by the Argus Group. The Company's purpose was to see to the day to day running of the *Rhodesian Herald*. The white minority government the Rhodesian Front (RF) in 1965 censored the newspaper. This was followed by blank spaces being left in the *Rhodesian Herald* where articles would have been censored. The *Rhodesian Herald* continued to serve the interests of the minority Rhodesian Front government (Saunders 1999).

In 1980 when Zimbabwe gained independence, the then government managed to acquire 51percent of shares in the current *The Herald* newspaper. This saw the RPPC being changed to become Zimbabwe Newspapers (*Zimpapers*). The government was not to have direct control over *The Herald*. Saunders (1999:12) asserts that the then Director of Zimpapers Simba Makoni postulated the vision which read "Zimpapers belongs to the people of Zimbabwe; we are a newspaper that supports the progress of people of Zimbabwe as a whole."



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*The Herald* was later included to function as a community mobilisation instrument. This was to help in nation building, nation development and national unity. Zimpapers is a publicly owned company which owns several newspapers namely *The Herald*, *Chronicle*, *The Sunday Mail*, *Manica Post*, *Kwayedza*, and *The Sunday News*.

### **4.2.3 Ownership and Control**

The government remains the major shareholder in *The Herald* as it owns 51.09 percent shareholding. *The Herald* operates from Harare at Herald House. *The Herald* is under the ownership of Zimpapers.

### **4.2.4 Shareholding Structure of Zimpapers**

The government under the ministry of information owns 51.09 percent shares. Old Mutual Life Assurance Company of Zimbabwe owns 19.10 percent. This is followed by National Social Security Authority (NSSA) which has 2.79 shares. EFE Security Nominees owns 2.79 percent shares in Zimpapers. This is followed also by Waughco Nominees (Pvt) Ltd which has 1.28 percent shares. F.S Nominees (Pvt) Ltd has 0.91 shares. Other shareholders share the remaining 15.68 percent shares making the total number of shares to 100 percent. As the government owns a large number shares it is worth to note how the content of *The Herald* is influenced by the state.

### **4.2.5 Editorial Policy**

The editorial policy works as a guide to reporters when they are in the field gathering news to frame the angle which is in the interests of the organisation. *The Herald's* editorial policy is to support is to support one political party which is ZANU PF.

### **Mission Statement**

*The Herald's* mission statement is as follows: "To produce newspapers, computer papers, cheque books diaries, calendars and other printed matter including packaging of the highest quality at competitive prices" ([www.herald.co.zw](http://www.herald.co.zw))

### **Vision**

The vision of *The Herald* is to service existing market, continually searching for new ones both inside and outside Zimbabwe, as well as maintaining cordial relationships

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with people in commerce and industry and promoting a good group image (www.herald.co.zw).

*The Herald* aims at producing newspapers of highest quality, and also serving best the interests of the community. This however works on paper only as the paper serves the interests of the state and it acts as a mouthpiece of the state.

### **4.3 The Editorial Structure of *The Herald***

See attached Organogram in the appendix

#### **4.3.1 The Editor in Chief**

Pikirayi Deketeke is the current editor in chief and he is the most senior figure in the organisation, his job is to lead and direct all Zimpapers editors. He reports directly to Professor Jonathan Moyo who leads the ministry of Information, Media and Broadcasting Services. He is the most top figure in the Zimpapers as his say is final on each and every article which is published. He has the power to deny some stories to be published in the newspapers.

Deketeke is crucial in my research as he stands as the first chief editor of Zimpapers to allow *The Herald* to publish stories that attacked the vice head of state Dr Mujuru. The paper was well known to treat with respect the party's senior figures covering up for their misdeeds. He also plays an important role as he seemed to have been taking orders from the ministry he reports to. It is also important to note that this position is allocated to the sympathisers of ZANU PF. He is the one responsible for allowing *The Herald* to publish stories which trampled upon journalism ethics prior and post the December 2014 ZANU PF elective congress. He allowed *The Herald* to wear political garments thus becoming a political actor in the ZANU PF party's succession fights.

#### **4.3.2 Editor**

He is also a senior figure in the organisation as he reports to the editor in chief. In the editorial position he has the final say in everything that takes place. Caesar Zvayi holds the position currently. His duty is to see that stories go in line with the editorial policy of the paper. He also has the power to reject some stories which he sees not newsworthy. The nature of his job makes him relevant to this study as he also allowed stories that attacked the Mujuru faction to be published. This position is not given to anyone but trusted party cadres.

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Appointments often are approved by the minister of information. The editor has to make sure that the stories published fit the ideologies and agendas of his masters. He also ensured that those who dared to challenge the authority of the President be negatively portrayed as sell-outs in *The Herald*.

### **4.3.3 Deputy Editor**

The deputy editor at the moment is William Chikoto; his duties are similar to those of the editor. He stands as the editor in the absence of the editor, his duties range from helping processing the stories before they go for publication. He also saw the publication of stories in *The Herald* that favoured the Mnangagwa faction at the expense of the Mujuru faction.

### **4.3.4 Senior Assistant Editor**

This position is mostly administrative as it sees the hiring of staff in the newsroom including reporters. He is the authority who manages all reporters in the newsroom. Victoria Ruzvidzo presides over the position at the moment. His relevance to this study is that he also worked to see that stories in *The Herald* portray positively some people at the expense of others.

### **4.3.5 New Editor**

Herbert Zharare is the current news editor. His task is to organise the process of gathering news and the writing of all news. He is also responsible for the task of assessing information at hand and briefing reporters. Zharare is also required to plan and organise the coverage of news. He is relevant to this study as he is the one responsible for the coverage of the first lady Grace Mugabe “meet the people” tours. This saw the paper covering the insults and vitriol that was being poured on Mujuru by Grace Mugabe. Derogatory terms like Gamatox and slogans which insulted Mujuru were coined. He also made sure that the president’s speeches against factionalism and faction leaders were well covered in *The Herald*.

### **4.3.6 Reporters**

These are journalists who are responsible for covering and writing of stories. They work under a tight schedule as they are required by their desk editors to meet deadlines. The political reporter is the most important as he is responsible for writing front page political stories which sell the newspaper. He was responsible for covering and writing the ZANU PF factional fights making sure that relevance was given to one faction at the expense of the

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other. The political reporter made sure that all Mugabe's political opponents were negatively portrayed before and after the December 2014 elections.

#### **4.3.7 Chief Photographer**

He is responsible for taking pictures, some of which are put on the front page of the newspaper. He is also relevant to this study as he is responsible for taking pictures at Grace Mugabe's rallies. The photographer also took pictures of people who were travelling with Mai Mugabe. He also took pictures of demonstrations that were being held against members of the Mujuru faction. At the December 2014 congress he also took photos of party members. He makes sure that photos showing Mugabe looking young and energetic are published in the paper.

#### **4.4 Departments and Relationships**

There is a relationship of departments at *The Herald*; they work as a group to produce one single product that is in turn sold on the market. The departments range from the editorial team, transport and circulation departments. The marketing and advertising department works with the advertisers. They are the backbone of the organisation. They look for advertisements which provides revenue to company. The Transport and circulation department makes sure that the finished product is sold and distributed around the country. The financial department is responsible for all the financial decisions and transactions within the organisation.

#### **4.5 Links with other Organisations**

*The Herald* has links with various organisations in and around the country. It has links with the organisations such as the Zimbabwe Broadcasting Co-operation (ZBC). The two organisations are both mouthpieces of the ZANU PF government, thus they find common ground. *The Herald* shares a mutual friendship with advertisers and NGOs who are in support of the ZANU PF government. This also influences its content as only stories which are pro ZANU PF and anti MDC are published in the paper.

*The Herald* is a partisan newspaper which reports along the party line. It also enjoys a warm relationship with the ZANU PF government. The newspaper also enjoys a warm relationship with other Zimpapers newspapers. These include the *Chronicle*, *The Sunday Mail*, *The Sunday News*, and *Kwayedza* among others. These newspapers often exchange stories as they are from the same stable.

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As the saying goes, he who pays the piper dictates the tune. This is witnessed in *The Herald* as the major shareholder which is the government dictates the content of the paper. The newspaper sings the ZANU PF party's tune and it sometimes acts the role of public relations, as it tries to protect the name of the party at all costs.

Those with influential positions are aligned to ZANU PF and sometimes people with no media experience are appointed top posts. This is due to their loyalty to the party; the paper gets what to publish from the ministry of information which has its offices in the president's office. The minister of Information Media and Broadcasting services has the power to expel or suspend editors who publish stories which portray the government negatively.

The structure of *The Herald* shows that the minister of information media and broadcasting services Jonathan Moyo had a hand in the succession which the paper published. Moyo who travelled with the first lady in her meet the people rallies, made sure that the paper framed and re-present Mai Mugabe's speeches. This saw *The Herald* publishing stories in which Amai Mugabe castigated the vice president which led to her expulsion from office and party.

### **4.6 *The daily news***

*The daily news* is a privately owned daily newspaper, and widely read around Zimbabwe.

#### **4.6.1 Organisation Brief History**

Saunders (1999:36) posits that the company which owns the *daily news*, Associated Newspapers of Zimbabwe (ANZ) is an establishment of local and foreign investments. The company gave birth to the *daily news* in Harare and the *Dispatch* based in Bulawayo in 1999. Strive Masiwa the Econet boss became the major shareholder of the *daily news*, and it was to compete with *The Herald*. Glaser (2002) asserts that the *daily news* became the most widely read and popular newspaper.

The *daily news* is an independent newspaper founded by Geoff Nyarota and Wilf Mbanga in March 1999. The *daily news* was formed the same year the opposition MDC was formed and it became a fierce government critic. Lewis (1999) posits that Nyarota was reportedly incarcerated more than six times by the police, after the formation of the *daily news*. In the year 2000, the then war veterans' leader Chenjerai Hunzvi said he was warning the *daily news* for the last time to stop criticising Mugabe (Willey 2006). This also led to its vendors being assaulted and dispossessed of the newspaper which was then burnt by war veterans in

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Kwekwe (Lewis 1999). Its courageous condemnation of the government for corruption and human rights abuses gave hope in a culture where silence was now dominant. Its distribution doubled from 60 000 to 120 000 surpassing that of *The Herald* which stood at 90000 (ZAMPS 2000)

After its formation the *daily news* stated that it was not going to be pro or anti government but rather a medium for vibrant discourse among different political, social, religious groups in Zimbabwe (Cape Times, 2012). This was at the climax of opposition MDC politics, where the party was most popular in urban areas. The *daily news* narrowed the gap between the privately owned press and the publicly owned press in Zimbabwe. “It was well accepted by the working classes in a situation where the daily mainstream press had lost its integrity, the *daily news* became the alternative,” (Moyo 2005:112).

The *daily news* did well in watering the democratic discourse as witnessed by the popularity of the opposition MDC in its early days. Its editor in Chief Geoff Nyarota a veteran journalist whose C.V speaks volumes in the media fraternity. He is well known for exposing corrupt deeds like the Willow gate scandal which led to the resignation of many cabinet ministers.

The *daily news* ended the government domination in the political and social commentary. It encouraged the constitutional reforms and played a huge part in making Zimbabweans reject the state drafted 2000 referendum. It also uncovered ZANU PF sponsored violence and brutality in the elections of 2000 and 2002 (Moyo 2005:114). Disparaging names like opposition’s mouthpiece, western sponsored unpatriotic paper were propounded by the government agents against the *daily news*.

The offices of the *daily news* were for the first time bombed in 2000 by suspected state agents (Moyo 2005) In 2002 the paper had its offices bombed again by suspected state agencies due to its criticism of the ZANU PF government (Tsoroti, 2008). This also saw the arrests of the editors and reporters by the police. The introduction of the “draconian” Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act (AIPPA) in 2002 saw the *daily news* at loggerheads with the government. After serving as the editor in chief of *daily news* Nyarota was expelled in 2002, Nyarota was reportedly having fled to South Africa after state agents started to hunt for him.

The *daily news* was later shut down by the government in 2003 for failing to register with Media Information Commission (MIC). In May 2010 during the inclusive government the *daily news* was given an operator’s licence after being denied all along (Willey, 2006)

#### **4.6.2 Organisation Charter**

“This is a document which defines editorial’s role and positioning within our group. It embodies the spirit, policies and principles upon which the group’s titles are edited and managed.”

#### **Declarations**

“The panel of directors and management of the daily news insist their promise to the theory of a free media and editorial priority. Directors and management acknowledge the responsibility of the editorial to report and comment on the affairs of Zimbabwe. This should be done honestly, truthfully regardless of any commercial personal and political interests. This also includes the interests of shareholders, directors, management and staff.” (www.dailynews.co.zw)

The *daily news* also thrives to uphold the highest standards of professional, independent, honest and responsible journalism. “The paper also adheres to the constitution of Zimbabwe and works to deepen democracy in the country,” (www.dailynews.co.zw). The research noted that the daily news is still living by its standards in upholding the democratic discourse in Zimbabwe. This is seen by its watchdog role in the government day to day activities.

#### **4.7 Associated Newspapers of Zimbabwe (ANZ)**

This is the company which publishes *daily news* and its sister paper *daily news on Sunday*. ANZ’s first editors Geoff Nyarota and Wilf Mbanga worked with African Media Investments (AMI) to establish a newspaper in 1998 which saw ANZ being registered. The daily news was launched together with the *Masvingo Tribune*, *The Dispatch* (Bulawayo), *The Express* (Chitungwiza), *The Eastern Star* (Mutare). These other papers closed due to financial problems except the *tribune* which was closed by the government (Moyo 2005).

#### **4.8 Funding Mechanisms**

The organisation operates on a profit making basis with Samuel Nkomo standing as the Chief Executive Officer. Advertising is the main source of revenue for the *daily news* and it also relies on sales from the newspaper. The capital market reference to the parent organisation ANZ, with its evolving structure keeps providing capital for the organisation. As advertisers are the latter day licensing authority, they so much determine the content in the newspaper. The anti ZANU PF stance taken by the daily news will be in line with what its advertisers want.

#### **4.9 The Editorial Structure of Daily News**

See attached Organogram in the appendix

##### **4.9.1 Chief Editor**

Stanley Gama presides over the position currently and he is the chief custodian of the *daily news* editorial policy. His duties range from assessing written stories, and he has the power to put or remove stories from the paper before its publication. He also has the power to determine the front page story. The editor often writes editorial comments commenting on current affairs.

His relevance to this study is that he allowed the paper to publish stories that castigated Amai Mugabe's meet the people rallies. Amai Mugabe from time to time poured vitriol on the *daily news* accusing it of working with Mujuru to topple the president. Amai Mugabe accused the *daily news* of having been paid by Mujuru to tarnish her name. The interesting part is that the editor often replied Amai Mugabe thanking her for indirectly advertising their paper. The editor allowed the *daily news* to be the counter voice which criticised stories which were being published in *The Herald* criticising Mujuru. The editor also ensured that the *daily news* portrayed the ZANU PF December congress in a negative way.

##### **4.9.2 Senior Assistant Editors**

Chris Goko holds the position of the chief assistant editor at the moment. He stands in for the chief editor when he is doing other duties or is absent. He is also responsible for hiring and firing of newsroom staff, and he supervises all reporters in the newsroom. His relevance to this study is that he, like the editor he also has the say in the final product of the newspaper. He also played a role to ensure that the *daily news* fights the factional wars on the side of one faction and against the other.

##### **4.9.3 Assistant editor**

Ray Matikinye and Guthrie Munyuki are the current assistant editors. Their duties range from finalising content before it gets published. They are also responsible for space allocation of stories in the newspaper. Since the responsibility of allocating space resides is under their authority. They made sure that stories of ZANU PF factionalism are given space in the paper. ZANU PF congress was also adequately covered by the *daily news* though with certain stance.



