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FACULTY OF ARTS

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES.

**The use of Factionalism by Robert Mugabe to protect
power 1980 to 2017.**

BY

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DECLARATION

I declare the authenticity of this document and that it is my original work that has not been presented for any degree in my Institution or University

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APPROVAL FORM

The undersigned certify that they have read, accepted and recommended to the Midlands State University that the research project entitled:

“The use of factionalism by Robert Mugabe to protect power 1980 to 2017”, submitted by Tanyaradzwa Jaqueline Bhila is partial fulfilment of BA. Honors Degree in History and International Studies.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION	2
APPROVAL FORM	3
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	4
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	6
DEDICATION	7
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	8
GLOSARRY OF TERMS	9
LIST OF ACRONYMS	11
INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER.....	13
Statement of the problem.....	17
Research Questions.....	17
Research Objectives	18
Literature Review.....	18
Methodology.....	23
Chapter breakdown	27
END NOTES	30
Chapter 1: Strategies used by Dictators in Africa to stay in power.	33
Introduction	33
1. How dictators stay in power	33
1.1 Strategies used by dictators to stay in power	34
1.1.1 The use of force and military action.	34
1.1.2 The creation of One-Party States and repression.....	36
1.1.3 The changing of the constitution and the divide and rule strategy	37
1.1.4 The extension of tenure in office and elimination of political opponents.	39
1.1.5 The use of Propaganda and Co-optation.....	40
1.1.6 Use of political songs, rallies and manipulation of the media.....	41
1.1.7 Rigging of elections, rallies and rejection of election results.....	42
Conclusion.....	44
END NOTES	45
CHAPTER 2: Mugabe in the creation of factionalism in ZANU PF.	48

Introduction	48
2. History of Robert Mugabe	49
2.1 History of ZANU PF	51
2.2 The creation of factionalism in ZANU PF.....	53
2.2.1 Types of factions	55
a) Tribal factions	55
b) Social factions	56
c) The use of Heroism	57
d) Political Factions	58
Conclusion	61
END NOTES	62
Chapter 3: Mugabe and the rise and elimination of Joyce Mujuru through factionalism.....	65
Introduction	65
1. Factionalism and the Liberation struggle	66
3.1 Factional Politics and the Elimination of other political competitors since 1980.....	71
3.2 Factionalism and the rise and fall of Mujuru	75
3.2.1 Background of Joyce Mujuru	75
3.2.2 Political factions and Mujuru	76
Conclusion	80
END NOTES	82
Chapter 4: Mugabe and the rise, fall and rise of Emmerson D. Mnangagwa through factionalism.....	85
Introduction	85
4. The elevation and background of Mnangagwa	85
4.1 The use of factionalism to frustrate Mnangagwa	86
4.2 Factionalism and the appointment of Mnangagwa as V.P	88
4.3 The rise of G40 and the firing of Mnangagwa as V.P.....	89
4.4 The victory of the Lacoste faction	91
Conclusion	95
END NOTES	97
OVERALL CONCLUSION	100
BIBLIOGRAPHY	102

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DEDICATION

“The will of God will never take you to where the grace of God will not protect you.”

To the C.R Bhila Family and Nyasha Abdala, my best friend, who made my journey worth living and a learning curve that yields good seed.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This study serves to identify the ways that Robert Mugabe used to protect power. Its central concern is in the way he eventually became malevolent and compassionate at the same time. His use of Mugabeism is also a call of concern in this study, together with the ever growing corruption and self- aggrandizement of the ZANU PF party members. It tries to establish how factionalism was used successfully to consolidate power through aspects such as the elimination of threats to power, the use of heroism as a catalyst of factional politics, the constant use of tribalism as an agent of factionalism and how power politics later became the aspect that was used against Mugabe in the end. The study confirms how Mugabe victimised ZANU PF and how he later became a victim of ZANU PF. It elaborates on the use of strategies that were used to suppress the public by virtue of operations such as Operation Murambatsvina, Operation Wavotera Papi and the Land issue. The study's focal point is on the continuous use of both the political and tribal factions in order to perpetuate power by Robert Mugabe. For instance, how the Zezuru ethnic group remained as the only governing power in both the ZANU PF and the Zimbabwean Government, at the expense of other ethnic groups. It will show how factional disputes went out of hand as tension grew between the Lacoste under Mnangagwa and the Mujuru faction. However it will be disclose how factionalism was used as a shield to classify the citizens of Zimbabwe, at the expense of development and economic growth. The study will also look into how Mugabe embodied the party and became the law that was above the Zimbabwean constitution as well as that of the ZANU PF.

GLOSARRY OF TERMS

Bhora Musango - was a scheme against the patronage of Mugabe during the period of the presidential elections by factions that were not benefiting anything.

Cadre – are activists in a revolutionary or communist society.

Constitution – is a set of principles or legal precedents of an entity.

Cooperative factionalism - has the ability to build discretion in a given political party thus cooperative functionalism may combine from transitions to democracy, party mergers and party splits.

Competitive factionalism - loosens the intra-party ties and the parties' desire different ideologies from the main idea and they don't split.

Commissar – is one who supervises the elections portfolio, manipulates structures of leadership and may rig elections for their faction within the party structures.

Co-optation - is where the dictator somehow incorporates the opposition in his or her regime through negotiated settlements or even parliament.

Degenerative factionalism - is when a party neglects to check on factionalism thus the party faces collective action challenges.

Election - is a process of choosing a leader, a member of parliament, council or representative by popular vote and a rally is a demonstration event to recuperate.

Factionalism -are the arguments or disputes between two or more small groups from within a larger group.

Gukurahundi - is a Shona word that means the wind that sweeps away the chaff before the rains.

Hallmark - is a distinguishing characteristic of someone.

Impeachment - is the call of action to query the integrity of something.

Mugabeism – is a populist movement that was marked by ideological simplicity, emptiness, vagueness, imprecision and multi- class character, it is also a culture and an ideology with tentacles like those of an octopus that Mugabe used in all government departments and political structures of the ZANU PF.

Mutengesesi – is a Shona word for sell-out.

Military force - is the use of armed forces to execute state duties as assigned or to pummel the subjects into submissions

Nepotism – is the act performed by those with power in furnishing their friends, ethnic society and relatives with jobs.

Ouster – is the dismissal or ejection from a position.

Omnipresent – is to be present in all dimensions and everywhere.

Politburo - is a communist committee that makes policies.

Portfolio – is an region of responsibility given to a Minister.

Propaganda - are a set of concerted messages aimed at influencing the opinions or behaviours of large numbers of people.

Rigging – is the illegal meddling with the election process, to increase or decreasing votes.

Rally - is a demonstration or an event where people gather to protest or a platform where competitors drive through to regain power over his or her people.

Stockholm syndrome - is a disease that one develops between an abuser and the abused.

LIST OF ACRONYMS

ANC	: African National Congress
Cde	: Comrade
CIO	: Central Intelligence Organisation
FRROLIZI	: Front for the Liberation of Zimbabwe
G40	: Generation 40
GNU	: Government of National Unity
PSU	: Police Support Unit
PF	: Patriotic Front
MDC	: Movement of Democratic Change
MCP	: Malawi Congress Party
MYP	: Malawi Young Pioneers
MKD	: Mavambo/Kusile/Dawn
NDP	: National Democratic Party
VP	: Vice President
ZANU PF	: Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front
ZAPU	: Zimbabwe African People's Union
ZLWVA	: Zimbabwe Liberation War Veterans Association
ZUM	: Zimbabwe Unity Movement

ZBC : Zimbabwe Broadcasting Cooperation

ZEC : Zimbabwe Electoral Council

ZIPRA : Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army

ZANLA : Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army

INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER

This study wishes to explore how and why Mugabe managed to stay in power. The most common weakness in African leaders is over staying their welcome in power. Most African dictators have long passed their expiry date in power. Factional politics in ZANU has a history which started during the independence struggle in the 1960s. It gained momentum in the 1970s, when Mugabe assumed the leadership of the former guerrilla movement.

Factionalism was also a tool used by the British colonialists to continue to rule in Rhodesia, now known as Zimbabwe. Factionalism started when some members decided to leave ZAPU and start ZANU as they felt like they were being side-lined by the Ndebele. It was mainly an ethnic misunderstanding that caused the split between the Shona ethnic group and the Ndebele. There was a first coup that removed Ndabaningi Sithole in power who was replaced by Robert Mugabe as the new chairperson of ZANU. This was the beginning and the introduction of factionalism in ZANU, through the use of elimination of threats to power. ZANU was founded by Ndabaningi Sithole, Henry Hamadziripi, Edgar Tekere, Leopold Takawira, Enos Nkala, Herbert Chitepo and Mukudzei Midzi, in August 1963.¹

Mugabe was a revolutionary and politician who was a Prime Minister of Zimbabwe from 1980 to 1987 and the President from 1987 to 2017, thus in his term, he chaired the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) group from 1975 to 1980 and led the ZANU patriotic front (ZANU PF) from the period of 1980 to 2017.² He was ousted in a coup by the members of his own party thereby replacing him with the former Vice President Emmerson D Mnangagwa. Mugabe dominated Zimbabwe's politics for almost four decades. He was a man of many faces, who protected Zimbabwe from the Western atrocities and at the same time protected power through the creation of factionalism.

Meredith states that he was a controversial figure, who was praised as a revolutionary hero of the African liberation struggle who helped free Zimbabwe from British colonialism,

imperialism and white minority rule.³ Robert Mugabe was an African nationalist who later identified himself as a Marxist- Leninist and also as a socialist after the 1990s. Mugabe's policies have been described as Mugabeism. Mugabe is accused by other scholars of being a dictator in his time, who is responsible for economic mismanagement and widespread corruption in Zimbabwe.⁴

Sabelo J Ndlovu-Gatsheni defines Mugabeism as a populist movement that was marked by ideological simplicity, emptiness, vagueness, imprecision and multi- class character.⁵ Other scholars define Mugabeism as an ideology that appreciates that the only way to allow Africa to surpass its former glory, is to undergo the three stages of any true African revolution: political, agrarian and economic.⁶ According to Nkosilathi Moyo, Mugabeism went beyond being just Mugabe the person but it became a culture and an ideology with tentacles like those of an octopus in all government departments and political structures of ZANU PF which has ruled Zimbabwe for almost four decades.⁷ In other words, these political structures of ZANU PF led to the creation of factions in the revolutionary party.

This study serves to identify the channels that Robert Mugabe used to manipulate factionalism to protect power. Its main interest is in the way he succeeded to be malicious and empathetic at the same time. Some of the mechanisms he used were the divide and rule strategy, elimination of threats to power or political opponents, creation of one party states, rigging of election and rejection of election results, changing of the constitution, extension of tenure of office, use of propaganda and co-optation, factionalism, use of political songs, rallies, manipulation of the press, use of force and military action.

It will be demonstrated that Mugabe used the divide and rule strategy to preside over ZANU PF and protect power through the creation of factions. In the divide and rule strategy, the ZANU PF members were kept busy fighting each other instead of fighting the perpetrator. During the reign of Mugabe, factions were created and the factions arose not only in ZANU PF. He used

propaganda to influence the minds of the Zimbabweans and steady their minds in believing that he was the best answer and protector for all the Zimbabwean's worries. He was regarded as a spirit medium in Zimbabwe, as he respected the cultural values and traditions in Zimbabwe, regardless of the Christian status Zimbabwe has.

It will be demonstrated that factions were used to manage succession politics by Mugabe. There are different factions that were created but basically two were more prominent. The Political factions highly show the struggle for succession of Mugabe. It has been dominated by two main factions, one led by the former Vice President Joyce Mujuru and another was led by the former Justice Minister Emmerson D Mnangagwa. Mugabe created these factions so as to protect power. The factions that were created are namely the Lacoste under Mnangagwa, Mujuru's faction and the Generation40 abbreviated as the "G40" which was led by Grace Mugabe. The G40 emerged after the ouster of Mujuru's faction.

Mugabe created social factions that separated the elite from the general population. He also used heroism as a mechanism that facilitated factionalism in ZANU. One's hero status was altered or stripped if he/she was regarded as a traitor or "mutengesii" or an outcast. For example the way the hero status of Mujuru was altered in 2014 when she was demoted or given a vote of no confidence. ZANU PF also used deformation of character as a matter of defying the hero status of a once well-known hero. For example, all that was once praised of Mujuru became false once ZANU PF and Mugabe felt that she did not belong or suite the criterion of ZANU PF. This was as a result of the faction fights within ZANU PF.

The use of factionalism will be alluded to the strategies that were used by African dictators to consolidate power. Some of them are similar, such as the use of propaganda and co-optation, rigging of elections and elimination of threats to power, to mention just a few. Dictators during their time used similar characteristics as that of the totalitarian dictators, i.e. the dictators of all times, namely Hitler, Mao, and Mussolini.

The continuous uninterrupted stay of Robert Mugabe in power created loopholes that included the aforementioned succession politics that raptured in the party and also his desire to rule Zimbabwe even in his grave, through his wife Grace Mugabe, became an issue that drew attention. This desire also acted as a catalyst that led to his ouster. The study focusses on the gaps that needed to be filled in order to create the democratization of Zimbabwe and the depowering of Robert Mugabe through factionalism. These loopholes prepared walls of defence around Robert Mugabe as he harvested power.

The walls of defence that Mugabe used to continuously harvest power was the fact that he strengthened his use of Mugabeism and it continuously lives on in ZANU PF even after his ouster and death. According to Nkosilathi Moyo, he notes that we defeated Mugabe the person but Mugabeism is still intact and we must dismantle the system and bring total democratization of our country.⁸ This dissertation sought to show how factionalism promoted corruption and strengthened the continuous abuse of power in the revolutionary party.

Corruption was elevated through the continuous rigging of elections, money laundering and creation of ministries that promoted social factions. For example Obert Mpfu acquired vast land in the Bulawayo province that accentuated his benefit through corruption, to highlight just a few members. The use of social factions demonstrates the levels of corruption that grew strong within the revolutionary party. The issue of the land redistribution still haunts a large number of Zimbabweans as it benefited only the elite and their families at the expense of the people of Zimbabwe.⁹

Organisations such as the Zimbabwe Liberation War Veterans Association (ZLWVA) and the Youth league were also walls that protected Mugabe in the consolidation of power. The war veterans benefited from the land redistribution programme and got compensation in the form of money for their efforts that they presented during the liberation struggle, though it was not consistent but most of them benefited thus they paid their tribute by fully supporting the

revolutionary party leader during his reign. The youth also supported the revolutionary party leader, Robert Mugabe as they rallied to strive for his stay in power.

The efforts to emancipate the women also paid off, as the women also acted as a loophole that helped in the consolidation of power by Robert Mugabe. The Ministry of Women Affairs created a platform that helped the women expose their talent and this credit was given to the late former President of the republic of Zimbabwe, Cde Robert Mugabe. The women were pleased for the opportunity that they were given, thus in return Mugabe had the full support from the women. This platform was the creation of the Small and Medium Enterprises, which also promoted the ideology of the indigenisation programme.

Statement of the problem

This study serves to identify the channels that Robert Mugabe used to manipulate factionalism to protect power. Its main interest is in the way he succeeded to be malicious and empathetic at the same time. It serves to show how Mugabeism, corruption and self-aggrandizement of the ZANU PF members resulted in the use of factionalism by Robert Mugabe to protect power. The study also confirms that social factions alongside political factions have long been facilitated and used as weapons to consolidate power.

The use of social factions has been used as a barrier to the public to continuously fight against the imbalance in status quo and fight for equality instead of fighting against the continuous stay of Robert Mugabe and the ruling party in power. However the study will unveil how factionalism was used as a shield to array the citizens of Zimbabwe, at the expense of development and economic growth. The study will also look into how Mugabe embodied the party and became the law that was above the Zimbabwean constitution as well as that of the ZANU PF.

Research Questions

- i. What is Factionalism?

- ii. How has Mugabe used factionalism to stay in power?
- iii. What were the functions of these factions, i.e. in ZANU?
- iv. How did this factionalism lead to the downfall of Robert Mugabe?
- v. How was this factionalism manipulated by Emmerson Mnangagwa and eventually led to his rise to power?

