

MIDLANDS STATE UNIVERSITY

Faculty of Social Sciences

Department of Politics and Public Management



**ZANU PF POLITICAL IDEOLOGY AND FACTIONALISM. CASE STUDY:
HURUNGWE WEST CONSTITUENCY.**

By

PRINCE JAKARASI

R122436R

Parallel

**A Dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Bachelor of
Science Honours Degree in Politics and Public Management.**

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Supervisor: Mrs. J. Mudzamiri

Release form

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SIGNED :

PERMANENT ADDRESS : Kapiri Secondary School
Private Bag 2193
Karoi

PHONE NUMBER : +263776261053/+263716475314

E-mail address jakarasiprince@gmail.com

Declaration

I the undersigned do hereby proclaim that this dissertation is a product of my own hands and the research findings and investigations have not been offered anywhere else to serve any purpose. Other related sources of information that the researcher has made use of have been fully acknowledged by means of referencing.

PRINCE JAKARASI

.....

Date.....

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FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

The undersigned certify that they have read and recommend to the Midlands State University for acceptance of a dissertation entitled: ZANU PF political ideology and factionalism: Case study Hurungwe West.

SUBMITTED BY: PRINCE JAKARASI (R122436R) in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the BSc Honours Degree of Science in Politics and Public Management

SUPERVISOR

Mrs: J. Mudzamiri

CHAIRPERSON :

Mr. P. S Chigora

EXTERNAL EXAMINER :**DATE**

:

DEDICATION

I do dedicate this dissertation to my whole family who stood by me since the commencement of the degree programme. Special mention goes to my twin brother Grapewell who wielded unfanned, dedicated and committed support towards the accomplishment of this programme. I also pay special tribute to my late parents Mr and Mrs Jakarasi for the seed of diligence they have planted in me.

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Above all special tribute goes to the Almighty God who granted me the wisdom and grace throughout the entire research.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

ANC : African National Congress

COSATU : Confederation of South African Trade Unions

MDC : Movement for Democratic Change

SACP : South African Communist Party

ZANLA : Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army

ZAPU : Zimbabwe African People's Union

ZANU-PF : Zimbabwe African National Union – Patriotic Front

ZIPRA : Zimbabwe Peoples' Revolutionary Army

Abstract

This research was an analysis of the significance ZANU PF political ideology in the control of intra-party factionalism. A study of the role of the party's ideology in stages of factionalism was carried out by the researcher and special attention was paid to the activities that unfolded in Hurungwe West from November (2014) to June (2015). Theories were the fortification base of the research. Qualitative research method was used to amass information and secondary and primary sources were used to gather evidence. The researcher made use of interviews, archival sources and both participative and non-participative observations in accumulating data from the selected population sample. The target population comprised of the ZANU PF party and its diverse stakeholders, The Media Houses and The Zimbabwe Republic Police, State agents, former legislator T.Mliswa and the ordinary people in Hurungwe West. About 21 interviews were administered. The researcher was obligatory, he had to utilize the native language thus shone to avail in the interpretation of questions. The data accumulated from the field was presented by the use of theoretical models that explicates the stages of factionalism. The data amassed shows that the party's ideology played both constructive and destructive role in the ZANU PF fiasco. As a result the researcher had to give recommendations on what has to be done to redress the loopholes in the party's ideology to avert future political hiccups fuelled by factionalists in the party. An extraction of the role the political ideology in controlling factionalism. Theories were the support base of the hypothesis. Qualitative research method was used to gather information while secondary and primary sources were used to analyse the findings.

CHAPTER 1: 1.0 INTRODUCTION

According to the Macmillan dictionary an introduction can be defined as the preliminary section of a book, often having material considered essential to an understanding of the main text. It may also be the preliminary part of a speech, an opening section of a composition or a preliminary guide of a given text. This dissertations like most dissertations in the field of study, will be composed of an introduction, a background or literature review, discussions of the theories and methods used in the research, data analysis and results, a discussion or interpretation of the results, and a conclusion. The introduction's primary goal is to demonstrate the importance, interest and originality of the research project. Above all, it includes a statement of the research question under investigation. This statement gives readers a broad sense of the research topic, as well as what's at stake in learning more about the topic and how the dissertation project changes what people know about the topic. This study will seek to examine the extent to which the party successfully managed to mitigate the forces of factionalism that had rocked the party to win back the hearts of voters in Hurungwe west. The study will therefore deeply explore how the ZANU PF ideology had been systematically used to thwart and crush forces of disunity that had gripped the party towards the December (2014) congress. Through analysing and examining a hive of factional battles that unfolded in ZANU PF, this study will assess and seek validity of Masunungure's argument that:

ZANU PF's continued existence is premised on a demolitive amalgamation of aggression, patronage and ideology, which reposes on a highly controlled idea of dictatorship.

Dialogue and diplomatic initiatives as peace building mechanisms have been used to avert and fight conflict just as much as the political culture and ideology has evolved to stimulate and assist in conflict resolution. This dissertation will vividly explain and expose how a constant robust and combative political ideology can play a crucial role in mitigating

factionalism within political parties regardless of perceived personal traits fame and social standing of candidates who dare to go against mainstream political parties like ZANU PF.

Events that unfolded in Hurungwe will be used as a case studies for the basis of the argument. The case study shall expose the relationship between political ideological values and factional control in Hurungwe west constituency. In this vein the target population for the study are the ZANU PF party's stakeholders which include, ZANU PF political party members, political scientists, media houses the Zimbabwe Republic Police and Temba Mliswa the former Hurungwe west legislator. In this respect the researcher make use of archival research method, participant and non-participant as well as interviews to collect relevant data for analysis.

1.1 BACKGROUND AND RATIONALE OF THE STUDY

The Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front has been in power since (1980) when the country got its independence from the British colonisers. Ian Smith accepted to hand over the former Rhodesia colony to the black majority government after a protracted liberation struggle that was instigated by the two dominant liberation movements namely, ZANU and ZAPU. According to Sibanda Eliakim (2005:3) 'In (1976), the major African patriotic groups, the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union (ZAPU) and the Zimbabwe African National Union merged their military wings giving and formed a Patriotic Front that fought for the liberation of Zimbabwe from colonialism.' In (1987) the signing of the peace accord, heralded the birth of a robust political entity, headed by Robert Gabriel Mugabe.

Conflict in the liberation movement began during its 6th congress after thirty five years in power. Still under the stewardship of President Robert Gabriel Mugabe, friction muted as

clandestine plans to succeed the incumbent president caused stir, outrage, mistrust and disunity as no defined mechanisms were in place to effect the succession agenda. Joyce Mujuru and Emmerson Mnangagwa imaged to be the major contenders in the fight to succeed the ninety one year old Mugabe, who is believed to have overstayed by some quotas of the social fabric in Zimbabwe and the world.

The opposing factions began to expose their true colours during Dr Grace Mugabe's "Meet the People" rallies where the first lady reigned in the so called 'gamatox' faction. The events unfolded in October (2014) were followed by dismissals, suspensions and expulsions of party members who secretly pursued the 'putshist' agenda which advocated to propel Vice President Mujuru to the Presidency of the party through what has been described as 'Unorthodox' means. The First Lady undertook 'the meet the people rallies in a bid to expose the rebellious cabal elements within the party, a process which she described as exorcising the party from evil spirits and she proposed to 'baby dump' the likes of Mujuru.

1.1.1 ZANU PF ideology

1.1.2 Defining political ideology

An ideology in the Althusserian sense is the 'imagery relation to real conditions of existence (oxford dictionary). According to Karl Marx it is a doctrine, philosophy, body of beliefs or principles belonging to an individual group. So in general it denotes the study of the origin and nature of ideas. Destutt de Tracy (1976) defined an ideology as simply the science of ideas. He farther contended that an ideology is a comprehensive normative vision meaning that it is a set of standards that are followed by the people in government or other groups that is considered a 'norm.'

According to L. Magaisa (2015) ZANU PF embraced the doctrine of socialism during the height of the liberation struggle which also explains the military assistance extended to the country by countries such as Russia, China and Yugoslavia. Ideologically, socialism has therefore been viewed as the ZANU PF 'trump card' since the days of the liberation struggle.

The political party maintains a politburo and a central committee. The politburo and the central committee are the supreme executive authorities that monitors every political function within and outside the party. The party's political orientation extremely contradicts with the western democratic and liberal political orientation. It embraces African nationalism and strongly opposes neo-colonial machinations which explains why it undertook the agrarian land reform program with a view to economically empower the majority landless majority. According to western ideas socialism as an ideology is against the private property ownership. The mode of production is owned by the whole society and the ruling ZANU PF party in Zimbabwe commands the state machinery and is in charge of the overall control of the means of production as it has the mandate to act on behalf of the citizenry in Zimbabwe. The statement which read:

"We have now entered the more difficult phase of consolidating our national independence and transforming our economy along socialist lines. We cannot therefore afford to have within our leadership people who are bent on diminishing our national independence or sabotaging the attempt to move towards socialism. At leadership level we must make sure that we have dedicated men and women who are above corruption and above private accumulation For these capitalist roaders the Leadership Code has a clear answer: they must relinquish their leadership and continue with their private accumulation, or they must abandon their capitalist aspirations in order to remain within party ranks."

Source: ZANU PF department of information and publicity vol 16.1:8-13 August 1984 sec congress.

affirms that ZANU PF is a socialist movement. It was pro MarxismLeninsm. It however darts from Leninsm to Maoism to capitalism depending on issues at stake.

Sabelo. J. Gatsheni Ndlovu (2009) is of the view that there has been remarkable wavering on the party's ideology and it has embraced some capitalist attributes. He noted the borrowing of the IMF and World Bank prescribed structural adjustment Programme is enough testimony that the party had diverted from its socialist path. However he quickly noted that aspects of one party body politic which the party advocated for in the first decade in government and some of the programmes that have been adopted by the ZANU PF which include free primary instruction, BACCOSSI, farm automation and its annual programme were it distributes farm equipment free of charge to the rural people demonstrates that the party significantly embraces socialist ideology.

In view of M. Sithole (1996), an ideology can be acclimated to build better lives for society or to justify crippling or decapitating it. He observed that politics of liberation regimes, like most political organisations, is apprised by an ideology. He further elucidated that an ideology can be utilized as an expedient to win targeted objectives and admonishes that as an expedient to legitimate ends an ideology is an implement accessible to both the virtuous and vicious among men. He drew an image of an ideology when he compared it to an axe in the hands of a man in a rural setting who utilizes it to chop firewood to cook for his family or utilizes it to chop his estranged wife. Ideologies therefore originate with certain individuals cogitating and reacting to particular events.

Sithole farther argued that each particular conflict is unique in its own right and hence he contended that ideologies should be time and context categorical. Some political ideologies

may be impertinent in the modern political arena and fit in banal modern systems of governance. In the same context Mandaza (2012) observed that the ZANU PF conception of the state was embedded in Leninist edifications which portrayed the state as a specially organized and coercive force, 'a machine for holding in compliance to one class other, subordinated classes,' integrating that 'politically and ideologically, the state seeks to disorganize and demobilize the exploited classes as much through the threat of repression. He noted that the ZANU PF regime would prefer society to be organized by ZANU PF and not by any other organization or political party.