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### **4.9.4 News Editor**

Farai Mutsaka holds the position of news editor and he is responsible for allocating diaries and assessing the newsworthiness of stories. He is also important in the succession matrix as he ensured that follow up stories of ZANU PF factionalism are covered by reporters. He made sure all the factional and succession ZANU PF battles were extensively covered.

### **4.9.5 Reporters**

These are journalists who are always in the field looking for stories. Fungi Kwaramba, the senior writer was always at Amai Mugabe's rallies and other ZANU PF rallies. He was once threatened by Amai Mugabe at a rally for writing and portraying her negatively. He was the first journalist to read between the speeches made by Amai Mugabe when she was talking of a pseudo character whom she accused of fanning factionalism in the ZANU PF party. The *daily news* then went to run a story with a headline "Grace blasts Mujuru". Kwaramba played a pivotal role as he made follow up stories on ZANU PF factionalism before and after the December 2014 congress.

### **4.9.6 Chief Photographer**

Tsvangirayi Mukwazhi is the photo journalist who was taking photos at different ZANU PF rallies. As a picture, is a story on its own Mukwazhi makes sure that pictures of the frail, tired and old president are published in the *daily news*. This helped in showing that the president is no longer fit to rule and he needs to look for a successor.

### **4.10 Links with other organisations**

The daily news enjoys a good working relationship with other privately owned newspapers in Zimbabwe. These include *News Day*, *Independent* and *the Standard*. They also shares a good working relations with pirate radio stations like Studio 7 and Nehanda radio which are based in Britain. Non state actors and advertisers who are anti government also have a good relationship with the *daily news*.

### **4.11 Organisation Structure Analysis**

Chandler (2010) posits that those with the power to control the means of production have the capability to control the means of production. The *daily news* is a privately owned newspaper which was formed when opposition politics was at its peak. Geoff Nyarota and Wilf Mbanga who are the brains behind the formation of the *daily news* were considered to be fierce

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Mugabe critics. The newspaper is anti government and it has been accused of supporting opposition politics in Zimbabwe.

Its advertisers are highly anti government hence they help in influencing content. The *daily news* has also been accused of pushing for regime change in Zimbabwe and its editors and reports are frequently harassed by state agents. It was the first newspaper to write about ZANU PF factional and succession battles. Although the ZANU PF party denied at first that there was factionalism in their party, they later agreed that factionalism was eating up their party.

#### **4.12 Summary**

This chapter looked at the organisation structures of both *The Herald* and *daily news*. The research investigated to see how their structures helped in reporting about the succession debate in Zimbabwe before and after the December 2014 ZANU PF congress. The difference in the structures of the two newspapers helps to trace their ownership structures hence the output of their content.

## **Chapter five**

### **Data Presentation**

This chapter is dedicated to the findings that the research established in the ongoing ZANU PF factional battles. The findings address the objectives and questions which were drafted in chapter 2. The findings are guided by content analysis and CDA and they are presented thematically. The findings are based on the articles collected from both *The Herald* and *daily news*.

### **Media and politics: Case of *The Herald***

In the worsening ZANU PF factional and succession conflicts, the media have been at the nexus of the battles. Representation became the order of the day where salience and prominence were given to certain issues. The marginalised Mujuru faction was subjected to stereotypical representation in the publicly owned *The Herald* newspaper. This has been noted by Muromo and Ndawana (2012) that the media actively partake in the making or manufacturing of reality that disseminate the ideologies of their sponsors.

The research applied CDA to articles published by *The Herald* and it was proven that the paper failed to be impartial when it came to the coverage of ZANU PF succession wars. *The Herald* has been well known for spreading ZANU PF ideologies in its partisan reporting. This research has noted that *The Herald* chose to campaign against Mujuru, the former vice president in the run up to the congress. This was witnessed at its live coverage's of Amai Mugabe's rallies where she went on a national tirade attacking the former vice president.

*The Herald* was found wanting in its coverage of ZANU PF factional wars which had reached a climax in the run up to the December 2014 congress. The newspaper chose to fight the war in ZANU PF on the Mnangagwa faction which was competing against the Mujuru faction. The coverage of ZANU PF factionalism was unprofessional as it became the platform on which Mujuru was attacked day in and day out through framing of issues. The political economy of the media which points out to the forces behind the operations of the media are in the business of giving salience and prominence to particular topics, thus setting agendas.

*The Herald* chose to ignore the ethical consideration which guides the operation of media houses. This was witnessed when the newspaper started publishing unsubstantiated claims

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made by Amai Mugabe against Mujuru during her meet the people rallies. Before writing a story a journalist has an obligation to be neutral by writing a balanced and well informed story. *The Herald* went on to publish political statements made by Amai Mugabe as the truth without even consulting the concerned persons. *The Herald* concluded for itself that the former vice president was corrupt without giving relevant evidence (*The Herald* of 24 October 2014). The story accused Mujuru of extortion, corruption undermining the authority of the president among other corrupt activities. The charges are liable to incarceration for a lengthy period, but no evidence was brought against Mujuru. This shows that the paper was politicking.

In the same story Mujuru is accused by the first lady of being responsible for ZANU PF loss in 2008 harmonised election. There was also no evidence to support the claim. One wonders why Mujuru was not fired from her post in 2008 if she was behind the ZANU PF loss. Mujuru is also accused of being behind the formation of the opposition MDC and Mavambo\Kusile political parties. The *daily news* was also drawn in the matter by Amai Mugabe for reporting positively against Mujuru. This led to Mujuru to be called an opposition sympathiser because opposition papers were portraying her positively. The framing of Mujuru was structured by *The Herald* in a way to dispose her of her position. The research found out that if Mujuru was responsible for the accusations ZANU PF could have fired her a long time ago. This shows that *The Herald* was used as a catalyst to speed up Mujuru's expulsion from ZANU PF.

The partisan coverage of ZANU PF factionalism which led to the expulsion of Mujuru and all who supported her from the ZANU PF party can be identified as scandalous politics. Thompson (2006) refers to scandalous or dirty politics where the media frame and subject certain politicians to scandals including corruption. This aims to weaken them especially in election times, thus making them bad apples. Although Mujuru enjoyed the support of 8 provincial chairpersons, she was subjected to corrupt activities by *The Herald* and this was done to weaken her chances of participating at the December 2014 congress.

*The Herald* used the first lady gossips that Mujuru and her friends were corrupt, during her rallies as credible facts without further verifying the claims. Bennett (2001) points out that scandal politics has led to the demise of many politicians in the world. In ZANU PF, scandal politics linked Mujuru aligned provincial chairpersons being removed from office, by votes of no confidence from disgruntled party members (*The Herald* 10 November 2014). The

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paper carries a headline “Another chairperson bites the dust”. Jason Machaya the Midlands provincial chairperson was booted out through a vote of no confidence. He and other four provincial chairpersons were accused of fanning factionalism and other unmentioned corrupt activities.

Likewise *The Herald* did not bother to hear Machaya’s own side of the story. The story continues to mention the word factionalism without mentioning the actual names of existing factions in ZANU PF. Factionalism exists where there are two or more groups competing for political positions in the same party (Boucek 2009). *The Herald* deliberately chose to ignore the existence of the Mnangagwa faction. Hence Barker (2001) argues that “discourse does not exist in endless deferral but is regulated with power which governs what can be said and what cannot be said under determinate social conditions.” The study found the manipulation of discourse by *The Herald* suit the interests of its masters.

This shows that ZANU PF hid behind the word to do away with Mujuru and her supporters. The word was framed so that it only suits Mujuru as if she owns many factions in ZANU PF. This resulted in Zimbabweans witnessing a vice president being expelled from both the cabinet and the party.

*The Herald* was at the fore front in exposing Mujuru and her friends to corruption activities and plotting against Mugabe, even though there was no evidence to prove it. Due to the support that Mujuru enjoyed in the structures of ZANU PF, it was certain that she was going to be voted back in to power at the December 2014 congress. However, to give Mnangagwa a chance in the race *The Herald* embarked on scandal politics to trigger and quicken change in the balance of power before the congress.

*The Herald* of 2 December carried a headline “More heavyweights face the chop”. ZANU PF bigwigs who were accused of wanting to topple the president were said to be facing expulsion from the party. The story has no by-line and everyone who had links to Mujuru was automatically accused of wanting to kill President Mugabe. Vote of no confidence in the story were reportedly used to wipe out Mujuru sympathisers. *The Herald* did not even question the nature in which some votes of no confidence were passed and if the people who passed them had the right mandate to do so. This was a strategy devised by ZANU PF to isolate Joice Mujuru through provinces.

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Castells (2006:7) is of the view that “media are the space of power making, not the source of power holding.” *The Herald* provided space for the Mnangagwa faction to win power at the December 2014 congress by de-campaigning the Mujuru faction through bad publicity. *The Herald* went against its obligation to unify the nation by amplifying hatred against Mujuru and all who were aligned to her. The hate and intolerance speeches were orchestrated by Amai Mugabe against the then vice president Mujuru and all perceived supports, during her meet the people tours. *The Herald* of 24 October 2014 quoted Amai Mugabe lambasting Mujuru. Vernacular words like “*akuda kuenderera mberi nemwenje mudziva*” meaning (Mujuru was now getting too big for shoes) were used against Mujuru. Terms like *kujaira kushandirwa* (lazy person) were used to fuel hatred against Mujuru. Christian discourse was also used in the story when Mujuru was referred to as ungodly. *The Herald* newspaper went on to take these unsubstantiated and newsworthy statements at face value thereby converting them into news.

*The Herald* attacks on Mujuru were coincidentally preceded by its depiction of Amai Mugabe as a diligent figure and a human rights activist. *The Herald* published a story on 9 October 2014 with a headline “Amai Mugabe to nip factionalism to the bud.” The research noted the Christian discourse being used to legitimate Amai Mugabe. The reference to some party people who wear church uniforms but in reality they were fake Christians was an indirect attack to Amai Mujuru. Mujuru is a well known Salvation Army church member and she frequently wore her church uniform in public. Mujuru is already regarded as a counterfeit, who failed to unite the party. Amai Mugabe is thus given a role of a real mother who was going to unite the party. For *The Herald* Amai Mugabe was working to end factionalism which the Mujuru faction had caused, thus Amai Mugabe was working to clean Mujuru’s mess.

*The Herald* 22 October 2014 carried a headline “First lady snubs VP Mujuru”. The paper carries a picture showing a visibly angry Amai Mugabe ignoring Mujuru at the airport. Amai Mugabe just watched as her husband shook hands with the president. It was for the second time that Amai Mugabe snubbed Mujuru at the same airport. The refusal to shake hands with Mujuru was a sign that Amai Mugabe had taken personally her fight against Mujuru. *The Herald* reported that Mujuru’s behaviour had made the president very angry. However on the contrary Mugabe is seen shaking hands with Mujuru.

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*The Herald* of 28 October 2014, ran a story with a headline “Jabu Sibanda confesses to VP Mujuru deals.” The story accuses former war veterans’ national chairperson for sensationally confessing that Mujuru was corrupt. The story was on the comments made by Sibanda in the *Newsday* of 27 October. Sibanda had told the *NEWSDAY* that it was not right to accuse Mujuru of her husband sins. *The Herald* then used Sibanda’s comments as evidence to claim that Mujuru was corrupt. The story went on to quote two unnamed analysts who are said to be legal experts. The paper uses the dubious analysts to conclude that Sibanda had really confessed to Mujuru corruption deals through his statements.

*The Herald* used speculative journalism where dubious sources are included to authenticate and give flesh to a skeleton story. This was done to soil the name of all those who were suspected to belong to the Mujuru’s faction. The Herald manipulated and twisted Sibanda’s comments to suit their agenda of disgracing Mujuru. Sibanda’s comments were twisted as if he said Mujuru was corrupt. What such a story intends is to paint both the source of the information and its intended target. This was a strategy which the paper used to vilify the Mujuru’s faction. Language is a tool used to exercise power hence Chatora (2009:22) argues “that language as a medium becomes a form of power discourse at the disposal of hegemony to be manipulated to serve the ends of the dominant class.” *The Herald* was thus serving the interests of the dominant elites.

The research noted the re-birth of *The Herald* newspaper after it turned against a part of its own flocks in ZANU PF. The unsubstantiated, unethical, and unprofessional attacks on the person of Mujuru were done to put pressure on her so that she should resign from office. This was as a result of her posing as a threat to Mugabe’s rule. The newspaper ran headlines where the first lady Amai Grace Mugabe was calling Mujuru to resign for she had failed as a leader (*The Herald* 24 October 2014). In the story Amai Mugabe calls for Mujuru to resign because she is a burden to her husband President Mugabe. Mujuru is accused of gross incompetence and that she has become a liability to ZANU PF. *The Herald* did not bother to consult Mujuru or try to do investigative journalism before publishing anti Mujuru stories. Most of the stories were written by anonymous characters that were referred to as *The Herald* reporter. The stories went on to quote biased experts and unmentioned sources This shows that the newspaper’s character assassination of Mujuru was a pre-conceived idea which was being unfolded day in and day out.

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*The Herald* failed as a newspaper to be a true purveyor of information as it became a political actor in the game of ZANU PF factionalism. The newspaper acted as an amplifier to statements made by Amai Mugabe's crude criticism of Mujuru. This was done to tarnish the image of Mujuru and forcing her to resign from her post before the ZANU PF 2014 elective congress. The research noted that although there were two distinct factions in ZANU PF namely the Mnangagwa and the Mujuru factions, the latter was vilified at the expense of the other. *The Herald* intentionally refused to recognise the existence of the Mnangagwa faction; however Mujuru was the only one who led a faction in the eyes of *The Herald*.

Most of the chairpersons that were voted out had been victims of attacks from the first lady in most of her rallies. *The Herald* was forced to put aside professional standard that guides the operations of journalism. This was done to campaign for the Mnangagwa faction and to do away with the Mujuru faction once and for all. The end result of the partisan reporting by *The Herald* not only did it infringe journalism ethical standards. It also fuelled hatred and intolerance among the ordinary citizens (*daily news* 28 April 2015). This has broken the spirit of citizens to interact freely without being marginalised.

*The Herald* which the publicly owned failed to live to its standards in the pursuit for narrow political interests.

**Media and Politics Case of *daily news***

As factional battles were increasing in ZANU PF prior to the December 2014 congress, the *daily news* was also caught up in the struggles. In the articles collected, the paper sympathised more with the Mujuru faction. The *daily news* was fighting the war of legitimising Joice Mujuru, whom they claim was being treated unfairly in the publicly owned media. This got them the ire of the first lady who then sensationally accused Mujuru of owning 10percent of the shares in the *daily news*.

In the eyes of the *daily news* factionalism in ZANU PF was a strategy used by Mugabe to let different factions fight each. The paper accused Mugabe of setting factions against each other whenever one faction starts to get the upper hand. On 10 November the paper ran an article with a headline "ZANU PF factional wars engineered by Mugabe." The paper talks of Mugabe's strategy of fuelling factional wars so that Mujuru could lose credibility. Alleged top analyst is cited in a story accusing Mugabe and he said Mugabe saw Mujuru as a threat to his throne thus he decided to set up the Mnangagwa faction on her.



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The research proved that *the daily news* decided for the first time to protect Mujuru in the ZANU PF hegemonic struggles. The paper is known for its critical stance on the ruling ZANU PF party (Chatora 2009). On 10 October the paper published a story with a headline “Amazing Grace keeps Zim guessing.” The story refers to a shopaholic first lady who is now starting a new career in politics. The paper sarcastically accuses Grace of being a PhD holder even though she had not passed her O’levels. Amai Mugabe is accused of being used by the Mnangagwa faction to help in exposing Mujuru’s scandals. The *daily news* treated with scorn Amai Mugabe’s political ambitions. Language was thus used to frame the incompetence nature of Amai Mugabe.