Research Objectives

- i. To investigate the reason behind the perpetual stay of Robert Mugabe in power.
- ii. To understand the emergence of different small groups in ZANU.
- iii. To identify the tools used to create and maintain factionalism.
- iv. To investigate the effectiveness of factionalism.

Literature Review

The study of factionalism in politics has largely been neglected. Boucek identifies three faces of factionalism these are namely cooperative, degenerative and competitive.¹⁰ Cooperative factionalism has the ability to build discretion in a given political party thus cooperative functionalism may combine from transitions to democracy, party mergers and party splits.¹¹ It provides an appropriate issue in policy and selections of different societal amass in a given political faction. A more clear justification of the cooperative factionalism brought forward by Boucek, in collaboration to the researchers' study in the case of ZANU PF, is conveyed in the issue of the inclusive government of 1980 at independence after the fusion of ZANU and ZAPU on 22 December 1987. The desire to build freedom to make one's own judgement by creating a GNU facilitates the idea brought forward in Boucek's study, in his first face of factionalism.

Degenerative factionalism is when a party neglects to check on factionalism thus the party faces collective action challenges.¹² This type of factionalism may cause self-aggrandising

interests, corruption and instability of the party, as they are a consequence from minor factions that shift constantly and align themselves with a diversity of factions. In the case of ZANU PF, the issue of accumulating wealth was largely facilitated in this type of factionalism. Corruption becomes rampant and also serves as a protector to consolidate power by the revolutionary party leaders, including the research person of interest, Cde Robert Mugabe. In ZANU PF degenerative factionalism has constantly taken its course as the focus of the party mandate and also on the ruling of the state has been continuously shifted to the interest of the faction leaders. The interest being the succession disputes that raptured therefore leading to the creation of factionalism by Robert Mugabe to protect power.

The last face is competitive factionalism which can be sporadic and very destructive for any political party.¹³ This face is the one that led to the drastic and merciless ouster of Robert Mugabe. It loosens the intra-party ties and these parties' desire different ideologies from the main idea but they don't split. Boucek notes that issues in competitive factionalism constantly change but later emerge if history repeats itself.¹⁴ In ZANU PF it has been rising and Robert Mugabe's age, autocratic leadership style and the use of his ideology, Mugabeism are the main factor that contributed to the rise of succession disputes.

The issue of succession disputes that arose within the party and the events of the 2014 congress catalysed the process of the creation of factions within the party. This facilitated a competition in ZANU PF to whom will take over power from Mugabe. Taking from the study of the faces of factionalism from the works of Boucek, it makes it clearer to pick out the stages that the party went through to finally get to the events of November 2017. This face of factionalism led ZANU PF into deep political preferences as some contended for a fair leftist ideology that allows democratic tendencies while others were in support of more moderate ideologies.

Maringira and Masiya in support of Boucek, talk about the issue of the use of heroism to accentuate intra party factionalism. Their argument was that the ZANU PF recognises those

individuals who defend its status and hold on power thus they exert this power in the form of rewarding the loyal cadres a hero status. According to Maringira and Masiya the fall or survival of factions in ZANU PF is strongly strengthened by the issue of Heroism that is perceived by ones contribution or non-contribution to the liberation struggle.¹⁵ It collaborates with the idea of the researcher that the hero status of the members of ZANU PF is vastly reorganised by one's strong patriotic contribution and factional membership. The hero status of individuals in ZANU PF is constructed and also matures as time goes. This study will show how the hero status can be constructed and how one can be stripped off that hero status, for example how Joyce Mujuru and other political opponents were stripped off their hero status following the events of the elimination of the Mujuru faction in 2014.

Ndlovu-Gatsheni highlighted that factionalism was rampant in ZANU PF politics. However his focus was not how Mugabe used factionalism to consolidate power but on how tribalism contributed to the creation of factions in ZANU PF and also how ethnicity naturally added up to the creation of tribal factions. In his works, Ndlovu-Gatsheni speaks proudly of the ethnic rush in Zimbabwe during the early 80s and also after the attainment of independence. He argues that these ethnic conflicts resulted in the Gukurahundi war of 1982- 1986 and they have continued to exist in Zimbabwe since then.¹⁶ The works of Gatsheni on ethnicity elaborates the existence of tribalism and as a matter that then rises the idea of tribal factions, which have silently existed in Zimbabwe as it is a country of many tribes. It contributes on the aspects of the issue of tribal faction that will later be discussed as an addition to the use of factionalism by Robert Mugabe to consolidate power.

His argument might differ from the mainline issue of the study, but it confirms that there are tribal issues that contributed to the use of factionalism. Ndlovu- Gatsheni also highlights on the issue of the political party turning against its cadres in the ZANU PF fights.¹⁷ These were mainly based on the issue of succession between 2004 and 2017. In conspiracy with other

scholars, Ndlovu –Gatsheni also gave a history of factions through ethnic lines. He states that it became known in the period in which ZAPU and ZANU split to later form the ZANU – Ndonga, as this was the time when enmity grew which overlapped into the independent Zimbabwe.¹⁸ In addition to the study, the enmity introduced the issue of elimination of threats to power through the virtue of labelling, for example Ndabaningi Sithole and Muzorewa were labelled as sell-outs or “vatengesi” because they had not followed the desires of the ZANU PF membership pact, thus they were eliminated from the party. Ndlovu notes that the issue of ethnic differences in collaboration with the ideological divergence and personality differences of the nationalist leaders, recognised a discourse of fragmentation of Zimbabwean nationalist movements into factions.¹⁹ However, his works gives meaning to the researchers’ study of the use of factionalism by Robert Mugabe to be-shield power.

Other scholars such as Masunungure differ from Gatsheni as they elaborate their work more on the use of political factions in ZANU PF. Masunungure argues that the succession disputes in ZANU PF are part of the unscrupulous methods of Mugabe to be-shield power.²⁰ Mugabe built walls to help him remain in control through the use of political factions, the Lacoste and the Mujuru faction. For example Mugabe ennobled Mujuru to the position of Vice president in the bid to neutralise Mnangagwa, who is said to have organised the Tsholotsho meeting to map ways to topple Mugabe and inherit the throne. In support of Masunungure, it should be noted that while these factions concentrated more on structuring ways to eliminate each other, Mugabe found better ways to ensure that these factions remain in constant play while he harvested power.

Raftopolous and Msindo also imparts on factionalism in ZANU PF and they emphasise on the issue of succession disputes, as contributed by Masunungure. Mlambo argues that the historians and history play a vital role in terms of curbing the vision of the past in Zimbabwe and have an influential present notion of belonging, nationhood and citizenship.²¹ He speaks

more on the issue of patriotism and the issue of identity. In the context of the study of factionalism, Mlambo's work contributes in the issue of identity crisis in ZANU PF. This is where the party member's identity is altered or changed based on merit, patriotic efforts and loyalty. The works of Mlambo can be alluded to the works of Maringira and Masiya who lament on the issue of heroism that changes or is constructed through merit, patriotic effort and loyalty to the party, despite their liberation war status. This can be said to be a concept of the othering of others. Other scholars such as Lloyd Sachikonye note that factions were systematically created to induce positions in the party and accentuate a leader to a post.²² Douglas Rogers' work describes the two weeks in November as epic and unfolds the events that led to the ouster of Mugabe.

Bratton gives a view that the desire for the creation of factions by Robert Mugabe was mainly influenced by the issue of his age and health condition. In fact the use of factionalism, in accordance to Bratton, acted as a wall that protected the perpetual stay of Mugabe in power. It gave Mugabe momentum to extend his stay as the President of Zimbabwe and as the 1st chairperson of ZANU PF. Mugabe can be said to have been a cunning man who knew what to do and when to do it without anyone questioning his authority. Bratton also highlights the issue of social factions when he introduces the issue of Tekere who labelled the ruling upper class as a bunch of corrupt leaders, thus leading to his elimination from the party.²³ Social factions that were introduced here were the classes that separated the elite from the rest of the population and the elite benefited more at the expense others.

Nkosilathi Moyo takes a different angle from that of the study. He advocates for the dismantling of the system of Mugabeism and the complete democratisation of Zimbabwe. Moyo argues that in as much as the Zimbabweans desired to change the face of the dictator, the system remained and Mugabe will remain the entrusted caretaker of Mugabeism.²⁴ His works are relevant to the understanding of the statement of the problem, to the study of the use of factionalism by Robert

Mugabe. He takes note of the Kleptocratic scandals in ZANU PF that are linked to the use of elimination of threats to power and the rigging of elections. This is where citizens were thoroughly beaten up by the Police Support Unit (PSU) or the popularly known black boot in the operation “wavotera papi” or operation “uvothele ngaphi”.

Methodology

The focus of this study is on the use of factionalism by Robert Mugabe to consolidate power. Various sources were used and to achieve the main goal in this study, the researcher made use of purposive sampling, as well as a questionnaire targeting those who are well versed in the research topic, namely the politicians, war vets and historians. Purposive sampling is a primary source research method that gives a judgmental and subjective technique. The researcher used the qualitative research paradigm which made use of primary data that was collected from the administering of interviews with structured and unstructured questionnaires and observation. According to Pawson, qualitative research is a form of analysis that gives a distinction based on the quality rather than quantity.²⁵ The researcher used the quality of selection, collection presentation and analysis.

Sampling

Purposive sampling is defined as a selective, subjective and judgemental sampling skill.²⁶ Thus the researcher will exhaust this sampling method throughout the whole study. It addresses a certain population that share same hallmarks and enables the researcher to fully address the research questions. According to Dooley population is an entire set of organised array that decisions associate to.²⁷ Population can also be referred to as a group of units or persons enumerated in a census from and analysis or sample.

Interviews

An interview is a qualitative tool used to facilitate an interaction between an individual and a group of respondents to examine their view on a certain situation. There are two types of interviews, namely structured and unstructured interviews. According to Haralambos and Holborn, structured interviews are administered by a questionnaire that an interviewer is not allowed to deviate from.²⁸ Unstructured interviews are a conversation between the interviewee and the interviewer without a set of guideline questions (questionnaire), where the conversation develops naturally. The researcher used both ways, the structured and the unstructured interviews to obtain the information for the research, on the use of factionalism by Robert Mugabe to protect power. The structured gave a qualitative side of the study and the unstructured gave a quantitative side to suite the density desired in the research.

Questionnaires

A questionnaire is a structured interview. It curbs a set of planned questions that are used to salvage necessary information from the desired population. The researcher used the questionnaires alongside with the interviews as a method to gather information. However the researcher gave the respondents the autonomy to give judgement without inclination. Green suggests that a questionnaire is less intruding than a face-to-face survey with the respondents, furthermore they can always complete the questions in their own space and time.²⁹

Observation

Observation is defined as the collecting of data by paying attention to watching the behavior, series of events and noting the physical characteristics in their natural setting. It grants permission to the researcher to visualize directly on the issues under discussion rather than basing on imaginations. In this research the researcher used personal observation and also believed in the information that was gained from the politicians, war veterans, historians and

other historian's research as they played a major role in the effective results of the study of the use of factionalism by Robert Mugabe to protect power.

Secondary sources.

Secondary materials are the core of the research which is comprised of both published and unpublished and also research papers from analytic academics. The secondary materials the researcher used were the historical sources that were written by other historians, the mass media materials and the internet to diversify the research. In the study the researcher came across interesting works by Moyo Nkosilathi who wrote the book "Dismantling Mugabeism". He advocates for the stop of corruption in ZANU PF, which has been evolving over time through the usage of Mugabeism. He also come up with the norm that the creation of factionalism was facilitated though the ideology of Mugabeism.

Other secondary materials that the researcher used were the likes of Boucek who denotes the faces of factionalism. He explains the faces of factionalism and the researcher fitted these faces in the study of factionalism in ZANU PF. However the researcher come up with a strong argument that ZANU PF, under the rule of Mugabe, experienced these stages of factionalism but it only raptured in the last face, which is competitive factionalism. The issue of succession disputes consolidated the factional fights among the Lacoste, Mujuru's Faction and later with the G40. These are some of the works that the researcher paid attention to in the secondary methods used to gather data for the research.

Comparative approach

The study also made use of the comparative approach. Comparative approach is defined by Chan as a comparison of two or more cases of analysis in one piece of work which goes beyond a mere description of each of the cases.³⁰ Its main purpose was to make out the similarities and differences in the ideologies of the different political factions that were used to protect power

by Robert Mugabe. It was also a gate way that the researcher used to compare the other factions that were used to prolong the stay of the late former President of Zimbabwe. These other factions apart from the main political factions under discussion, were the tribal factions, social factions and the use of heroism as an agent to facilitate factionalism in ZANU PF.

The data that the researcher used to consolidate the comparative method mainly came from the primary and secondary material was gathered. Estes argues that comparative research aims at understanding national and international provisions.³¹ This is the comparative analysis strategy that was used when the researcher was comparing the totalitarian dictators' strategies they used to consolidate power and the ones used by the African dictators. In the research, they shared more similarities than disparities. In support of this approach, Hugo and Adam emphasize that the comparative study is based on how and to what extent the effects of different governments follow a particular course of action or inaction.³²

Moreover, comparative approach enabled the researcher to understand the reason behind the prolonged stay of Robert Mugabe in power through the use of political factions. It was mainly an issue of dispute in terms of ideology and the democratization of Zimbabwe. The researcher got to make a strong base on the ways in which the dictators made use of the tools and the ways that they used to perpetuate their stay in power. These ways were the rigging of elections, the constant change of the constitution, the use of rallies and political songs, the use of propaganda and cooptation, to mention just a few. These ways brought closer to home the understanding of the reasons why Robert Mugabe used factionalism to protect power.

An election is a process that is used to choose a leader or members of parliament or any representative by virtue of a popular vote.³³ A constitution is a legal document that holds a set of laws and regulates the government or other institutions in a formal or informal system.³⁴ According to Odegard, propaganda is a concerted set of messages aimed at influencing the

opinions or behaviours of large numbers of people.³⁵ It is mostly used by parties to obtain electoral votes. Co-optation is where the dictator somehow incorporates the opposition in his or her regime through negotiated settlements or even parliament.³⁶

Chapter breakdown

Chapter 1

Focuses on the strategies used by dictators in Africa to stay in power. These African leaders have a common weakness, as they over stay their welcome in power and once they taste power they forget that they have long passed their expiry date. Moreover, Many African dictators have personalised power and refused to relinquish power. They desire to stay in power and be called “Father of the Nation”. This chapter will show how African dictators have a common trademark that is fertile of certain strategies that bind them. These strategies encompass the use of propaganda, the use of co-optation, elimination of threats to power, the establishment of one party state, use divide and rule, series of rigging of elections and the elections are not free and fair, use of political songs, rallies, manipulation of the press or media, use of force and factionalism. The listed are common in African dictators and these are some of the strategies that they use to stay in power.

Chapter 2

The focus in this chapter is on the analysis of the mechanism used by Mugabe in the creation of factionalism in ZANU PF. It will show a brief background of Robert Mugabe and ZANU PF in order to help understand the entities under study. Robert Mugabe created factionalism in ZANU PF so as to enhance his self-aggrandized desires and prolong his stay in power. He used Mugabeism as his weapon to rule Zimbabwe. Mugabeism was a populist movement that was

marked by ideological simplicity, emptiness, vagueness, imprecision and multi-class character, that Mugabe used to rule Zimbabwe.

However Mugabe was a man of many faces. Factionalism is defined as the arguments or disputes between two or more small groups from within a larger group. There are different types of factions that dominated during the reign of Robert Mugabe and these encompass Tribal factions, Social factions, Political factions and the use of Heroism that led to the intra-factionalism of ZANU PF. The most prominent of these factions are the political factions, namely the Lacoste, Mujuru's faction and the G40. There are stages of factionalism that will be discussed and these are the three faces of factionalism namely cooperative, degenerative and competitive.

Chapter 3

Traces how factionalism was used to eliminate powerful political competitors. Some of these political competitors were namely Joyce Mujuru, Rugare Gumbo, Nicholas Goche, Didymus Mutasa and Jabulani Sibanda, who all belonged to Mujuru's faction. The chapter will also trace the events of the Tsholotsho declaration of 2004 and the treatment of the War veterans. In order to get to understand the characters of the leader of the other faction of interest to the study, Mujuru's history will be briefly incorporated. However it will trace through her history, her affiliation to ZANU PF before she was painted as a traitor or sell-out and demoted from her position as Vice President and as a member of the ZANU PF.

