



MIDLANDS STATE UNIVERSITY

**FACULTY OF ARTS
DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH AND COMMUNICATION**

DISSERTATION TOPIC

An Appraisal of the three political principals' speeches on the occasion of the signing of the Global Political Agreement of 15 September 2008.

By

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A dissertation submitted to the Department of English and Communication, Midlands State University in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Bachelor of Arts English and Communication Honours Degree.

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DECLARATION

I MUKUDZEI CHINGWERE, REGISTRATION NUMBER R10838Y declare that this project is solely a result of my work. It is being submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Bachelor of Arts Honours Degree in ENGLISH and COMMUNICATION at Midlands State University.

Student Signature

Date

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Supervisor Signature

Date

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my family for their unwavering support in my academic pursuit.

Without your support it could have been impossible for me to reach this far.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost I would like to thank God who helped and guided me in my pursuit to study at a reputable tertiary institution like Midlands State University.

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To all the above mentioned and others who have not been mentioned here may God bless you.

ACRONMY OF TERMS

AU	African Union
MDC-T	Movement for Democratic Change - Tsvangirai
MDC	Movement for Democratic Change
ZANU-PF	Zimbabwe National Union Patriotic Front
GPA	Global Political Agreement
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GNU	Government of National Unity
ZMC	Zimbabwe Media Commission
ZHRC	Zimbabwe Human Rights Commission
ZEC	Zimbabwe Electoral Commission
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SFL	Systemic Functional Linguistic
ZAPU	Zimbabwe African People's Union
ZEC	Zimbabwe Electoral Commission

ABSTRACT

The study analyses the speeches by the three political principals on the occasion of the signing of the GPA. Appraisal theory has been used as a tool for critiquing the principals' speeches. This is a theory of emotion which implicates individual interpretations of an event influential in emotional response. The aim of this contribution is to ascertain how the speeches by politicians spark reaction from the electorate in favour of the individual public court of opinion. The objective of the research is to delve into the murky and often neglected area of the subtle undertones in political discourse, which is quite rare as this form of discourse does not usually offer itself to the area of undertones meant to be deciphered after intense scrutiny since it seeks to deliver a message in the clearest way possible, much like a church sermon.

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CHAPTER ONE

1.0 INTRODUCTION

This research examines the speeches made by Zimbabwe's political principals namely Robert Gabriel Mugabe, Morgan Richard Tsvangirai and Author Gusei Oliver Mutambara on the occasion of the signing of the GPA on the 15th of September 2009. It interrogates the respective speeches by the political principals with a view of unearthing the motive behind their speeches. It seeks to address the notion of how much politicians manage to put their differing sectarian interest first in their speeches even if the platform does not require electioneering and mudslinging that goes along with it.

The limitations of this research is that it is only focusing on the speeches made on the day of the signing ceremony and will thus ignore the speeches made prior or post to this date in question. Linguistics can only go so far in bringing about the most appropriate account of the messages contained and sometimes interviews may be necessary which do not have provision within this study.

The significance of this research is that it is ground-breaking in that it seeks to pass judgement on the meanings, both overt and covert, of utterances by the Zimbabwe political principals in an attempt to unearth how the Zimbabwe political sphere is shaped and how the protagonists of that use the power of discourse not only to enunciate their political ideologies but also seek favour with the electorate. The novelty of this study is also foregrounded in the fact, never before in Zimbabwe's political landscape had the balance of power been precariously hanging on a knife's edge with the socio – economic situation so utterly dependant on the political situation. This is a

qualitative research and is thus using sampling methods and discourse analysis to interrogate the respective speeches.

1.1 BACKGROUND OF STUDY

The official results released by ZEC a body mandated with running the Zimbabwean electoral process showed that Morgan Richard Tsvangirai the leader of a vibrant and popular opposition political party the MDC T had won 2008 harmonised election but without a clear majority to form the next government. The dispute was in the sense that the then outgoing ruling party, ZANU-PF went on to allege that the polls were neither free nor fair due to what they deemed illegal canvassing of votes by ZEC officials manning polling stations, most of whom teachers who they claimed to be anti ZANU-PF.