The *daily news* became as social actors together with other privately owned media in counter power struggles and factional ZANU PF battles. In doing this they resisted the dominant ideology in *The Herald* that which accused the Mujuru faction of wanting to topple Mugabe from office. Mujuru was given a voice to speak her own story in the *daily news*. On 8 September the paper ran a headline “Mujuru hits back.” After being persecuted by his opponents for a long time Mujuru was then given audience in the *daily news*. In the story Mujuru challenges his opponents to stand an election against her to see if they will emerge victorious. The story uses the word risky referring to any attempt to stand an election with Mujuru. This implied that those who wish to do so will not prosper.

The story uses the words leading contender on Mujuru with Mnangagwa being said to be number 14 in the succession race. Mnangagwa is even dismissed from the succession race as he is said to be far from the presidium. The *daily news* marginalises and belittles the Mnangagwa faction in their story. This shows the paper framed Mujuru as a rightful candidate to succeed Mugabe. This was contrary to the ideologies that were being perpetuated in *The Herald* about Mujuru’s incompetence. Kaldor (2003) posits that resistance takes shape wherever there is domination. *The daily news* became a counter voice which fought against the vilification of Mujuru by the first lady

The *daily news* fought against the dominant idea that Mujuru wanted to kill Mugabe. In defending Mujuru the paper bemoans how the now powerless and weak Mugabe is now being controlled by his wife. *The daily news* ran a story on 2 February 2015 with a headline “I am ready: Mujuru” Mujuru is said to be unfazed by the accusation being levelled against her by her enemies. Against the all the accusations against her and an imminent arrest, Mujuru is said to be “enjoying the dawn of the new year” at her peaceful house. The story describes the

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allegations as unrelenting and ruthless accusations. The use of the word unfazed shows that the Mujuru knows that her accusations are baseless. Words like quarrelsome and increasingly influential are used to refer to Amai Mugabe. The research found out that the *daily news* in the story wanted to show the shallowness of Mujuru's accusations.

The word increasingly influential meant to tell the nation how Mugabe has failed as a leader and his wife is now running the state affairs. As argued by Castells (2006:4) "The media has become a social space where power is decided." Although *the daily news* although is a critic of ZANU PF it fought to legitimise Mujuru as strong liberation war hero.

Castells (2006) goes on to argue that a character portrayed in the media becomes central; hence character assassination becomes vital in the operations of the media. Both *the daily news* and *The Herald* used this weapon in the ZANU PF factional battles. The *daily news* on 25 November 2014 ran a story titled "Blood bath in ZANU PF." The story uses the words mindless bloodletting, well choreographed and masterminded to refer to ZANU PF fights. Mugabe and his wife are said to be authors of chaos and they have taken the route to support Mnangagwa at the expense of Mujuru. The story also accuses the "meet the people" rallies conducted by Amai Mugabe as mere propaganda crusade. They were masterminded to vilify Mujuru at the expense of Mnangagwa.

The *daily news* published a story on 24 October with a headline "*Angry Grace goes berserk*" The headline itself speaks volumes as it talked of a first lady who has gone wild with her utterances. In the sight of the daily news, not only had the first lady lost control of herself, but she had also lost her common sense. In the story the first lady is accused fuelling confusion in ZANU PF. This was through her speeches when she conducted her "meet the people rallies" countrywide. The story describes the rallies as divisive. The use of powerful and extreme words like divisive, berserk and lashed by the writer shows the negative nature of the first lady. The *daily news* employs the exclusion by inclusion technique, where the negative side of the first lady is only portrayed.

The *daily news* on 19 October 2014 ran a story with a headline "Grace creates chaos in ZANU PF." Mugabe was said to be facing one of the biggest challenges in his life as he tried to bring the party back to order. By submitting the story to content analysis, the research noted the use of a sensational headline which is aimed at selling a certain ideology. There is also repetition of words like reckless, relentless and ill-advised in reference to Amai Mugabe speeches. The *daily news* tries to sell an ideology that Amai Mugabe's is not qualified to be

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in politics as she has failed her husband with her thoughtless speeches. The paper went further to quote an unknown ZANU PF minister saying Amai Mugabe's utterances were shocking and unacceptable. Amai Mugabe had attacked Mujuru and all party bigwigs linked to her for their disloyalty to Mugabe. This she did without producing any tangible evidence against them. The first lady has been accused by the *daily news* of creating enemies each time she opens her mouth.

In the story the paper made an impression that this was the biggest challenge that had threatened to split ZANU PF into different factions. The choice of words in the *daily news* differs from *The Herald* with the former describing factionalism and succession fights in ZANU PF with heavy diction. Words such as unprecedented, escalating make-or-break, and sky high were used to define factionalism levels in ZANU PF prior to the congress. The paper posits that Solomonic wisdom was now required by the president to quell the tensions in ZANU PF. This shows how the *daily news* speculated the levels of ZANU PF factionalism.

Still in the same story the *daily news* employed an inverted pyramid style of telling the most important facts first in the introduction. The rest of the story directly quotes the speeches made by the first lady in Marondera. The first lady is quoted saying "Mujuru should resign because she has no brains, wisdom and principles." As the reader reads the introduction, he or she is introduced to a first lady who has a foul mouth. This makes irrelevant the speeches she made in the story.

The first lady also is quoted showering praises on Mnangagwa who happened to be Mujuru's rival in the succession war. She said "Mnangagwa is a man of honour," citing the fact that in 2004 he regardless of having been nominated by 8 out of 9 provinces pulled out of the vice presidential race. This he did to pave way for a new female vice president. He is portrayed as a patient man who is not power hungry. The framing of the speech is important as the *daily news* wanted to dismiss Amai Mugabe's rallies as a mere campaign scheme for Mnangagwa at the expense of Mujuru. This was witnessed by the presence of Mnangagwa at all Amai Mugabe's rallies while Mujuru was absent (*The Herald* 24 October 2015).

In a story published by the *daily news* on 27 October 2014 with a headline "Mujuru shows Grace the way." The story takes a swipe at the first lady by contrasting her to Mujuru respectable behaviour. The headline provides a comparison between two women and Amai Mugabe is seen as the one who is out of line, hence she should emulate Mujuru. The headline

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itself is subjective and it fits to be written as an opinion not a front page material. An unnamed opposition analyst is mentioned in the introduction commenting Mujuru for her graduation speech in Mt Darwin. This points out to speculative journalism where a story is authenticated by dubious sources.

The paper cites that it was rare for analysts to utter such statement in Zimbabwe praising a politician. The story goes on to describe the scene at the ZANU PF headquarters when the politburo was meeting as “emotional and heart rending.” This is when unknown sources are quoted saying party heavyweights wept uncontrollably for Mujuru. This was because of the attacks and verbal abuses she was encountering from Amai Mugabe. Those who were reported to have wept uncontrollably were yet again not mentioned in the story by their names.

The story talked of a dignified Mujuru who because of her silence even in times of persecution had caused people to shed tears for her. Mujuru played a role of a Christian Jesus in Isaiah 53:7 which reads “*he was oppressed and afflicted, yet he did not open his mouth, as a sheep before its shearers is silent so he did not open his mouth*” The *daily news* portrayed a Christ like Mujuru who is innocent and even people were weeping for her, after her person was attacked by the evil first lady. In addressing a rally in Mt Darwin, Mujuru was said to have called for unity and calm even though she was being accused falsely.

Mujuru was also referred to as an innocent widow. Although she was known to be a fighter in the liberation war, she suddenly became vulnerable to her enemies. The story made one to sympathise with an innocent widow, whose husband died mysteriously in an inferno. The *daily news* made opinions news and the story only quoted one opposition source and an unknown ZANU PF politburo member. The newspaper was playing a public relations role for Mujuru, and its reporting was one sided, as the first lady was always in the negative. This is supported by Hall (1982) who contends that the power of the media is responsible for constructing representations, and in the process meaning out of events is created.

A Christ like Mujuru is also seen in the *daily news* of 10 November 2014 with a headline “Let us pray-Mujuru.” Instead of fighting back her political enemies in ZANU PF who had launched an attack against her, Mujuru is given a role of a saint in the worsening ZANU PF factional wars. Mujuru instead calls for the country to pray for peace and unity. Mujuru is

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framed as a vulnerable widow who is used as an escape goat by her long time rivals in ZANU PF.

Applying content analysis to the story helped in establish the Christian discourse used by the *daily news* as words like a devout member of the Salvation Army church are used to describe Mujuru. Mujuru puts the church at task to pray for the country. However as Mujuru was calling for prayer Amai Mugabe was quoted calling for war against Mujuru so that she would be ousted from office. The comparison between the two ladies makes the reader to sympathise with Mujuru who was seen as a vulnerable and defenceless widow as compared to the vindictive first lady. The concept of a defenceless widow is also seen when the president was said to have failed to protect Mujuru when she wanted to be attacked by ZANU PF mobs in his presence (the *daily news* 19 November 2014). This happened at ZANU PF headquarters in Harare where anti Mujuru youths were said to be baying for her blood.

Former ZANU PF spokesperson Rugare Gumbo has been represented as a tough and fearless man. On 19 November 2014 with a headline “Am not afraid-Gumbo.” The writer portrays a resilient Gumbo who is the only surviving member of the (*DARE RECHIMURENGA*). Although he was facing treason charges for trying to kill Mugabe Gumbo was quoted saying he was not afraid of the frivolous charges against him.

Although treason carries a maximum sentence in Zimbabwe, the *daily news* refer to Gumbo’s treason charges as sensational, thus implying they should not be taken seriously. The manipulation of language by the media continues to be a contested terrain. Thus Fairclough (1995:58) posits, “Communication is an arena of contest; and language is used to exercise power.” The story repeats the words factious twice to show how Gumbo’s treason charges were constructed. The story only quotes two sources who are affiliated to Gumbo and they both rubbish Gumbo’s charges.

The *daily news* became so much involved in ZANU PF infighting and they often sensationalised headlines. This was done to exaggerate at times the factional battles that ZANU PF was facing.

**The succession debate and the media.**

Through conducting CDA on the articles from both the *daily news* and *The Herald* the research presents its findings on how the succession issue has been debated. The validity of

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CDA remains a matter of interpretation. Frohmann (1994) argues that as there is no hard data provided through CDA the reliability of one's findings depends on the force and logic of one's argument.

The succession discussion has remained utopia in the mainstream publicly owned *The Herald* newspaper. However it has remained alive in the privately owned *daily news* with the paper advocating for some new blood in the public office. The research found out that many who have tried to attempt to talk of a possible Mugabe successor in ZANU PF have fallen by the sword. The discussion has become very nasty for the first time since independence and the latest victim is the longest serving former vice president Joice Mujuru and other ZANU PF bigwigs.

*The Herald* has been a weapon used by ZANU PF to name and fish out unscrupulous elements in the party who dared to aspire to get into public office. The succession debate has for the first time created two ZANU PF's with the former calling itself the patriotic front and the latter calling itself people first (*daily news* 8 April 2015). The other party which calls itself People First emerged after the December 2014 congress. It comprises of the Mujuru sympathisers and they recognise themselves as the original and orthodox ZANU PF. The party is however yet to be registered officially as a political party.

In the hegemonic struggles ZANU PF has used *The Herald* to continue its mission of legitimising Mugabe as the true revolutionary and president of Zimbabwe. The story published on 12 February in *The Herald* quoted Mugabe saying he is still in charge of the country. This was after he expelled Mujuru and other several ministers including Mutasa, whom he accused of wanting to remove him from office. However the hegemonic struggles have been decorated with name calling in the media and derogatory terms such as "Gamatox" and "weevils" have been created in ZANU PF. This has led to the othering of the other and the creation of binary relations of "we and them" (Chatora 2009).

*The Herald* in trying to stamp the dominant ideology of Mugabe as a life president has othered those who dared to challenge the status quo. The Mujuru alleged faction because of its ambitions to contest powerful positions in the party has been referred to as "them." Former secretary for administration Didymus Mutasa was referred to as a stupid fool who cannot be corrected by president. (*The Herald* of 22 January 2015). This was after he challenged the change of the ZANU PF constitution prior to the December 2014 congress, which also led to his suspension from the party. The change of the constitution meant to give Mugabe powers

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to appoint his vice president and members of the central committee. The notion of eliminating opposition has been viewed by Mwamba (2006) as a tool used by African leaders to consolidate power.

The research found out the abuse of the media by those in authority. The publicly owned *The Herald* has been used by ZANU PF to deny the prospects of discussing the Mugabe succession plan. On the other hand the *daily news* has tried to re-empower and demystify the disempowered public sphere with their continued criticism of Mugabe. In the run up to the December 2014 ZANU PF congress, Mugabe used his wife to go on a campaign to mudsling Amai Mujuru so that she may not contest in the congress elections. Although Mujuru and her supporters have been accused of treason, no evidence has been brought forward to incriminate them.

On 24 October 2014 *The Herald* ran a story with a headline “Resign now VP told” which called on Mujuru to leave office. The research has noted that the accusations levelled against Mujuru and other ZANU PF bigwigs were tailor made to distract the people’s attention from Mugabe to Mujuru. The sensational accusations which saw *The Herald* being used to de-campaign Mujuru was done by Mugabe to maintain his hold on to power by criminalising any discussion on succession. Also it was a political gimmick to divert the people’s attention from appointing a successor at the congress. Hence the research uses CDA to analyse the interactions of power control as seen in language used in the media by ZANU PF (Wodak 2001).

The succession debate in ZANU PF prior to the December congress has led to both newspapers differing in their representations of the amended ZANU PF constitution. ZANU PF has used *The Herald* to legitimise its new constitution. In a story published on 25 November 2014, the paper hailed the newly amended constitution as it was going to unify ZANU PF again. However the daily news on the same date condemned the constitutional changes as it was Mugabe’s plan to consolidate all the power.

The former ZANU PF constitution allowed vice presidents to be voted for at the congress; however the latter put the task in the hands of Mugabe. ZANU PF had it in mind that Mujuru enjoyed the support of many provinces. The change of the constitution was done to frustrate any Mujuru efforts to retain her post, thus *The Herald* was used to tarnish Mujuru’s image so that the masses would sympathise with ZANU PF over the change of the constitution.

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The battle to control the minds of the people became the task of ZANU PF as it sought to rule by consent. The discussion of the succession debate in Zimbabwe has been shunned in the publicly owned media. The former minister of Administration Didymus Mutasa was quoted in the *daily news* of 18 December 2015 condemning the change of ZANU PF constitution. Mutasa said “I have never contested proper succession.” Mutasa was contesting against the ouster of Mujuru and her replacement with Mnangagwa. However *The Herald* quickly trashed his statement implying that the issue of succession has never been on cards in ZANU PF.

Although it was implicit that people in ZANU PF were waging war against each other so that they will remain with powerful positions in the post Mugabe rule. The succession debate has never been given a platform to be discussed in the publicly owned media. The *daily news* however has been vilified by ZANU PF, as it has tried to force the succession issue under the door. The paper on 16 March criticises Mugabe for failing to appoint a successor. Mugabe has been accused of succeeding himself over the past 35 years.

The state controlled *The Herald* newspaper has been at loggerheads with the privately owned daily news in the representation of Mugabe. The war of legitimisation and de-legitimisation of the president erupted between the two newspapers. The research noted that hegemonic and counter hegemonic were at play, where *The Herald* tried to perpetuate the dominant ideology and protect Mugabe’s throne. However the *daily news* in the counter hegemonic struggles fought the dominant ideology. *The Herald* saw Mugabe as a God anointed leader who is the father figure of Zimbabwe. In ascribing him the title father, the newspaper tried to instil the ideology that his position cannot be challenged.