Tracing the background, an understanding about the aforementioned status of heroes and heroines in ZANU PF in the previous chapter will be of paramount importance, in order to address the importance of the study. The importance of the study which is to understand the reasons behind the perpetual stay of Robert Mugabe and the need for him to consolidate power through the use of factionalism. This also consolidates the use of heroism, as a tool to escalate

factionalism, on how heroes are constructed and recognized more in the present than in their past historical participation in the liberation struggle, where past memories can be manipulated to suit the desires of the present situation. Furthermore using factionalism to eliminate powerful political opponents.

Chapter 4

Focuses on time limitations and effectiveness of factionalism in consolidating power by Robert Mugabe. The chapter will undress how the events of the “two weeks in November” escalated towards the ouster of Robert Mugabe and led to his resignation through factionalism. It will show how factionalism was also manipulated and later led to the downfall of the late former President of the republic of Zimbabwe, Robert Gabriel Mugabe.

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Chapter 1: Strategies used by Dictators in Africa to stay in power.

Introduction

This chapter will explore the strategies used by African dictators and how they managed to protect power. African dictators such as Mobutu Sese Seko of Congo (the then Zaire), Idi Amin of Uganda, Hastings Kamuzu Banda of Malawi, Muammar Gaddafi and Charles Taylor of Libya, Eduardo Jose Dos Santos of Angola, General Ibrahim Babangidha of Nigeria, Al Bashir of Sudan and Juvenal Habyarimana of Rwanda.

1. How dictators stay in power

The most common weakness that African leaders have is that they over stay their welcome in power and once they taste power some even forget that they have long passed their expiry date. Dictators use a common way to conjure up enemies of the people. Many independent founding fathers of African nations adopted dictatorial tendencies and authoritarianism soon after independence. In these African independent states, independence did not result in the establishment of democratic governments but rather governments adopted violence as a strategy to silence citizens. Many African dictators personalised power and refused to relinquish power. The desire to stay in power by most of the African leaders made them to desire to be called “Father of the Nation”.

Dictators created fictitious threats in a bid to rally their people against an imaginary force thus destructing them from the real enemy, the dictator himself. For example for Adolf Hitler’s imaginary foe were the Jews, for Idi Amin, the Asians came in handy as his Imaginary foe and for other African leaders it has always been the West.¹ Dictators always survive not because of the use of force or ideology but because they convince the public that they are competent in all

aspects, i.e. in a positive aspect or negative aspect. In the case of Zimbabwe, Mugabe is accused by Meredith and other scholars of being a dictator in his time, who is responsible for economic mismanagement, widespread corruption in Zimbabwe through Mugabeism, anti-white racism, human rights abuses and crimes against humanity.²

Dictators have hallmarks that bind them together. A hallmark is a distinguishing characteristic of someone.³ The distinguishing characteristics that they have separate them from the non-autocratic leaders. These trademarks enfold the existence of a political force and they impose sanctions on the citizens for expressing themselves, thus they end up resulting in torture and execution or even imprisonment of the ones who break the law put by the dictator himself. For example dictators such as Hitler and Stalin sought to basically reshape the citizens' views by weighing down comprehensive ideologies. Another example is that of Banda who put restrictions on the hair length of the male citizens of Malawi.

1.1 Strategies used by dictators to stay in power

African dictators have a common trademark that is pregnant of certain strategies that bind them together. These strategies encompass the use of propaganda and co-optation, the extension of tenure in office and elimination of political opponents, the creation of One-Party States and repression, series of rigging of elections, rallies and rejection of election results, use of political songs, rallies and manipulation of the media or press, the use of the changing constitution and the divide and rule strategy, the use of force, military action and factionalism to stay in power. The listed are common in African dictators and these are some of the strategies that they use to stay in power. The strategies will be explained fully in the paragraphs below.

1.1.1 The use of force and military action.

Force in this concept is attributed to where the dictator would invite the opposition to talks or negotiations and pummels them into submissions.⁴ A close example is that of the Government

of National Unity (GNU) in Zimbabwe between the ZANU PF leader, Robert Mugabe and Tsvangirai the MDC opposition leader in 2013.⁵ The GNU gave Mugabe momentum to remain in power, in the sense that while MDC was rebuilding the economy, ZANU PF was re-strategizing on how to win the next harmonised elections. GNU was a shadow that was employed to buy time for Mugabe's next move. It can be viewed as a wall that protected Mugabe in his endeavour to be-shield power. An example of direct force is that of the dictators of old times, Stalin and Mao who used the highest level of violence against their own citizens. Another example of a dictator that used force on his subordinates and citizens is that of Kamuzu Banda and Idi Amin, where Idi mainly use militant force to curb his followers.

Moyo states that force was used on Nkomo by Robert Mugabe and the Gukurahundi was a tool that was used to bring Nkomo to the negotiation table.⁶ Nkomo as the ZAPU leader was coerced into combining fronts with ZANU thus this resulted in the two parties coming together to form a uni+ted ZANU PF. The merging of ZAPU and ZANU ensured the death of the strongest opposition against Mugabe's party. Thus this was a strategy he used to eliminate threats to power through force and the use of propaganda. In this case, the death of an estimated 20 000 people in the Midlands and Matabeleland regions, forced the ZAPU leader to come to the negotiating table to save the regions from further losses.

In the republic of Uganda the people were forced to support Idi Amin in his tenure in power. They were brutally beaten up for questioning the authority of Idi Ami. He went to the extent of hanging those that went against him, killed and removed their ears and made necklaces out of them and then put their heads in the refrigerator.⁷ This was the way Idi Amin used force as a form of threat to the public and instil fear to the people so they do not revolt against him. Idi Amin used military force to achieve power. Military force is defined as the use of armed forces to execute state duties as assigned or to pummel the subjects into submissions.⁸ The military were the ones that were assigned to threaten the multitudes to ensure that they stay in line.

Force was also used towards elections by the African dictators to ensure a great deal of numbers against their names at the end of voting. It was used to frighten the people as they were brutally beaten up if they did not vote “correctly” in the “correct” ballot. Across Africa it is a strategy that most leaders resorted to and some still resort to. Blair and Meredith note that ZANU PF used violence against the citizens they assumed voted for the opposition as they realised that ZANU PF was losing popularity.⁹ For example during the reign of Mugabe and Banda in Zimbabwe and Malawi respectively, busses were sent to provinces and districts to ferry people to the rally point. At some point people were threatened in some areas to comply and those that did not comply were gracefully beaten up thus it would happen that there were no return busses. Banda would force his people to attend his rally in an open space in direct sunlight.

1.1.2 The creation of One-Party States and repression

The most common strategy that the dictators used to protect power is that of the one party state. African dictator’s adopted the ideology of one country, one party and one leader. This is where the opposition parties were banned and the political space was closely controlled by the state. These opposition parties became outlaws and their leaders were declared as enemies of the state. For example in Zimbabwe the opposition leader of the MDC was declared an enemy of the state as he was a threat to power for Robert Mugabe. He was brutally beaten up during the elections of 2013 for questioning the power of Robert Mugabe and on many other encounters.¹⁰

Dictators used the tool of repression to stay in power. Jonathan Morse states that restrictions were imposed on the rights of citizens to criticize the government.¹¹ For example in Zimbabwe there was freedom of speech but no freedom after the speech and this was common in most African dictatorial states such as Uganda, Malawi and Mobutu’s Zaire. These other restrictions rested on the freedom of the press and the rights of the opposition party to campaign against the government. These restrictions assisted in maintaining a one party state, where other

dictators such as Hastings Kamuzu Banda and Robert Mugabe desired their states to be a monarch or a kingdom.

Chirwa laments that Banda became the most feared dictator in Africa and he put restrictions on men's hair length, women's dress code, the freedom of the press, literature and public discerns.¹² Kamuzu Banda liked status just like all other dictators he wished to be regarded as his Excellency the life President, Ngwazi, Dr Hastings Kamuzu Banda. He would imprison anyone who wouldn't acknowledge that desire. He survived more on cohesion and ensure that all those planning of retaliating or planning a coup would be imprisoned. Just like any other dictator they survived on cohesion and elimination of threats to power.

Wintrobe indicates that the dictators used distractions to manipulate the citizens into supporting the regime for selfish reasons.¹³ Other dictators also have painted the west as enemies of Africa because of their continuous selfish need for looting African resources. Though their desire is to protect their stay in power, it can be said that they try and protect their states from being colonised by their previous colonial masters by creating imaginations that paint the west as the traitor and leaves them as the sole protector of the state. During the reign of these dictators they created an atmosphere whereby the citizens developed a Stockholm syndrome. Stockholm syndrome is a disease that one develops between an abuser and the abused.¹⁴ Meaning the dictators mistreated the multitudes and it led the citizens to be very comfortable and loyal to the dictator's hand of iron thus they fell in love with the way the dictator ruled.

1.1.3 The changing of the constitution and the divide and rule strategy

Dictators resorted to using the divide and rule strategy they adopted from their colonial masters. For example in Rwanda there were tribal factions that were maintained by Juvenal Habyarimana during his reign, his Habyarimana regime continued with the bipolarisation of the Rwandan society. Tribal factions are the divisions or disputes between two or more tribes,

fighting for the survival of their tribe. These tribes were the Hutu and the Tutsi in Rwanda. Over 800 000 people in Rwanda died because of these tribal wars, where the Hutu were eliminating the Tutsi and the Twae declaring that Rwanda was a nation of only the Hutu.¹⁵ As the tribes fought against each other they would pay less attention to the dictator himself. The Rwandan genocide can be alluded to the massive killings that were carried out by Hitler, who massacred the Jews.

In Zimbabwe Robert Mugabe used the divide and rule in the form of factionalism amongst the people politically and socially. Politically the ZANU PF and the MDC were factionalised as they turned against each other within their parties respectively and paid less attention to having Robert Mugabe's perpetual stay in power. Socially, tribal factions were created in 1982 when the Korean-trained 5th Brigade that comprised of the Shona ethnic group was sent to eliminate the Ndebele in the Matabeleland and Midlands region, as the team with Joshua Mqabuko Nkomo was regarded as dissidents.¹⁶ This act was called Gukurahundi. Lastly Zimbabwe was secluded from the West as Mugabe constantly reminded the Zimbabweans that the West were the enemy, thus he associated with the Communist society. He furthermore created the Look East Policy as his Foreign policy, to legitimise his ideology to associate with the Communist society. Again socially Mugabe created social factions, which employed the Capitalist ideology of separating the elite from the general population, thus basically he maintained social classes that the British had introduced during the colonial era.

The dictators constantly tempered with the constitution to protect their selfish political aspirations, eliminate political opponents and extend their tenure in office. The dictators viewed themselves as more powerful than the constitution thus it was facilitated as a tool to consolidate power. Constitutionalism is not common in pseudo democratic regimes, however the contents of the constitution become prone to change whenever they see it judicious. Marxist scholars state that for a society to balance, there should be inequality and a discreet status quo

that separates the law makers from the general population.¹⁷ In other words the law is conjured to protect desires of the elite. For example in Zimbabwe, Mugabe changed the constitution in 2004 and stated that a woman should be a part of his vice presidency, in order to ground Mnangagwa who was a potential threat.

Banda, Idi Amin and Mobutu Seseseko used the same strategy of changing the constitution in order to enhance their political aspirations, especially towards elections. Dictators when they realize that they have lost touch they change the constitution in order to subjugate their people. Bratton noted that dictators give themselves appointing authority and they ordain themselves as demi gods.¹⁸ For example Banda desired to be treated as a demi God, he imprisoned anyone who would not acknowledge how he regarded to be called, i.e. his Excellency the life President, Ngwazi, Dr Hastings Kamuzu Banda.

1.1.4 The extension of tenure in office and elimination of political opponents.

The constitution played a vital role in protecting the dictators stay in power. It helped consolidate power in the sense that it was a flexible entity that was prone to change to suite and protect the dictators' needs. The African dictators extended their tenure in office by altering the constitution in order to increase their term in office. For example during elections, some dictators amended the constitution by pleasing their subjects in asking them what they desired to be changed and this would make an impact on their election result. For example in a country in the south of the Sahara the constitution in 2013 was amended to accommodate the disabled people and women's coalition for the rights of the women to be recognised.¹⁹

Political opponents were eliminated through the use of propaganda. Their names were tainted and painted as out casts or enemies of the state because they contested against the dictator himself. In Zimbabwe, Mujuru's faction members were eliminated from the party through the vote of no confidence as they were considered a threat. Due to factional fights in ZANU PF, it

forced Mugabe to eliminate Mujuru as they were many allegations to the fact that she wanted to harvest power from Mugabe and be his successor.

1.1.5 The use of Propaganda and Co-optation

According to Guriev-Micro, totalitarian dictators often employed propaganda to encourage personal sacrifices for the common good and often manipulated citizens to support their regime for selfish reasons.²⁰ Totalitarian dictators are the old style dictators such as Mussolini, Hitler, Mao, Stalin and Lenin. Odegard defines propaganda as a concerted set of messages aimed at influencing the opinions or behaviours of large numbers of people.²¹ Co-optation is where the dictator somehow incorporates the opposition in his or her regime through negotiated settlements or even parliament.²² Violence clearly came first although propaganda was more important for these old style autocrats. They also used manipulation of the press or media to castigate their citizens or opposition leaders, to reprimand their opponents or threats to power, to get public popularity, love and loyalty and also to correct information about them.

Bernays describes propaganda as a tool that is of great importance to the dictators in manipulating their subjects through brain wash, as it gives them power to redirect votes from the constitutional right to vote where they desire.²³ The African dictators also developed the same strategy as they also used propaganda to perpetuate their stay in power. Mussolini solidifies his use of propaganda as he laments that “words are fine things but muskets are even better.”²⁴ The media was also used to control the minds of the people, for example in Zimbabwe they were historical programmes that were published on Zimbabwe Broadcasting Cooperation (ZBC) that constantly reminded the people that Zimbabwe was attained through war. This was a way that ensured that the born frees never forget that the War Veterans, ZANU PF and Mugabe were the ones that liberated Zimbabwe from the colonialists. Propaganda through the media was conveyed from songs such as Son of the soil, which served to remind

the born free that they should never forget that Zimbabwe “yakauya nehondo”, was liberated through war.

1.1.6 Use of political songs, rallies and manipulation of the media

Political songs were used to facilitate propaganda on the media. Zimbabwe “yakauya nehondo akomana nehondo”, were some of the songs that were sang to prolong the existence of propaganda. Programmes that facilitated propaganda were programmes such as “Newziana”, War Documentaries, Around Zimbabwe, Current Affairs, Melting Pot and “Dzimbahwe”. The use of Heroism in the ZANU PF brewed factionalism and it was also used as a tool for propaganda on the media to support the idea that the people should never forget where they came from. This was supported by the use of the song “tormented soul” by Matias Xavier, in honour of those declared state heroes. In other autocratic states, the use of media was used to also accentuate propaganda and manipulate the public’s minds set. On every radio stations again they also had propaganda related political songs after every 15 minutes to accentuate propaganda. Songs like “mombe mbiri nemadhongi mashanu”, “zesa yauya yauya zvine power” and “rambai makashinga” were one of the songs that were played on all the ZBC radio stations and on the television.

The media became a key strategy that managed to protect the consolidation of power by the dictators. A rally is a demonstration or an event where people gather to protest or a platform where competitors drive through to regain power over his or her people.²⁵ These were used to instil fear in the subjugated population. Dictators such as Banda used the youth as the face of his rallies, this was the Malawi Young Pioneers (MYP) which was a youth wing of the Malawi Congress Party (MCP).²⁶ However at these rallies the dictators maximised in the use of political songs, thus as they were chanted, people believed more in these dictators therefore this employed the aspect of being brainwashed and also developing a Stockholm syndrome.