This is confuted by ZANU PF, which argues that Zimbabweans are in liberty to nominate bellwethers of their option. The party's manifesto clearly expressed that: 'It is the people who make their cull liberatingly and fairly, not the politburo, the central committee, or a bureaucracy. The preamble of the party's constitution reads 'ZANU PF is a democratic party that believes in genuine and direct democracy.

The party is revolutionary and normally follows the Maoist approach especially when it faces opposition within and outside its structures. It normally applies the martial law when dissidents like Mliswa threatens it. Policies like the look east policy are a testimony of the Maoist ideological interconnectedness as China is the current closest ally to Zimbabwe. In an article on page fourteen of the ZANU PF magazine issued by the department of information and publicity, President Mugabe said 'the party was going to steel itself for war through a vigorous and total mobilisation, politicisation and involvement of broad masses of Zimbabwe so that the people and the Party would be one and the war becomes the People's War'. So the party is generally socialistic and derives its powers from the people by engaging them directly at every level.

1.2 Aims of the study

The research's main purpose is to expose the role of a vibrant and robust ideology in controlling factionalism politically, within an internally divided political scenario. ZANU PF's factional battles towards its sixth congress and subsequent events that culminated in Hurungwe west after the congress shall be used in the discussions. This research examines the influence and impact of the ZANU PF's ideology in its party structures.

1.3 Objectives of the study

1. To analyse the effects of factionalism in Hurungwe west.
2. To establish the relevance of a defined political ideology in managing internal party politics.
3. To explain the benefits of robust and effective political ideologies in political parties
4. To exhume the role of individuals in the stages of factionalism.
5. To proffer recommendations if they are any.

1.4 Research questions

1. What are the impacts and effects of factionalism on party politics?
2. How relevant is the ZANU PF political ideology in managing political stability and instability?
3. What are the benefits and dangers of factions in party structures?

4. What is the role of a defined ideology in management of factionalism?

5. What can be done to mitigate factionalism in ZANU PF?

1.5. Statement of the problem

Argument on factionalism of ZANU PF in the social and public media spiced the conflict between two alleged factions which were led by the Former Vice President Joice Mujuru and the current Zimbabwean Vice President Emmerson Mnangagwa. The ZANU PF political ideology became crucial in the control of factionalism through de-campaigning politicians, discrediting their integrity, questioning their competence and allegiance to the party. The party consequently plunged into a nasty factional war which confused the whole nation and the party at large. Comrades and friends who had worked together in the (2013) elections were playing a cat and mouse game as factionalism militated against unity of purpose in the party by triggering discord.

1.6 Significance of the study.

The research will seek to provide a vivid examination and analysis of the role of the ZANU PF political ideology in resolving and dealing with factionalism within its party structures. The research will also be of great relevance academically as it will contribute towards critical analysis of politics in Zimbabwe and ZANU PF in particular.

1.7 Justification of the study.

The emergence of factional politics in Zimbabwe has caused serious uncertainties and reclamations in ZANU PF. Using the factionalism that plagued be ZANU PF in late 2014, this research will expose the role of a robust political ideology in containing political conflict

and propose recommendations to manage intra-party factionalism before it systematically matures to the level it had reached by December 2014.

1.8 Ethics to be observed

The enquiry worker vows to maintain high standards of ethical deportment since he will be working with professionals who are bound by the public sector Privacy Act and other convivially marginalised people who may be very trepidacious to tell tales of their lives.

-. Veracity - The inquiry will strive to maintain veracity in all communications. Veracious report of information, results, method and procedures will be done by the research worker. Being mendacious, misrepresentation, or misrepresentation of data will not be abode in this enquiry. The researcher will additionally ascertain that he does apostatize the target macrocosm in a dictation to amass information.

-. Objectiveness - Personal flavour and prejudice in data analysis, data interpretation, match review, staff office decisions and other aspects of research where objectivity is expected or required will be eschewed. Disclosure of personal or financial intrigues that may affect research will additionally be observed to ascertain objectivity.

-. Confidentiality- The researcher will ascertain that all the information given by the respondent will be kept confidential, such that the designations of the respondents will not be disclosed in the research.

-. Apprised Consent-The researcher will ascertain that the respondents that are going to take part in the research are limpidly apprised about the bearing of the research and its intent.

-. Inclination of Participants -The researcher will ascertain that the participants taking part in the research do this wilfully without duress or victimization.

1.9 Charter Summary

This chapter presented a brief account of the contents of the research. It presented the introduction, the background of the study, definition of an ideology, aims and objectives of the study, research questions, statement of the problem, significance of the study, justification of the study and ethics that were taken into account during the study.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.

Literature review entails the evaluation, contrasting and comparison of the study that one investigates to the existing literature. It gives quality, weight, meaning and relevance to the study. It points the loopholes that relate to what has been presented and written by other scholars in relation to the research under study. Booke and Beile (2005) substantiated that literature review is meant to justify the study under investigation. According to Morton (1996) Literature review distinguishes one's work from what has been written by earlier scholars. In this study, the literature from various articles; scholars and analysts shall be used to explain facts and give a critical analysis of the ZANU PF ideology and how it acts as a control device on factionalism. The researcher shall therefore discuss and deeply assess literature related to factions, how they developed in ZANU PF and how Temba Mliswa the former Hurungwe Legislator fell into factionalism that rocked the party in (2014-15). He will subsequently show how the party's ideology acted as a combat device in maintaining party integrity and controlling factionalism especially towards the run up to the ZANU PF sixth congress. Most literature available in relation to factionalism in ZANU PF has been generally revolving around the role of media in fanning factionalism while most available articles from both print and digital focus more on mere political propaganda and political expediency. Little attention has been given to the role of the ZANU PF ideology in controlling potential and active factionalists. This research shall fill the gap in literature concerning the role of ZANU PF ideology in controlling factionalism and Hurungwe West shall be used as case study.

In Zimbabwe, the conflict is defined as a struggle between 'good' and 'evil', a mortal combat between 'patriots' and 'traitors' (Ranger:14). This notion is deeply rooted in the ZANU PF ideology that whenever an opponent wrangles for power. Ranger has portrayed ZANU PF as a party that stereotypes and legitimises the use of violence through doctrines of

just war, state monopoly of violence, the justified use of revolutionary violence, and defence of the nation. While Ranger wrote much on the role of ZANU PF in crushing the opposition parties, this research will give special attention to the role of the ZANU PF ideology in mitigating factionalism as there is a gap in literature in relation to the role of the party's ideology in controlling factionalism.

2.1. Factionalism

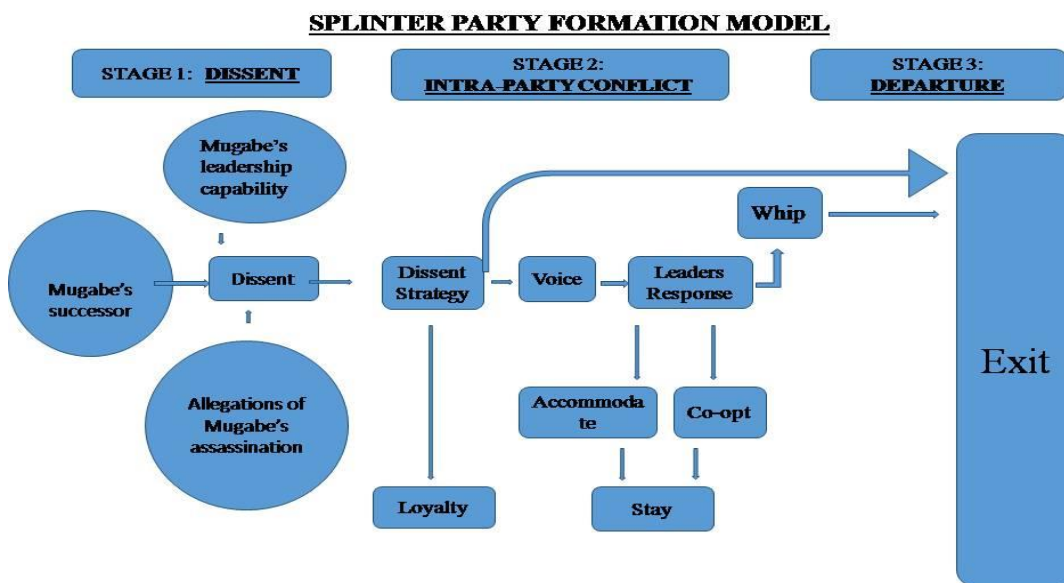
According to the oxford dictionary a faction is a group of people within a political party; organization; who express a shared belief or opinion different from people who are not part of the group. The word can also be used to synonymously denote strife and discord.

Factionalism is the splitting of a group into factions. B.J. Hardee (2013:11) elucidated that James Madison recognized that democracy tends to empower unwise leaders. In Madison's words, 'the factious spirit of self-interested and officeholders; while perhaps one of the more conspicuous demonstrates pathologies, at the bottom a symptom of the profounder disease of lack of wisdom in political life is dangerous.' Madison however felt that factions were necessary evils in a republic as they act as an institution that provides checks and balances between the Monarchy and the citizens. In his opinion factions should co-exist so as to limit the power of both the ruling elite and to avoid a situation that permits federal states which accommodate the majority of the population from suppressing the states that accommodate minority population. He had the feeling that if factions are suppressed by the state institutions, 'people of colour' especially black Americans would be suppressed. While it can be argued that factions in the American context are different from factions in the ZANU PF context the common denominator to factionalism is that whether they are taking place in America or in ZANU PF a political party in Zimbabwe, factions are a cancer as they destroy their host (the party) through disuniting political families. Madison regarded factionalism as a

problem while in ZANU PF factions have emerged and they have caused disunity and they are also a centre of concern hence the need to address it.

2.2. Stages of factionalism

The researcher shall invoke the Splinter party formation to analyze the findings. Accordingly, the aspect of factionalism shall be arrived at after all the series of splinter party formation stages have been accomplished. The researcher was able to gather and track the data of all the events and political activities that breathed life into the concept of factionalism in the Zanu PF party, therefore the researcher will bring to light the position of the socialist ideology in each stage in order to extract its role in keeping factions under control as the division in opinion within this political party seem to have been a high sounding nothing after the bi elections.



Stage 1 Dissent

Dissent, is regarded as the time when nonconforming party cadres begin to highlight issues which do not conform to their leadership's scope as well as the party's mechanisms, ideologies, and strategies

Stage 2 Conflict

Intraparty conflict is the period when opposing opinions are brought forward and dissent develops and manifests in the form of voice or exit.

Stage 3 departure

Departure is the period when dissatisfied dissidents devise a final strategy or the party's highest authority dismiss the dissidents.

2.3. The history of factionalism in ZANU PF

Chakaodza in Maguwu (2006:6) revealed that when ZANU was ephemerally split in 1977 he then collaborated with Mugabe's faction and resigned later amidst earnest recriminations. He farther elaborated that there was a '*Gestapo type of treatment of comrades*' who did not agree with certain ideologies. This contradicts Rey's (1956:112) opinion in May (2007) that for a party to achieve electoral and political success, the top leadership must restrain the extremists from the party ranks. In the same vein Ostrogoski (1932) argued that more ideologically extreme party caucus can handcuff the party's officials.

Factions are not a new phenomenon in ZANU PF, as they had been detected as early as (1977) that politics of regions together with some elements of tribalism were affecting the

operations of the liberation combatants even before independence. While Maguwu has been writing about factions in the context of politics of regions and was directly or indirectly slinging verbal missiles on the personality of President Mugabe in particular this research will only discuss the role of the robust and decisive ZANU PF ideology in putting down factionalism as current available literature is silent in this respect.