As news is supposed to be fair and balanced (VMCZ: 2013). *The Herald* deviated from supporting a united ZANU PF to partisan factional reporting. This was done to elevate the Mnangagwa faction at the expense of Mujuru. Katz (1999) posits that the media in a true public sphere should act as canon for political conversation. *The Herald* failed to provide divergent views pertaining to the succession of Mugabe. In a story published on 27 January 2015 with a headline “*Bid to oust President suicidal.*” *The Herald* through Minister of Information, Media and broadcasting Services Jonathan Moyo emphasised that president Mugabe cannot be made to resign because he won the 2013 July elections. Moyo in the story dismisses any talk on politics as a pre-occupation of ill informed and uninformed newspapers and media houses. This validates that *The Herald* is used by the information ministry to guard



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jealously Mugabe's throne. According to *The Herald* even though Mugabe is in his 90s and stands as the oldest president in the world, he should be allowed to carry on. The story denies injecting new blood into the presidium as no one was fit to take over from Mugabe.

Although a brave Mugabe was portrayed in *The Herald*, the daily news saw it otherwise. In a story published by the paper on 14 April 2005 with a headline "Mugabe is a scared man: Mutasa." The story quotes the former minister Didymus Mutasa accusing Mugabe of wearing a fake face in the public while in real he lives in fear. The story points out that Mugabe is facing an open revolt by his trusted former friends because of his misrule. The paper points out that it was now time to capitalise on Mugabe's fears and take him head on. This story advocates for people to unite against Mugabe. The paper refers to Mugabe as a person who likes and feels comfortable on his position, hence he does not think of retiring.

The research found out that *The Herald* newspaper has denied the fact that Mugabe is old hence he has to craft a succession plan. The paper continues to deny any prospects of discussing about the post Mugabe period. Mugabe is treated in *The Herald* as someone who is supernatural and irreplaceable. However in the *daily news* Mugabe is seen as an old president who uses his state power to do away with an opposition against him. Mugabe is also seen a power loving incumbent who sacrifices anything to stay in power.

### **Discussion**

The media have a vital role to play in the democratic participation of every citizen in a society. Each and every person should have the right to choose a leader of his or her own choice and the media have an obligation to respect people choices. Democracy needs active participation of every citizen. The media have the role of to keep the citizens involved in the business of governance, by informing and educating them Coronell (2001).

The research found out that *The Herald* has been used to impose candidates and endorse them to the people without their consent. *The Herald* in the factional and succession battles of ZANU PF failed to promote diversity of people's opinions. Everyone who dared to oppose the status quo has been vilified by *The Herald*. Those who dared to talk or bring to table the issue of succession have been negatively portrayed and their characters have been assassinated. Mutasa who was among the perceived Mujuru sympathisers lost his Makoni West central committee position after being accused of fanning factionalism.

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In a story dated 1 November 2014 with a headline “Jabulani Sibanda booted out.” *The Herald* announces that the war veteran’s leader had been expelled for trying to defend Mujuru. Sibanda is also accused in the story for shunning the first lady’s meet the people rallies. *The Herald* in the story quotes only one source who represents the little known organisation called the elders of the war veterans. *The Herald* also failed to act as a voice that promotes unity in the ongoing ZANU PF factional conflicts. The paper in articles collected by the research encourages the expulsion of all party officials who supported Mujuru to be booted out of their positions. *The Herald* of 2 December ran a story with a headline “More ZANU PF heavyweights face the chop.” Several ministers who included Kudakwashe Bhasikiti, Didymus Mutasa, and Francis Nhema among others were vilified for supporting Mujuru.

The paper advocates for the expulsion of Mujuru aligned members of parliament in a story published on 27 December 2014. This followed its support for the expulsion of Mujuru, Mliswa and Sibanda who were in the party’s top structures. These individuals and many others were later expelled from ZANU PF without even given audience in the mainstream publicly owned media including *The Herald*. This opposes the democratic right of every citizen to be heard and equally represented (Shelley 2001). *The Herald* articles have shown that the paper did not play a neutral role when it came to the covering of ZANU PF internal conflicts. In all *The Herald*’s articles that this research collected the paper, it planted seeds of hatred, discord, and prejudices. This was achieved by taking sides and publishing half truths as facts.

By speaking his mind and choosing to follow Mujuru against the first lady, Sibanda has come to the realisation that he not a real war veteran. Sibanda, the fiery former war veterans leader has been accused by *The Herald* of not having fought the liberation war at the fore front as he joined the war late in 1978. Sibanda has also been vilified by *The Herald* for having uttered the words “bedroom and boardroom coup” in which he argued that the first lady had no right to recall Mujuru as she was rightfully elected.

For trying to oppose Mugabe, Sibanda is further referred to in the story as criminal, counter revolutionary, spoilt brat and possessed by Beelzebub a demon. He is also likened to Judas in the bible who sold Jesus for a few shekels. This supports the assertion by Coronell (2001:12) that “the media are used as proxies in the battle between rival political groups, in the process sowing divisiveness rather than consensus, hate speech instead of sober debate, and suspicion

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rather than social trust.” *The Herald* happened to fall in the trap of the state which has used it to attack President Mugabe’s perceived rivals.

*The Herald* went further to attack all those who were perceived to be aligned to Mujuru accusing them of fanning factionalism in ZANU PF. The former vice president Joice Mujuru had her identity “Teurai Ropa” taken because of her zeal and eager to also occupy the public office. In an article published by *The Herald* on 2 December 2014 with a headline “VP Mujuru stole my picture: War veteran.” The paper carried a picture of a woman whose title is Cde Linda Mangwende and she was holding a poster with Mujuru’s portrait. Mujuru was said to have misled the nation all along claiming that she downed a helicopter in the war. Two sources are cited with the one identified as Linda claiming that Mujuru was nowhere near the scene of the incident and she was not trained by then. The other source was quoted saying Mujuru was just part of the team that downed the chopper.

The relevance of the story is however questioned as *The Herald* went on to claim that Mujuru lied all along to the country so that she could usurp power from Mugabe. All this was being brought forward more than 30 years after the struggle. The consistent application of memory and manipulation of history was used by *The Herald* to safeguard Mugabe’s rule. This undemocratic practice will only result in democratic decay where opposing voices are silenced by the media. This creation and distribution of the truth has seen facts being twisted by the media so that a certain agenda is achieved. Hence Macaphulana (2014) argues that in politics there is no longer anything that can be called the truth but many regimes of truth that are received from the powerful and consumed (or resisted as lies) by the powerless as the truth. In the game of power the media can thus be used to delete other people’s history to achieve a certain agenda.

On 4 December 2014 *The Herald* applauded the expulsion of Rugare Gumbo the former ZANU PF spokesman. Gumbo had talked of the succession discussion being tabled at the December 2014 congress. This attracted the ire of Mugabe and some ZANU PF stewards who felt Mugabe should rule forever. *The Herald* attacked the person of Gumbo, and called him a bad apple and a fly which can never deliver honey. Consistent memory was also applied to Gumbo as he is said to have been arrested and prosecuted in 1978 for selling out.

The story quotes some war veterans who said they knew of Gumbo’s true colours of selling out. The coverage of ZANU PF factional fights by *The Herald* leaves a lot to be desired as they have hampered the democratic rights of citizens to make political choices of their own.

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*The Herald* became a threat to democracy as it imposed itself as an alternative for the discussion of democracy at grassroots level. This has led to *The Herald* to allow Mugabe to monopolise the public office by persecuting all those who dare to challenge him.

The *daily news* however acted as an alternative voice to the ZANU PF factional and succession fights. The newspaper acted as a voice for the marginalised voices in the state controlled *The Herald*. In the counter hegemonic struggles the *daily news* challenged the desire by Mugabe to keep on monopolising the public office at the expense of Zimbabweans. In a story published on 2 February 2015 with a headline “Is Mugabe still fit to rule?” *The daily news* unlike *The Herald* questions the stay in office of Mugabe regardless of his frail health and old age. The paper argues that Mugabe’s hold to power has also led to members of his party rebelling against him. A picture showing Mugabe falling down at the airport has been used by the *daily news* as a sign of an old leader who should be resting rather than ruling the country.

The critical stance taken by the *daily news* to challenge Mugabe’s authority can be viewed as an alternative public sphere where the dominant ideas of the ruling class are fought. *The daily news* questions the unconstitutional manner in which Amai Mugabe started to be involved in government and cabinet issues even though she was not yet elected into office. Unlike *The Herald* which viewed the entrance of Amai Mugabe into formal politics as an end to ZANU PF factionalism. The *daily news* of 16 March 2015 sees Amai Mugabe having worsened Mugabe trouble as she has destroyed the fragile party thus creating more enemies for Mugabe. *The Herald* of 26 October had on the contrary viewed Amai Mugabe as the only remedy to ZANU PF factionalism.

The *daily news* challenges the notion in *The Herald* that Mugabe is a great nationalist and the father who is irreplaceable. This has led to people fearing to oppose Mugabe as he has already been endorsed by the state media as a life president. This has also dampened the spirit of democratic elections as a candidate is not voted for but imposed by the media on people. The *daily news* questioned the notion by *The Herald* that Mugabe is strong as a fiddle rather it talks of his health at length arguing that the state is paying a lot of cash in Mugabe’s abroad medical trips. This has led calls by the *daily news* for the president to step down and allow for a smooth political transition.

The *daily news* in a story dated 15 February 2015, with a headline “Mugabe shows no signs of giving up power.” The paper bemoans the 92 year old who still has the zeal of running a

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collapsing economy. The research found out that unlike *The Herald* newspaper the *daily news* provided a platform for debating the succession battle. Marginalised voices of ZANU PF cadres who were suspended and fired in ZANU PF were allowed to tell their own story in *daily news*.

Those who were fired from ZANU PF party have not been given a platform to tell their story by *The Herald*. Only those who pledged to remain loyal to ZANU PF were given a voice. The research noted that from the time of accusation against Mujuru which led to her expulsion from the party. The state controlled *The Herald* failed to give her audience but rather they kept mudslinging her without hearing what she had to say.

In a surprising move, the *daily news* continued its fight against dominant ideologies this time not at the side of the opposition but at the side of disgruntled ZANU PF members. Mujuru who has been formerly criticised for corruption by the *daily news* was now being viewed as fighter. The research noted that although the *daily news* chose to take sides in the factional and succession ZANU PF wars, they did it to continue in their fight against dominant ZANU PF ideologies. In taking sides the *daily news* chose to stand with the marginalised and silenced Mujuru's faction.

The *daily news* used the Mujuru faction to bring out the negative side of ZANU PF which they have been opposing all along. In a story published on 28 March 2015 with a headline "ZANU PF rotten to the core" The paper gives audience to Jabulani Sibanda the expelled war veterans' leader. The paper sensationalises the headline to attract its audience so that they may see as if it was the end of ZANU PF. In the story Sibanda is quoted blaming Mugabe for the woes that the country is facing. He goes on to blame corruption in the ruling ZANU PF as hampering economic growth.

The research also noted the *daily news* used the consistent application of memory to expose Mugabe's tactics when he feels pressure. The firing of Mujuru and members of her faction from ZANU PF was treated in a historical context by the paper. The *daily news* exposed the loss of democracy in ZANU PF where the December congress was only reserved for Mugabe sympathisers. In an article published on 2 December 2015, the paper defended the absence of Mujuru at the congress as she was targeted by some Mugabe thugs.

Mujuru absence from ZANU Pf congress was framed by *The Herald* as a sign of rebellion against the president. *The Herald* published a story on 6 December saying Mujuru's absence

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from congress was conspicuous. By submitting both the stories to critical discourse analysis the reach noted that *The Herald's* framed Mujuru's faction to further support their campaign for Mujuru to be ousted. *The Herald* failed to report about angry ZANU PF mobs waving placards denouncing Mujuru and baying for her blood at the congress.

The research also noted that in *The Herald* story, they failed to account for ZANU PF youths who had earlier warned Mujuru and his friends not to come near the venue of the congress. *The Herald* has been used by ZANU PF to tremble upon Mujuru's democratic right to contest in the election at the December congress. However the *daily news* in its story highlighted that Mujuru's life was in danger as thugs had been hired to assault anyone linked to her at the venue of the congress. The suppressing of opposing voices at the ZANU PF December congress is a blow to democracy as ZANU PF has been reduced to Mugabe. Hence Matlosa (2007) argues that political leaders have adopted an oligopoly type of leadership; which has often led to the party being reduced to its leader.

In all the melodrama that was unfolding in ZANU PF the daily news also fingered out the Minister of Information Media and broadcasting services Jonathan Moyo in the abuse of state media. In a story published by the paper on 23 November 2014 with a headline "Stop Jonathan: Mutasa." Moyo who head the state media was being accused of using his ministry to cause confusion in the party. Moyo had earlier on been accused by President Mugabe of sowing seeds of division in ZANU PF through the state media. The accusation against Moyo is based on the claim he made long ago the best way to destroy ZANU PF is from within. This he said when he was not a member of the party; hence he was now living his dream using the media to fuel infighting in the party.

The media cannot be separated from politics as politics sells in the media. The research has found out that during the succession debate the media have played a role of legitimising and delegitimizing politicians. There has been a battle of audience as *The Herald* trashed and mud slung Mujuru and her sympathisers who had been fired from the party. The *daily news* sought to legitimise the fired Mujuru faction giving them audience and selling their opinions on Mugabe.

### **Summary**

This chapter all in all analysed and the presented the data that the research found. Critical Discourse Analysis and content were used to analyse news articles from the *daily news* and

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*The Herald*. The research findings were presented thematically and each theme tries to address the research questions and objectives outlined in chapter 2. The forth estate has been pre occupied with framing narratives in particular ways and reporting facts only as they fit with those narrative frames. This has led to speculative journalism where stories are written without by-lines and unnamed sources.

## **Chapter Six**

### **Summary: Conclusions and Recommendations**

#### **Introduction**

This chapter gives an appraisal of the whole research and provides recommendations and a brief summary of the findings. The recommendations are set to remind the *daily news* and *The Herald* on the need to return to ethical and non partisan and balanced reporting. This will help in building a united peaceful and a democratic society.

#### **Summery and Conclusion**

The research looked at the coverage of ZANU PF factional and succession battles by the daily news and *The Herald*. Factional battles in ZANU PF were for the first time being played out in the media. The media are political actors and ZANU PF used *The Herald* to vilify all those who dared to fight the status quo. The *daily news* however continues to fight the dominant ideology in counter hegemonic struggles. This was witnessed through its allowing for the discussion of the succession issue in Zimbabwe. The research utilised an investigative approach to see how the media were caught up in the ZANU PF factional struggles which saw the expulsion of the former vice president from ZANU PF. The study found out that those in power continue to manipulate the media. For a true public sphere to function, it was found that the state should cease controlling of the media. Once the state continues to meddle in the affairs of the media then democracy is at risk.

#### **Recommendations**

My recommendations are in line with my findings and they go to both the *daily news* and *The Herald*. In my findings I discovered that there is need to go back to the ethics that guide the operations of journalism in Zimbabwe. This was discovered after ZANU PF factional battles were represented and framed in a way that encouraged hatred and disunity among the Zimbabwean community at large.

Stories were published without verification and many stories were one sided and sometimes opinions were used as hard news. There is need for the media to stop partisan reporting and allow various issues to be debated without fear or favour. There is also need for the media to be a true public sphere and not a private sphere which is marked by inclusion and exclusion of certain voices.



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If Zimbabwe is to go forward as country there is need for the media to stand for their role in conflict resolution. The media can fuel or quell conflicts; hence there is need for the media to be neutral by allowing a panel for discussion. Tolerance and respect for divergent views should be respected by the media. The ZANU PF factional battles were represented in a way that encouraged conflict and this sowed seeds of hatred among Zimbabweans and often violence was reported in some areas. There is also need for both *The Herald* and *daily news* to stop exaggerating stories and tell the real stories as they are without adding or diluting certain issues. This will help in the development of a reliable media system in our country and this will also help in taking our country forward.