According to the then constitution of Zimbabwe The Electoral Act (Chapter 2:13 as amended, 110), the one who gets first position from the election held on 29 March 2008 in this case Tsvangirai and the first runner up who happened to be the head of state and government President Mugabe should go for a final lap in a runoff election to decide the next president of the Republic of Zimbabwe.

In the run up to the decisive runoff poll proliferations of political violence took centre stage. The MDC T cries foul with their leader withdrawing his candidature from the race before the polls, and refused to endorse both the polls and its results citing serious irregularities mainly of 'state sponsored' violence claiming that MDC T supporters became victims of political violence. Tsvangirai's camp argued that there were a lot of irregularities which compromised the electoral process. Section 110(3) of the Electoral Act states that a run-off election must be held within 21

days after the election. This was interpreted to mean that thus 21 days from 2 May 2008, when results were announced, a deadline which was not met by the state controlled election body ZEC. With the opposition refuting the election results and calling for a new constitution for them to contest again, Mugabe the ruling party president contested the polls alone and ultimately won.

Mugabe the then proclaimed head of state was confronted by African leaders at the AU summit that proceeded the aftermath of the election that gave the ZANU-PF president another mandate to run the country. The regional block SADC was tasked with resolving the Zimbabwean impasse to which they obliged by mandating South African President Thabo Mbeki as a broker who ultimately achieves in setting up a unity government, Mbeki appointment to mediate the crisis comes from the backdrop that he understand his neighbours politics, because of the closely knitted cultural ties, and is believed to be non-partisan which enabled him to be the appropriate third part who will not take sides. After the protracted negotiations Mbeki archives in setting up a power sharing agreement amongst the trio will form the next government.

15 September 2009, the date of the official signing-on ceremony, will remain engraved in Zimbabwe's political folklore as one of the most significant dates in its history and also one of the most unique political moments of all time. On this day three political leaders signed a political agreement albeit having been at each other's throats in the recent past denouncing each other's political ideologies. It is different from the Unity accord signed in 1987 between ZAPU and ZANU-PF in that they united to become one party yet on this date they signed a power sharing pact.

Zimbabwe at this point was besought with many challenges from all fronts; the economy had collapsed with inflation reaching some of the unprecedented levels. There was a lot of political

intolerance in the country and the new government was expected to forego the despotic laws which had affected civil rights and non-governmental groups. This aspect of transition in political regimes is aptly captured by O' Donnell and Schmitter (1986) who says the transitions involve the end of the totalitarian rule by initiating some form of democracy

The research will use appraisal theory as a tool of analysis; Scherer and Johnstone (2001) subdivide this theory into two different modes which are primary and secondary appraisals to heighten our understanding of the theory. The duo elaborate primary appraisal as an assessment of how significant an event is for a person, including whether it is a threat or opportunity. Secondary appraisal then considers one's ability to cope or take advantage of the situation. Both modes of appraisal theory in this regard are inextricably intertwined in terms of political speeches. All events to politicians can either be a threat or an opportunity to acquaint their ideas to the populace, the way they present themselves in almost all the events shows if they have made the most of the opportunity or they have dented their political aspirations.

This research is using appraisal theory as a tool of analysing the speeches by the political principals to achieve our desired ends.

1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Previous researches on political speech have focused on the oratory prowess of political protagonists. But they have ignored the emotive part derived from political speeches which will be explored by this study. This study also show how each principal represented their differing sectarian interest in their respective speeches.

1.3 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

1.3.1 AIM

The research aims to ascertain the rationale of the content contained in the speeches presented by the principals on the occasion of the signing of the GPA in as far as how they would spark reaction from the electorate in favour of the individual political principal in the public court of opinion, as this will determine their future political career.

1.3.2 OBJECTIVES

- To explain the extent to which politicians affect public sentiment on certain issues, in this case, the political questions that surrounded the GPA through their speeches.
- Examine strategies used by politicians in their rhetoric to consolidate support and gain political mileage.
- To ascertain the cumulative effect in terms of the ‘bottom line’ in the respective speeches by individual principals.
- To understand a text beyond its lexico-grammatical features.