In view of L. Maguwu (2000:6) Mugabe's tenaciousness to seek another term in office in the 2008 presidential election caused panic among mundane Zimbabweans who thought life could only improve in the absence of Mugabe. The growing fears and displeasure with Mugabe's re-election command were withal prevalent within ZANU PF itself. At the ZANU PF peoples Conference in December (2006) Mugabe's plan to elongate his term by two more terms was negatively viewed by his political party. Two eminent cabals opposing Mugabe were observed. One faction was led by the then Rural Housing Curate Emmerson Mnangagwa and the other was led by the tardy Retired Army Commander Solomon Mujuru, who was husband to the former vice president Joyce Mujuru who zealously situated themselves for the president ship. The two factions were scheming and plotting against each other despite a defiant Mugabe hinting them there was "no vacancy" for his task, integrating that it was "foolhardy" and "Counter-productive" for him to quit. Mugabe is reported to have withal alluded that the party was lamentably fractured and only he alone had the electrical capacity to coalesce the warring factions. These observations only cement the fact that there were growing factions within party structures and it does not give the place of the party's ideology in suppressing factionalism. Thus this dissertation will expound and fill the gap in literature left by the above mentioned philomath.

Factions are not a monopoly or a ZANU PF possession. Factions are just a testimony of the existence the human species on the universe. Human beings behave differently as they have

different views towards their co-existence. As such factions are imminent wherever there is human society. If one casts a peep into the politics in South Africa which borders Zimbabwe he/she is bound to observe that there were real factions in the ANC.

The increasing trade deficit, declining currency and slowing growth rates - in the context of straitened International circumstances forced Cosatu and the SACP to be resentful of their weakened position. With good primer coat, they reckoned that trade-labour union were the most powerful alliance for mobilising the vote at election time. Equally, they were less than sure of their wider popularity within the ANC (notably within rural areas). So when (around 2004-05) it imaged that they decided to replicate their marginalization within the alliance by capturing the ANC from within, they recognised their need for a popular supporter. It was thus that they fastened onto Jacob Zuma, whose elevation to the deputy presidency they manipulated and exploited thus creating factions within the ANC.

Factions in the ANC resulted in the final impeachment of Thabo Mbeki and currently South African ANC is facing opposition form the EFF a splinter group that rallied behind Julius Malema. In Tanzania Chama Chamapinduzi developed factions before the resignation of its founding President Julius Mwalimu Nyerere. In Zimbabwe the MDC fractured and it now has many formations.

Generally therefore factions are part of the egoistic component of human nature as they manifest inherently in human beings and cause divisions in opinion. Thus this dissertation shall be channelled towards identifying ideologies that effectively control factions as such literature is deficient in available literature. A study in Hurungwe therefore shall therefore be used as the measuring tape in the research. For the contention below points to the fact a party's ideology determines its co-existence in the political environment.

'Zanu PF has roots and we are talking about the tape root foundations entangled in and around the walls of Great Zimbabwe and beyond. The party embodies and defines the inception of Zimbabwe and its vision is enshrined in its ideology, the country's defining vision which anchors, binds and shapes the nation as a whole.'

Bernard Bwoni Feb 2 (2014:1) Bulawayo 24 News

There has been various versions in relation to whether what unfolded during the ZANU PF sixth conference qualify to be regarded as factionalism. Some schools of thought believe that it was merely a disciplinary action that resulted in the expulsion of potential factionalists. The comments below dispute the notion that there has been factionalism in ZANUPF.

Commenting on the splinter faction led by Mujuru Moyo Jonathan said that Zanu-PF never had a high sounding postfix betokening 'People First'. He alluded that it was starkly preposterous for Mutasa to verbally express that anything called 'People First' is the pristine ZANU-PF. He described the formation as a perfidious company of antecedent homogeneous puppet formations such as Zanu Ndonga or Zanu Mwenje He concurred with current party spokesperson Khaya Moyo who verbally expressed that there is only one ZANU-PF. Which he said was unassailable licit and political party which will always be one and indivisible ZANU-PF.

This dissertation will argue that factions in ZANU PF were working to clandestinely usurp power from the current leadership. The study will therefore be neutral in its assessment as it will not be taking sides with any centre of power. Therefore exhaustive analysis will be made in all aspects that relates to the real events that were at play towards the 6th ZANU PF. In relation to factionalism, the research will concur with a sentiment from the "Pindula" document which read:

‘The most significant event to publicly show there were divisions in the party was an early June attack on Jonathan Moyo by president Mugabe who referring to Jonathan Moyo said he was ‘a devil incarnate’ and ‘weevil’ bent on destroying the party form within-----speaking at a rally a few days later Didymus Mutasa who belong to the Mujuru faction thundered ‘the party needed to use ‘Gamatox’ pesticide to deal with weevils’.

Source ‘Pindula’ an online document

The above sentiments were utterances from senior party officials which were confirming that all was not well in the party. Debates over factionalism dominated all facets of media. Social and print media was awash with news, twits, WhatsApp messages which all confirmed that factionalism was plaguing ZANU PF like a witch weed. Literature regarding the contribution of ZANU PF ideology in diffusing factions that were under the spotlight of these critics has not been provided. It seems the decisive victory of ZANU PF in bi-elections that followed silenced all think tanks, media houses and researchers. This research therefore seeks to explore factors that contributed to ZANU PF success. Election outcome is a concern to all stakeholders be they the parties, the candidates taking party in the election and the voters. The researcher shall therefore undertake this study in Hurungwe West by studying Mliswa influence in the province as he was the chairman in a predominantly (Zezuru/Korekore) when he originates from the Midlands province. History recounts that he was possibly the first

chairman

to

hail

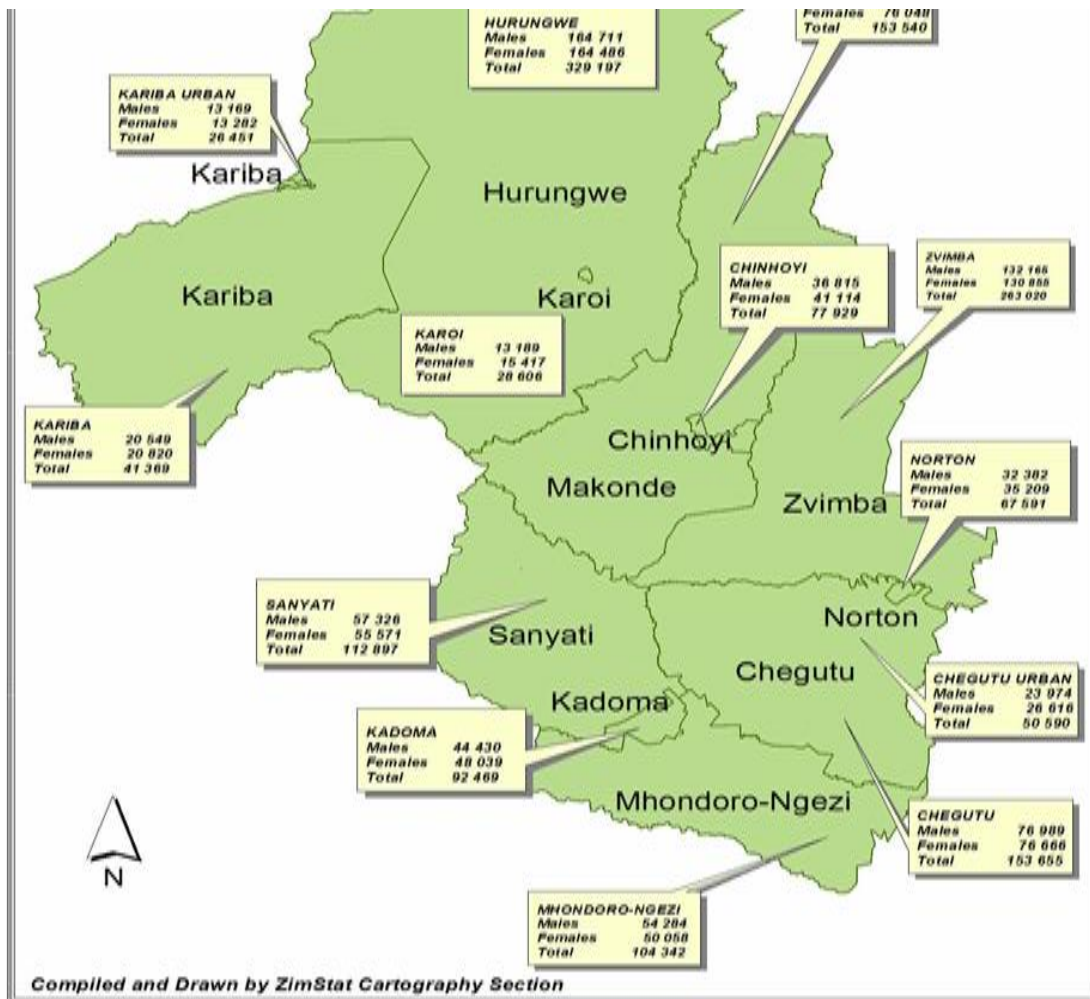
HurungweDistrict.



'Hurungwe West National Assembly member Mr Temba Mliswa has refused to accept an official vehicle through the Parliamentary Vehicle Loan Scheme, arguing that the facility should instead be used to develop poor constituencies.'

Source: Sunday Mail Zimbabwe. 06/08/2014: editorial by Mwase.

Below is the map showing Mashonaland West Province where Temba chairman.



In (2014) most Zimbabwe papers carried headlines that revealed that Mliswa had created more enemies in the province. The headlines revealed that Mliswa was becoming critical with the party and he was in a way resisting its ideology and dominance from within. He was acting more like an opposition legislator.

The way Mliswa began to antagonise the very party that had propelled him to the position he was, was an early warning shot that something sinister was building itself in the party. It was indeed a glimpse onto the growing dissent which in itself is the first stage of factionalism.

The force of dissent gradually materialised that Mliswa began to use his power as provincial position to achieve his ends. Realising the magnitude of the potential threat of factions ZANU PF on November one (2014) all newspapers in Zimbabwe ran headlines relating to the resolution by ZANU PF Politburo to establish a commission of enquiry into factionalism.

Following the inquiry Hon. P. Zhuwau –chairman of the Zhuwau institute on economics and research think tank wrote:

‘let us all support the systematic destruction of factionalism by advocating for the institutionalisation of a single centre of power through amending the ZANU PF constitution to enable the president and first secretary of the party to appoint all members of the politburo’

Source : The Sunday Mail (2014/14/06)

The strategy on how to suppress factionalism was developed by the party and the first lady began the meet the people campaign. In Chinhoyi Temba Mliswa was respected by the first who donated seed maize to all members of the party who were present. She also entrusted him as the then provincial chairman to take custody of the donation. Mliswa is reported to have taken the larger share of the seed to his constituent were even the chiefs were proud of his performance at all levels. So mixed feelings began to develop among common people in

Rural constituent who could simply not comprehend what was taking place.



Mliswa getting an instruction from the first lady at the Meet the people rally in Chinhoyi.