The dictators have used the media as a platform to sell elections thus the state media has been abused to prop up the dictators' rule. However its main purpose was to brainwash the people to see the good in the dictator. During elections it has also been used for electoral campaigns. For example the ZBC was used to convey messages of elections for the ruling party while the opposition was not allowed to campaign. This was also another way that ensured that the masses appreciated the ruling party to remain in power and also ensure the prolonged stay of Robert Mugabe in power. Shaw and McCombs argue that the media is vital in the representation of one's image.²⁷ Mass media despite the television and radio such as newspapers and magazines, were used by dictators to bend the mindset of the masses. For example in Zimbabwe they were newspapers that were labeled as media that belonged ruling party and that belonged to the opposition party.

1.1.7 Rigging of elections, rallies and rejection of election results

Dictators have a tendency of rejecting election results. The rigging of elections was the greatest stronghold of the dictators in Africa alongside the use of rallies. For example Hastings Banda would forcefully invite the crowds and address them under the blazing sun for more than 3hours, at a rally so as to campaign for elections. Bourne defines an election as a process of choosing a leader, a member of parliament, council or representative by popular vote and a rally is a demonstration event to recuperate.²⁸ Rallies were used to instil fear in the people to gain mass support. For example towards elections there are rallies that are conducted in order to win the hearts of many and in these rallies the multitudes are promised a lot of things that will not be delivered by the politician once they are in office.

Towards elections food aids are rendered and administered to the public again to satisfy the politics of the stomach and obtain public popularity. Democracy is vastly challenged as more countries are alluded as competitive or electoral authoritarian so many dictators have meddled with the fate of the ballot box while arresting political opposition leaders. In Zimbabwe rigging

of elections was common during the reign of Robert Mugabe. The polling house, Zimbabwe Electoral Council (ZEC) was state controlled thus it protected the interests of the ruling government, for example, Makumbe stated that in 2013 Mugabe rejected the electoral results and he requested for re-election.²⁹ These are some of the examples of how elections are rejected. Dictators such as Banda, Mobutu are some of the dictators that used the strategy of rejecting elections when they had lost to the opposition party.

Elections are characterised with violence as the people are forced and frog marched to vote for particular candidates. For example the “operation wavotera papi” of 2008 in Zimbabwe and the voters are punished for not voting “correctly”.³⁰ Under this operation the members of the opposition were tortured and beaten or killed for not voting correctly. Usually the political songs were also employed to keep the rallies enticing and also lively. For example in Zimbabwe the Mbare chimurenga choir sang songs of praises to Mugabe, “vaMugabe vanofamba nemamonya”, “team ndikusetere team” and “dairai दौरa-silogan”.

Ndlovu-Gatsheni postulates that in the time of elections citizens who supported the opposition were deemed as non-Zimbabweans, as those who were patriotic knew where to vote.³¹ These elections were not free and fair in dictatorial states or non-democratic states or pseudo democracies or hybrid regimes. The aforementioned are the names of regimes that preach the gospel of democracy but do not practise it. In Hybrid regimes they often practise authoritarianism. However the dictator is more powerful than the constitution and the constitution is used as a tool to protect the interests of the dictator. In these Hybrid regimes there is no constitutionalism and the dictator changes the contents of the constitution whenever they see it prudent. Marx denotes that the elite make the rules to protect their own desires, therefore in other words the law protects the elite.³² There is no judiciary freedom as the judiciary system is compromised and partisan.

Conclusion

In conclusion dictators created fictitious threats in a bid to rally their people against an imaginary force therefore destructing them from the real enemy, the dictator himself. Dictators in general use a common way to conjure up enemies of the people and many independent founding fathers of African nations adopted these dictatorial tendencies and authoritarianism soon after independence. Moreover, independence did not result in the establishment of democratic governments but rather governments adopted violence as a strategy to silence citizens. Democracy was more of an issue that the Africans wished for as the dictators consolidated power.

Many African dictators personalised power and refused to relinquish power and some even forgot their expiry date. Their desire to stay in power made them to desire to be called “Father of the Nation”. However dictators always survive not because of the use of force or ideology but because they convince the public that they are competent in all aspects through the use of propaganda. Dictators have hallmarks or distinguishing characteristics that bind them together and these separate them from the non-autocratic leaders. They used strategies or tools such as the use of propaganda and use of co-optation, the extension of tenure in office and elimination of political opponents, the creation of One-Party States and repression, series of rigging of elections, rallies and rejection of election results, use of political songs, rallies and manipulation of the media or press, the use of the changing constitution and the divide and rule strategy, the use of force, military and factionalism to stay in power.

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CHAPTER 2: Mugabe in the creation of factionalism in ZANU

PF.

Introduction

Robert Mugabe was a controversial figure during his reign and was also a person of interest to many scholars, clergy man and to different individuals. He was an influential figure with many faces who believed in African sovereignty and Ubuntu. In the study of the creation of factionalism by Robert Mugabe to protect power, this chapter will unpack a brief background of the late President of the Republic of Zimbabwe Robert Mugabe, to help understand the reasons to why he created factionalism during his reign. Furthermore the types of factionalism will be stated and explained in this chapter, these are tribal factions, social factions, political factions and the use of heroism as a cause of intra factionalism in ZANU PF.

Robert Mugabe had a peculiar character that interested the world as a community. He was an influential figure who stood by what he believed in. As a nationalist he protected Zimbabwe's legacy, as a Marxist- Leninist he ensured that the Capitalists (the West) never got a chance to recolonize Zimbabwe and as a Pan-Africanist he defended the Africans status as he challenged the Western society, who always tried to impose their way of life to the "inferior" African society. In support of his Pan-African desire to defend Africans status , in the early 1960s he ushers a speech and says Europeans must realize that unless the legitimate demands of African Nationalism are recognized, the racial conflict is inevitable. This chapter will show the strong character of Robert Mugabe and how he managed to use factionalism to protect power and prolong his stay in power. It also analysis the mechanisms that were used by Robert Mugabe in the creation of factionalism in ZANU PF.

2. History of Robert Mugabe

Robert Gabriel Mugabe was a virtuous man who was born in the 20th century in the Zvimba district on the 21st of February in 1924, in the Kutama Mission Village, in Southern Rhodesia. He died on the 6th of September 2019 at the age of 95 in Singapore. During his reign he used policies that were described as Mugabeism. Sabelo J Ndlovu-Gatsheni defines Mugabeism as a populist movement that was marked by ideological simplicity, emptiness, vagueness, imprecision and multi- class character.¹ Other scholars define Mugabeism as an ideology that appreciates that the only way to allow Africa to surpass its former glory, is to undergo the three stages of any true African revolution: political, agrarian and economic.² According to Nkosilathi Moyo, Mugabeism went beyond being just Mugabe the person but it became a culture and an ideology with tentacles like those of an octopus in all government departments and political structures of ZANU PF which has ruled Zimbabwe for almost four decades.³ Thus these political structures of ZANU PF led to the creation of factions in the revolutionary party.

Mugabe's mother, Bona Mugabe, was a Christian catechist who was trained by the Jesuits. The Jesuits influenced the intense development of the late former President Mugabe's self-discipline, as they were strict disciplinarians, which explains his strict character in the ruling of Zimbabwe and protection from neo-colonialism. He was a secretive and solitary child who showed excellence in his school work. Ohea nurtured Mugabe when he took over leadership at Kutama Mission and ensured that he preached the ethos of racial equality. It is important to note that Mugabe was a product of the missionary system. He provided Robert with Christian education as he also taught him about the Irish war of independence, which was famous of overthrowing the British imperial regime. Mugabe later uses this knowledge to overthrow the British in his political adventure.

In Ghana, Mugabe met his first wife Sally Hayfron whom he married in 1961. She later died in 1992 and Mugabe married Grace Marufu in 1996. In 1961, he got interested in politics and began to interact in anti-racism platforms. The dispute between Nkomo and Mugabe began when Mugabe and others rejected Nkomo's suggestion of a government in exile, thus this resulted in the establishment of ZANU on the 8th of August in 1963.⁴ It opposed the leadership and ideologies of Joshua Mqabuko kaNyongolo Nkomo, therefore Ndabaningi Sithole was appointed as the leader and placing Mugabe as the secretary of the party in his absence. Nkomo formed ZAPU. Mugabe was arrested in 1963 and he was exempted in 1974. Furthermore he was ordained by the ZANU members as the rightful successor of Ndabaningi Sithole.

Meanwhile, between 1974 and the road to independence, Mugabe focussed on propaganda war, as he made regular speeches and radio broadcasts presenting himself as a Marxist-Leninist. He spoke confidently of the Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries such as Vladimir Lenin, Joseph Stalin and Fidel Castro.⁵ This also gave colour to the character of the late former President of the Republic of Zimbabwe, Robert Mugabe, as this gave the multitudes questions to whether he was a true Marxist follower or a true African Nationalist.

The Patriotic Front (PF) was formed in 1976 when ZANU and ZAPU joined forces. These are some of the events that appreciate and make up the history of the legendary Pan Africanist, Robert Mugabe. Mugabe was regarded as a spirit medium during the war of liberation and the title remained even during his lifetime. He respected African Traditions and valued the African culture. In 1979 Mugabe met with the British at Lancaster house in Britain and later helped to bring independence to the people in 1980. Canaan Banana the President was the President from 1980 till 1987. Mugabe became the first Prime Minister of Zimbabwe and later President in 1987, he ruled Zimbabwe for 30years.

Meredith states that, Mugabe gave a speech after his victory in 1980 and said, "the wrongs of the past must now stand forgiven and forgotten, if ever we look at the past, let us do so for the

lesson the past has taught us, namely that oppression and racism are inequalities that must never find scope in our political and social system, It could never be a correct justification that just because the Whites oppressed us yesterday when they had power, the Blacks must oppress them today because they have power, An evil remains an evil whether practised by White against Blacks or Blacks against White".⁶ By this speech, it shows that Mugabe was a virtuous man that did not sort to revenge but trusted that racism would come to an end and by giving the whites a forgiving hand, they would respect the African society (Zimbabweans) for the good they have shown. The first thing he did when he took his oath, was to rename Rhodesia to Zimbabwe and pledged racial reconciliation.

2.1 History of ZANU PF

ZANU was founded on the 8th of August in 1963 by Ndabaningi Sithole, Henry Hamadziripi, Mukudzei Midzi, Herbert Chitepo, Edgar Tekere, Leopold Takawira and Enos Nkala.⁷ The Patriotic Front was formed when ZANU and ZAPU joined forces in 1976 and this was for military and political alliance. The PF accommodated Joshua Nkomo's ZAPU and Robert Mugabe's ZANU, which was supported by the Soviet Union and the Chinese respectively. These two parties, ZANU and ZAPU had military forces known as the Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (ZANLA) and the Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army (ZIPRA), respectively.

Mugabe created a Government of National Unity (GNU) with other members of rival parties to join his cabinet, when he failed to convince the British government to assume a 2year guiding role for his government as most of the members of ZANU lacked experience in governing.⁸ The problem that led to the GNU was that the ZANU parliament only allowed them to rule alone, a concept of a one party state. Robert Mugabe sorted a gradual change from the capitalist society thus befriendng the socialist society.

In 1984 Mugabe designed social factions as he came up with a leadership code, which separated the elite from the general population. This was also a strategy that the British had used to divide and rule their subjects. He increased their salaries and made them to own vast land and they even had exceptions. For example he granted permission to Solomon Mujuru, to expand his business empire. The aura of resentment and suspicion between Nkomo and Mugabe grew into a tribal dispute that led to the Gukurahundi of 1982 which ended in 1987. This was the introduction of tribal factions that separated the Ndebele from the Shona. Even though they were a united front, i.e. PF-ZAPU and ZANU-PF, there were vast number of differences that separated them.

Martin Meredith argued that Mugabe and his ZANU PF were solely to blame for the massacres.⁹ According to other biographers, they lament that the Gukurahundi was an intentional attempt to eliminate ZAPU and its supporters, to take to another level the desire of a one party state controlled by ZANU PF.¹⁰ Tekere launched an opposition party against ZANU PF called Zimbabwe Unity Movement (ZUM) in 1989. His argument being the fact that Mugabe betrayed the revolution and established a dictatorship. However through the use of propaganda, ZANU PF threatened ZUM towards elections and took control of the media. They published a statement that had a picture of a car crush and below it, it read “this is one way to die. And another is to vote ZUM. Do not commit suicide, vote ZANU PF and live”.¹¹ This was emotional blackmail to the public through the use of propaganda.

Mugabe developed a growing disgust with homosexuality and reprimands it as an un-African incumbent from Europe. According to Holland, Mugabe described the gays as being guilty of human behaviour and of being worse than dogs and pigs.¹² Most of his history in the later years of the 20th and 21st century will be discussed as part of his creation of factionalism to protect power. With the rejection of homosexuality in Zimbabwe, Mugabe sought to protect

the culture of the beloved Zimbabwe. This was part of the strong character of the late former President of Zimbabwe, Robert Mugabe.

There was a rise of an opposition party, the Movement of Democratic Change (MDC) in 1999, that contested the ZANU PF. Its leader was a trade unionist by the name Morgan Tsvangirai. He had strong ideologies that opposed the rule of Robert Gabriel Mugabe and so he was a threat to power. Furthermore Mugabe saw the need to protect his legacy by any means necessary. To the MDC, Mugabe ruthlessly protected his legacy of staying in power and so did the ZANU PF members. They coincided with Mugabe and sort to protect the name of the revolutionary party. Violence was unleashed time and again to the MDC supporters and their party leaders, as a way to eliminate threats to power. However factionalism is also uncovered in MDC as the party becomes unstable and weak to fight in unison against the revolutionary party.

2.2 The creation of factionalism in ZANU PF

Robert Mugabe created factionalism in ZANU PF so as to enhance his self-aggrandized desires and prolong his stay in power. He used Mugabeism as his weapon to rule Zimbabwe. This is where Mugabeism was a populist movement that was marked by ideological simplicity, emptiness, vagueness, imprecision and multi-class character, that Mugabe used to rule Zimbabwe. This solidifies and compliments the fact that Mugabe was a man of many faces. Moyo laments that in the future Zimbabwe, the ideology of Mugabeism should be dismantled as it is contagious and is a strong poison that the ZANU PF have seen as a normal way of life.¹³ His desire for Mugabeism to be dismantled was mainly to ensure the end and complete eradication of the ideology on Mugabe's ruling skills in a new Zimbabwe.

Factionalism is defined as the arguments or disputes between two or more small groups from within a larger group. These disputes were facilitated by the issue of succession in ZANU PF therefore they constantly concentrated on that fact and ignored other factors such as while they were busy fighting for the honour of succession, Mugabe remained in power. Masiya and

Maringira define factionalism as a gruesome struggle for power to control party positions and the policy direction of the party by sub groups of individuals within a political party.¹⁴ There are types of factions that dominated during the reign of Robert Mugabe. These factions are Tribal factions, Social factions, Political factions and the use of Heroism that led to the intra-factionalism of ZANU PF.

There are three faces of factionalism namely cooperative, degenerative and competitive. Cooperative factionalism has the ability to build discretion in a given political party thus cooperative functionalism may combine from transitions to democracy, party mergers and party splits.¹⁵ It provides a congruence of opinions in policy and selections of different societal amass in a given political faction. In the case of ZANU PF, this type of factionalism was popularised by the inclusive government of 1980 at independence after the fusion of ZANU and ZAPU on 22 December 1987.

Degenerative factionalism is when a party neglects to check on factionalism thus the party faces collective action challenges.¹⁶ This type of factionalism may cause self-aggrandising interests, corruption and instability of the party, as they are a consequence from minor factions that shift constantly and align themselves with a diversity of factions. These also lead to shift in the focus of the party to the interest of the faction leaders.

The last face is competitive factionalism which can be sporadic and very destructive for any political party. It loosens the intra-party ties and the parties' desire different ideologies from the main idea and they don't split.¹⁷ Issues in competitive factionalism constantly arise and disappear and then latter emerge in the future if alike circumstances come into play. In ZANU PF it has been rising and Robert Mugabe's age was the main factor that contributed to the rise of factionalism. It was also weighed down by his autocratic leadership style he used to rule and the use of his ideology, Mugabeism. Competitive factionalism in ZANU PF was also mainly caused by the issue of succession disputes that arose within the party and the events of the 2014

congress catalysed the process of the creation of factions within the party. This face of factionalism led ZANU PF into deep political preferences as some contended for a fair leftist ideology that allows democratic tendencies while others were in support of more moderate ideologies.