### **Areas of further study**

The ZANU PF factional battles are an ongoing topic and it is getting more interesting by the day. There is need to also look at the newly formed “People first” party which calls itself the real ZANU PF. Various themes emerge everyday hence there is need to follow up and see whether ZANU PF emerges stronger or weaker after expelling most influential members. The party is comprised of all those who have been expelled from the original ZANU PF. This research was only looking at front page stories hence one can look at the inside content of other newspapers from another angle.

### **Conclusion**

The research conducted a critical investigation on how media covered and continues to cover the ZANU PF factional battles prior and post December 2014 Congress. *The Herald* and *daily news* were the papers under investigation and the research established that both newspapers were not neutral in their coverage.

*The Herald* turned against a section of ZANU PF members as it was witnessed by their one sided and negative reporting about Mujuru’s faction. The *daily news* continued its fight on the ZANU PF dominant ideology. This was witnessed when the paper gave audience to the fired and suspended Mujuru’s faction members

Through applying content analysis and CDA to collected stories from both newspapers, the research found the imbalances in their representation. The *daily news* prior to the congress campaigned against the ouster of Mujuru from the ZANU PF party. The paper through its coverage represented Mujuru as a victim and a defenceless widow. The *daily news* through

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its top stories tried to make the nation sympathise with Mujuru and see how defenceless she had become.

In its coverage of ZANU PF factional battles the *daily news* sensationalised its headlines and they at times over exaggerated the internal conflicts in ZANU PF. At the congress the newspaper campaigned for Mujuru's absence. According to the *daily news* Mujuru's absence from the congress was due to the violent nature that ZANU PF had become. The newspaper also sang praises on expelled top ZANU PF officials like Mutasa, Gumbo, Mliswa, and many others. The post congress period has seen the *daily news* trying to legitimise the People First party. The yet to be registered party consists of expelled and suspended Mujuru sympathisers. (*daily news* 8 April 2015).

However *The Herald* scandalised the Mujuru faction through framing them negatively prior to the ZANU PF December congress. Stories in *The Herald* were mostly gossips that were framed into news. The paper failed to be a neutral purveyor of reliable information.

*The Herald* fuelled the conflicts in ZANU PF through its one sided reporting and it resulted in the nationwide suspension of 8 out of 9 Mujuru aligned provincial chairpersons. The newspaper also campaigned against the ouster of ZANU PF officials like Gumbo, Mujuru, Mutasa and all those who supported Mujuru.

Unlike the *daily news* which saw the entrance of Amai Mugabe into politics as the climax of factionalism in ZANU PF, *the Herald* praised Amai Mugabe and saw her as the one who ended factionalism in ZANU PF. The paper also fuelled tensions in ZANU PF through hate speech. Former war veteran's leader Jabulani Sibanda was said to have a spirit of Beelzebub the demon. Former ZANU PF secretary for administration was also referred to as a stupid fool. This goes against the expectations of the media to preach the gospel of peace, unity and reconciliation.

*The Herald* continued to campaign for Mugabe and was used to vilify anyone who dared to talk about the succession topic. The paper also published as news anything that came from the mouth of the president and his wife. This was done without consulting the concerned parties to hear their side of story thus giving a balanced report. *The Herald* continued to vilify Mujuru and all the expelled former ZANU PF members and they were not given a voice in the paper.

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## I am ready — Mujuru

Fungi Kwaramba and Tendai Kamhungira • 2 February 2015 2:52PM • [42 comments](#)

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**HARARE** - Hounded former vice president Joice Mujuru maintains that she is not afraid of the ruthless and unrelenting onslaught on her — including murky allegations of plotting to oust and assassinate President Robert Mugabe, as well as a battery of corruption, abuse of office and extortion charges that she faces and that are being “investigated” by police.

Reacting to weekend reports that her arrest by police was imminent, the widow of liberation icon, the late Solomon Mujuru, said she was at peace with the world and would face whatever was thrown her way.

In a brief telephone interview with the Daily News, the seemingly unfazed Mujuru — who has faced an avalanche of unspeakable abuse over the past few months from Mugabe’s wife Grace and other party hardliners — said all will be well in the end.

“It is not a problem,” she said of the speculation around her supposedly imminent arrest by the police.

Contacted for comment on the speculation, national police spokesperson Charity Charamba said she was not aware of the development.

“I don’t have an update on that matter (the purported looming arrest),” Charamba said.

The *daily news* treated with scorn Amai Mugabe’s political ambitions. have been reporting over the past few weeks that police were supposedly rounding up their “investigations” regarding sleazy dealings that she allegedly committed while she was still in high office.

Police also stormed the Harare head office of the country’s leading newspaper, the Daily News, last month after Grace lied maliciously and egregiously that Mujuru owned a 10 percent stake in the paper late last year.

Police went to the extent of obtaining a court order from Harare provincial magistrate Vakayi Douglas Chikwekwe on December 18, 2014, which authorised them to search and seize key documents pertaining to the ownership of the newspaper’s parent company, Associated Newspapers of Zimbabwe (ANZ).

Not only is this information easily obtainable from the Registrar of Companies and from statutory media regulation body, the Zimbabwe Media Commission, a casual perusal of the warrant of seizure that the police used suggested that they already had this information anyway, rendering their mission wholly suspicious and pointless.

The quarrelsome and increasingly influential Grace first made the false claim that Mujuru bought the fictitious stake in the Daily News while addressing one of her controversial “Meet



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the People” rallies at her vast Mazowe business hub in late October last year — a ginormous fabrication that she went on to repeat on a number of other occasions.

Mujuru’s comments yesterday were in line with what she told the Daily News early last month when she said far from being stressed by her persecution by her erstwhile Zanu PF colleagues, she was actually “enjoying the dawn of a new year” at home and preferred to enjoy her peace without intrusions from the media.

Further asked then if she was not afraid of all the police “investigations” into her life, including the false allegations that she owned a stake in the Daily News, she said, “Hazvina basa izvo (That does not matter)”.

Political analysts have said that Mujuru’s continued harassment betrays the fact that although she appeared to be down and out, her detractors realised that she remained a force to reckon with both within Zanu PF and outside the party — and thus needed to be dealt with “once and for all” so that she could never bounce back in future.

Number two to Mugabe for 10 years and for many years tipped to become Zimbabwe’s first woman president and only the country’s second post-independence leader, Mujuru has also previously said that although she was grateful that she had had her time in office, life now needed to go on.

Mujuru was fired in December last year at the instigation of Grace who had threatened to deal with the former VP herself if her nonagenarian husband did not dismiss her.

Mugabe has openly admitted that Grace tells him what to do.

But instead of being hostile, Mujuru has surprised both friends and foes alike by being conciliatory to her party enemies, going to the extent of congratulating some of her persecutors when they were appointed into Cabinet, and quietly retreating to her farm.

The speculation around Mujuru’s alleged imminent arrest comes as some Zanu PF stalwarts who are aggrieved by the recent turn of events in the ruling party have now almost completed putting their papers together, amid talk that it is now a matter of time before they launch their mooted court action.

“My understanding is that all the papers for the court action are virtually ready and that it is now a question of timing when these will be lodged. It is imminent and this can happen anytime now,” a Zanu PF official who requested anonymity for fear of victimisation said yesterday.

Efforts to contact former Presidential Affairs minister Didymus Mutasa, who has been playing a leading role in the quest by party stalwarts to force the ruling party to reverse all decisions that were taken at its disputed damp squib “elective” congress that was held in Harare last December, failed yesterday.

But former party spokesperson Rugare Gumbo told the Daily News’ sister paper, the Daily News on Sunday at the weekend that the court challenge would proceed soon.

“It’s going to proceed,” he said.

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Asked further whether Mutasa had had an opportunity to engage with Mugabe since the president came back from his long holiday, Gumbo said, “He has not yet talked to president Mugabe since he came back,” adding that the reasons why the two had not been in touch could only be clarified by Mutasa himself.

Gumbo also said Mutasa had not yet been served with papers for Zanu PF’s planned disciplinary hearing against him.

But doubts remain whether Mutasa will attend the hearing given that he has said that he does not recognise the Zanu PF leadership and party constitutional amendments that emerged from the disputed congress.

However, Pupurayi Togarepi, the Zanu PF youth league chairperson, has insisted that Mutasa’s proposed hearing would proceed whether he turned up or not.

Togarepi, who is one of the six-member disciplinary committee set up by Mugabe to deal with Mutasa’s alleged misdemeanours, said the committee’s verdict would not be dependent on whether Mutasa attended or did not attend the hearing.

The other members of the committee, chaired by Vice President Phelekezela Mphoko, are Patrick Chinamasa, secretary for legal affairs; Savior Kasukuwere, political commissar; Kembo Mohadi, secretary for security; and Mugabe’s wife Grace, chairperson of the Women’s League.

But legal experts say the planned disciplinary hearing against Mutasa had “fatal defects” even before it got off — particularly because almost all of the committee members who were going to look into the case had allegedly “compromised” themselves already.

In the meantime, Zanu PF’s propaganda war has gone a notch up with another faceless Facebook character, in the mould of the controversial Baba Jukwa, surfacing in recent months and dishing out damaging titbits about the ugly goings-on in the ruling party.

The intrepid political gossip phenomenon, going by the name Zimbabweans for Prosperity (ZFP), already has more than 13 000 likes in the months it has been running.

However, it is believed that hundreds of thousands more people are accessing the page anonymously daily for fear of ending up being accused by thin-skinned officials of being associated with the Internet troll, as happened to some during the Baba Jukwa era.

Like Baba Jukwa before it, it comes across as intimately connected to and in the full know of many of the ugly goings-on within Zanu PF — dishing out a steady stream of sensational claims about the party and its bigwigs, from the days of the liberation struggle to the present.

The page, which uses both Zanu PF and Baba Jukwa lexicon such as Aluta Continua and Asijiki, was created after the disputed July 31, 2013 elections, but only started blowing full steam following the recent worsening of ructions in the ruling party.

ZFP has a cover photo with questions like “why did you go to war you Zanu PF idiots?” and “Where are 2,2 million jobs Zanu PF maggots?”

## Is Mugabe still fit to rule Zim?

Thelma Chikwanha, POLITICAL EDITOR • 16 March 2015 9:25PM • [35 comments](#)

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**HARARE** - Four years after the *Daily News* first broached the subject of whether President Robert Mugabe was still fit to rule, debate is raging once again about the nonagenarian's capacity to effectively remain at the helm of the country that he has presided over with an iron fist for most of the past 35 years.

In addition to his advanced age and increasingly poor health, that is commensurate with his age, requiring him to make frequent and costly State-funded visits to the Far East for medical attention, Mugabe is also contending with arguably his biggest political challenge since Zimbabwe's independence from Britain in April 1980 — an open rebellion by many senior members of his ruling Zanu PF party.

His controversial and increasingly influential wife, Grace, has also lately added to his woes by wading aggressively into formal national politics, culminating in the brutal purges of many senior Zanu PF officials that include former Vice President Joice Mujuru — in an ill-advised move that has worsened the ruling party's ugly factional and succession wars.



Analysts and spokespersons for opposition political parties who spoke to the *Daily News* yesterday said it was time for the nonagenarian to step down as he had allegedly now become a “lame duck” and “absentee” president who was often travelling outside the country on “frivolous” missions or for medical attention than actually governing the country.

A medical practitioner who spoke to the *Daily News*, but who cannot be quoted openly for professional reasons, said 91 years was “a blessed but very advanced age” where conditions such as dementia and Alzheimer's disease were common.

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“There is no doubt that the president has been blessed with a long, relatively healthy life. But even for him, one can see that age has caught up with him, as is natural. Only about one in a million people have the same aptitude they had when they were 50 at that age,” the doctor said.

He said it was generally unwise to saddle people in that age group with the kind of stress and responsibility as that of a president, as they were no longer at peak performance both physically and mentally.

“Diseases like Alzheimer’s and dementia at that age mean that one tends to have a short memory at that age. Such people usually dwell on the past and live their life in the past and fail to adapt to the present.

“Concentration is also a big challenge because people at that age find it difficult to stay awake for long periods. If you have to make an executive decision, you need to have an aptitude for current affairs,” the doctor added.

Opposition leader Morgan Tsvangirai’s MDC said it was now time for Mugabe to pass on the baton stick to somebody else who could stand up to the rigours of the job.

“Apparently, his health is failing and I think he is not doing himself any good by clinging onto power whilst he is now in that state of health.

“It’s time for him to take a bow from the hazardous and extremely demanding job of engaging in active politics. He should start writing his memoirs.

“In fact, I can volunteer to write his biography for absolutely no charge! The old man should simply step down and rest,” party spokesperson Obert Gutu said.

Jacob Mafume of the renewal team added his voice saying, “We have maintained that old age is an illness that humanity has failed to cure despite all its best efforts.

“It therefore follows to reason that at 91, Mugabe is a very sick person who needs intensive care or home-based care. Until humanity finds a cure, we need to keep our elderly in a safe place where they can do no harm to themselves or to others.

“That place is usually an old people’s home or if one is privileged enough, home-based care with a dedicated nurse. Now to say that such a person is running a country is stretching it too far and an act of gross irresponsibility,” Mafume said.

Gladys Hlatwayo, a Hubert Humphrey fellow at the University of Minnesota said as Mugabe was getting older and more frail, the centre within Zanu PF was increasingly shifting.

“It looks like the wife is now in the driving seat. The events in Zanu PF over the past four to six months support this theory. He (Mugabe) is human like all of us and other 91-year-olds are long retired and enjoying entertaining their grandchildren.

“This is why people are sceptical about his ability to rule at that advanced age,” she said.

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McDonald Lewanika, the director of Crisis Coalition in Zimbabwe, said Mugabe had been unfit to rule for a long time.

“This is an open secret based on the state of his health which, uncharacteristic of most heads of states in other nations, has been kept a secret.

“His age and state of health since the late 1990s has been an issue but more than the natural impediments to ability imposed by health and age, Mugabe has been and is unfit to rule because of his repressive and autocratic methods of rule.

“In any case if other Sadc and AU leaders were sincere, and if people in Zanu were sincere, they would have told him this by now,” Lewanika said.

## **Mugabe shows no signs of giving up power**

Reuters • 22 February 2015 3:27PM • [6 comments](#)

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**HARARE** - President Robert Mugabe turned 91-years-old yesterday showing no sign of giving up power as the West slowly eases pressure on a man who has been an international pariah for the last decade.

Mugabe, one of the Africa’s most divisive figures, is the only leader that Zimbabwe has known since independence from Britain in 1980.

Leaders from his generation like South Africa’s Nelson Mandela have died while others like Zambia’s Kenneth Kaunda retired long ago, but Mugabe plans to run in the 2018 election, his last under a new constitution, when he will be 94.

Last December Mugabe fired his deputy of 10 years, changed the ruling party constitution to concentrate more power in his hands and promoted his wife Grace into the top rungs of the Zanu PF decision-making politburo.

The EU and United States imposed travel and financial sanctions on Mugabe and his acolytes in 2002 accusing the veteran leader of vote-rigging and human rights violations.

Finger-wagging and remonstrating, Mugabe has said the West is punishing him for seizing white-owned commercial farms to resettle blacks and have sponsored his opponents at home.

Newspapers printed congratulatory messages from companies and government departments hailing Mugabe as “chief of chiefs”, “embodiment and a template of unparalleled Pan-Africanism” and “revolutionary and a visionary”.

A senior Mugabe aide said he was spending the day at home with his family and would hold huge celebrations in the resort town of Victoria Falls on February 28.