Source Pindula online documents

2.4 Mliswa' ouster from provincial chairmanship

On October 10 (2014) Mliswa was reportedly 'booted' out. An article from NewsdzeZimbabwe an online newspaper reported that the embattled ZANU PF provincial chairman had been hit by a vote of 'no confidence.' An executive meeting at the Chinhoyi University had resolved to relieve Mliswa off his duties a day before. Nunurai Jena the Financial Gazette news correspondent reported that the executive had invoked article 29.2.6.1 of the party's constitution which requires a simple majority to remove a sitting chairman or executive member. This was the beginning of the events that provoked the researcher to

explore the significance of the ZANU PF ideology in weakening factionalism that was imminent in the party at this time in its history as most writers and editors were carried out by the battles while paying less attention to the role of the party's ideology in mitigating factionalism. Kindness Paradza the then secretary for Mashonaland West province opposed the ouster of Mliswa and was quoted saying that the ouster was illegal.

He pointed out that Article 12:97 and 12:97 (1) of the ZANU PF constitution expressed that Provincial Executive Committee meetings were to be called for and presided over by the provincial chairman as the head of the political and administration department for the province. Alternatively, a meeting could only be called for by request through the office of the secretary for administration to sanction for fair notice, consultation and procedure. Furthermore, Paradza verbally expressed that all correspondence came through his office but haplessly he learnt of the no confidence vote through the media.

Paradza lamented that the “ghost” petition was wrought with deception and open to doubt as it comprised a list of largely fraudulent signatures. He was deluded to learn that the media was disseminating news concerning the vote of no confidence. ‘The only endeavours at this unconstitutional convention were made in Banket and Chinhoyi,’

Paradza retorted source Financial Gazette

Despite all attempts to deny that Mliswa had been relieved off his duties the petition that confirmed a vote of no confidence on him was upheld by the politburo on the on 25 October (2014). For in view of Farirai Zvenyika a Herald reporter he was a rabble rouser while Ziyambi Ziyambi the then deputy provincial secretary said, “He (Mliswa) is fighting people unnecessarily, attacking senior party members and we feel this is bringing our party into disrepute and tarnishing the good image of the organisation.” Most available literature is

silent on the role of the political ideology in what was happening and this dissertation will give a critical appraisal of the role of a strong political ideology in stamping out factionalism.

According to N. Gatsheni (2009) discourses such as ‘mwana wevhu’ children of the soil were used to direct the message of socialism to the electorate by ZANU PF. Gatsheni concurs with Debbie (2009) who observed that propaganda operates in different types and techniques which include band wagoning, glittering, generality, testimonials, transfer, repetition, emotional words, name calling, faulty cause and effect, compare and contrast. This is what actually began to be observed in Hurungwe as the bi-election gathered momentum. Deputy President E. Mnangagwa and most senior ZANU PF officials poured into Hurungwe West on a weekly bases to make sure that the people rally behind the party and its ideology rather Mliswa who had allegedly worked with the American embassy to get constituent development ‘AID’ in exchange for state secretes. Youths began to unmask Mliswa’s factional games and the Maoist games began. A dailynews reporter had this to say about the election faze:

‘Dozens of light commercial trucks usually used to carry tobacco from Hurungwe to auction floors in Harare dragooned perhaps a thousand people to Vice President Emmerson Mnangangwa rally at Kajekache Primary school---it was a quasi-military operation in which the party and security force personnel controlling it exuded menace---but soon afterwards, the holiday atmosphere evaporated. The area was swamped by soldiers, secret police and aides who scurried around Mnangangwa as he made a perfunctory tour, wearing a ZANU PF baseball cap. The women at the receiving party broke into song: ‘vauzvei vavhotere paMasvingo kuzvara Hondo---.’

Gift Phiri news editor 5 June (2015) Dailynews



Deputy President E.Mnangangwa middle, Cde.S.Kasukwere left, Dr. Guzah, right, Cde

I.Chombo behind in white classes. Sundaymail (2015)

The reporter above had his agenda as what he wrote could have not happened the way he presented it. It is generally believed by some quotas of the society that dailynews is an opposition mouthpiece and its reflections should be indulged with an open and analytical view. Commenting on the same event on June one (2015) under the headline: Mnangangwa charms Hurungwe a Herald reporter, Noah Pito reported that the deputy President first decried the lack of dams in the constituency, appreciated the way roads had been constructed. He however went on to say: “---people must never be fooled in any way as ZANU PF is an elephant, which walks its way without being swayed by barking dogs. Don’t be fooled by Mliswa who claims that you are in his palms. Are you his people. I tell you ZANU PF is a big pocket enough to accommodate everyone who loves it---.’ He went on inform the villagers

who had gathered that Guzah had been given to the party by the people themselves through democratic primary elections and that by voting for him the people were honouring ZANU PF as a party not Dr Guzah as an individual. He closed by urging the candidate to be a servant of the people and condemned violence. His last sentiments were: ‘we don’t want violence. We have the power, we have the people, which is what is needed by our leader and Jehovah.’

From the above contrasting versions one can glean that bias and propaganda was at play as each reporter gave an account of the same event in his own conception, thus this dissertation will focus more on the role of ZANU PF ideology in containing factionalism in Hurungwe West as such literature is deficient in available literature. In the statement above, the herald reporter, the deputy president was simply reminding the people the position of the party in its socialistic tone which the rural folk are acquainted with. The mention of the leader of the party and the subsequent mention of what (Jehovah) God wants is a true systematic manipulation of culture and religion and the mention of the president lingers on the importance of a supreme leadership. Such are the socialistic traditions that make the ZANU PF ideology which this dissertation shall assess in order to expose the role of the decisiveness of a working ideology in combating factional forces within ZANU PF. For the daily news reporter’s view seem to suggest that the rural constituent was highly militarised to the extent that even truck drivers were forced to the rally against their will. But the photograph above contradicts with what qualifies to be an overstatement of the real events that unfolded during the eventful day. Visibly the deputy president is not putting on baseball cap neither are the trucks queued.

According to L.Maguwu (2000), Politics is about choices and convincing the voters with strategies and policies rather than coercion and force therefore central to democracy is the observance of all basic freedoms. This view directly contradicts with realist politics where

political behaviour is determined by the conditions at hand. For in Hurungwe election date was set prior to the nomination court and the ball was set rolling. Smear campaign fist fighting was common. Mliswa for example told voters that Guzha was a notorious thief, Kasukuwere and Moyo were homosexuals and so forth. ZANU PF did not fold hands amid these insults as Mnangagwa called Mliswa a barking dog, a sell-out and an American spy. A. Magaisa (2015) wrote:

Mliswa barely had room and opportunity to campaign in the constituents. He was detained and arrested on flimsy rounds. His supporters were haunted by the ruling party and state machinery, he was alone fighting as an independent without state machinery.

Source (Alex .T. Magaisa July 2015)

In critically assessing the validity of the above point of view this research will seek to explain why the vote in the mentioned constituent was (5961 votes for Guzha ZANU PF against Mliswa 4239 votes). Literature regarding the ideological supremacy of ZANU PF. ZANU PF like most socialist movements creates a personality cult and the president is the supreme authority as Zimbabweans especially the rural folk take the President for a king-(a tradition they inherited from the pre-colonial history). The party has manipulated such traditions to create a personality cult were anyone who has not the backing of the president and the party is viewed as an enemy of the state. The party and the president are but one. In the statement above Magaisa attributes Mliswa's defeat to the influence of state machinery yet paying little attention to the contribution of ZANU PF manifestos which have a direct contribution to its success. This research will therefore seek to fulfil the gap in literature that fell short in this respect.

S. Moyo (2014:24) attributes ZANU PF success in rural areas to the ZANLA military styles which propagated revolutionary propaganda during night gatherings. He noted that such gatherings had a mental connotation which still lives today.

This view is to a large extent correct in explaining the ZANU PF victory in most rural constituencies but the liberation war history in Hurungwe West points to the fact that the dominant combatants were ZIPRA combatants who crossed from Zambia into Hurungwe directly. In an interview with one businessman in Kajekache the researcher was told that the school was sometimes haunted as the Rhodesian forces once confronted the ZIPRA combatants head on at the grounds where the school is situated. This research therefore seeks to unearth other factors other than war credentials which are overlooked by available literature on how the ZANU PF ideology is efficiently used to diffuse factionalism and opposition movements that go against President Mugabe. .

Raftopoulos (2006:23) advanced that the integration of ZIPRA, ZANLA and the Rhodesian army to compose the Zimbabwe National Army (ZNA), allowed ZANU PF to capitalize on imperfections in the integration system to put forward its factional forces as the "national force". In this vein S. Moyo (2014) argued that this has made it arduous to abstract ZANU PF from power because the army's adhesions are to ZANU PF and not the nation since it was engendered by ZANU PF.

Therefore if these are the realities of the party, factionalism within the party will in this respect always remain a street talk as the army which plays a significant role in determining the general direction of the party remains united under a single chief commander. The president who is the chief commander of the army rests assured that the party is indivisible for as long as the army is under his direct command as all other forces are just feeble and ineffective forces.

Temba Mliswa's popularity in Hurungwe west is not an issue of debate. The whole lot of Zimbabwean media houses did write about the close ties that Temba Mliswa had with the

people in Hurungwe West. A research on the contribution of the ZANU PF ideology in winning against a popular figure like Mliswa has not been examined in the available literature and this research will seek to fill this gap by making a thorough research on the relationship between ZANU PF and the population in Hurungwe west given the fact that this same constituent that voted for Mliswa had formerly voted for the MDC-T. His campaign suffered the same fate as those who had dared to campaign for ZANU PF in the sixteen constituents countrywide. A commentator from the Zimeye wrote:

ZANU PF has thrown everything including deploying the dreaded Central Intelligence organisation officers, military and its militant youths in a fierce battle to win the seat following the expulsion and recalling of the former legislator; Mliswa. This is the second time that violence has rocked the constituency as ZANU PF employs its intimidation tactics.

Source:<http://zimabwenewslive.com>

The clash of supporters was of course part of the campaigning strategies. In the context of elections in Hurungwe West all sides in the battle for the constituency engaged in electoral malpractices in one way or the other.

. We call upon the responsible authorities to bring to book perpetrators,” said Mliswa. “Today I confronted the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (Zec) to instruct police to arrest the perpetrators and urge Zanu PF to stop all this violence.” “Allow people to freely choose their candidate without beating them,” Mliswa said. The violence takes place ahead of Mnangagwa’ star rally in Mashonaland West province. “It is shocking that Mnangagwa is coming today after Phelekezela Mphoko’s rally a fortnight ago,” said Mliswa. “The people of Hurungwe are not fools. ZANU PF will have a run for its money...’



Source Newsday zim (2015)

The photograph above show the campaigning phase during the bi-elections. Clearly Mliswa's campaigning team was campaigning freely but the entry of senior ZANU PF officials and the message of unity of purpose and the need for villagers to rally behind the President and the party allowed the party to win the constituent. Reports from the constituents shows that Mliswa's team also attacked ZANU PF youths.



Source zimeye

The picture above the campaigning posters for both candidates. While Guzah's poster has President Mugabe picture on the left corner, Mliswa inserted Nikita Mangena's picture. This contrast further affirms the factional battle that was at play because Mangena was the ZIPRA commander while Mugabe remains the father figure of the ZANLA wing. Hurungwe West as mentioned earlier was a ZAPU stronghold and this dissertation shall investigate the extent to which ZANU PF ideology controlled this factional battle which started in the (1970s). Mliswa's grievances above are simply a ploy to discredit the election as defeat naturally depicts failure.