2.2.1 Types of factions

a) Tribal factions

Tribal factions are mainly associated with differentiation in tribes for example the ethnic consciousness that the British used during the liberation struggle to stay in power. Mugabe initiated a tribal war between the Ndebele and the Shona in 1982 and it lasted till 1987 when Joshua Nkomo and Mugabe signed a unity accord on 22 December and declared that day the day of National Unity. Their long buried aura of resentment led to the ruthless elimination of the Ndebele tribe. This is where the Korean-trained 5th Brigade which was comprised of the Shona ethnic group was designated to attack the Ndebele under Joshua Nkomo in Midlands Province and Matabeleland Province.¹⁸ Meredith argued that Mugabe was to blame for atrocity in Matabeleland.¹⁹

This action was known as Gukurahundi and was the beginning of a tribal war between the Ndebele and Shona ethnic groups. The term “Gukurahundi” is a Shona word that means the wind that sweeps away the chaff before the rains. A vast number of Ndebele speaking people were massacred and burnt during this tribal war. Though it is silently prevalent, it is vividly shown in the political realm, where there is unequal distribution of power based on tribal grounds. This is how Mugabe successfully set a permanent tribal demarcation between citizens in Zimbabwe, which kept them busy at loggerheads with each other paying less attention to the fact that Mugabe had stayed for long in power. Instead of coming together and fighting for a democratic Zimbabwe, it became the music of tribal rebuke from both sides, the Ndebele and

the Shona, that they fought for fair treatment in parliamentary affairs and leaving the apple of the eye i.e. the Presidency.

b) Social factions

Mugabe in 1984 came up with a leadership code that accommodated the elite and suffocated the general population. This marked the beginning of the creation of social factions. Social factions are mainly associated with the creations or maintaining of social classes, they demonstrate the differences of individuals due to status quo. These social classes that divide individuals are namely the upper class or the elite, the middle class and the lower class or the working class. The upper class or the elite mainly are the makers of the law and are the dominant in the society. In this context the ZANU PF, Mugabe and Mugabe's cabinet are the law and the dominant class in the society of Zimbabwe as a whole.

The lower class or the working class are the suppressed or the subjugated class, which adheres to the laws of the elite and cannot question their authority. Mugabe spoke of taking the land from the British colonialists and redistributing it to the Zimbabweans, fairly and equally but that became a fallacy. The land was not equally distributed to every individual as promised. However in the process it can be said that he initiated a divide and rule strategy that was used by the British. Robert Mugabe complimented the ideology of Marx, that states that for the society to function properly there should be an imbalance in status quos.²⁰ He increased the salaries of the elite and made them to own vast land.

The land redistribution was unfair in the sense that not everyone was compensated but mainly those whom they knew were given land and termed war veterans.²¹ This was done at the expense of the millions of citizens who also were as equally land less as the termed population that was recognised to have fought in the liberation struggle. A war veterans association was created mainly for strong back up from the war liberators to support Mugabe in his term of rule. These war veterans were also strong ZANU PF supporters.

The land reform program maintained the social classes that the British had long created, as it just promoted a hand full at the expense of the rest of the citizens of the new Zimbabwe. The constitution was also used to facilitate social factions, as it was manipulated to constantly protect the social desires of Mugabe and other elite members of ZANU PF at the expense of the general population. Due to the fact that ZANU PF under Mugabe's rule made the law and they were the law, they ensured their safety through the constitution.

c) **The use of Heroism**

Mugabe created the use of heroism as a way to appreciate the efforts of those who spent most of their life in the liberation war. The issue of heroism in ZANU PF has accentuated intra party factionalism. According to Masiya and Maringira, heroes as portrayed in ZANU PF are individuals who have played key roles in the liberation struggle.²² The Heroes Acre was mainly a shrine that was built to honour the war liberators which soon became an agent to facilitate factionalism in ZANU PF. For example heroism was manipulated whereby someone who fought in the liberation struggle were stripped of that tittle because of factional fights and were given votes of no confidence in parliament. Baines argues that in Zimbabwe the recognition of heroes was more in the present than in the past historical participation of heroes in the liberation struggle.²³ In simple terms the past memories of the war are renewed and reconstructed in the presence thus it gives less significance of the meaning hero.

In ZANU PF, hero status was reconstructed according to one's loyalty thus even those who did not fight in the liberation war get recognised as comrades and some get the privilege to be laid at district or provincial heroes' acre for their commitment to the party as cadres not war liberators. According to Werbner, Zimbabwe is a good example of a post-colonial nation building regime which tries to turn the trace of the past into prestige and legitimacy for itself and tribute for others.²⁴ In other words this statement states that in Zimbabwe heroism is

constructed rather than earned, because of the works one did during the war of liberation struggle.

This issue of construction of heroism has therefore caused factionalism in the ruling party, as it has caused dispute in ideology and yearn for fair treatment. The views of heroes as portrayed by Mugabe, have been biased towards political driven agendas and the prolonged stay in power. Mugabe created these disputes in his favour therefore keeping the population at large constantly occupied, trying to debate on their differences while paying less attention to his prolonged stay in power. For example the ZANU PF is the one that gives authority on who is to be laid to rest in either of the three heroes' acre designations, i.e. district, provincial and national level. In the 1992 Acts of the War Veterans, Zimbabwe statutes delimit veterans of the struggle to envelope those who were involved consistently and persistently in the liberation struggle.²⁵ This act strictly gives boundaries to the criterion of the people that should join the association, thus over the years it has been manipulated by the party to suite their own desires.

The ZANU PF under Mugabe, created a scenario whereby the continuous manipulation of the media was accentuated even when the so called "heroes" had passed on. They ensured that the song, "tormented soul" by Matias Xavier is felt by every born free for them to know where they come from and who helped bring about the independence. This was also a patriotic strategy that Mugabe used to win the hearts of the people again, as he might have felt that ZANU PF had run out of ideas on how to have the multitudes continue to follow him and his ZANU PF and realised that it will soon lost its popularity.

d) Political Factions

Marx states that for the society to function properly, conflict is necessary.²⁶ In this concept, factionalism by Robert Mugabe is the conflict that erupts in ZANU PF. There are factors that complement the conflict and some of these factors are the ones discussed above, though above all political conflict was a major factor that dominated in ZANU PF. Political factions were

mainly brewed by the issue of succession. The creation of factionalism by Robert Mugabe in ZANU PF can be said to be an intelligent way that he used to try and see whom he can choose to succeed him. It can also be argued that it was a way that he used to prolong his stay in power, as he had not yet fully chosen any one that could suit the position and take up power from him. However factionalism caused conflict within the party and small groups emerged.

These small groups that emerged are namely the Lacoste that was led by Emmerson D Mnangagwa, the Generation 40 (G40) that was led by Grace Mugabe and Mujuru's faction that was led by Joyce Mujuru. Other factors such as the Tsholotsho declaration of 2004 led to the creation of the factions in ZANU PF, however Mnangagwa was accused by Robert Mugabe of being the brains behind the meeting in Tsholotsho. The war veterans association and the youth league acted as a political catalyst that slowed down the process the ouster of Robert Mugabe. The war veterans association were there to protect Mugabe at all times and honour the fact that he liberated Zimbabwe and they benefited directly, thus they hardly saw his stay in power as a prone to questions.

The youth league members also benefited from the stay of Robert Mugabe in power thus they also viewed him as their pillar of strength, therefore they were loyal servants of Robert Mugabe and ZANU PF. Robert Mugabe was a virtuous man who later desired more power and it led to his ouster in 2017. He honoured loyalty and ensured that those who were loyal to him too would benefit. He also knew how to impress the citizens of Zimbabwe whenever it was necessary. The constitution was also manipulated politically to protect the elite and especially to protect the prolonged stay of Mugabe in power.

Lacoste

Lacoste came into play in 2014 as a faction that opposed the ideologies of Mugabe and was also created to oppose Mujuru who was a threat to the same desirable seat that Emmerson D Mnangagwa had a close eye to. That desirable seat was the Presidents seat. It was a faction that

was led by Mnangagwa that later took power from Robert Mugabe. The faction members were Emmerson D. Mnangagwa, Oppah Muchinguri, Christopher Mutsvangwa, Grace Mugabe, Obert Mpofu, Saviour Kasukuwere, Ignatius Chombo, Patrick Chinamasa, Josiah Hungwe, Philip Chiyangwa, Patrick Zhuwawo and Jonathan Moyo.²⁷

Mujuru's Faction

This faction was led by Joyce “teurai ropa” Mujuru and her husband Solomon Mujuru. She created it before the creation of the Lacoste thus it can be said that it was the first faction that Mugabe created to consolidate power. However in the long run Solomon Mujuru was eliminated as he served as a threat to power. The Mujuru faction was eliminated from ZANU PF as they also were a threat to power, it was all a consequence of the succession disputes between Mnangagwa and Mujuru. Joyce Mujuru and all the party members were ousted through votes of no confidence in the parliament after the 2014 ZANU PF congress that was held in Masvingo. The members of the Mujuru Faction are Simon Khaya Moyo, Didymus Mutasa, Sydney Sekeramayi, Dzikamai Mavhaire, Webster Shamu, Nicholas Goche, Ray Kaukonde, Amos Midzi, Francis Nhema, Temba Mliswa and Kudakwashe Bhaskiti.²⁸

Generation 40 (G40)

The G40 was a group advocating towards generation change to topple the older ZANU PF officials. It consisted of the younger energetic, well-educated and shrewd members that were fronted by Grace Mugabe and led by Jonathan Moyo and Saviour Kasukuwere. According to Prof Jonathan Moyo, he stated that he was considering the young generation of all gender and political affiliation.²⁹ Those who were part of the G40 are namely Patrick Zhuwao, Makhosini Hlongwane, Tapiwa Matangaidze, Annastacia Ndlovu, Sarah Mahoka, Mandiiyawepi Chimene, Phelekezela Mphoko, Ignatius Chombo, Walter Mzembi, Samuel Undenge, Keith Guzah, Augustine Chihuri, Paul Chimedza, Eunice Sandi Moyo, Kudzai Chipanga, Tongai Kasukuwere, Innocent Hamandishe, Mphehlabayo Malinga, Letina Undenge, Jonathan Moyo

and Saviour Kasukuwere.³⁰ However during the coup that led to the resignation of Mugabe in November 2017, the G40 members were removed from ZANU PF.

Conclusion

In summation, Robert Mugabe was a Pan Africanist that was powerful, he had many faces but he strongly believed in African sovereignty and Ubuntu. Robert Mugabe was a controversial figure during his reign and was also a person of interest to many scholars, clergy man and to different individuals. He was the leader of ZANU which was founded in 1963 on the 8th of August. However for political and military alliance, Nkomo's ZAPU and Mugabe's ZANU formed the Patriotic Front. It is argued that Mugabe and his ZANU PF were solely to blame for the massacres, thus the Gukurahundi was done intentionally to eliminate the ZAPU who were a political threat to the ZANU ideologies, of a one party state.

Factionalism was created in ZANU PF to prolong Mugabe's stay in power, thus to help consolidate power he used Mugabeism as his weapon. This is where Mugabeism was a populist movement that was marked by ideological simplicity, emptiness, vagueness, imprecision and multi-class character, that Mugabe used to rule Zimbabwe. The factions that were created are namely the Tribal factions, Social factions, Political factions and the use of Heroism. Furthermore there are three faces of factionalism namely cooperative, degenerative and competitive in the study of factionalism. In the creation of factionalism by Robert Mugabe, political factions were mainly brewed by the issue of succession thus small groups emerged. These small groups are the Lacoste that was led by Emmerson D Mnangagwa, the Generation 40 (G40) that was led by Grace Mugabe and Mujuru's faction that was led by Joyce Mujuru.

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Chapter 3: Mugabe and the rise and elimination of Joyce

Mujuru through factionalism.

Introduction

Mugabe was a great political tactician in Zimbabwe, who knew how to handle people of different constituencies accordingly and even internationally. He is viewed by other people as a legend and an inspiration who serves as a personality that brews mixed feelings, while others see him as a personality that detaches and is controversial. However the chapter traces how factionalism was used to eliminate political competitors. Joyce Mujuru was eliminated through factionalism and labeled a “traitor” and a “sell-out”, but she was once among the most trusted personnel in ZANU-PF’s hierarchy. More interest is in the use of political factions, thus the enmity aspect within ZANU-PF makes it hard to have a united front that stands up to Mugabe’s rule. However during his reign Mugabe remained as the face and senior member of ZANU-PF. In ZANU PF or in politics, they used propaganda and the media to convince the members of the public about the reason behind ones’ elimination.

For instance the media published the misfortune of Joyce Mujuru who was dishonored, stripped of the glorious praises that once were added to her history and also stripped of her heroine status through factionalism. The chapter will discuss how factionalism was used to elevate and politically demote Joyce Mujuru. She was elevated to block the rise of Emmerson Mnangagwa. Through the use of Mugabeism, Mugabe altered the ZANU PF constitution to pave way for her and wash away the ambitions of the faction led by Mnangagwa. When Mujuru became too ambitious and saw herself as the next Zimbabwean President, Mugabe used factionalism to promote the Mnangagwa faction. She was then painted as a traitor or sell-out and was later demoted from her position as Vice President.

It will be demonstrated that the war time narratives were constructed and deconstructed by Mugabeism to preserve power and Mugabe's position. Therefore memories of the liberation struggle for Zimbabwe were manipulated to suit the desires of Mugabe. At the congress of 2014, five leaders were demoted and stripped of their hero or heroine status, who all belonged to Mujuru's faction. These were namely Joyce Mujuru, Rugare Gumbo, Nicholas Goche, Didymus Mutasa and Jabulani Sibanda.

1. Factionalism and the Liberation struggle

The liberation struggle realized two main types of factionalism that were rampant and active. These are the political and tribal factions that played a vital role in the relations of the cadres and consolidation of power. The faces of factionalism that were observed by Boucek are gradually displayed, as the events that took place during liberation struggle unfold. ZANU literally went through these three faces of factionalism, i.e. cooperative, degenerative and competitive. These are represented by party mergers, collective action challenges and loss of party ties that led to party splits respectively. In the mid 1960's challenges in the leadership of the nationalist movement paved way for the existence of power struggles through factionalism and it curved the political makeover of Mugabe and ZANU.

ZANU constantly engaged in competitive factionalism as the issues that led them back to factional fights were never fully solved. Msindo observes that in 1976 Mugabe mainly comes forth as President of ZANU due to his ability to grab favorable circumstances presented to him, for example the hyper increase of factionalism and clandestine plots in ZANU in the 70's.¹ Socialist movements helped ZANU to rise in and out of Africa, thus in the middle of the cold war, ZANU came in to existence. ZANU is a liberation movement that rose in the vicinity of aggressive factionalism and nationalism. For the network to survive there was a need for the

members to have strong relations and also remain loyal to the party, which later brewed competitive factionalism as some desired total control.

Its compulsive approach was a trait that it inherited from the socialist movements. The approach gives a political leader the power to counteract his subjects and juniors. This also highlights the reason behind some of Mugabe's character traits where he would counteract his subjects in order to consolidate power. It is important to note that before and after independence Mugabe was an output and beneficiary of factional politics in both the Nationalist movement and ZANU.² Due to the fact that Mugabe was elevated to power in the ambiance of factional power struggles, he learnt the art to consolidate power through the manipulation of factions by virtue of weakening possible rebels within ZANU PF and the Zimbabwean government.

Scarnecchia states that Africans have been walking on egg shells in supporting the movement of the nationalists, due to their far-reaching inclinations to isolate those outside their movement as "sellouts".³ The Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) which was banned in 1962 by Sir Edgar Whitehead, succeeded the National Democratic Party (NDP) that was led by Mugabe in 1961. However cooperative factionalism came into play, as the events of 1962 accelerated the disintegration of the nationalist movement, into two factions, i.e. ZAPU and ZANU. Due to the fact that Mugabe was the secretary of the ZANU, he had access to vital evidence about his adversaries and other advances in ZANU, thus in time of calamity he would use it against them. This trait lasted long into his lifetime even as the President of Zimbabwe and he used this advantage to consolidate power.