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“Given the rarity of this achievement, we believe that this is the best evidence yet that his leadership is indeed the will of the Almighty God,” Simon Khaya Moyo, Zanu PF’s spokesman said in a congratulatory message.

Viewed as an international pariah only two years ago as Zimbabwe’s political crisis topped the agenda at all summits of the regional Southern African Development Community (Sadc), Mugabe’s political fortunes have now changed for the better.

After a landslide victory in July 2013 elections that has left the opposition in tatters, Mugabe is now Sadc chairman and was last month chosen to chair the African Union, positions his Zanu PF says are an endorsement of his nationalist policies.

The European Union (EU) on Friday renewed an arms ban on Zimbabwe as well as travel and asset freezes on Mugabe and his wife, although the bloc has gradually eased sanctions to encourage reforms.

The EU this week gave Zimbabwe \$266 million in aid, the first time the bloc has directly given financial aid to the government since 2002.

Delegations from Britain and France have already visited Zimbabwe this year as Western countries explore business opportunities in a country that has pivoted to China for financial assistance in the last decade.

Political analysts say the West may have realised that Zanu PF could be in power for longer and calculated that, given Mugabe’s advanced age and rumours of ill-health, he could soon leave the political scene.

Mugabe frequently travels to Singapore for medical check-ups but insists he is fit.

“It may have dawned on the West that Zimbabwe is stuck with Zanu PF for a long time to come and that this is time for rapprochement,” said Eldred Masunungure, a political science lecturer at the University of Zimbabwe.

“They are taking a pragmatic approach to say the policy of the last 10 years has not really worked because Mugabe is still president,” Masunungure said.

## **'Mujuru imported Nigerian n'angas'**

STAFF WRITERS • 2 March 2015 2:10PM • [9 comments](#)

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**HARARE** - In yet another underhanded swipe at ousted former Vice President Joice Mujuru, President Robert Mugabe yesterday claimed that the popular liberation war heroine was so

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desperate to topple and succeed him to the extent that she even consulted Nigerian “n’angas” (witch doctors).

Addressing the gathering at his lavish birthday party in Victoria Falls yesterday, Mugabe also claimed that he had known for a long time about Mujuru’s alleged plot to oust him from power, going on to talk at great length about the beleaguered ex-VP’s alleged hiring of Nigerian n’angas to achieve her mission.

Repeated attempts by the Daily News on Sunday last night to get comment from Mujuru on the sensational claims were unsuccessful.

Mugabe said his former deputy had a two-pronged strategy to grab power from him, which allegedly included “shooting” him.

Describing the alleged plot as “foolish”, the nonagenarian said he was flabbergasted that a war veteran like Mujuru could dabble in witchcraft.

“We managed to get information about what they were doing. Mujuru, a liberation war comrade who sinks so low to the extent of hiring the services of two Nigerians saying they were experts. Yes experts in stealing from the foolish like you.”

“She even hired some Nigerian n’angas, who ordered her to get 10 chickens and each was named after all of us who were believed to be against them. All the chickens were slaughtered in belief that all of us including Amai Mugabe and [Vice President] Mnangagwa will not live up to this day, “ claimed Mugabe. The Zimbabwean leader added the sangomas also made Mujuru remove her clothes as part of rituals to topple him.

In December, Mugabe told his party’s central committee at the Zanu PF headquarters that Mujuru had even asked members of the Johane Marange Apostolic sect to pray for her ascendancy to the helm of the ruling party.

Mugabe also claimed yesterday that one of Mujuru’s main allies in the failed plot had been former Presidential Affairs minister Didymus Mutasa.

“They went with the likes of (Ray) Kaukonde to get advice from witch-doctors where they were told to bring nyungururwi mbiri (two water insects) with different colours which they would name Mugabe and

Mujuru,” he said, adding that the insects had been put in a clay pot full of water.

The insects, Mugabe claimed, were made “to fight against each other and if the one given my name loses the fight, then it would mean that she ascends to power”.

“But what I did not understand is what would happen if mine were to win like what has since happened,” he said.

In a long and rumbling speech, Mugabe said his ex-deputy even followed him when he visited apostolic sects in the country, ostensibly to educate them on the need to send their children to school, but in reality doing so with ulterior motives.

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Mugabe said he recalled an incident when he had been invited to officially open a school that the Johane Marange church had built, but Mujuru had insisted that she wanted to open the school herself.

“When they called me to officially open the school, my colleague (Mujuru) insisted on doing it herself saying she wanted the men of God to pray for her because she thought she would be given power.

“Asi shoko ravatumwa raiti aiwa, hazviite kana wakasarudzwa achiripo (the word of the prophets said this was not possible as Mugabe, who had been chosen by God, was still in power).

“Isu pashoko redu tinoti akasarudzwa uyu akatosarudzwa naMwari (the men of God said it was not possible as long as Mugabe, the chosen one, was still alive). They told her that only when God finally takes me will they pray for someone else),” Mugabe claimed bizarrely.

Mugabe also revealed that he had managed to get more information on the plot from his wife Grace, whom he colourfully describes as “explosive as a dynamite.”

The Zanu PF leader said he had wanted to keep some of the information about the chaos in the party under wraps but his wife had moved quickly to divulge everything.

## **Zanu PF rotten to the core: Sibanda**

Mugove Tafirenyika • 28 March 2015 2:54PM • [3 comments](#)

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**HARARE** - Outspoken former war veterans’ leader Jabulani Sibanda says a glaring lack of government accountability coupled with gross corruption by many Zanu PF bigwigs was at the heart of Zimbabwe’s continuing political and economic crisis.

Speaking in an interview with the *Daily News* yesterday, the brutally candid Sibanda said Zanu PF was solely to blame for the myriad challenges facing the country, and not opposition leader Morgan Tsvangirai and the targeted sanctions imposed by the West, as President Robert Mugabe’s ruling party liked to claim.

Sibanda was controversially booted out of Zanu PF last year after he threatened to mobilise war veterans to seek audience with Mugabe over the party’s deadly infighting, as well the many challenges that war veterans continued to experience 35 years after Zimbabwe’s independence from Britain in April 1980.

Before that, he had also colourfully pronounced that he was not going to allow “any coup both in the boardroom and in the bedroom” at the height of the party’s anarchy last year that was fronted by First Lady Grace Mugabe — as it became increasingly clear that she had become the power behind the throne in the run-up to Zanu PF’s disputed December congress.



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The utterances subsequently resulted in Sibanda being incarcerated on charges of breaching the country's controversial slander laws — insulting or undermining the authority of the president. The matter is still before the courts.

In the interview with the Daily News yesterday, Sibanda said Zanu PF's claims that Tsvangirai had invited sanctions to Zimbabwe and its leadership were now "clearly tired".

"Before we accuse Tsvangirai or any foreigner of hurting our country let us look at ourselves. We have failed as a government and we are now even failing as a party, and as a result the revolution is being liquidated in the process," Sibanda charged.

He also accused Mugabe of "listening to misleading voices" in Zanu PF party and of "feigning surprise" when the president had been informed about how corrupt most of his ministers were.

Sibanda added pointedly that this was the "real reason" why the country was in the mess it was in, and why its resources such as diamonds were being plundered by foreign companies working in cahoots with some ruling party elements.

"During the Zanu PF conference in 2012 Mugabe asked where our diamonds were going. It was a rhetoric question of course because he knows everything.

"He went on to tell the nation that a Cabinet minister had demanded a \$70 000 bribe from an investor, but did we see the minister being arrested?" Sibanda asked.

He also alleged that Mugabe had inexplicably allowed the Zimbabwe National Army to be registered as a mining entity in the Chiadzwa diamond fields, without remitting any proceeds to Treasury.

"We have a president who is misled by people who are surrounding him, because he is on record in Parliament naming people in corruption scandals involving diamonds, only to turn around and exonerate those people.

"This means that there are two people here, one who informed him about the corruption and the other who protected the accused. That is where the problem is. He allows himself to be misled."

Confirming the long-held view that the army had committed crimes against humanity in the Chiadzwa diamond fields when they were deployed there, ostensibly to drive out illegal miners, Sibanda said the military had also killed two sons of war veterans.

"The army is now a mining entity in a joint venture with Anjin, yet they are salaried from the Treasury. They even committed crimes in the mining fields and we have a record of two sons of war veterans who were actually killed in that operation," he claimed.

However, Sibanda expressed the hope that the country's economic crisis, presided over by Zanu PF, could still be overcome.

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“I am pleased that the problems we face are still within the reach of Zimbabweans. We need to have a combination of patience and courage to face our situation and God will be on our side. We will triumph,” he said thoughtfully.

Sibanda’s assessment of the problems afflicting the country dovetail with what the Speaker of the National Assembly, Jacob Mudenda, said in December last year.

Mudenda told MPs during a post-budget seminar which was held in Harare that the ruling party should stop blaming their failure to recalibrate the national economy on sanctions, since Western countries had now lifted them.

He added that sanctions could no longer be a scapegoat for failure to get industries functioning, blaming this on a lack of political will on the part of Zanu PF to implement much-needed policies meant to kick-start the economy.

“They have removed the sanctions and there is an opportunity that we must now hold onto and implement.

“Doors have opened and let us invite those who have money from Europe to bring in that money here in Zimbabwe under Zimbabwe Coalition on Debt and Development (ZimCodd) and see whether they will refuse,” Mudenda said.

Tsvangirai’s MDC earlier this week called on Mugabe and Zanu PF to quit government and make way for a transitional administrative government if thousands of Zimbabweans were not to starve.

This came after last weekend’s revelations Mugabe at Kutama Mission’s centenary celebrations where the president stunned the gathered crowd by saying that he was feeling increasingly tired and troubled.

Among some of the problems bedevilling the nonagenarian leader are his advanced age, an ailing Grace, Zimbabwe’s worsening economic problems and political tensions in both his party and the country.

In a statement, MDC spokesperson Obert Gutu said the biggest challenge facing Zimbabwe today was a “lack of political legitimacy stemming from a renegade and corrupt regime that is driving the country into a socio-economic and political hell-hole”.

“The people of Zimbabwe are living in virtual political and socio-economic bondage as a direct result of the ruinous economic and political trajectory that Zimbabwe has taken over the past 35 years, with Mugabe at the helm,” Gutu said.

He said the majority of people were living in abject poverty because of Zanu PF’s misrule, adding that the country’s erratic rain season also meant that millions of Zimbabweans would need food relief.

Gutu said the Zanu PF government was bankrupt and would not be able to raise funds to import maize to avert mass starvation.

“While the economy continues to nosedive and the public health delivery system has literally gone to the dogs, we have a president who is now permanently domiciled aboard an Air Zimbabwe jet as he hops from one foreign destination.

## **Bloodbath in Zanu PF**

Lloyd Mbiba and Mugove Tafirenyika • 25 November 2014 5:33PM • [56 comments](#)

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**HARARE** - At least 10 Cabinet ministers and more than 100 Zanu PF legislators face the political wilderness as the mindless bloodletting in the divided party reaches alarming levels ahead of its crucial “elective” congress scheduled for next week.

The well-choreographed bloodbath, masterminded by the party’s bigwigs, is raising serious concerns about its impact on ever-deteriorating government services and Zimbabwe’s ailing economy, which has been operating on autopilot ever since Zanu PF’s violent factional and succession wars burst into the open after last year’s disputed national elections.

President Robert Mugabe, his wife Grace and hardline supporters of Defence minister Emmerson Mnangagwa have been on a virulent propaganda crusade against embattled Vice President Joice Mujuru and her allies, sensationally accusing them of plotting to assassinate Mugabe, among many other spurious allegations.

What has alarmed many Zimbabweans and outside observers alike is the seeming lack of appreciation or care, by the authors of the anarchy, of the negative impact of their actions and utterances on the country.

And developments at the weekend suggest that things are set to get worse before they get better for long-suffering Zimbabweans — with Mujuru and Cabinet ministers perceived to be sympathetic to her, including Nicholas Goche, Francis Nhema, Dzikamai Mavhaire, Lazarus Dokora, Andrew Langa and Didymus Mutasa, as well as scores of deputy ministers continuing to be targets of the poisonous political venom from the Grace and Mnangagwa camp.

All these prominent players were blocked from being elected into Zanu PF’s powerful central committee, which not only puts their current government positions in doubt, but has seismic short and long-term negative implications on the quality of government service.

Analysts said yesterday that a Cabinet reshuffle was now imminent, as it was clear that all of the targeted politicians no longer

enjoyed Mugabe’s confidence, with many of them accused of being participants in the murky plot to oust and assassinate the nonagenarian.

Mujuru and Goche duly refused to submit their names for the Mashonaland Central provincial central committee elections at the weekend, amid anarchy and violence in Bindura where the regional party plebiscite was taking place.

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While the State media claimed yesterday that the party's provincial elections directorate rejected Mujuru's curriculum vitae for nomination because she allegedly wanted to assassinate Mugabe, the Daily News has it on good authority that the VP, just like Goche, decided against submitting her CV given the "unacceptable goings-on" in the party.

Goche's sensational abandonment of the Mashonaland Central elections on Sunday came after violent hired thugs, who were baying for his blood, besieged the tempestuous provincial meeting in Bindura.

The CVs for Primary and Secondary Education minister Lazurus Dokora, and Tourism and Hospitality Industry deputy minister Epmarcus

Kanhanga, together with those for legislators Edgar Chidavaenzi, Criswell Mutematsaka, David Butau, Kenneth Musanhi, and Joseph Mapiki were allegedly controversially rejected.

Other senior members of the party in the province, who also had their CVs allegedly rejected are former deputy provincial chairman Sydney Chidamba and long-serving party member Ratidzai Marumahoko.

In the Midlands, the provincial executive council on Sunday also allegedly rejected applications for central committee posts by Indigenisation minister Francis Nhema and minister of State in the President's office Flora Buka — who also stand accused of working to oust Mugabe from power.

Although this has been reported widely by State newspapers, which are close to the ongoing purges and the instigators, Nhema said yesterday that he was not aware of the development.

"I may lie to you; nothing formal has been communicated to me. I am going there today (yesterday) and if I get a clear picture I will be in a position to comment," he said.

The Midlands provincial executive has also passed a vote of no confidence in four other members, namely deputy Mines minister Fred Moyo, Edmund Mukuratigwa, Renius Madende and one Manongo for allegedly fanning factionalism.

In Mashonaland West, former chairperson Temba Mliswa, who was nominated for a central committee seat, was controversially kicked out by the provincial electorate leader Ignatius Chombo who said he did not qualify for election as he had been removed as regional party boss by the politburo.

However, maverick businessman Phillip Chiyangwa bounced back after years in the political wilderness, as he got a central committee nomination on behalf of Makonde District.

Meanwhile, sources say Zanu PF youths are planning to block deputy Lands minister Tendai Savanhu's CV from being submitted in Harare today, during elections in the capital.

In Masvingo, Provincial minister Kudakwashe Bhasikiti and Energy minister Dzikamai Mavhaire also look set to lose their central committee positions after being accused of the

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ubiquitous plot to oust Mugabe from power, and of allegedly fanning factionalism in the party.

And in a bid to try and save his political career, Bhasikiti has since made a climb down, saying he has realised that he needs to quit factional politics and stick to supporting Mugabe only.

“I am the only one both in Parliament and the politburo who supports President Robert Mugabe although like everyone else, I have been in the “wrong basket”.

“I maintain that I have stood by the president even when everyone had abandoned him and I have shown that in my thesis with the University of KwaZulu Natal in South Africa. I am consistent in my support for Zanu PF and the president,” Bhasikiti said.

Sports minister and former Matabeleland South chairperson, Andrew Langa, is also set to lose his central committee seat as he also stands accused of fanning factionalism and disrespecting Mugabe and Grace.