As the date for elections drew closer Mliswa was arrested for tearing Guzah's posters and possessing an unlicensed gun. By June 3 he filed a report that sort for the post-ponement of the election to no avail. The public and private broadcasters announced that he had been arrested and was Chinhoyi for prosecution.

Below is Mliswa under arrest. He was arrested on June 3 (2015).



Source daily news zim 2014

Chiefs in the district gathered at the district office to show their solidarity with the president and the revolutionary party. Senator Dandawa denounced and called on the police to arrest Mliswa for claiming that he had the support of the chiefs in the district. On 2 September (2015) Walter Mukondiwa a Herald reported that Mliswa had been fined for contempt of court by the Chiefs in Hurungwe. This was happening against the background of an electoral defeat during the bi- elections.

A. Magaisa (2015) elucidated that this by-election had shown once again that it's very cold and miserable outside the agency of political parties and that as a general rule, voters follow parties and not the individual candidates. Parties gain support only if people approve their ideologies. Apart from Margaret Dongo whose ground-breaking challenge against the system and victory as an independent in (1995) and Professor Jonathan Moyo's success in the (2005) and (2008) elections and more recently Jonathan Samkange's victory as an independent in (2013) there have not been any notable electoral victories by independent candidates.

2.5 Knowledge gap

The generality of the literature that is available in relation to factionalism in ZANU PF does not articulate and explain the role of ZANU PF ideology in controlling factions at constituent level. The media in Zimbabwe has been carried to deeper ends in the competition to influence factionalism by planting seeds of divide among supporters and the generality of the population. This is evidenced by the lack of balanced content in most of their reports. Therefore there been a knowledge deficit in relation to the role that ZANU PF ideology plays in controlling and mitigating intra-party factionalism. This dissertation shall therefore examine the value of people oriented ideologies in controlling factionalism as available literature is silent in this regard.

Theoretical framework

2.6. Appraisal Theory

This research shall use the Appraisal theory as a tool of analysing the statements from various stakeholders who were part of the factional battles. Scherer etal (2001) advanced that the theory suggests that human emotions are extracted from peoples' evaluations (appraisal of estimates) of events that cause specific reactions in different people. In the same vein Aroson etal (2005) noted that Appraisal theories of emotions result from the peoples' interpretations and explanation of their circumstances in the absence of physiological arousal. Fournier described it as a theory of emotion which implicates people's personal interpretations of an event in determining their emotional reaction.

Voloshino (1995), argues that appraisal theory is an expansion of the Hallidayan framework which is used to learn fully the complex ways by which people express their personal views and react to the views of others. He suggested that an analysis of appraisal is essentially interpretive, as the same text can be analysed very differently by different people.

As such, this research will focus on Appraisal theory as a tool for criticising and evaluating the actions reactions and speeches form the target population. The theory is relevant to the investigation under study as it allows the researcher to contextualise and analyse emotions at play from the day factional battles started to cripple the party. The theory was developed by Peter White and Jim Martin. T.

Appraisal theory is categorised into three main components which include Attitude, Engagement and Graduation as developed by Martin and White (2005). Attitude is used to express positive or negative evaluations by speakers or writers in a text, it enables writers to express their attitudes towards people. Engagement considers how much the reader endorses the statements of others; this is where the writer affirms or distances himself from the text. Graduation is the adjustment of attitude and engagement; through Graduation the message in a text is made clearer or vague.

Though this research is using all the components of the Appraisal theory, special attention will be on the Engagement part of the theory. Under Engagement the aspect of Judgment has prompted the choice since it evaluates human behaviour. This research has preferred this Meta function because the aspect of judgment serves in the assessment of human behavioural patterns as noted by Zhang (2011).

The researcher has chosen and preferred Appraisal theory to the investigation of the concepts under study as much of the evidence to be used in the research shall be gathered from secondary sources such as news bulletins, press statements, internet content and the whole lot of national broad casters. The theory captures emotions and shall be useful in analysing information to be gathered during interviews. To this end Smith (2001) notes that appraisal theory was developed to explain the phenomenon not adequately explained by previous models of emotions.

This research will focus on the meanings of speeches, actions and attitudes of different stakeholders who were directly or indirectly affected by the factional fights that erupted in ZANU PF before and after the sixth ZANU PF congress. Special attention shall be made to the events that took place in Hurungwe West.

2.7. The Marxist-Leninist theory

'By February 1964 the 'master plan' was taking shape and included several acts of sabotage against the enemy. Whenever ZANU hit the target the word 'confrontation' was to be scribbled as a trademark... the 16 point master plan eventually formulated listed five general areas where the plan would be prosecuted. These included all main roads, acts of sabotage were to be carried out on main highways bridges livestock....'

Source: ZANU PF department of information and publicity magazine (1984)

The political ideology in ZANU PF derives its roots from the Marxist-Leninist ideas. Louis Althusser (1976:3) subscribes to the view that Marxism has more to do with class struggle. He further advances that in a Marxist set up there is seizure and conservation of state power and the consequent use of state power and apparatus by the classes holding power as a function of their class objectives. This theory shall be used to explain the way ZANU PF systematically controls and diffuses factions within its structures.

Major tenets:

- Revolutionary teachings fundamental in shaping the society.
- The working class to spearhead the establishment of socialism

- The, countrymen and tenants the national liberation kineticism (as symbolised by the sickle and the hammer.
- The denunciation of and imperialism and capitalism
- views men as solely responsible for their lives

In Zimbabwe the poster of the president is put in every public office with view to send a message that he is overly the highest authority. What he says becomes the official position of the party and government. This thus systematically controls intra-party factionalism as he subsequently becomes the centre of power. Therefore this Marxist theory shall be used in this study to expose how political ideology controls factionalism.

2.7.1 Maoist Theory

In explicating Maoism; L. Althusser (1976:14) substantiates that Maoism is a political theory derived from the edifications of Chinese bellwether Mao Zedong (1893-1976). The Maoist-doctrine composed of a philosophy and mythology for peasant revolution. Mao himself was anti-west and anti- imperialism. He regarded the peasants as the critical mass who he could work with to combat imperialism utilizing the martial law. This is the most preferred ideology in Zanu pf especially when dealing with opposing forces and it shall be utilized in this research to expound how Zanu pf diffused factionalism in Hurungwe west.

In view of Richard. R. Wertz (1998 -2015), Unlike the earlier forms of Marxism-Leninism in which the municipal proletariat was visually perceived as the main source of revolution, and the countryside was largely ignored, Mao fixated on the peasantry as a revolutionary force which, he was convinced, could be mobilized by a Communist Party with their erudition and leadership. In the same vein, ever since the liberation war the 1970s Mugabe has utilized peasants as a force against western imperialism. So a manipulation of the people in

Hurungwe was an implement in itself for resisting factionalism. Furthermore, unlike other forms of Marxism-Leninism in which sizably voluminous-scale industrial development was optically discerned as a positive force, Maoism made all-round rural development the priority. Mao felt that this strategy made sense during the early stages of socialism in a country in which most of the people were peasants.

Unlike most other political ideologies, including other socialist and Marxist ones, Maoist doctrine explicitly connects its political ideology with military strategy. So power is generally determined by one's military capability. In Zimbabwe the so-called militias and war veterans are an informal combative force that control the demeanour of people especially in rural areas with a view to promote an amalgamated front against opponents and factionalist from cell level to the national executive. In Maoist thought, "governmental power emanates from the barrel of the gun" (one of Mao's quotes), and the peasantry can be mobilized to undertake a "people's war" of armed struggle involving guerrilla warfare in three stages.

Wertz noted that the first stage involves marshalling and unifying the peasantry, the second stage embroils instituting rural vile areas and incrementing coordination among the guerrilla organizations while the third stage involves a switch to straight warfare. In Maoism, cautious shaping of enormous armed and commercial power is requisite to bulwark the revolutionary area starting external threat, while monopolization keeps fraud under supervision, amid vigorous control, and sometimes amendment, by the revolutionaries of the area's arts and sciences.

Key to Maoism is the discernment that the class tussle perpetuates throughout the entire socialist period, as a result of the fundamental antagonistic contradiction between capitalism and communism. Even when the proletariat has seized state power through a socialist revolution, the probable vestiges for a bourgeoisie to insatiate capitalism. Some historians

today regard Maoism as a philosophy devised by Mao as a ruse for his own quest for puissance.

Events in Hurungwe West bear testimony of the systematic implementation of Maoism. ZANU PF used the peasants themselves to enforce the dictates of the party. Aspects like coercion mass mobilisation and bases were prevalent during the later stages of the campaign which saw Mliswa getting arrested and some of his supporters falling in victims of torture.

2.7.2 Chapter summary

This chapter focussed on literature review and theoretical framework. Definition of literature review, factionalism the splinter party model and the history of factionalism was presented in the first section of the charter and theories that include the Appraisal theory, the Marxist and Maoist theories were discussed. The researcher also made an in-depth analysis of media content relating to factionalism and closed the chapter by identifying the knowledge gap.

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY.

The enquiry is going to make use of the qualitative enquiry design which is a procedure of systematic investigation of the definition that researchers use to articulate and synthesise meanings of what they experience and mould their demeanour.” The inquiry is seeking to expose the function played by all players in ZANU PF against the background knowledge of factionalism. Therefore the enquiry will at most rely on the archival enquiry attack which Lining (2012) described as the analytic thinking of fellow enquiry’s studies or usage of historical or modern media records.

3.1.Data collection and enquiry design.

The research will rely on primary and secondary winding of information. The information will be obtained through interviews and nidus group discussions. Various informants shall be interviewed and they shall be stakeholders from ZANU PF local residents in Hurungwe West and all local leadership in the constituent. These stakeholders are crucial as they give first-hand information. L. Millward and G. Breakwell (2012) advanced that a focus group is “a discussion based interview that produces verbal data generated via group fundamental interaction.” As such focus group discussions will be used to analyse data and extract information. The research will however use secondary reservoir of data for its statement since secondary sources provide reliable information and tangible data for analysis. Secondary data and primary sources will be used as sources of data in this research; they will come in the form of published data such as academic clauses , newspapers, personalized images, WhatsApp media, videos and the people in Hurungwe West. Secondary sources strengthens the argument because they provide the actual content that is responsible for the nature of behaviour displayed by the consultation in intercourse to the fiasco of ZANU PF and it gives

tangible evidence for analysis. The current research is a qualitative research whose purpose is to unearth a qualitative account of the research. The inquiry will be discussed in detail below.