It is fundamental to note that Mugabe's vocal criticism of Nkomo highly contributed to the party fragmentation of 1963. Furthermore during this period these two factions shared the same ideologies, but the constant anticipation on the issue of a secret administration in exile separated the two. Thus the two parties silently engaged in competitive factionalism. ZANU as

the protesting faction, did not want to discuss with Nkomo as they believed that it would lessen their probability of developing a contesting political party. Venter suggests that basically the political determinations of Mugabe and Sithole factions initiated the split because they anticipated that after the failure of the Federation, the Rhodesian front would tremble under pressure.⁴ However the Federation ended in July 1963 and soon after ZANU came into existence in August. The weakening of other parties was a strategy that was used to promote degenerative factionalism and it gave Mugabe power to gain momentum as he held a powerful position in ZANU. This merit would later be used as a weapon to eliminate political opponents and pave way to total consolidation of power by Mugabe.

During the liberation struggle, factionalism was the order of the day in politics as the main issue was that of consolidating power. ZANU used the divide and rule strategy to foster its way through the political rush and promoted propaganda to facilitate factional politics. For example degenerative factionalism was used in the form of propaganda to predestine other political faction leaders such as Nkomo. This was mainly pioneered by Mugabe, Takawira and other cadres of ZAPU. Their focus was on shifting from the interest of the political party to dealing with the political leaders, in order to strengthen the desire to eliminate Nkomo as a rival political competitor. Propaganda was a more vital tool that perpetuated factionalism in a bid to rally support from the grassroots. For example ZANU used the media to facilitate propaganda through the use of their magazine, the Battle Cry of the Zimbabwe News and the Daily News newspaper where Shamuyarira was the editor.⁵

Nationalist propaganda, politics of violence and factionalism became a fraction of Mugabe's profession. Through competitive factionalism, Robert Mugabe managed to influence other cadres that Sithole had to be overthrown from the party or form an alternative movement, while he was in prison. This shows how Mugabe was powerful and would maximize on his privilege of having direct access to controversial information of his competitors. It was a loophole that

he used to start the journey of eliminating Sithole as an opponent, who also served as a threat to power. He loosened all relations Sithole had to accentuate to power. In other words Mugabe knew how to seize opportunities when they were presented to him, which also explains his longevity in power through the use of factionalism. More so Mugabe elevated to power through factionalism.

According to Sadomba, Nhari's ZANU military faction protested against Tongogara's incompetence as the ZANLA army leader from 1973.⁶ Factionalism during the liberation struggle found its way in partitioning politically driven entities. Degenerative factionalism was initiated as Tongogara's faction which was under ZANU, was blamed by Tekere for the assassination of Herbert Chitepo. Chitepo was regarded as an obstruction to Tongogara's drive to govern ZANU and it caused instability in the party. Chitepo was loyal to Sithole and he protected Sithole from his political antagonists, thus when he died Sithole was susceptible. Therefore Mugabe took advantage of that loophole, i.e. Chitepo's death and the Nhari revolt, to rise to power.

Tribal factions were nurtured by political disputes, for example the Zezuru faction which was led by Mugabe in ZANU substituted the Manyika faction. The Zezuru and the Manyika are ethnic groups that fall under the Shona collective. They are separated by their dialect that slightly differs from the other. However ethnic differences were strongly used to accentuate factionalism and these contributed to the loosening of intra-party relations. Masipula Sithole asserts that Mugabe in 1971 was meant to lead the Front for the Liberation of Zimbabwe (FROLIZI) which was a new faction that was dominated by the Shona group, the Zezuru from ZANU and ZAPU.⁷ The Front Line States had considered Mugabe as facilitated by factional propaganda that he was the FROLIZI "unity" leader, who had been approved by Nkomo and Sithole. However after it malformed, its members were amalgamated and became ZANU

cadres. This is how factionalism was used during the liberation struggle, to eliminate, pummel and weaken political opponents.

Ndabaningi Sithole tried to amalgamate the liberation movements once again under African National Congress (ANC), but his far-fetched ambition mapped his own way to his ouster. As a result of tribal factions the Manyika faction under Sithole was expelled from ZANU. Tribal differences became a catalyst of facilitated the othering of others through factionalism. The dispute continued to be dominated by the Karanga faction but once they were eliminated from the equation, the Zezuru faction had an upper hand. However it gave Mugabe the prospect to consolidate power as the new President of ZANU. Sithole asserts that ZANU was a victim of Mugabe, thus both parties were destabilized by factionalism, i.e. ZANU and ZAPU.⁸ Mugabe had the ability to build discretion thus he employed the aspect of cooperative factionalism as a shield for ZANU's credibility to Smith's government and joined forces with Nkomo to form the Patriotic Front. He feared that ZANU would be irrelevant, thus it was also another way he used to suppress Nkomo's persuasion and closely monitor his actions.

The art of elimination of threats to power was a strategy that grew within ZANU even during the liberation struggle. It was the only language that elongated and elevated individuals to powerful positions. It was used in far-fetched manners that were unorthodox and excessive, for example Tongogara from the Karanga faction perished in a car accident. Scholars such as Smith suggest that he was eliminated because of factional controversy he had with other ZANU members over the Patriotic Front union and the governance of the army.⁹ However through factional fights the death of Tongogara guaranteed Mugabe complete power over the army and ZANU PF, with no adversaries to worry about. Though Mugabe had control, it exposed him to different dangers as that of 1978, where he was almost eliminated through a coup.

Nyarota postulates that Mugabe incarcerated those who were in support of the Tongogara faction, namely Henry Hamadziripi, Mukudzei Midzi, Rugare Gumbo, Mandizvidza, Fay Chung, Joseph Taderera and Wilfred Mhanda.¹⁰ Mugabe knew how to handle people of different constituencies accordingly and even internationally. He is praised as a legend and a figure that serves as a personality who infuses mixed feelings. Later some of the Mugabe followers were promoted to higher positions in the civil, security and media sectors, while individuals such as Mhanda refused to be manipulated by Mugabe.¹¹ Mhanda later formed the War Veterans association. However these loyal Mugabe followers later defied his longevity in power and their rebellious act facilitated their expulsion, as their allegiance was tenuous. For example Rugare Gumbo was a victim of factional dispute because he supported the Mujuru faction to end the self-perpetuation of Mugabe.

3.1 Factional Politics and the Elimination of other political competitors since 1980

Factionalism in ZANU PF was prolonged since the glitches that steered its development remained un-answered. Mugabe's future depended on how he handled the factions in ZANU in the new Zimbabwe, as he was the only fundamental beneficiary of factionalism. Democracy in ZANU PF was looked down upon especially in the absence of cadres such as Chitepo, Sithole and Tongogara, since Mugabe enclosed himself with those who were loyal partisans. Sadomba notes that other loyal and trusted supporters of Mugabe were Emmerson Mnangagwa, Simon Muzenda, Kumbirai Kangai, Sydney Sekeramai, Oppah Muchinguri, Didymus Mutasa, Solomon Mujuru, Vitalis Zvinavashe and Josiah Tungamirai.¹² While in exile in 1978 they still remained in Mugabe's executive and even after independence in his government.

The elimination of other political competitors was a route that Mugabe used to accomplish the divide and rule principle within and outside ZANU PF. During this period there was the introduction of elections which included the opposition factions. Elections were a vital strategy that Mugabe manipulated to consolidate power and also eliminate political opponents. As time

and again opponents that contested against him hardly won. Thus it was easy to have a divided opinion over the Presidency hence leaving room for Mugabe to remain the only trusted candidate with the Presidents seat. Post-independence saw projects such as Sithole's ZANU-Ndonga, Tekere's ZUM and later United Parties, Forum by Justice Enock Dumbutshena, Margeret Dongo's Zimbabwe Union of Democracies, Hungwe/Muzenda faction, Zvobgo/Mavhaire faction, Mutasa faction, Mombeshora faction, Shamuyarira faction and Kangai faction.¹³ This is a marginalized dimension of factionalism that has more insight about factional politics in ZANU PF. Mugabe balanced power in ZANU PF and as the President as he managed to juggle politics to create opposition factions.

Anxiety grew in Mugabe because he had not yet administered the ideology of a pseudo democracy and also he had not yet tamed Nkomo's ZAPU. Mugabe further established his argument of a one party state, stating that he believed that a multi-party structure is an extravagance in a state unless the majority desires it.¹⁴ This was a way he used to eliminate adversaries from contesting against him and also consolidate power. It also meant that ZANU PF had absolute control over the state and what ZANU PF says, the State was to adhere without any contestation. However he neutralized ZAPU by engaging in the Gukurahundi of 1982 and accentuated his ideology of a hybrid regime that would be exclusively controlled by ZANU PF. On this aspect of the Gukurahundi Mugabe used ethnic hype to facilitate factionalism, to consolidate power and also coerce the Ndebele leader who served as a threat to power.

He further terminated Tekere from office as the secretary of ZANU PF, which he knew was a powerful and threatening position. Initially Tekere had declined to engage in the reconciliation politics that was introduced by Mugabe because he believed it was a violation of the socialist goals of the party. Mugabe succeeded in eliminating ZAPU by 1988, when ZAPU and ZANU signed the Unity accord on 22 December 1987. This meant that ZAPU became one with ZANU, therefore he succeeded in silencing his long-term adversary. Due to abuse of office and

mishandling of finances, conflicts arose thus propaganda was employed to try and humiliate those in higher offices. For example propaganda was initiated when the Willow gate vehicle scandal was published. This resulted in the establishment of Tekere's ZUM in 1989 which was made extinct when his supporters in the communal areas were warned to withdraw their support.

ZANU PF used propaganda and the media to publicly threaten ZUM and its prominent supporters, through an emotional blackmailing statement that denounced its credibility. For example factional politics went as far as introducing the art of assassination, such as that of Kombai, only to prove a point. This was a way that was used even during the liberation struggle to eliminate competitors. Later as a strategy to neutralise Tekere, Mugabe dismissed the idea of a hybrid regime, which weakened ZUM and led to its collapse. Tekere was one of the leaders that served as a threat and stepping stone to the idea of Mugabe having to consolidate power. He later amalgamated with the old ANC and formed United Parties though it remained dormant. Factionalism ensured that the political party remained a divided front that was weak protest against Mugabe. This is how Mugabe manipulated factionalism to prolong power.

An elitist party called Forum was established in 1993 by Justice Enock Dumbutshena which only accommodated the elite and had less sympathy with the public at large. There was no opposition that was stronger than Mugabe's ZANU PF in the 90s because they were too disunited to challenge him. Margaret Dongo's Zimbabwe Union of Democracy was founded after she was eliminated from ZANU PF. Mugabe's longevity in power, domestic flows in leadership, use of Mugabeism and his constant tempering of the constitution raised eyebrows. It led to the development of the National Constitution Assembly and an opposition party i.e. the Movement of Democratic Change (MDC) that was led by Morgan Tsvangirai a trade unionist.¹⁵ Furthermore degenerative factionalism came into play, as more interest was shifted

from the party to the faction leaders during this period, which was to topple Mugabe from power.

Mugabe made ZANU PF his private fief and peculiar territory where he suspended or expelled competitors at his own will. Furthermore the future of ZANU PF depended on the loyalty of its people, who were also loyal to Mugabe. In other words the elimination of threats was a way that Mugabe used to keep those who haven't been eliminated in line and also demand respect from the subjugated. According to Holland Mugabe is delicate to criticism due to his susceptible personal anxiety thus his paranoia illuminates the aspiration to control and separate the party even in its faintness.¹⁶ ZANU PF as a victim of Mugabe, treaded on eggshells because Mugabe knew a chunk of their secrets and he used that as leverage if they planned to be rebellious.

Factions began to compete against each other and paid less attention to the fact that Mugabe stayed in power. This is how competitive factionalism was used to perpetuate power by Robert Mugabe. These were mainly driven by ethnic differences and political aspirations to end Mugabe's reign. Again also degenerative factionalism was used to ensure that the debates center around the factional leaders and not on Mugabe himself. The factional leaders paid more attention to each other and their ethnic backgrounds. For example the Masvingo faction of Muzenda/Hungwe was against the Zvobgo/Mavhaire faction, the Shamuyarira faction was against the Mashonaland west Mombeshora faction and in Manicaland the Kangai faction was against the Mutasa faction.¹⁷ In both Mashonaland West and Manicaland it was a politburo member against a provincial chairman. However, tribal factions demonstrate how factionalism was used to consolidate power by the late former President, Robert Mugabe.

Zvobgo and Mavhaire argued in the house of assembly that Zimbabwe was not a monarchy thus Mugabe must go¹⁸ and led to their elimination from the party. The Masvingo faction of

Hungwe/Muzenda was elevated and also Mumbengegwi who replaced Zvobgo. Tribal factions worked competitively with the aspect of degenerative factionalism because it was mainly an issue of substituting the factional leaders. Before the death of Zvinwashe, he was alleged together with Joyce Mujuru, to be supporters of Makoni's Mavambo/Kusile/Dawn (MKD). Makoni had boycotted ZANU PF in 2008. A strategy called "Bhora Musango" was put into play and Mugabe only realized it after the elections of 2008. "Bhora Musango" was a scheme against the patronage of Mugabe during the period of the presidential elections by factions that were not benefiting anything.¹⁹

Two greater factions emerged after the loss of life of two contesting faction leaders. These faction leaders were the late ex-Vice-President Simon Vengai Muzenda and Edson Zvobgo who was an ex-Politburo. The Lacoste which belonged to Mnangagwa and Mujuru's faction which she inherited from her late husband Solomon Mujuru were the factions that emerged. The Mnangagwa faction was closely linked with the Hungwe/ Muzenda faction. However the death of Solomon Mujuru raised a lot of suspicion over the years as he was once accused of plotting to topple Mugabe from power. The death of Solomon Mujuru can be said to be an elimination strategy, which was also used on Chitepo, Tongogara and Kombai, since he was accused of plotting against the ruling party's life President. Therefore factional politics in ZANU PF has a pivotal angle that centers on the issue of succession.

3.2 Factionalism and the rise and fall of Mujuru

3.2.1 Background of Joyce Mujuru

Joyce Mujuru was tipped to be the successor of Mugabe in 2004 when she was made the Vice President of Zimbabwe. She is a revolutionary and politician who was once ordained as a Minister and Vice President of ZANU PF. Solomon Mujuru who was an army commander, was her lawfully wedded husband until his death in 2011. Joyce Mujuru was later eliminated

through factionalism for scheming against Mugabe. She was labeled a “traitor” and a “sell-out”, though she was once a trusted personnel in ZANU-PF’s hierarchy. In the ZANLA forces that were under Mugabe, Mujuru was the first female commander and a successful political instructor of two military bases by 1975.

Mujuru was once respected for using her machine gun to bring down a helicopter in 1974.²⁰ It marked the birth of the name Teurai Ropa, which she used during the liberation struggle. Though at a later stage, the chairman of the War Veterans passionately denied the helicopter incidence, just after Mujuru was expelled from the party. Mujuru’s maiden name is Runaida Mugari from Mount Darwin. Mujuru who is a Korekore, was trained in Lusaka when she was 18 and also became a camp commander in Mozambique at the Chimoio refugee and military camp when she was 21. She was a war liberator who fought side by side with Mugabe and other revolutionary cadres of ZANU PF, however she was the youngest executive member in 1977. She lost her vice presidency and party leadership in 2014, then she established her own party called Zimbabwe People’s First Party.

3.2.2 Political factions and Mujuru

Factionalism was used as a weapon to eliminate political competitors. These served as threats to the thrown of Mugabe, therefore succession disputes gave birth to political factions within ZANU PF. Mujuru’s faction and ZANU PF were victimized by Mugabe, in his journey to consolidate power. Mujuru’s faction was labelled a Gamatox faction by the ZANU PF youths. It is fundamental to note that factionalism in ZANU PF has a primordial orientation which was inherited from the liberation struggle into the post-colonial Zimbabwe. Masunungure notes that subsequently Zimbabwe is principally a one party state that is dominated by ZANU PF which presides over the state, thus everything that affects ZANU PF haunts the state directly.²¹

The late former President of Zimbabwe, Robert Mugabe has strong attributes that are not significant to his reason behind his consolidation of power, but rather they strengthen his personality which contributed to his desire to harvest power. These attributes are namely a revolutionary, states man and an intellectual. Mugabe was a man of many faces such that when he was on the podium, he was not the same person as whom he portrayed himself as on the negotiating table and the man that he carried himself as in social gatherings, who is perceived as a loving father of the nation with wisdom and is courteous.