Washington Musvaire, legislator for Maramba Pfungwe constituency, who was recently booted out of the Mashonaland East provincial executive, said yesterday what was happening in the party was regrettable as it was being perpetrated by previous election losers.

“We have always produced the highest number of votes in this constituency (Mashonaland East) and supporters are unhappy with what is happening now. They (party supporters) are coming to my house to find out why this is happening because they sympathise with us.

“They are aware that this is not coming from the party, but from individuals who lost primary elections who are writing a list of leaders they want out on baseless allegations,” Musvaire said.

Ousted provincial chairpersons Ray Kaukonde (Mashonaland East), Calisto Gwanetsa (Masvingo), Jason Machaya (Midlands), Amos Midzi (Harare), Callistus Ndlovu (Bulawayo), John Mvundura (Manicaland) and Luke Mushore (Mashonaland Central) are also at the deep end as their nominations are likely to be rejected like that of Mliswa.

A senior politburo member said yesterday that he was “very sad” about the goings-on in the party, as well as the effects of “this anarchy” on the country.

“There is no doubt that we are a party and country in crisis. What makes me very sad is that the perpetrators of this anarchy don’t care at all what this all does to the party, president Mugabe’s legacy and the country. It’s tragic,” he said.

Mugabe, who turns 91 soon, is the only leader Zimbabwe has had since the country attained its independence from Britain in 1980.

During this period, virtually all of Zimbabwe’s neighbours have had at least four leaders, leaving Mugabe — Africa’s oldest and one of the longest serving on the continent — the odd man out in the region, and with no obvious successor in sight.

Mugabe railroaded his party into changing its constitution at the weekend, a move that now allows him to sideline Mujuru and appoint his preferred successor should that be his aim.

## I'm not afraid - Gumbo

Fungi Kwaramba • 19 November 2014 10:02PM • [41 comments](#)

### Share this article:

**HARARE** - Suspended Zanu PF spokesperson Rugare Gumbo, who now also stands accused of sensational treason charges by the State media and his party enemies, says he is neither afraid nor losing sleep over the “trumped-up” allegations that he was involved in a plot to assassinate President Robert Mugabe.

And grounded former Cabinet minister Fay Chung, who is a mother to Gumbo’s daughter, weighed in on the burning issue yesterday, saying forthrightly that the treason allegations that were being levelled against the outspoken former Dare reChimurenga member were fictitious.

Speaking in an interview with the *Daily News*, Gumbo reiterated that he was now watching Zanu PF’s increasingly violent factional and succession wars “from the terraces”, adding that his only regret was that Mugabe had not approached him privately when he had been “fed lies” about him before the president launched a vitriolic attack on him in last week’s heated politburo meeting in Harare.

“I am not worried about being arrested because I have done nothing wrong,” he said when asked whether he was afraid, seeing how serious the allegations that were now being levelled against him were.

Gumbo also rubbished the purported recording that his party enemies say they have of him plotting to assassinate Mugabe, saying it was a clear result of malicious “voice morphing” — a technique also referred to as voice transformation and voice conversion, and that is used to modify speeches to sound as if this was spoken by a target speaker.

“They are using voice morphing. That is what is happening and they are now attributing their (morphed) recordings to people aligned to the Vice President (Joice Mujuru),” he said.

Gumbo, who is not new to the political wilderness, having been arrested and kept in inhumane dungeons by Mugabe during the liberation struggle in Mozambique in the late 1970s, said it was unfortunate that the president now believed the “lies that are being peddled by infiltrators” as well as the “desperate manipulation of voices of persons perceived to be loyal to Mujuru”.

The veteran nationalist was left in the firing line alone at last week’s tempestuous politburo meeting when Mugabe took deadly aim at him, with other pro-Mujuru members cowering in shock at the treason charges that the president levelled against him.

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With Zanu PF's elective congress now just two weeks away, the attacks on Mujuru and all her perceived allies have reached a crescendo, with the political careers of the majority of Zanu PF's provincial chairpersons lying in choreographed ruins.

Asked whether he had attempted to engage Mugabe after his suspension, Gumbo said he felt that would not make sense as it was the president who had decided to lay the serious charges on him, in an open politburo meeting.

"I have not tried to talk to the president. The fact that he didn't talk to me on the side shows that he believed hook, line and sinker all the lies. He should have asked me in private. But I'm not worried about it," he said.

Chung, the former Education minister, who knows Gumbo very well since the days of the liberation struggle, said the allegations against her ex-partner were fictitious.

"I think they (Gumbo's detractors) are playing political games. I don't think I can see any evidence that he tried to kill anybody. This is clearly an exaggeration of the little evidence they have.

"He is a nationalist. He has devoted his whole life to Zimbabwean politics. When he made the decision not to return to Zanu and instead said he would support Zanu Ndonga that meant that he removed himself from the party, but he came back," she said.

Asked whether Gumbo, who was kept in a pit, along with other members of Dare around 1978 was still bitter, Chung said he was never rebellious.

"He doesn't have a rebellious streak. He supported the leader of Zanu at any given moment during the struggle. After the struggle, he supported Ndabaningi Sithole and I think this was because he was bitter that he had been arrested when he thought he was innocent. I do not think he has the capacity to assassinate anyone.

"If he has done what they say he did then he should be taken to court," she said.

Chung said although she last met Gumbo two months ago, she sent him a message when she heard that he had been suspended.

The State-controlled Sunday Mail newspaper at the weekend fingered Gumbo and equally beleaguered Zanu PF secretary for administration Didymus Mutasa — perceived close allies of Mujuru — as having recently "spoken of assassinating" Mugabe.

The paper also said its "investigations" had revealed that another senior Mujuru ally and Cabinet minister from Mashonaland Central had allegedly "made contingencies for such a scenario (Mugabe's planned assassination) during recent meetings with potential hitmen in South Africa and Israel".

But Gumbo flatly rejected the accusations.

"Vanondipa mbiri yandisina (they are giving me fame that I don't deserve). I will not do anything to harm anyone. Now I am suspended, what more can I do? All I can say is I dismiss the allegations with the contempt they deserve.

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“My stance has always been the same, that the party has been infiltrated. I remain resolute and convinced that there are people destroying the party from inside. Now I will be watching from the terraces and see what will happen,” he said.

His alleged partner-in-crime, Mutasa, politely declined to comment on the matter.

But former Cabinet minister Dumiso Dabengwa — who also faced treason charges and was incarcerated by Mugabe’s government in the early years of Zimbabwe’s independence — said at the weekend that the accusations against Mujuru and her allies appeared designed to “cripple her chances” of retaining the VP post at Zanu PF’s December congress.

“I hope this is not being done to de-campaign her so as to disqualify her from retaining her position. If there was any truth in the accusations we would expect that she would have been charged already,” the Zapu leader said.

“When we were charged with treason, an arms cache was found at our farm, the whole idea being to destroy Zapu,” the former Home Affairs minister added.

Dewa Mavhinga, a Human Rights Watch senior researcher, said the very serious allegations “around Mujuru and business people perceived to be financing her amount to warning shots before drastic action is possibly taken”.

“Mujuru’s problems are mounting and things could get worse before they get better. Her perceived allies in the provinces have been purged and this latest round of troubles is an escalation of pressure for her to resign before congress,” Mavhinga added.

Giles Mutsekwa, an ex-soldier and former co-Home Affairs Minister in the unity government, said no one in Zimbabwe could ever contemplate assassinating the ever heavily-guarded Mugabe.

“It is not feasible that the vice president would ever contemplate that, and going by the kind of security that we have around the president it is absolutely not possible. They are just trying to soil the vice ahead of congress,” he said.

Pedzisai Ruhanya, a director of local political think-tank Zimbabwe Democracy Institute (ZDI), said people behind the smear campaign were “evil”.

“Those allegations are legally, coherently and politically very shallow. Zanu PF should do the honourable thing and fire Mujuru if it no longer wants her. To criminalise the VP in that manner is archaic and existed in medieval politics.

“If Mugabe wants to maintain the little left of his legacy, he is (better) advised not to criminalise that liberation war widow. That woman contributed much along with her family, for this nation to be where it is today,” he said.

Analyst Chris Mugaga noted that the likes of Joshua Nkomo, Bishop Abel Muzorewa, Ndabaningi Sithole, Justice Dumbutshena, Patrick Kombayi, Morgan Tsvangirai and now Joice Mujuru had all, among many others, “been accused of treason each time Mugabe’s power had come under threat”.



# Mujuru shows Grace the way

Fungi Kwaramba • 27 October 2014 4:02PM • [66 comments](#)

## Share this article:

**HARARE** - Vice President Joice Mujuru's measured response to the recent savage attacks on her by First Lady Grace Mugabe at her weekend graduation party in Mt Darwin has won her high praise from analysts who say this is the way senior Zanu PF officials should behave as the party's factional and succession wars continue to escalate.

This rare compliment for an active Zimbabwean politician from the normally hard-to-please community of local analysts comes amid revelations of emotional, heart-rending scenes that were observed ahead of Zanu PF's tense politburo meeting in Harare on Friday.

Impeccable sources told the Daily News yesterday that many of her supporters, comprising senior Zanu PF members, wept uncontrollably when they met with Mujuru at the party's headquarters before the politburo meeting commenced.

"I've never seen anything like this in my whole life. Politburo members that included grown, battle-hardened men were weeping like children in sympathy with the VP and because of the pain of the persecution that Mai Mujuru is taking at the moment.

"Although I, myself, didn't cry, we all couldn't understand why the VP was being attacked this viciously by her enemies in the party.

"To add to everyone's pain, the VP herself remained very dignified throughout this emotional period and urged everyone to remain calm and not to worry. It was very sad.

"The crying was spontaneous and obviously the attacks revived memories of the VP's husband, General Solomon Mujuru whom we all know died mysteriously," one of the sources said.

Although the stage was temptingly ripe for Mujuru to respond in kind, and possibly even hit back with interest to Grace's recent sensational allegations of corruption and incompetence against her, President Robert Mugabe's deputy was calm and collected when she addressed thousands of her supporters from around the country at her graduation party, where she called for unity.

And where her adversaries religiously chanted provocative slogans at Grace's recent rallies such as "Pasi neGamatox" (Down with Gamatox), a loaded statement aimed at rubbishing her and her lieutenants, Mujuru refused to be baited even when her supporters chanted the equally derogatory "Pasi nezvipfukuto" (Down with weevils) slogan in revenge.

Instead, she focused her brief speech on party and national unity, as well as the critical need to support and educate girl children.

This surprised many people, including both her political rivals and analysts — more so as it is understood that her party opponents continue to plot her downfall, by working clandestinely to ensure that all the party's chairpersons who are loyal to her are expelled before Zanu PF's much-anticipated elective congress slated for early December.

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Analyst Maxwell Saungweme said Mujuru was behaving honourably because she was “not a novice in politics” and as such knew how issues and differences needed to be raised and dealt with in Zanu PF.

“It is clear that in her lack of wisdom and lack of political maturity, Grace did what even her husband could not do, calling people by their surnames like ‘Kaukonde’, ‘Chinotimba’ etc. That’s the height of disrespect”, he said.

“In Zanu PF you say ‘Cde Chinotimba’, which is what Mugabe says. Grace even levelled allegations against Mujuru she had no proof of, some of which border on criminal defamation. Grace brought her husband and Zanu PF into disrepute, and Mujuru was wise to see that and not do likewise,” he added.

Saungweme said Mujuru had handled the conflict “quite well, in a very mature manner”.

“Now it’s Grace who has egg on the face. She created a problem for her husband and Oppah (Muchinguri) who now cannot handle the allegations and the way they were carelessly raised.

“It is difficult to see how Oppah can table in the politburo the nonsense Grace was spewing. It’s now poor Oppah who must now sanitise Grace’s nakedness through a report she has to table in the politburo this week.

“The whole thing shows that Grace still has a lot to learn from tested politicians like Mujuru and the earlier she does that the better. Otherwise she does not have a promising political career,” Saungweme said.

Dewa Mavhinga also said Mujuru had demonstrated that she was “a seasoned and mature politician who responded with words of wisdom to unwarranted, childish, and vitriolic attacks from first lady Grace Mugabe”.

“If there is any substance in the corruption allegations that Grace levelled against the VP, she must make a police report and not make it a political rally slogan. Grace Mugabe’s use of hate speech against political leaders, opponents and journalists must be roundly condemned as it might incite political violence and trigger general pandemonium and chaos in the country.

“Zimbabweans expect the first lady to be a unifying figure who preaches unity, peace and reconciliation and not a factional leader who divides the nation,” Mavhinga added.

University of Kent lecturer Alex Magaisa said his assessment was that Mujuru’s weekend response had been “very mature”.

“She has held back from attacking and instead, has chosen to occupy the higher moral ground. She presents herself as a unifier, a humble character who admits to weaknesses that afflict all human beings. She has refused to stoop low, to the levels to which Grace Mugabe wants her.

“Mujuru (probably) knows she doesn’t have to do that fight. Her

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lieutenants will do the dirty work and she has rightly judged that she doesn't have to be dragged into a cat-fight with Grace. She wants to reassure Mugabe that his family will be safe with her, hence the tone of her measured statements, which are directed at her boss.

“She knows that one of her boss’ greatest fears, which her rivals are using in their fight, is the fate of his family after he is gone. So instead of being inflammatory, she has chosen to be motherly, to be a protector. I think she has been well-advised and has come out well despite the media’s attempts to paint her as if she is attacking Grace Mugabe,” Magaisa said.

In the battle to succeed Mugabe, Mujuru and Justice minister Emerson Mnangagwa reportedly lead rival camps that are hoping to take over once Mugabe leaves office.

## **Total chaos in Zanu PF**

Lloyd Mbiba • 12 November 2014 4:14AM • [19 comments](#)

### **Share this article:**

**HARARE** - As Zanu PF’s escalating factional and succession wars turn increasingly violent, there are growing fears that President Robert Mugabe’s party may soon implode altogether, taking the country down with it, if the chaos is not mitigated as a matter of urgency.

This sentiment emerged yesterday as hundreds of youths and a smattering of war veterans were, for the second time in a fortnight, bussed to Marondera — mainly from Harare and surrounding farms — in a bid to hound beleaguered Mashonaland East provincial party chairperson, Ray Kaukonde, out of office.

Zanu PF spokesperson Rugare Gumbo told the Daily News yesterday that certain “power hungry elements” in the party wanted to usurp power from elected provincial chairpersons by removing them from office.

“The position of the party is that there should be no demonstrations. But there are some elements who want to achieve certain objectives and they are causing instability in the party. These elements are demonstrating against elected people, leaders who were voted into power by the people,” he said.

Gumbo also warned that the plots to oust the provincial chairpersons were linked to the party’s December elective congress.

“They want to usurp power and use it for their political ends and we are aware that the congress is three weeks away. All this causes instability in the party and in government. We are a party that follows set procedures and the constitution,” he added.

He said the attempts to dethrone provincial chairperson would be discussed at this week’s politburo meeting.

“We cannot go on like this and we have to put an end to this. At a time that the economy is on the brink of collapse we have people raising money to bus people all over the country to cause instability,” he said.

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Yesterday, a rowdy mob in Marondera passed a purported vote-of-no-confidence against Kaukonde and the entire regional party executive, accusing them of undermining First Lady Grace Mugabe, among many other serious but untested allegations.

Yesterday's assault on Kaukonde, dubbed the Final Push by its organisers, followed a similar, but unsuccessful demonstration a fortnight ago that came soon after both Mugabe and his wife Grace soundly rubbished the embattled businessman-cum-politician.

It also followed similar choreographed attacks on other sitting party provincial chairpersons — a development that has motivated party spokesman Rugare Gumbo to observe ruefully that Zanu PF's ugly infighting is now a threat to both the country's precarious economy and Mugabe's legacy.