3.2. Qualitative Research.

Qualitative inquiry, approach, can be understood by its aim which seek to recount aspects of agreement, with sample distribution of words for information collecting. Taking into bill the repercussions of factional conflict that occurred in ZANU PF towards and after the sixth congress the use of qualitative enquiry as inquiry technique best the captures the intended purpose of understanding factional content beyond ordinary resourcefulness or footer intellection. Most scholars in qualitative research agree that qualitative research is aimed at deeply analysing, interpreting and exploring sociable phenomenon. Through the use of a qualitative research methodological analysis, the author intend to gather richer information and more detailed flick of display case, issues or issue (Laminator and Arora 2009). In this research, the investigator shall acknowledge that what was written by different scholars, media houses and speeches from different ZANU PF cadres were not from a vacuum and as such a result can only be guaranteed by the use of this research technique which report for the assembling of exhaustive knowledge of the national thing. Bryman (2012) elucidated that there are three features which are worth note taking when looking at qualitative research. There is an inductive view of the research where he says the former which is being sampled is the existence of the latter. There is also an epistemological billet described as an interpretive which emphasizes on the understanding of the sociable world through the examination of its participants. And an ontological side description which implies that social properties are consequence of the interactions between individual. It is however, suicidal to think that qualitative research methodology is all encompassing and does not have its impuissance and imperfections in data collection. General criticisms levelled against

qualitative research as raised by (Patton and Cochran) are that sample distribution tend to be minimum and do not necessarily represent the entire universe and the inquiry technique tend to generalise results which at times might be misleading. They also noted that the findings are not exhaustive. The other important weakness is that findings might be based on the inquiry worker's opinion. Despite the above noted criticism on qualitative research methodology, the approach remains the best for aims of this survey.

3.3. Sampling operation for data collection.

Sampling is a very broad phenomenon and there are many eccentric s of sample distribution techniques that can be employed in a research. Sampling techniques include comparative sample, purposive, contrivance sample, probity sample and comparative sample, among others. Ritchie, Lewis and Elam, 2003 maintain that samples in qualitative research tend to be small.

3.4. Purposive sampling.

This type of sampling can also be called judicial decision al sample and is selected on the bases of the available knowledge of the population under study for the purpose of the study. This type of sampling is very convenient when the researcher wants to immediately reach the targeted sample. Non chance samples are useful when social unit under investigation are based on the judgment of the researcher as in this grammatical case the perceived legal action and utterance from the target population are of great significance. In quantitative research the notion of sampling generally revolves around probability sampling while in qualitative purposive sampling takes centre focus as noted by Bryman (2012). Given (2008), notes that purposive sampling is virtually synonymous with qualitative research. It is, however, not only misleading but incorrect to say that probability sampling has no space in qualitative bailiwick

though it can only be done in interview scenarios other than the ethnographic studies, though it is rare to his probability sampling in qualitative research.

3.5. Methodological Limitations.

Purposive sample is largely prone to preconceived notions, the idea that purposive sampling is fashioned along the inquiry worker's opinion is an obstruction to authenticity of the findings as they are directly or indirectly guided by perception and views of the researcher. The researcher uses his or her own judgment to select the building block to be sampled and this does not mean that the selected units are appropriate. Again if diverse units are selected to be studied in a more or less similar research the issue are likely to be different.

3.6 Chapter Summary

This chapter basically outlined the methods of data collection and the enquiry design. It highlighted that the research the research relied more on qualitative data collection methods and discussed how samples were identified as well as the limitations of the selected methodology.

CHAPTER 4: DATA ANALYSIS, PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION.

This chapter shall focus on the presentation of the data that the researcher gathered during the field study. Data analysis is paramount in this study as it will allow the researcher to describe and summarise the information gathered. The data will therefore be useful in identifying variables and forecast outcomes of the study thereby proffering answers to the research questions. Data is defined as the ‘original information which is collected, stored accessed, used and disposed during the course of the research and final research findings.’ The basic steps in the analytical process include identifying issues, determining the availability of suitable data, evaluating and communicating the data. They are four basic types of data analysis namely textual analysis, discourse analysis, content analysis and historical or documentary data analysis.

4.1.0 Textual Analysis

Textual analysis basically involves the development of an educated guess or a hypothesis of the most likely interpretation of a given text, situation or statement. It therefore follows that the researcher shall analyse the interpretation of magazines, newspapers media releases which highlighted what took place in Hurungwe so as to come up with an informed explanation of the role of ZANU PF ideology in mitigating factionalism. The textual analysis approach to data analysis is paramount as it allows the research to appreciate how other persons perceive the circumstances under study. It therefore follows that the researcher will appreciate the political culture and how it shapes political decisions in Hurungwe West constituent.

4.1.1 Content Analysis

Content analysis shall also be used to analyse ‘mute evidence.’ Therefore content ranging from written information, oral statements, iconic (drawings and paintings), audio or visual

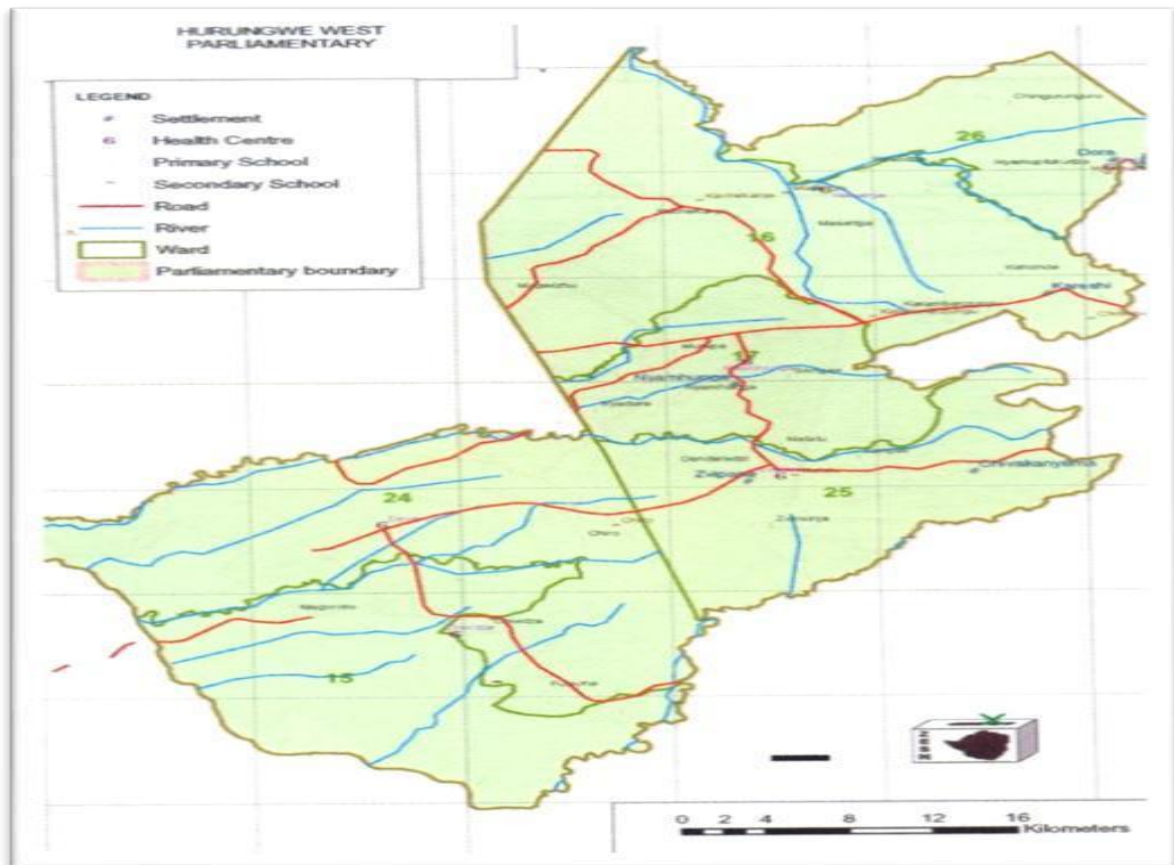
texts and hyper-texts will be used in the analysis of data. These shall be used as tools to identify trends, coding frameworks. Special inferences of qualitative content will be made as open ended questions will be used during in depth interviews that shall be directed to special centres of authority in the constituency.

In Hurungwe west the research will present the outcomes of surveys observations and answers to questions that were posed to different focus groups that engaged worked during the study. Diagrammatical and written presentations of data shall therefore be made where necessary.

4.1.2. CONSTITUENCY PROFILE

Former ZANU PF Mashonaland West Chairman, Temba Mliswa was the former Member of Parliament for Hurungwe West Constituency which he won in (2013) elections. The constituent is under the Hurungwe Rural District Council. Zanu PF expelled him and his seat was declared vacant by the Speaker of parliament in accordance with Section 129 (1) (k) of the Constitution. The President in the Government Gazette proclaimed 10 June (2015) as the date for the by-election. The politics of the constituency that was widely publicised during the run up to the ten June (2015) bi-elections.

4.1.3. General boundaries of Hurungwe West constituents are shown on the map below

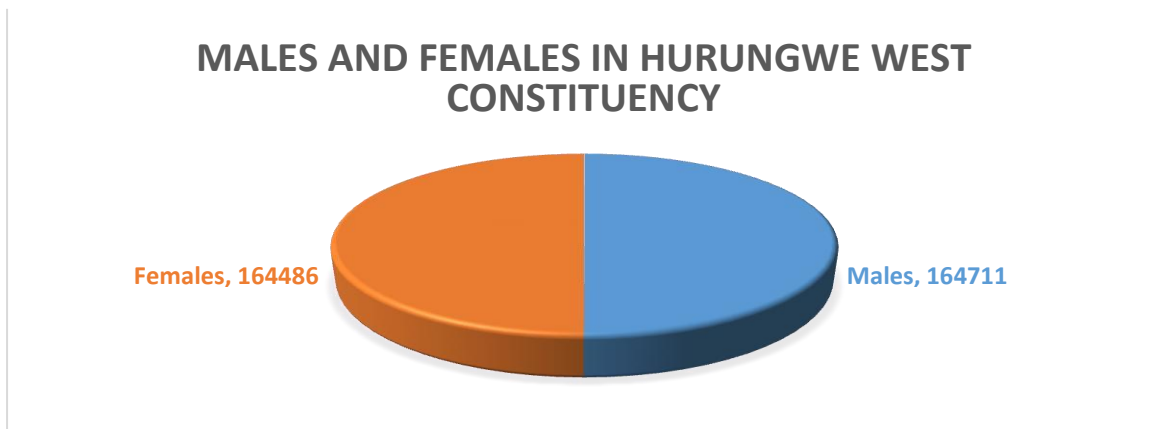


Source 2012 census report

Population and demographics

The constituency is a collection of jurisdictions under Zvipani, Nyamhunga, Masanga, Karereshi and Chivakanyama. The ZimStat (2012) Census report states that the population of Hurungwe District constitutes 21.9% of the provincial population. The district has a population of 329 197, of which 164 711 are males and 164 486 are females. Hurungwe West currently has five national assembly constituencies. Hurungwe West has 6 wards (15, 16, 17, 24, 25 and 26).

Fig 4.2



Source research finding

Previous Election Results

Before the delimitation of (2008), the electorate has always voted for ZANU PF and in

(2008), the MDC-T won the constituency. By (2013) Temba was deployed to sure that the work of retaining the constituency was done. He retained it successfully. He had close ties with chief Nyamhunga and chief Matau whom he closely worked with to dominate the constituency.

Temba Mliswa was officially expelled from ZANU PF on February 18, 2015. The expulsion of Mliswa followed a series of allegations on factionalism, insubordination, undermining the authority of party leaders just to mention a few of the accusations. The Constitution of Zimbabwe stipulates that a party has the power to reclaim a seat when a member has been expelled from the party. On 3 March (2015), the Speaker of Parliament announced that Mliswa had been expelled from Parliament following the request by ZANU-PF.