Joyce Mujuru was a victim of circumstance, thus Mugabe must have protected her. Though Mujuru was elevated to block the rise of Emmerson Mnangagwa, Mnangagwa/ Grace Mugabe faction isolated her. This is because when Grace Mugabe dressed-down Mujuru at her rallies, Mugabe never stopped her, but rather turned a blind eye. For instance Grace accused Kaukonde for fanning factional politics and financing the Mujuru camp. At her rallies termed “Meet the people”, the former first lady provoked the anti- Mujuru squad to act against the Mujuru faction because she believed that they did not agree with Grace’s desire to be the 1st secretary in the Women’s League. However this is how factional politics kept the multitudes at logger heads, while they paid less attention to Mugabe’s perpetual stay. Msindo asserts that political analysts advised Mugabe to move away from the idea of leaving the Vice Presidency to his wife in order to preserve the party.²² This action would have torn ZANU PF apart and caused serious disputes that would have erupted into a civil war, because the fights within ZANU PF had reached its peak. Thus the succession disputes also wanted to do away with the issue of Mugabeism that wanted to turn Zimbabwe into a monarchy.

The plan that was in motion at the Tsholotsho declaration, was to gather avenues to help Mnangagwa propel to the 1st Vice Presidents’ seat and automatically topple Mujuru. Professor Johnathan Moyo states that the Tsholotsho saga of 2004 was the peak of political schemes that existed from 2000, thus the realigning of leadership would be beneficial to the party.²³

Mnangagwa used the aspect of elimination through factional politics to position himself as the next president, which is why he had to plan against Mujuru who was a threat to his succession plan. However the Tsholotsho saga only led to the suspension of Mnangagwa from the party until 2005. He was to be replaced by Mutasa from the Mujuru faction in order to neutralize the Mnangagwa faction. Enmity between the two factions grew stronger.

A vast number of pro-Mnangagwa influential leaders were expelled from the party by the Mujuru faction, who had an ambition to change the party structures. For example the following chairpersons from 6 portfolios were victimized, Themba Ncube from Bulawayo, Lloyd Siyoka from Matabeleland South, Jacob Mudenda from Matabeleland North, July Moyo from the Midlands province, Denzel Shumba from Masvingo and Mike Madiro from Manicaland.²⁴ The demotion of the Politburo chairpersons had a tribal aspect, since the remaining provinces are Zezuru. Factionalism was a strategy that Mugabe used to ensure that his Zezuru grass-root is protected and that they remain extremely loyal to him. The Mujuru faction was called the “Gamatox”, while the Mnangagwa faction was called the “Weevils” or “Lacoste”.²⁵ However Grace Mugabe lured Robert Mugabe to conspire with the Mnangagwa faction in 2014 and eliminate Mujuru from the party.

Sachikonye declares that the declaration of Tsholotsho had an impact that bruised ZANU PF, which divided the party and it led to Mugabe’s misfortune in the 2008 election.²⁶ Tension and enmity mounted between the two factions and the scheme of elimination of others came in to play. For example the party political commissar, Elliot Manyika of the Mnangagwa faction, was assassinated in 2008. Again the tactic that was used on Tongogara, Chitepo and Kombai, was used to eliminate Eliot Manyika. This served as a warning to the Mnangagwa faction from their rival party and this only prolonged time for the late former President Mugabe, as he only laid back and watched the intra-party factional fights. The commissar supervises the elections portfolio, manipulates structures of leadership and may rig elections for their faction within the

party structures. The death of Eliot Manyika is significant in the sense that, as the commissar, it meant that the Mnangagwa faction had lost a weapon that they would have used against the Mujuru faction to win internal party elections. However this would guarantee the Mujuru faction power over the Lacoste and in another circumstance it would extend Mugabe's tenure in power. Therefore Mugabe benefited more from the factional disputes to consolidate power.

The Gamatox faction was blamed for a vast number of crimes that led to its disassociation. The mouthpiece of ruling party, which is the Sunday mail published these allegations that were held against Mujuru. Mujuru was accused of being corrupt, scheming an unconstitutional coup and also planning the assassination of Mugabe. Propaganda was used as a weapon of factional politics and it was also used by Mugabe to perpetuate power. However Mujuru was accused by Grace Mugabe to be a considered replacement of Mugabe by the Western capitalist society. These contestations against Mujuru fast tracked to the suspension of the factions' key supporters, i.e. the provincial chair persons, through the "votes of no confidence".²⁷

Mujuru's political career was coming to an end in ZANU PF, and she had even failed to secure a politburo position in the central Committee however she made sure that she boycotted the meetings. Meredith notes that Mujuru's actions were interpreted by Mugabe as a ticket for her to be a mere commoner in ZANU PF and that her leaders would also be taught party values through the acquisition of ordinary ZANU PF membership cards.²⁸ However this is when Mujuru became too ambitious and saw herself as the next Zimbabwean President. Mugabe used factionalism to promote the Mnangagwa faction and furthermore relieve Mujuru of her Vice Presidency duties. There were a number of allegations that spoke louder and pointed in her direction. For instance among these was the instrumentation of the famous Bhora Musango and fanning of factionalism. The elimination of Mujuru from the party meant that Mnangagwa's nurtured plan had worked.

Joyce Mujuru was dishonored and stripped of the glorious praises that once were added to her history through factionalism. However she was also stripped of her heroine status due to these factional fights. This consolidates the ideology that heroes in ZANU PF are constructed and recognized more in the present than in their past historical participation in the liberation struggle. This is where past memories are manipulated to suit the desires of the present situation. Mugabeism was the weapon used to construct and deconstruct the memories of the liberation struggle in order to preserve power and Mugabe's position. The congress of 2014 saw the demotion of Mujuru faction leaders and having their history re-written. They lost their societal status and their hero or heroine status. These among others were namely Joyce Mujuru, Rugare Gumbo, Nicholas Goche, Didymus Mutasa and Jabulani Sibanda.

It is argumentative to postulate that Mugabe caused these factional disputes in a bid to consolidate power. His use of tribal factions, as that of the liberation struggle and the elimination of threats to power, rest assure that he used factionalism to consolidate power. He used these factions to protect himself and his status quo. Mugabe victimized and manipulated ZANU Pf, as he used its name under Mugabeism, to expel or dismiss cadres when they served as threats to his position as the President. The Militarized politics of factionalism of 1977 that helped him to propel to power during the liberation struggle, fronted his impeachment and ouster in 2017. It also led to the elevation of Mnangagwa to the presidium.

Conclusion

In conclusion, Mugabe was elevated to power through factionalism during the liberation struggle. However over time, factionalism found its way in every political entity. Mugabeism penetrated in every influential office, furthermore it served as shield to protect Mugabe. For example in the media, in the civil service and security sector. A pivotal focus of factionalism in ZANU PF was the issue of succession that has a primordial orientation. During the liberation struggle, there were two main types of factionalism that played a vital role in the relations of

the cadres and consolidation of power. These were the Tribal and Political factions. The three faces of factionalism, i.e. cooperative, degenerative and competitive, were represented by ZANU's party mergers, collective action challenges and loss of party ties that led to party splits, respectively.

Propaganda was used as a weapon that perpetuated factionalism. It was a dynamic tool that was used to rally grassroots support. However Mugabe knew how to grab opportunities that presented themselves before him. This surely explains his longevity in power through the use of factionalism. Tribal factions were precipitated by political disputes and they were vastly used as a degenerative weapon of factionalism. However tribal fights were an easy target to accentuate political debates. The elimination of threats to power was an approach that grew within ZANU, which elongated and elevated individuals to powerful positions. As the glitches that steered its development went un-answered factionalism prolonged. In the 70's Mugabe's future depended on how he handled the factions, as he was the only beneficiary of factionalism.

Power was balanced in ZANU PF, as Mugabe managed to juggle between politics and the creation of factions. This was a way that Mugabe used to ensure that less attention was drawn by his stay in power, since factions had begun to compete against each other. These were mainly driven by the ethnic differences and political aspirations to end Mugabe's reign. Mujuru was unfortunate and was a victim of circumstance who was also eliminated, among others, through factionalism. However as she began to see herself as the next Zimbabwean President, Mugabe neutralized her by virtue of promoting the Mnangagwa faction. Just as he once used the Mujuru faction to neutralize the Mnangagwa faction, Mugabe used the same tactic on the Mujuru faction since the factional fights between the two got heated up. Though he decided to side with the Mnangagwa faction, it can be said that Mugabe brought himself closer to his fate, because the same faction he used to neutralize the Mujuru faction later brought his reign to an end.

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Chapter 4: Mugabe and the rise, fall and rise of Emmerson D.

Mnangagwa through factionalism.

Introduction

Mugabe was a politician who knew which cards to play at a particular time to protect power. Mugabe was a dictator who used factionalism to power. The chapter focuses on time effectiveness and limitations of factionalism in consolidating power by Robert Mugabe. The chapter will also undress how the events of the “two weeks in November” escalated towards the ouster of Robert Mugabe and led to his resignation through factionalism. It will show how factionalism was also manipulated by Mnangagwa and how it later led to the downfall of the late former President of the republic of Zimbabwe, Robert Gabriel Mugabe.

4. The elevation and background of Mnangagwa

Emmerson Dambudzo Mnangagwa had long ties with Mugabe. The two had a close relationship during and after the liberation struggle. He was a beneficiary and a victim of factional politics. To many he was obedient by the late former President and the First Secretary of the ZANU PF, Robert Gabriel Mugabe. Mnangagwa saw this as a leeway to automatically succeed Mugabe. Emmerson Mnangagwa served as a Minister of State and National Security (1980-1988), Minister of Justice, Legal and Parliamentary Affairs (1988-2000), a Member and Speaker of Parliament (2000-2005), Minister of Rural Housing and Social Amenities (2005-2009), Minister of Defense (2009-2013) and the V.P of Zimbabwe (2014-2017).

Factionalism was used by Mugabe as a path to create political identities in ZANU PF and also propagate power. Sachikonye captured that political parties in Zimbabwe were vulnerable to factional politics.¹ However factionalism was used by Mugabe to ensure that he keeps his enemies at arm’s length and monitor their movements. For example he kept on shifting Mnangagwa’s position of authority so that he can constantly keep a close eye on him. This was

a way that Mugabe used to make sure Mujuru would not underestimate his authority. In other words, Mugabe used factional politics to be in full control. The Mnangagwa's faction depicted their support from the Karanga while Mujuru had the full support of the Zezuru and their rivalry was largely ethnic and political. Mnangagwa participated as a catalyst that facilitated the Operation Murambatsvina of 2005 and unleashed an orchestra of political violence on the MDC in 2008. Mujuru however blocked the rise of Mnangagwa, but when she became over ambitious, Mnangagwa's faction was promoted by Mugabe. Mnangagwa however became the First Vice President, after the Lacoste had successfully ensured that the Mujuru faction was eliminated. He parades as the Crocodile, "Garwe" or "Ngwena" who survived the attempted assassinations that was blamed on Mugabe's followers.²

4.1 The use of factionalism to frustrate Mnangagwa

The Lacoste under Mnangagwa and the Mujuru faction replaced the factions that belonged to Muzenda and Zvobgo respectively. The Lacoste took after the Hungwe/ Muzenda. Mnangagwa was viewed by Mugabe as a son who was obedient thus he saw that as a loophole to inherit the President seat. Msindo postulates that both leaders of these two factions that succeeded the Muzenda and the Zvobgo faction, will only maintain the Mugabe type of leadership as they are not really democratic, but are products of Mugabe.³ Factionalism was used as a weapon to annihilate the possibility of a successor and propagate power. Through factionalism, Mujuru believed that she was the chosen successor of the late former President, thus it led to the emergence of competitive factionalism in ZANU PF, mainly spearheaded by the Mujuru and the Mnangagwa faction.

Although Mnangagwa had secured support from the six provinces, Mugabe used factionalism to frustrate him, by virtue of amending the constitution, stating that one of the Vice Presidents was supposed to be a female. Mujuru was by these means elevated to the position of V.P. According to Prof Jonathan Moyo, the declaration of Tsholotsho was a political scheme that

had lived since the year 2000 and it was a plan that had a need to rearrange the leadership in ZANU PF and the Zimbabwean government.⁴ Factional politics was used to sideline Mnangagwa, after the Tsholotsho saga had gone viral. His grass-root accomplices were demoted from their position of authority and then Mugabe also suspended Mnangagwa from his post. These six chairpersons came mostly from the non- Zezuru portfolios namely Bulawayo, Matabeleland South, Matabeleland North, Midlands, Masvingo and Manicaland.⁹ However Mugabe as a way to aggravate Mnangagwa, he appointed Mutasa a member from the Mujuru faction, to substitute him.

The road to success for the Lacoste was furnished by principles that were laid down at the Tsholotsho meeting. The Tsholotsho declaration had firstly a mandate that there should be equal representation in terms of ethnicity in the leadership hierarchy of the party, secondly offices such as that of the 1st secretary and President were to rotate equally among the major tribal groups.⁵ The third principle projected that the major positions were to be elected and not imposed and lastly the intra-party rule of law and the intra-party constitution were to be observed.⁶ Due to the fact that the Zezuru had control over influential posts in the Government and in ZANU PF, it brewed a whirlwind of anger upon Mnangagwa and his faction, thus he also planned to use factional politics against its creator. For instance the late former President Robert Mugabe, the Commissioner of the police, Vice President Joseph Msika, the Commander of the armed forces and the Chief Justice belonged to the Zezuru ethnic group. However nepotism and ethnic factional politics had a major stronghold in perpetuating an obstruction for succession. Ndlovu-Gatsheni alludes that the Karanga that were spearheaded by Mnangagwa gave themselves the mandate to end the tribal suffocation that was being practiced by the Zezuru and the principles that were put in place made it possible to achieve their goal.⁷ This drive was pioneered by the frustration that was weighing down on Mnangagwa. However

since Mnangagwa was the administration secretary he had the power to promote this aspiration, as his position was key and it held so much weight.

Factionalism was used to make both parties believe that they were the chosen successors of Mugabe. For example Mnangagwa's elevation as the Speaker of parliament made many think that he was the designated successor of Mugabe and the ascendance of Mujuru to power made her to inevitably think she was the preferred successor.⁸ However the desire if Mujuru to succeed Mugabe was not stomached by other factions such as the Lacoste and the G40. The G40 was a faction that was created by Mugabe through factional politics, in the shadow of his wife Grace Mugabe to also frustrate Mnangagwa after the ouster of Mujuru in 2014. Grace Mugabe as part of the G40 raised alarms of this through factional politics and ensured that she undo's the Mujuru faction, which also served as a threat to her accentuation as the successor of her husband. Factionalism was accustomed by other factions to pave way for themselves. Mugabe employed factionalism to frustrate Mnangagwa through Grace Mugabe, who openly attacked Mnangagwa at her Meet the people rallies and even accused the senior patriotic leaders of waving factionalism.⁹

4.2 Factionalism and the appointment of Mnangagwa as V.P

Factional politics kept the Mujuru and Mnangagwa faction in constant competition as they both eyed the Presidium. However the Tsholotsho declaration can be said to be a strategy that was devised to plot against Mujuru in-order to eliminate her from taking over the 1st V.P's seat from the late V.P, Joseph Msika. It is imperative to note that because of these succession disputes, the Mnangagwa faction was always at fault as compared to the Mujuru faction but later they managed to undo the Mujuru faction with the help of the G40 that also wanted the same seat as the other two factions. These two factions became unmanageable as Mugabe also had to attend to his health. Solomon Mujuru was accused of planning a coup against Mugabe in 2007, as a challenge to disgrace Mnangagwa.¹⁰ This is also how Mnangagwa used factional politics

to protect himself, by going after his threats to power and ensuring their downfall. Mnangagwa had been re-appointed as the Minister of Justice.