1.4 ASSUMPTIONS OF STUDY

The three political principals are coming from differing political orientations and are likely going to structure their rhetoric in such a way, that they will serve their differing sectarian interest at whatever forum. The use of linguistics in particular the Appraisal theory to the analysis of the respective speeches will help to account for the sum total of utterances under study. Whatever the respective principals said in their speeches on this occasion was likely going to determine their future political positions, and as such the effects of these speeches were known by the politicians.

1.5 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The study will seek to address the following critical aspects

- How do politicians manage to put forth sectarian interests in their rhetoric even when the platform does not cater for electioneering?
- Does linguistics as a discipline, in particular, the Appraisal Theory, accurately account for the sum total of utterances under study?
- Give, in accurate detail, the full scope, meaning both denotations and connotations of utterances made in political discourse to lay the discourse bare thus facilitating accurate uptake of the messages conveyed in the furtherance of communicative aspirations.

1.6 LIMITATIONS OF STUDY

The study's main limitation is that it will only put under scrutiny, speeches made on the day of the signing of the GPA itself and will not take into account other speeches either prior or after this occasion in question of which it would have most probably enhanced appreciation of the subject speeches. Historical events which had a bearing on the culmination of the GPA will also be interrogated but only as enhancements to the orature contained in the speeches. But linguistics can only go so far in bringing about the most appropriate account of the messages contained and sometimes interviews may be necessary which do not have provision within this study.

1.7 DELIMITATIONS OF STUDY

The study's jurisdiction of study will be based on the occasion of the GPA and the messages conveyed within the speeches given by the political principals. These speeches will form the bedrock of the study and all other historical aspects of relevance in line with the study will be alluded to only in as far as their presence in the individual speeches, either directly or indirectly.

1.8 SIGNIFICANCE OF RESEARCH

The study is ground-breaking in that it will seek to pass judgement on the meanings, both overt and covert, of utterances by the Zimbabwe political principals on the occasion of the GPA in an attempt to unearth how the Zimbabwe political sphere is shaped and how the protagonists of that use the power of discourse to not only enunciate their political ideologies but also seek favour with the electorate.

This is a delicate process that will take into account various factors, some of which outline above and place each individual factor within the jig-saw fit of the complete component of the final balance sheet that will constitute the final analysis of the utterances under scrutiny.

The novelty of the study is also foregrounded in the fact, never before in Zimbabwe's political landscape had the balance of power been precariously hanging on a knife's edge with the socio – economic situation so utterly dependant on the political situation. Never before had the political protagonists wielded so much power and commanded so much attention both nationally and internationally, the object of their respective discourses is of the utmost importance and deserves to be analysed in unprecedented detail.

1.9 DEFINITION OF TERMS

APPRAISAL- is the idea that emotions are extracted from our evaluations.

ELECTORATE- is all the people who have the right to vote in an election.

GRAMMAR - ways in which words are put together to make sense.

IDEOLOGY- set of beliefs especially political on which people base their actions on.

INFLATION- is the general increase in the prices of goods and services in a country.

LINGUISTICS - scientific study of human language.

RHETORIC- is the art of using language effectively in a bid to impress.

SECTARIAN – political sects and beliefs between them.

SPEECH – a formal talk which someone gives to an audience.

CHAPTER TWO

2.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter critically examines the works done by other scholars in the study of political speech analysis also outlines the theoretical framework used in the analysis of speeches.

It interrogates published articles which have dwelt on the same area as the aspects covered by this research in the process the research positions itself against other researches and, in so doing, revealing the research gap.

The chapter also presents the research's theoretical framework, Appraisal Theory, selected for the analysis of the speeches in question.

2.1 LITERATURE REVIEW

Mutisi's (2011) research on the GNU will be the first to be scrutinised. Mutisi's research examines the entire process of the agreement signed by the principals on 15 September; it makes an Appraisal analysis of the implementation of the GNU and examines the possible ramifications of Zimbabwe on sustainable peace in the region.

.Mutisi also highlights how the Zimbabwean crisis reached areas beyond the country, which is argued to have been corroborated by the enormous exodus of refugees into neighboring countries.