According to Section 129 (1) (k) of the Constitution "if a member has ceased to belong to the political party of which he or she was member when elected to Parliament, the political party concerned shall write notice to the Speaker or president of the senate declaring that the member has ceased to belong to it" and therefore the seat was declared vacant and a Proclamation by the President set 10 June as the date for the election while 8 April as nomination.

Registered voters.

As of the (2008) the total registered voters stood at my dissertation 25,834. In 2013 the registered voters increased to 26 261, representing an increase of 427 voters. From 2008, there was a 1.65% increase in registered voters. Basing on the 2013 19 June voters' roll, anecdotal evidence would point that there was general under registration of the electorate between 2008 and 19 June 2013. These statistics do not incorporate the mobile voter registration exercise that was conducted from June 9 to July 9 2013.

4.2.0. Interviews

4.2.1. President's Office

The researcher interviewed an officer from the presidential office Hurungwe district about the role of ZANU PF ideology in mitigating factionalism. The officer alluded that ZANU PF's Ideology entails patriotism, unity indigenisation, empowerment, employment and development. The interviewee admitted that they were factions in the party and defined factionalism as a situation when individuals put their self-interest against party ideology. He reiterated that factionalism affected the district as several cadres fell by the way side while the supporters themselves were shaken. He noted that Mliswa's move towards dividing the party was first observed in November (2014) when he handpicked members of the provincial executive. He reviewed that the party centralised power into the President and reduced the politburo members to sixty members as a counter strategy to fight factionalism.

The researcher therefore learnt that the former legislator's fiasco was directly caused by his desire to militate against the party's norms and tradition. Worked with the Americans whole the party and the President advocates for the delinking from neo-colonial machinations. The supremacy of the party's ideology thus controls individual egos.

4.2.2 War veterans

The researcher interviewed a number of war veterans. War veterans are generally the centre of power when it comes to canvassing support for ZANU PF. From the interviews it was generally noted that Mliswa was viewed as and counter revolutionary. Senior war veterans in the district pointed to the fact that Mliswa's suspension was long overdue. One senior ex-

combatant informed the researcher revealed that he was particularly critical of Mliswa since Didymus Mutasa who is Uncle to Mliswa had vehemently supported the formation of the GNU during a conference that took place in Mutare prior to the formation of the inclusive government. He farther revealed that Miswa was busy working with a white commercial closely during elections and the same commercial white farmer in his view was connected to the MDC-T. Most war veterans resented Mliswa's double standards as they advanced that they fought against the white oppressors whom Mliswa was associating with. The senior veteran argued that Mliswa belonged to the 'gamatox' clique and for him the decision to expel him was a positive step.

The research noted that the war veterans directly controls the party at grassroots levels and ideologically they are a ready powerful force that respects and masters the party ideology in the communal areas. Their office checks the power of elected legislators and subsequently sensitise the masses to the extent that in the event that factionalism surfaces the communities will rally behind the President

4.3.0 Local leadership

4.3.1 Chiefs

The researcher also interviewed three chiefs who fall under the Hurungwe west constituency. All the chiefs confirmed that they were working with Mliswa peacefully but they were disappointed when the District office which directly chairs the council of Chiefs informed them that Mliswa was associated with the 'gamatox' clique. They alluded to the fact that

although they are required to remain neutral they could not simply wait and as the political developments in their jurisdictions have a bearing on their well-being.

Chiefs interviewed alluded that before the former legislator went against the president and they were in good books but they found it hard to work with a legislator who dared to go against the President as they are supposed to follow the existing status quo. The researcher preferred to use dialogue in the interview as some of the chiefs interviewed were illiterate hence the use direct interviews. One chief alluded to the fact that the chiefs had long written to the president complaining about Mliswa's attempts to block government officials and the chiefs in particular from gathering information on what was taking place in the Rengwe manganese mines which are in the constituent.

4.3.2 Local police

The police at Magunje police were also interviewed by the researcher. The researcher wanted to particularly identify if they were any cases of violence and electoral related disturbances. According to the police reports both sides were involved in violence. The police reviewed that the Election Day was generally calm though there were some pockets of misdemeanours. The police noted that during the election date most polling stations were calm with the exception of Nyadara Primary school where a team that was aligned to Mliswa dropped villagers from a commuter bus while voters some campaigned while queuing to vote. The police denied that they were incidents of violence in constituents though according to a report from heal Zimbabwe they recorded total of six cases of electoral assaults. They said they received no cases of political violence and they have not recorded any cases.

4.3.3 Councillors

The researcher also interviewed all councillors and council officials about the degree of factionalism in the constituent. All councillors indicated that they had realised factionalism as early as August (2014) and they had also advised the government through their Ministry and party that Mliswa had rebelled against the party long before the first lady and the party reigned in the former legislator. From the interview conducted the researcher noted that the former legislator had attempted in vain to mobilise youths from Zvipani a communal area in the constituency to demonstrate and forcibly remove the District Administrator, the council chief executive officer and the Dispol from Hurungwe as he according to the interviewee viewed the trio as impediments to his factional machinations.

The researcher observed that factionalism was genuine and not mere hearsay. The party's grassroots levels were observing it swelling up and were opposing it long before it was publicised.

4.4.4 .ZANU PF District Members

The researcher also interviewed ten ZANU PF district members who elucidated that they got information about growing factionalism in the party through the media and inter-district meetings. They all confirmed that Mliswa was a factionalist. They also revealed that Mliswa failed them when he went against the party's ideology as he tended to pursue self-interests. According to the members interviewed Mliswa fanned factionalism in anticipation of pushing the President to be removed and thus facilitate the elevation of Didymus Mutasa to the Vice President position, a condition they viewed as counter-revolutionary as it goes against the spirit of the Unity accord of (1987). They all revealed that the expulsion of Mliswa is a positive step as the constituency is now experiencing united development.

Questionnaire Response rate Fig 4.3

Target population	Questionnaires distributed	Questionnaires completed	Response rate
Presidential office	1	1	100%
War veterans	3	3	100%
District Admini	1	0	0%
Zanu pf district org	10	10	100%
totals	15	14	93%

Figure 4.3 Interviews

Target population	interviewed	Not interviewed	rate
chiefs	2	0	100%
councilors	4	2	63%
police	1	0	100%
T Mliswa	0	1	0
total	8	1	77%

Analysis

From the interviews conducted the researcher observed that all influential centres of power in the constituent and district were not subjecting to the factional battles in the Hurungwe West constituents as they supported and backed the mainstream ZANU PF political ideas.

So ZANU PF's political ideology systematically destroys factionalism by indoctrinating the doctrine of unity and compliance of influential members in constituencies to government directives. The fact that the constituent leadership distanced itself from the former legislator shows that they and the people in constituencies value candidates who extol and follow the President of the party rather than rebels. This is a notion they observe jealously and steadfastly. The deposition of Mr Mliswa is therefore an example that all those who fail to work along the party's ideology in the discharge of their duties risk expulsion. It is a socialist principle that is systematically embodied in the national policies by the ZANU PF government which mentors people to perceive government and the party as the people themselves. So if people believe that they are the party and the government themselves any attempts to distance them from the leadership they support is as good as chasing whirlwinds.

4.5.0 Participant Observations

According to Barbara. B. Kawulich qualitative strategies of data gathering like observation, document analysis and interviews can broadly fall under 'ethnographic methods.' The researcher in this dissertation chose to tour several business centres in Hurungwe West as a participant observer. Business centres that include Zvipani business centre, Karereshi business centre, Kajekache business centre, Chiroti business centre and Maumbe business centres were toured by the researcher. The objective of the tour was gather what people say about ZANU PF's influence in the constituency through observing what they say about the

role played by both Mliswa and ZANU PF in the constituency. The researcher intended to use his senses in determining the role of ZANU PF ideology in the politics of the constituents.

In all business centres the researcher observed the youths especially those below the age of thirty were a mixed lot. ZANU PF regalia, MDC regalia and Mliswa's regalia were put on by different youths but the elderly wore ZANU PF election regalia at these business centres. The researcher decided to look more like an ordinary man who appeared to part of the communities in question. At Karereshi for example those who had Mliswa's regalia associated with those who had MDC regalia during beer drinking routines and they occasionally teased ZANU PF cadres through intuitive verbatim. In the same context the cadres supporting ZANU PF would retaliate using verbatim like 'sellouts.' Youths would use what is called 'Chisahwira' which is an ironical system of communicating in the local tradition where pseudo and morally humiliating language is used to communicate sensitive message to their opponents. One would for example utter political sentiments in an ironic manner that could not cause immediate confrontation when in actual fact the sentiment had intimidating political connotations. Talk of the supremacy of ZANU PF would be heard. Narratives on the liberation war and the current political environment in the constituency were heard by the researcher who used his tablet to write a few notes.

Of particular interest is the informative discussion that the author gathered at Kajekache business centre. Here a business man whose name shall not be mentioned in this discussion for confidentiality reasons narrated that the venue where Kajekache Primary school is located was once a confrontational battlefield between the ZAPU and Rhodesian forces. He recalled the significance of the war to the self-rule in Zimbabwe. The researcher observed that generally the people in the constituent were sceptical about the machinations of the former legislator. Some people were visually afraid to discuss politics. Most ZANU PF supporters

were free to discuss their political views. ZANU PF revolutionary lyrics could be played by beer cashiers at all these business centres and some business persons placed the Presidential and Guzah's election posters inside their shops.

Analysis

The researcher observed that the generality of the population in the rural constituent are ideologically hooked to ZANU PF. Those who appear to be backing the former legislator appeared to both supporters of the MDCs who wanted take advantage the bi-election to weaken ZANU PF in the constituent. The narrative of war tales especially at Kajekache and the presents of youths in ZANU PF regalia and the tagging of Presidential posters inside shops of prominent business people in the constituent shows that ZANU PF political ideology is deeply seated in the hearts of many in the constituency. Mliswa dwindled because he broke from ZANU PF which most people view as the only powerful party neo-colonial force against colonial injustices and machinations. People extoled ZANU PF for undertaking the land reform and for distributing farming implements. This therefore means Mliswa' selfstyled moves to associate with Eric Little in the projects within the rural constituents backfired as the people support ZANU PF a party not an individual. In short there the socialist ideology that ZANU PF pursues is itself a systematic strategy that curbs factionalism as people in the rural constituent love their communal way of surviving where conflict is viewed as foreign and counterproductive.

4.6 0. Media content

In this section the researcher shall present pieces of information from different media publications from different media houses in relation to the factional battles in Hurungwe West. Samples of news from different media will be taken into consideration and an analysis of the content will be made. Other electronic and social media content relating to factional

battles in Hurungwe West shall also be taken into consideration. Media as a secondary source of data shall be analysed so as to identify the role of the ZANU PF ideology in containing factionalism.

The researcher also gathered information about factionalism from newspapers. On June fourteen (2014) the Zimbabwe Sunday mail editor E. Mwase reported that Mliswa had spurned government vehicles and absconded parliament. On May three the standard correspondent wrote that Hurungwe West had become a war zone and the correspondent, alleged that ZANU PF was terrorising villagers. He went on to report that they were curfews in Hurungwe West constituency and accused Minister Chombo of instigating violence.

On May fifteen (2015) Bulawayo news 24 reported that Vice President P. Mpoko went to intensify campaign in Hurungwe and state security agents had been deployed to Hurungwe West to terrorise villagers. The same bulletin alleged that Chiyangwa was set to intensify violence in the constituency.