The Mujuru and the Mnangagwa faction through factional politics became enemies that were determined to eliminate as much as they could of each other, in the name of succeeding Mugabe. Bourne states that the commissar of the Mnangagwa faction was assassinated thereby leaving the faction vulnerable.¹¹ However it served as a threat to the Mnangagwa faction from their rival party thus perpetuating the stay of Mugabe in power, as he paid less attention to the growing tension between the two factions. Both parties ensured that they use and display the tactics that they had learnt from the Mugabe regime to exploit each other. The Mujuru faction was blamed for a vast number of crimes such as plotting against Mugabe, fanning factionalism and being the main craftsman of the instrumentation of the Bhora Musango.¹² Therefore these accusations against Mujuru faction members led to their expulsion, through the vote of no confidence, including Joyce Mujuru. Furthermore having a long time threat out of the way, Mnangagwa was propelled to position of 1st V.P of Zimbabwe.

4.3 The rise of G40 and the firing of Mnangagwa as V.P

Mugabe created another faction to keep the Mnangagwa faction in check. A faction known as the G40 was created. ZANU PF was split once again into two factions i.e. the Lacoste a Mnangagwa faction and the Generation 40 (G40) a Grace Mugabe faction. It served as a weapon to obliterate the Lacoste in the long run, as the split was mainly caused by succession disputes that were constantly a large issue in ZANU PF. However Grace Mugabe's popularity was borrowed from her husband, Robert Mugabe, as Zimbabweans respected and loved the late former President. Grace Mugabe as the mouthpiece of the G40, undressed Mnangagwa in public at her rallies. She exposed factional politics that was being brewed within ZANU PF, in a bid to discredit the Lacoste to the public.¹³ Mnangagwa lost popularity to the young generation but gained sympathy from the senior members of the party, i.e. the ZNLWA and

the Military, who did not support the G40 because of the disrespect that the former First Lady displayed in public. However in 2015 Mnangagwa's aspirations conflicted with Grace Mugabe's aspirations who was the prospective predecessor to Mugabe.¹⁴

The G40 was a group that advocated for generational change in the system, who proclaimed that the older ZANU PF officials should give the young and energetic the opportunity to shine. It was established by Grace Mugabe, Jonathan Moyo and Saviour Kasukuwere. According to Prof Jonathan Moyo, he stated that he was bearing in mind the young generation of all gender and political affiliation.¹⁵ Through the Blue Ocean strategy document of the ZANU PF, it is important to note that the foot soldiers of the Lacoste, who were unconstitutionally licensed, were directly involved in the active scheming against Mugabe. This was a weapon that the Lacoste used to rally against factionalism. However in about six provinces it is stated in the Blue Ocean Strategy document that the Mnangagwa faction had foot soldiers working under the oracle "Chunhu Chedu" to ensure the succession of Mnangagwa.¹⁶ It was a document that was published in 2015 and was used to legitimize the succession of Mnangagwa. Their mission was to stop the advancement of the first lady Grace Mugabe as the V.P of both ZANU PF and the State.

The Lacoste was once at logger heads with the Mujuru faction. After the ouster of Mujuru as an opposition, they yet again faced succession disputes with the G40 under "Amai" Grace Mugabe. At the "Amai" rallies, Grace discredited Mnangagwa before the public. As a way to protect his stature, Mnangagwa used factional politics to go after the G40 by virtue of conducting a criminal investigation on the leaders.¹⁷ The G40 pioneered by Grace Mugabe covertly criticized Mnangagwa at the rallies and other events. Mugove acknowledges that Grace blamed Mnangagwa of treachery and infidelity, thus she mocked him by asking if he had not heard that there was no available job at the state house¹⁸ Furthermore his opposition to the G40 led to Mnangagwa's dismissal as he was accused for plotting against Mugabe. Mugabe

went ahead and expelled the ZNLWA members who were associated with the Lacoste thus one of the ZNLWA being Christopher Mutsvangwa. Fletcher suggests that Mnangagwa was allegedly poisoned and his supporters blame the G40 to have spiked his Ice cream since it came from Grace Mugabe's dairy company.¹⁹ Mnangagwa also tried to put together pieces and blame the G40 and Grace Mugabe for the explosion at a Bulawayo Rally later on in 2018.

4.4 The victory of the Lacoste faction

Mugabe had a reputation to protect since it is the foundation of power. There are International Laws that he used to protect and propagate power. For example he used laws such the following that states that one should never trust much in friends but rather use enemies, say a smaller amount of what's necessary, use bait, pretend to be a friend but slog as a spy, totally defeat your enemy, nurture an appearance of unpredictability, generate cult like followers, attack the shepherd to scatter the sheep and neutralize or infuriate with a mirror outcome.²⁰ As aforementioned in the previous chapter, Mugabe rose to power through factional politics. In the beginning ZANU PF was a victim of Mugabe, but tables changed and Mugabe later became a victim of ZANU PF. However these laws propelled him to resort to violence as he had an obsession for power.

Power is what gave Mugabe an inspiration for him to be single minded as it was not a cause for an end but it was what drew him closer to the end. Mugabe overcame his challenges through the gun as it was his creed since the beginning of his political career. Meredith states that Mugabe was faithful to his creed that the votes should go hand in glove with the guns and it should always remain the security for the people.²¹ In other words the late former President believed in the gun which brought a better result, thus it was his justification to resort to violence. He believed that the gun and the votes of the people are identical twins that cannot be separated. Mugabe once lamented that "the white man was feared because he owned guns,

he was power”²², thus he was the main reason why Mugabe converted to Marxist ideologies, as a plea to end Capitalism.

Mugabe maintained his famous policy that was described as Mugabeism which generally used selective honesty to disarm his adversaries. Mugabeism perpetrated every institution and gave Mugabe power over the nation as the majority of the powerful entities worshiped him. He maximized on aspects such as propaganda war and also displayed himself not only as a Pan-Africanist or an African Nationalist, but as a Marxist-Leninist.²³ In other words Mugabe used both the Capitalist strategies and the Socialist/Communist aspects to perpetuate his stay in power. This is part of his rise before his fall. Through the policy of Mugabeism, Mugabe in his rise ensured that he had a revolutionary stronghold on the important sectors that are valuable to protect his stature. These important sectors that Mugabe valued and made sure that he destined his loyal subjects were the civil service, the media and the security sector.

ZANU PF’s edifice was destroyed in the process, however this is what pushed ZANU to victimize Mugabe and later plot to succeed him, as both factions and those before the Mnangagwa and Mujuru faction, did not concur with the ideology of Mugabe of a one party state but believed in democracy. Sachikonye notes that Mugabe maintained ZANU PF in a state of an organized disorder to keep trials at bay and he failed the party.²⁴ However, due to his age, he failed to handle the factional politics in the end and it was used against him to end his reign. Militant rule was also once part of Mugabe’s rule as represented by the Gukurahundi, Land issue, Operation “Murambatsvina” and Operation “wavotera papi”.²⁵

Blair argues that the Land issue can be said to be a capitalist gain as the elite only benefited from the action at the expense of the rest of the Zimbabwean citizens who also fought relentlessly in the liberation war.²⁶ However the operation “wavotera papi” was the worst terror that was released on the Zimbabwean citizens in 2008, for not voting “correctly”. Makumbe

stated that elections in Zimbabwe were characterised with violence as the people were forced and frog marched to vote for particular candidates.²⁷ Furthermore under this operation the members of the opposition were tortured and beaten or killed for not voting correctly. These are the events that unconsciously mapped the road to the downfall of Mugabe.

The shrine that Mugabe built as a monument for those who fought for the liberation of Zimbabwe became a weapon that he used to reconstruct history. However the issue of heroism brought about the issue of identity crises in ZANU PF. Maringira and Masiya lament on the issue of heroism that changes or is constructed through merit, patriotic effort and loyalty to the party, despite their liberation war status.²⁸ Mugabe used factionalism to dwindle the Mnangagwa faction's aspirations by clearly stating in the constitution that one of the V.Ps was to be a female. Masunungure argues that the succession disputes in ZANU PF are part of the unscrupulous methods of Mugabe to be-shield power.²⁹ One of the important aspects that is associated with the stay of Mugabe in power is the fact that there was no Judicial freedom as the Judiciary system was compromised and partisan. Here Mugabe utilized the law that states that so much lies on one's reputation and one should defend it with their own life. However reputation is the foundation of power and through it one can win hearts or either intimidate his enemies.

Meredith argues that Mugabe's rule was characterized by violence, economic mismanagement, widespread corruption through Mugabeism, anti-white racism, human rights abuses and crimes against humanity.³⁰ Due to the fact that Mugabe was the Secretary General of ZANU, he had access to vital evidence about his adversaries and other advances in ZANU, thus in time of calamity he would use it against them. This trait lasted long into his lifetime even as the President of Zimbabwe and he used this advantage to consolidate power. The future of the late former President, Robert Mugabe lied on the efficiency of the factions and perpetuating factionalism to suppress the possibility for the factions to unite and work against him. However

the fact that Mugabe overlooked the issue of placing his wife Grace Mugabe as his successor, brewed a lot of questions among the ZANU PF members and also was a causative action that led to his downfall. Bratton postulates that the expulsion of Mnangagwa was a calculated move that put Mnangagwa in a position that he so desired to be, even though the G40 was against the move of letting Mnangagwa take over the Presidium.³¹

Mugabe's constant perpetuation of power under the Zezuru faction which brewed tribal disputes, elimination of threats to power, changing of the constitution of both the ZANU PF and State acted as a catalyst that eventually ended his political career and desire to be a life President of Zimbabwe. The fact that he was a Zezuru, brewed desire for other ethnic groups to work against his longevity in power. For example the immediate suspension of Mnangagwa as the Vice President, gave Mnangagwa momentum to introduce his long term plan. Therefore Mugabe never looked into that aspect, thus it led to his downfall. Msindo notes that, the Tsholotsho declaration was mainly a clandestine meeting that came into play, which was raised by ethnic issues.³² Jonathan Moyo goes ahead and asserts that the meeting had key principles that ensured that the Presidency reflects a diverse ethnic balance, thus the party's major tribal groups should be represented and not have one sub-tribe monopolize the Presidency.³³ These ethnic groups constituted of the Manyika, Ndebele, Zezuru and the Karanga, however they were to ensure that there is promotion of development, national cohesion, stability and peace.

Holland states that Mugabe's deteriorating health also contributed to his downfall, as he relentlessly had to balance and pay attention to his health more than the pressing economic issues of the state.³⁴ The G40 might have succeeded to ensure that Mnangagwa is relieved of his Vice Presidency duties, but they also paid less attention to the military plan that the Lacoste had full support from. The suspension of Mnangagwa followed the impeachment of Mugabe and later led to his coerced resignation through military action, in November 2017. These events served as a catalyst to the ouster of Mugabe and as tension grew Mugabe could not be

omnipresent in every corner, but rather he managed to create more enemies than friends. The last days of Mugabe, preferably termed as the “Two weeks in November”³⁵, realized the cadres of ZANU PF and the Military under General Constantino Gubeva Dominic Nyikadzino Chiwenga, turning against the Mugabe regime and Mugabe himself.

The military took control of the state’s broadcasting cooperation, ZBC and exclaimed that they were protecting Mugabe by targeting the criminals around him. This was known as the Operation Restore Legacy. Mugabe, within those two weeks, was removed from ZANU PF together with the G40 members under Grace Mugabe and Mnangagwa was virtually seen as the next President of Zimbabwe. In other words, the military launched a coup on Mugabe. However ZANU PF at this stage victimized Mugabe, as he had once made ZANU PF his victim. His own strategies, factional politics, nationalist propaganda, elimination of threats to power and military action, in short Mugabeism, were used to topple him from power and end his reign. Mugabe resigned from his post and Mnangagwa was to be reinstated in politics as President of Zimbabwe within 48 hours. More so, the Lacoste had successfully put into action their long term plan to eventually end the reign of Mugabe. However through manipulation of the press, it was eventually announced that Mnangagwa was to be avowed as the President a few days after Mugabe handed in his resignation. In due course Mnangagwa rose to power through competitive factional politics.

Conclusion

Conclusively Mugabe was a virtuous man who knew how to deal with each individual accordingly. He was a man with a great character that most admire to this day and as a Pan Africanist he defended the status of Africa as he deemed necessary. In his wrong or right doing a percentage of him had the people at heart. To some he was a loving Father, a mentor, an advisor and a memorable President. His use of factionalism to consolidate power can be viewed as a way that he used to protect Zimbabwe from a Capitalist neo-colonialism, point of view.

Once more his use of Mugabeism as his manual later worked against him, as those socialized by it turned against his Pseudo Government in the name of Democracy.

Mugabe was a revolutionary politician who knew which cards to play at a particular time to prolong power. To him he believed in total sovereignty and preservation of the African culture, through what other scholars desire to call dictatorial tendencies that Mugabe adopted. He rose to power through factional politics and was the only beneficiary of factionalism in ZANU PF. In the beginning ZANU PF was a victim of Mugabe, but Mugabe later became a victim of ZANU PF. He had to resort to violence as he had an obsession for power and it was what inspired him to have a one man idea that eventually accelerated his end. Mugabeism was used against its own creator to topple him from the Presidency and end his reign. Furthermore Mnangagwa's faction took over after a coup that was initiated by the Military, which once was Mugabe's secret weapon. Eventually after the resignation of Mugabe, Mnangagwa successfully rose to power and became the 3rd President of the republic of Zimbabwe.

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OVERALL CONCLUSION

Conclusively dictators in Africa share the same characteristics. They used strategies that ensured that they stayed in power, for example they used propaganda and cooptation, manipulation of the press, rigging of elections, elimination of threats from power, constant changing of the constitution, divide and rule and One Party state, rallies and force or coercion. Mugabe was a man of many faces and as he accentuated to power, he used strategies that exceptionally positioned him and prolonged his stay in power. However these propelled him to resort to violence as he had an obsession for power. The Jesuits gave Mugabe a strong self-belief that he is always right and he never lost thus this justifies his actions to his longevity in power. However he wanted to overcome the intransigence of the white man, thus he ensured that he never resorted to negotiations as compared to Nelson Mandela.

ZANU is a liberation movement that rose in the vicinity of aggressive factionalism and nationalism. Through the aspect of knowing when to grab an opportunity that has been presented to him, Mugabe before and after independence was an output and beneficiary of factional politics in both the Nationalist movement and ZANU. He never trusted much in friends but rather he learnt how to manipulate enemies and bring them closer, for instance they never agreed in ideology with Nkomo but he suggested a GNU with him. Mugabe used propaganda and the manipulation of the press to protect his self-aggrandized desires to propagate power. As a stepping stone that always remained constant, Mugabe used the support of the grassroots to maneuver and also consolidate power. For instance the grassroots always believed in Mugabe and they never lost trust in him, thus he also ensured that he worked on winning their hearts and minds.

The misuse of power by Mugabe led to his ouster as he overlooked some of the things that eventually led to his downfall. Such things include the welfare of the Zimbabwean citizens, the

independence' main beneficiaries, the neglecting of the economic developments that raised eyebrows and alarms, and also use the resources of the state to go after his adversaries. Due to the fact that Mugabe was elevated to power in the ambiance of factional power struggles, he learnt the art to consolidate power through the manipulation of factions by virtue of weakening possible rebels within ZANU PF and the Zimbabwean government. Through factionalism, Mugabe constructed and reconstructed ones history as he so desired. For example, the way he reconstructed Mujuru's history and many others because of factional politics. He outplayed Mnangagwa when he amended the constitution in a bid to neutralize his faction and ensured that one of the V.Ps was to be a female.

Mugabe also ensured that he changed the constitution so as to suite his personal interests and propagate power. Mugabe practiced authoritarianism and also made sure that he was more powerful than the constitution. However it is fundamental to note that in a Hybrid regime, there is no constitutionalism and the Authoritarian is obliged to change the contents of the constitution whenever it is prudent and convenient. His use of factionalism led to his downfall as he overlooked at the aspect that Mnangagwa was also using factionalism to protect himself and eventually succeed Mugabe. The military took over the nations Broadcasting Corporation, through what they called Operation Restore Legacy, as they prepared to facilitate the sudden change of events in Zimbabwe. Mugabe resigned as the President of Zimbabwe and Mnangagwa returned to Zimbabwe to occupy that position. However when Mugabe resigned, Mnangagwa was reinstated in politics and later ordained as the President of Zimbabwe.

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