The crude crusades — usually fronted by the same crew of rowdy hired youths plied with alcohol, as well as a few genuine war veterans — often turn out to be anti-Mujuru coup plots in effect.

Zanu PF Midlands chairperson Jason Machaya was sent packing at the weekend after the party's executive passed a contended vote-of-no-confidence against him, becoming the fourth regional party boss to be put under such pressure in the past month — following similar actions against Temba Mliswa in Mashonaland West, Callisto Gwanetsa in Masvingo and Amos Midzi of Harare.

More provincial chairpersons, including Andrew Langa of Matabeleland South and John Mvundura of Manicaland, are expected to also come under similar pressure soon from a hardline faction aligned to Justice minister Emmerson Mnangagwa, ahead of Zanu PF's key elective congress to be held in Harare early next month.

Many Zanu PF members say the Mnangagwa faction is going all out to purge provincial chairpersons linked to the Mujuru camp which will allegedly allow the Mnangagwa camp to influence both nominations as well as the people who would be appointed to the party's central committee.

A politburo member told the Daily News yesterday that what was happening in the party was “extremely concerning”, amid worries that Zanu PF was now headed for a violent split.

“Many of us have been very optimistic about the party and the question of succession (Mugabe's) until now. But we are no longer sure that a violent implosion of the party can be avoided at this point, unless something dramatic happens in the next few weeks,” the politburo member who requested anonymity said.

Yesterday's demonstration against Kaukonde took place as reports filtered out about violent disturbances at Zanu PF's offices in Gwanda, also related to the party's ugly factional and succession wars, and where a bid to dethrone Langa hit a snag when youths and war veterans aligned to him blocked demonstrators from an opposing camp from seizing the provincial offices.

Analysts say the infighting is set to worsen amid reports that the divisive Grace plans to once again meet regional party officials in the next few weeks, in preparation for the party's eagerly-awaited elective congress next month.

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In that light, this week's politburo meeting promises to be another stormy affair for Mugabe and Zanu PF, with the ongoing and controversial suspensions of party officials perceived to be sympathetic to embattled Vice President Joice Mujuru likely to dominate discussions.

Last week's meeting was a brutal affair that saw the gathered party bigwigs slug it out in front of a seemingly impotent Mugabe, who only managed to calm boiling emotions by promising to institute a formal inquiry into the deadly factionalism devouring the party.

In that meeting, Grace's savage shellacking of Mujuru at her controversial "Meet the People" rallies last month dominated discussions, with Mujuru herself apparently taking the war to her enemies and being supported by the majority of the politburo.

Mugabe, who turns 91 soon, is the only leader Zimbabwe has had since the country attained its independence from Britain in 1980. During this period, virtually all of Zimbabwe's neighbours have had at least four leaders, leaving Mugabe — Africa's oldest and one of the longest serving on the continent — the odd man out in the region, and with no potential successor in sight.

The frenetic push to oust Kaukonde continues despite the fact that the Mashonaland East provincial coordinating committee (PCC) defied Mugabe and Grace last weekend, affirming the fact that it had full confidence in the beleaguered regional party boss.

Sources who attended that PCC meeting said central committee member and Marondera West legislator, Retired Brigadier-General Ambrose Mutinhiri moved the motion that the province fully backed Kaukonde.

Similarly, a provincial executive council (Pec) meeting held last week in Masvingo and attended by 35 members, affirmed Gwanetsa's leadership of the province.

In a statement last week, Gumbo said the country's battered economy had been the biggest casualty of the protracted and ugly wars devouring Zanu PF.

Gumbo, one of only two remaining members of the Dare ReChimurenga council that directed the liberation war, said the factional fights have caused "unprecedented levels of tension within the party with the result that our focus has shifted from our core business as the party of government".

"The time has come to redirect that focus back to our main purpose and to ensure that we chart the best economic way forward for the Zimbabwean people in line with our election pledges and consistent with the aspirations of the Zimbabwe Agenda for Sustainable Socio-economic Transformation (ZimAsset)," he said.

In a rare admission by the ruling class of the many crises bedeviling the country, Gumbo said it was an open secret that "many of our people are struggling to make ends meet as the current economic climate, exacerbated by years of damaging economic sanctions, takes its toll".

In her continuing dignified responses to the attacks on her, Mujuru implored Zimbabweans on Sunday to pray for their country and for peace, with analysts praising her for choosing to keep her counsel in the face of extreme provocation by her party rivals.

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Economic analysts have also warned Mugabe and his misfiring government that Zanu PF's increasingly violent factional and succession wars would sink Zimbabwe's ailing economy to levels worse than those witnessed five years ago unless they acted decisively now.

Respected economist John Robertson told the Daily News that the economy would persist on a downward spiral unless the country resolved its succession problem urgently.

Economist Christopher Mugaga also said the acrimony playing out in the governing party did not augur well for the country, both politically and economically.

## **Zanu PF's Gang of Four splits**

Tendai Kamhungira and Mugove Tafirenyika • 29 March 2015 1:27PM • [13 comments](#)

### **Share this article:**

**HARARE** - It never rains but pours for President Robert Mugabe and his ruling Zanu PF, with well-placed sources telling the *Daily News on Sunday* yesterday that two of the nonagenarian's most trusted lieutenants are at each other's throats over the selection of party candidates for forthcoming by-elections, among other differences.

The sources said the new fissures had generated "unwelcome tension" in a party that is already reeling from an ugly internal rebellion and deadly factionalism that have seen many senior officials, including former vice president Joice Mujuru and her allies, being purged ruthlessly.

In the new hara-kiri, former allies and alleged members of the powerful Gang of Four — Oppah Muchinguri-Kashiri and Saviour Zanu PF's Gang of Four splits From Page 1

Kasukuwere — have apparently crossed swords over candidates to participate in the forthcoming Headlands by-elections.

The two senior politburo members worked together in support of controversial First Lady Grace Mugabe and Vice President Emmerson Mnangagwa in the run-up to Zanu PF's disputed congress that was held in Harare last December, which is now a subject of court action by Mujuru's allies, including former Presidential Affairs minister Didymus Mutasa.

Kasukuwere holds the influential politburo post of political commissar and is driving the party's divisive restructuring exercise which has put him at odds with rival groups who suspect he could be quietly cultivating his way to the presidency in 2023 or even 2018.

The party insiders who spoke to the Daily News On Sunday yesterday also said Muchinguri-Kashiri was miffed by Mnangagwa's apparent lack of "appetite" to reward her for the role she had played in Mujuru's ouster, and that she was desperately trying to reach out again to the party strongman after falling out with Kasukuwere.

Kasukuwere, the sources claimed, was leading a party faction calling itself Generation 40 (G40), comprising mainly young, but ambitious politicians angling to position themselves for higher office in future.

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It is further claimed that Information, Media and Broadcasting Services minister Jonathan Moyo and Mugabe's nephew Patrick Zhuwawo are members of the G40 — even though Moyo is way older than the other members of the group.

What had particularly irked some of Kasukuwere's party detractors was that many G40 members affectionately, but inappropriately — in Zanu PF parlance — referred to him as Obama, comparing him to the sitting American president, Barack Obama, and inferring that he was a future Zimbabwean president in the making.

“It is this suspicion that is at the centre of the bickering which has been amplified by the short-listing of candidates for by-elections and the deployment of politburo members to oversee Zanu PF's restructuring exercise,” one of the sources said.

The source added that Muchinguri-Kashiri's recent claims that there were still people campaigning for Mugabe and Mnangagwa's ouster were a result of “her tiff with Kasukuwere”.

“Her allegations are aimed at Kasukuwere and Moyo who are pushing hard for their candidates in the by-elections, taking advantage of Kasukuwere's strategic position in the party. She is saying those things just to please ED (Mnangagwa) after realising that she no longer has a place in the G40.

“She feels terribly used by Moyo and Kasukuwere,” another insider told the Daily News on Sunday.

On the other hand, Kasukuwere's camp was apparently accusing Muchinguri-Kashiri of seeking to block their candidates from contesting in the crucial by-elections.

One of Headlands' by-election candidates, Dakarai Mapuranga, has since been barred from contesting the poll, despite being in the Manicaland provincial youth league executive.

The sources said Mapuranga was being blocked on the basis that when he transferred from Harare to Manicaland he had not been cleared by his former district.

Mapuranga, who is believed to be aligned to the Kasukuwere camp, has since written to the party's national elections directorate appealing against the decision to bar him from the election.

Kasukuwere declined to comment on Muchinguri-Kashiri's statements yesterday, as well as their alleged fall-out.

“Why do you ask me about what Muchinguri said as if you do not have her number? Ask her, she will tell you,” Kasukuwere said.

Muchinguri-Kashiri was said to be in a meeting most of the day yesterday.

Hesitant party spokesperson Simon Khaya-Moyo referred questions on Mapuranga's issue to Kasukuwere.

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But another well-placed source said Kasukuwere was set to reverse the decision to bar Mapuranga from the election tomorrow.

“He (Kasukuwere) wants to ensure that he has total control of the process of choosing candidates in these by-elections because Mnangagwa’s group is also pushing for its own candidates.

“If it has nothing to do with the seemingly unending struggle for mastery in the party, then how do you explain the fact that Mapuranga is allowed to sit in the provincial executive but cannot contest for a position in the same province,” said an executive member from Manicaland Province.

Mnangagwa’s camp on the other hand is reportedly livid that most of the politburo members deployed to oversee the party’s restructuring exercise in the provinces were sympathetic to the G40 camp.

“Kasukuwere made sure that the exercise left out party supporters known to be loyal to Mnangagwa. The matter was even raised at a recent meeting at the party’s Midlands provincial headquarters. The war is not over,” said a Mnangagwa loyalist.

Last week former party spokesman, Rugare Gumbo — who was sacked from Zanu PF in the run-up to the shambolic December congress — revealed that his group, which includes Mutasa, had made overtures to MDC leader Morgan Tsvangirai and join hands with them in an endeavour to extricate Zimbabwe from its current economic and political crises.

Mujuru, while not known to be publicly involved in Mutasa’s and Gumbo’s overtures, recently told of her bitterness for having been used by Mugabe for 42 years.

All this has attracted some veiled threats from Zanu PF against the camp, through shadowy but well-informed Herald columnist — Nathaniel Manheru — who is widely believed to be Mugabe’s spokesman George Charamba.

- [Robert-Mugabe](#)

## Angry Grace goes berserk

Lloyd Mbiba • 24 October 2014 6:14PM • [47 comments](#)

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**HARARE** - An angry First Lady, Grace Mugabe, yesterday thumbed her nose at Zanu PF’s bigwigs who are meeting in a make-or-break politburo meeting in Harare today to be chaired by her husband, President Robert Mugabe.

Against all expectations that common sense would finally prevail, and that she would endeavour to control her emotions ahead of today’s do-or-die politburo meeting, after weeks of heightened tension in the party that she is partly responsible for, she went berserk at her meeting with mainly war collaborators and youths at her Mazowe business hub.



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She lashed out even more fiercely at all her perceived enemies including embattled Vice President Joice Mujuru, Zanu PF Mashonaland East provincial chairman Ray Kaukonde and Zimbabwe's leading daily newspaper, the Daily News.

For the very first time since she launched her controversial and divisive "Meet the People" tour a fortnight ago, she openly and roundly slated Mujuru, mentioning the beleaguered widow by name.

"Today is the day for (the) final push," she said. "I'm no longer going to beat about the bush any longer. The moment of truth has arrived. Mujuru should go and rest because she has failed.

"It's really hurts to be fired. It is better for Mujuru to resign. She should resign and go to farm tobacco and look after grandchildren. Mujuru needs to go because enough is enough.

"The party will look for a replacement because we have a lot of women who are capable of filling that vacancy.

"She has no brains, no wisdom and no principles. Can a person who wants to lead a country be an extortionist, bribe taker and have no principles?"

Also for the first time, the feisty First Lady appeared to show her hand when she called on Zimbabweans to "respect" Justice minister Emmerson Mnangagwa, whom she said had done "the honourable thing" and let Mujuru take the post, although he had been voted by eight provinces to be VP a decade ago.

"Mnangagwa is a man of honour," she said. "In 2004 he had the backing of eight provinces to become vice president. But when the president said that position was now reserved for a woman, Mnangagwa respected the decision despite having popular support. He never left the party in protest to form his own party because he respects Mugabe."

Zanu PF's escalating succession wars have mainly been fought in the names of Mnangagwa and Mujuru, although both senior party heavyweights vehemently deny leading any factions.

Zeroing in on Mujuru, amid shouts that the VP must go, Grace boasted that it was through her doing that Mujuru had been parachuted to the VP position in the first place.

"Ndini ndakaita kuti Mai Mujuru vave pa position iyoyi, ndikafara pavakaita VP (I campaigned for Mujuru to be VP and was happy)... Amai ava havana chavakazoita nekuti she spent her time eyeing the president's post. I don't see kuti vakakodzera kutungamira nyika ino here (She slept on the job and she is not fit to lead)," she said, adding that Mujuru was using money to try and topple Mugabe.

"When President Mugabe will be busy in the office working, Mujuru will be thinking of grabbing 10 percent from companies," she said.

"I know what I am talking about and if she denies this, she should come to me and tell me face-to-face.

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“She is incompetent and goes to the office to tell the president gossip. She thinks Mugabe would be in office searching for gossip. She is incompetent and piggybacks on Mugabe.”

Grace claimed she was the one who brought Mujuru to power.

“During the 2003 conference I said the quota system needs to be implemented to mainstream women,” she said. “I said women should be represented in all party structures. I was one of those that advocated for the vice president vacancy to be reserved for a woman. I supported Mai Mujuru’s ascendancy to that position. I was very, very happy that a woman was now a vice president. But when in power Mai Mujuru made an about turn. She didn’t want to talk to us or work with us.

“Instead of taking advantage of the fact that she was working very close with a fountain of knowledge (Mugabe), she was plotting his ouster.”

Grace said while people were free to support Mujuru, Zimbabweans needed to understand that there was one leader, Mugabe, “who has one wife” and there were certainly many other people who could run the country better than Mujuru.

“We know you don’t work. Just going kubasa wakaberekwa naMugabe, zvapera nhasi izvozvo (you are being carried by Mugabe at work, and that is no longer going to happen,” she said, adding that Mujuru’s alleged quest to “remove Mugabe by force” would not be tolerated.

Grace slated “Mujuru’s combination” with Kaukonde as “pathetic”, alleging that the VP always surrounded herself with “political prostitutes”.

“Kaukonde is a Mujuru agent. Manje ndakamumaka big time. Iko kaye ndiko kane demon (I’m watching him very carefully. He has a demon,” she said, alleging further that Kaukonde had given restless youths \$75 each at her chaotic Marondera rally so that they could disturb the gathering.

She also bemoaned the fact that she had never heard Mujuru saying “Pasi neMDC (Down with MDC) which was allegedly not consistent with the action of a senior Zanu PF official.

Turning to the Daily News, she said, “yakatengwa ndosaka muchiona vachingonyora nezvangu (the paper was bought by her enemies and that’s why it always writes things about me).”

Speaking earlier, outgoing Women’s League boss, Oppah Muchinguri, said she had surrendered her post to Grace “the game-changer after I realised that they wanted to take over the youths and the women’s leagues.”

She said the party was now infested with “little terrorists” who were running parallel structures in the party that meant that there were now two centres of power in the party and the government, which was creating chaos.

Among the prominent politicians at yesterday’s gathering were local government minister Ignatius Chombo, Water minister Savior Kasukuwere, Information minister Jonathan Moyo,

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prominent war collaborator Joseph Chinotimba, and deputy Information minister Supa Mandiwanzira.