The Newsday 15 April reported that Dr Chombo had threatened chiefs and urged them to desist from supporting Mliswa while the Herald reported on April fifteen that the US embassy through their spy agent Eric Little had poured money to back roll Mliswa's campaign. The Chronicle on three November revealed that Ziyambi Ziyambi had been expelled from the party for leaking sensitive information to T. Mliswa.

On April five the Zimeye revealed that Mliswa had vowed to destroy the authority of President Mugabe in Hurungwe West. He had according to the online paper vowed to form a powerful union with the MDC-T. On May 23 addressed a press conference that can be accessed on [http://www/kuzeyanyaya.com/threads/president -mugabe](http://www/kuzeyanyaya.com/threads/president-mugabe) where he denounced the ZANU PF as a party that propels Zezuru dominance. He also made negative utterances against ZANU PF on www.Zimsentinel.com where he denounced the soldiers and accused

ZANU PF of violence and alleged that soldiers were raping girls at Nyangwihwu business centre.

The various stories that were written in these media sources are useful in analysing the relationship between the roles of ZANU PF ideology in weakening factionalism. The *Newsday* and other independent papers painted ZANU PF as a violent party that terrorised villagers, deployed soldiers to rape, abduct and intimidate people while painting Mliswa as an agent of hope. At the same time the *Herald* and *The Sunday Mail* reported that all was well in the constituency. So basing on the report from these media houses the researcher gleaned that the whole reason behind the intensive campaign by the ZANU PF cadres was not to militarise the constituency but to maintain unity of purpose, patriotism and support for fellow cadres.

The independent media has been negative about ZANU PF, so their reports were typical anti-ZANU PF content. The agenda is mainly to discredit everything that goes against antiwestern politics. Temba admitted for example that he worked with the Americans and exposed that he backed the people first movement on www.Zimsentinel. So after weighing the media reports on Hurungwe West the researcher found that ZANU PF ideology systematically weakens internal rebellion.

4.7.0 CHAPTER Summary

In this chapter the researcher presented and described the data he got from the interviews, observations and questionnaires he presented to different officials in the district and the constituents. A description of the data has been made and a critical analysis of the data given was subsequently made.

CHAPTER 5:RESEARCH SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Research summary.

The investigation has been analysing the role of ZANU PF ideology in mitigating intra party factionalism it's unique as the factional battle that happened was the first of its nature since ZANU PF assumed power in (1980). The main aim of the study was to analyse the context of factionalism that inhibited in ZANU PF and how it was ideologically controlled.

Some of the aims of the study were to analyse the roles of individuals in the stages of factionalism as well as to appraise the role of people oriented ideologies in containing factionalism.

The researcher used the Appraisal theory to analyse literature ZANU PF political ideology and reports on factionalism that rocked the party. Audio speeches were also analysed using the same theory. The researcher also analysed the Marxist and Maoist theories in analysing ZANU PF ideology.

Under the theoretical framework the researcher worked with the Appraisal theory to analyse findings and critic statements. He also used the Marxist and Maoist to appraise the ZANU PF political ideology.

5.2 Conclusions of the study

After carrying out the study the researcher observed that ZANUPF has a very effective ideology which systematically militate against factionalism. He observed that the whole idea of opposing the existing order in ZANU PF is tantamount to opposing the people as people in

the rural constituents identify themselves with the party itself since they are cordially attached to the party cells or branches. So anyone who goes against the president is deemed a 'sellout' as unity of purpose is the cornerstone of ZANU PF ideology.

The researcher also observed that the recipe for individuals' political demise in ZANU PF is associating with neo-colonial forces

5.3. Recommendations

Academic Community

The researcher wishes to recommend all potential and existing researchers to maintain neutrality when undertaking research in their studies. In this respect he encourages researchers to get into the environment under study and get facts rather than rely on media reports as they are prone to propaganda, bias and false interpretations. Authentic, reliable and original research can only be achieved when researchers directly engages all individuals who under study.

ZANU PF as a party.

This study highlighted that factions are potential threats to the existence of the party. As such the researcher recommends the party to trace common identity and common purpose to the extent that decisions within the party come from common ground. Collective action can enhance cohesion as room for pursuit of individual interest can be reduced. If for example in cats, poultry and dogs can live together surely people in the party can find one another and work for the good of the party before it's too late.

1. The researcher also wishes to recommend the party to work with political consultants at every level as the professional conduct is important. The party should also have a disciplinary committee that punishes those who clandestinely divert from the party's ideology.

2. The party is also encouraged to improve communication amongst all stake holders as conflict is direct consequent of communication breakdown. Suspicions and allegations can only be kept in the bud if individuals communicate effectively in honest pursuit of promoting cohesion.

3. Having observed and explored the impact of factionalism the researcher in the district the researcher also wishes to advice the part to allow the executive to veto decision when the situation at hand becomes hot that the party may collapse in that sense the leader of the party must have unfanned powers to fire those who deliberately refuse to compromise after all other diplomatic ways collapse.

4. Since the borne of the factional fights was succession the researcher also recommends the party to at list embrace the succession matrix of the ANC of South Africa were people do not guess who will push the party forward in the event that the incumbent leaves

To those who were fanning factionalism

The researcher wishes to advise all those were caught in the factional activities to observe benefits of discipline and possibly stop machinations towards forming splinter parties as such behaviour only serves to inform the electorate that they were divisive elements. Accepting orders even when they may be hurting creates room for re-engagement rather widening fissures that are already visible within the party.

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Private Bag 9055

Gweru

Zimbabwe,



Telephone: +263-54-260450/260490/260409 Ext. 2159

POLITICS AND PUBLIC MANAGEMENT

MIDLANDS STATE UNIVERSITY

18 September 2015

Dear Sir/Madam

Subject

UNDERGRADUTE DISSERTATION RESEARCH FOR: PRINCE JAKARASI

This letter serves to inform you that the above named student is carrying out research as part of his fulfilment for undergraduate studies. The research topic reads:

ZANU PF political ideology and factionalism: Case study Hurungwe West.

For more information feel free to contact the Department.

Yours sincerely

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to be "Percyslage Chigora".

Prof Percyslage Chigora

Chigorap2000@yahoo.com

APPENDIXES

My name is Prince Jakarasi; a 4.2 student who is studying at the Midlands State University. As part of our studies we are obliged to undertake a research project. I am therefore carrying out a study entitled: ZANU PF ideology and Factionalism: Case Study Hurungwe West constituency. I therefore ask for your cooperation in relation to the study by filling in what you know about the question presented on this questionnaire. I also ask for your cooperation answering a few questions I shall ask you.

Thank you.

DEMOGRAPHIC DATA OF RESPONDENTS

Tick where appropriate

Gender: MALE FEMALE

Age	Tick where appropriate	Working experience (years)	Tick where appropriate
20 to 25		0 to 2	
25 to 30		2 to 4	
30 to 35		4 to 6	
35 to 40		6 to 8	
40 and above		8 and above	

QUESTIONS

1. Do you understand the ZANU PF political ideology?

YES ()

NO ()

If yes,

2. What are its key principles?

.....
.....
.....
.....

3. Have you ever heard stories about factionalism in ZANU PF?

YES ()

NO ()

4. *If yes* what then is factionalism in your opinion? And has it been witnessed in the current dispensation?

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

5. Do you regard what took place during the run up to ZANU PF sixth congress as factionalism?

Yes () no ()

If yes how did it affect the constituent in general?

.....
.....
.....

6. Did the former Member of Parliament fan factionalism in the district?

.....
.....
.....

If yes, how?

7. Can you comment on the role of the ZANU PF ideology curbing factionalism?

.....
.....

ZANU PF DISTRICT ORGAN

1. What media sources did the party use to inform party members about the factionalism in the party?

NB: Tick where appropriate

: Tick as much as relevant

Television news		Newspaper		Internet		Social networks	
ZBC NEWS		HERALD		WEBSITES		WHATSAPP	
		NEWSDAY		BLOGS		FACEBOOK	
		KWAYEDZA		E-MAIL		TWITTER	
		CHRONICLES				YOUTUBE	

Other

.....

.....

2. What was the role media in the factionalism of ZANU PF

- a) Constructive ()
- b) Destructive ()
- c) Mediator ()
- d) Informative ()

3. Do you think Mliswa failed to articulate the party's revolutionary ideology?

Yes () No ()

If yes what could have been his motive and who was behind him in the scheme to internally destabilise?

.....
.....
.....
.....

4. Mliswa's defeat in the June 10 bi-elections is a clear demonstration that the party's ideology is above self-interests, self styled politicians and rebels. What is your recommendation to the party in future in relation to selection of those who aspire Member of Parliaments?

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

5. Can you comment on the party's success Hurungwe West June 10 elections?

.....
.....
.....
.....

ZIMBABWE REPUBLIC POLICE

1. The June 10 bi- election in Hurungwe West was generally tightly contested. Did you witness any election related crimes?

Yes () (No)

If yes who was involved in the crime?

.....

.....

.....

2. Do you have any documented cases?

Yes? () No ()

If yes, what do you recommend during future elections?

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

PARTY SUPPORTERS

1. What were your source of information about the factionalism in Zanu PF

NB: Tick where appropriate

: Tick as much as relevant

Television news		Newspaper		Internet		Social networks	
ZBC NEWS		HERALD		WEBSITES		WHATSAPP	
SABC NEWS		NEWSDAY		BLOGS		FACEBOOK	
FRANCE 24		KWAYEDZA		E-MAIL		TWITTER	
		CHRONICLES				YOUTUBE	

Other

.....

.....

2. How often did you read political news relating to “gamatox”

Daily ()

Weekly ()

Monthly ()

3. Do you trust your source of information on political news?

Yes ()

No ()

4. Did you experience or witnessed any violent action in relation to Zanu PF factionalism

Yes ()

No ()

If yes summarise the event

.....
.....
.....
.....

5. In your experience, would you say Mliswa was associated with the 'gamatox' clique

YES ()

NO ()

If your answer is yes, can you explain how?

.....
.....
.....

6. What is the evidence that he was a "gamatox"?

.....
.....
.....

SUPERVISION CHECKING LIST

NB. THIS FORM MUST BE ATTACHED TO THE FINAL COPY OF YOUR DISSERTATION

NAME OF STUDENT.....REG no.....

STEP 1 LIASE WITH SUPERVISOR FOR TOPIC

SUPERVISOR.....SIGNATURE.....DATE.../.../....

Topic.....
.....
.....
.....

STEP 2 SUBMIT TOPIC TO DISSERTATION COMMITTEE

CHAIRPERSON SIGNATURE.....DATE.....

COMMITTEE

COMMENTS.....
.....
.....

Date of Approval.....

STEP 3 SUBMISSION OF PROPOSAL

SUPERVISOR SIGNED.....DATE.....

STEP 4 DATA COLLECTION

Approved to proceed to data collection.....signeddate

**STEP 5 PRESENTATION OF DATA FROM THE FIELD (RECORDINGS, QUESTIONNAIRES,
INTERVIEWS.....**

SUPERVISOR.....SIGNED.....DATE.....

STEP 6 SUBMISSION OF THE DISSERTATION

SUPERVISORSIGNED.....DATE.....

STEP 7 SUBMISSION FOR VIVA-VOCE

CHAIRPERSON.....DATE.....