In the research Mutisi examines the achievements of the GNU, the research found out that the Unity Government had a visible contribution in addressing some of the challenges the country was faced with before it was ushered in like reforms in governance and the revival of the economy and initiating an economic recovery and political alteration.

Mutisi then highlights how the GNU tried to address the aspects of good and transparent governance, by establishing independent commissions like ZEC, ZMC AND ZHRC whose membership was open to anyone.

Nonetheless, the ongoing research is not covering the same area as covered by Mutisi. Though Mutisi's research was an appraisal analysis it analysed the GPA and the GNU processes without mentioning anything about the speeches made by the political principals on the occasion of the signing of the GPA. The research's primary objective is an appraisal of the speeches by the principals on that particular date as contrasted to Mutisi's research which focuses on the entire GPA agreement.

Jakaza's (2013) study examined the Zimbabwean parliamentary discourses as it was presented in the media using Appraisal theory.

Though Jakaza used Appraisal theory in the evaluation of parliamentary discourses his contribution did not focus on speeches delivered to the generality of Zimbabweans which are the primary objective of my research.

This researcher also carefully analysed Jakaza and Visser (2014), in their research they examined two of Mugabe speeches the one delivered at the 2008 Independence Day celebrations and the other one presented at the 2009 UN summit on climate change.

The two researchers had set out to examine how Mugabe responded to various voices by probing the challenging nature of his speeches. They noted that Mugabe's speeches are highly aggressive in championing his opinions

Fiske remarks that, “Our words are never neutral,” (1994) this claim sums up the notion that speech is vulnerable from manipulation. To this end according to Jakaza and Visser Mugabe was looking for a platform to respond to various allegations leveled against him by the West and the UN climate change summit as well as the 2008 independence day commemorations provided that opportunity.

Jakaza and Visser's research is seminal in our understanding of speech analysis by politicians in differing forums. They expertly used varying linguistic strategies in speech analysis and their findings achieves in telling the readers how politicians place their audience when they are conveying their messages.

On the other hand, their research has short comings in edifying our understanding of how politicians put their sectarian interest in their speeches. Unlike the duo of Jakaza and Visser my research observations is how Mugabe positions his rhetoric on the local front where he seems to be losing his once acquired hegemony. Again the present research is using appraisal theory in the analysis of speeches as juxtaposed to Jakaza and Visser.

Muponda (2011) analysed the speeches of Morgan Tsvangirai from his position as an opposition political party leader to that of prime minister. Muponda’s research traced the changes if any in Tsvangirai’s speeches from those he presented as an opposition political leader and those he presented while in government where he was now holding an executive post. The study also aimed at unearthing the persuasive strategies employed in the speeches of Tsvangirai.

Muponda's research also discovered that, speeches presented by Tsavangirai in different forums followed a steady path of Mugabe and ZANU-PF ill-treatment both directly and indirectly.

Muponda's perspective was to ascertain the change in rhetoric of the speeches by Tsvangirai from the position of opposition politics to that of Prime Minister. To this end my contribution to the understanding political language remains unique, Muponda's work focused on the speeches of one politician yet I am focusing on speeches of different politicians from differing political orientations. With the aim of ascertaining how much they are successful to keep in touch with their differing sectarian interest.

2.2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This research is using Appraisal theory as a tool of analysing the speeches by the three principals. The theory has been described by Fournier as a theory of emotion which implicates people's personal interpretations of an event in determining their emotional reaction.

Voloshino (1995), notes that appraisal theory is a further development of the Hallidayan framework to understand more fully the complex ways in which we express our personal views and react to the views of others. Viloshino further suggest that an analysis of appraisal is essentially interpretive, and the same text can be analysed very differently by different people.

By analysing the undertone of Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) it can be assumed that its underlying principle is premised on the notion of viewing language as a system, to this end scholars like Chapelle (1998) state that SFL views language as a social semiotic resource people use to accomplish their purposes by expressing meanings in context.

SFL theory also offers just but a framework for carrying out applied linguistics, Halliday (1985) explains as having no “orthodox or 'received' version”. This all points out to the versatility of the theory in terms of its application. Some of the main proponents of this theory as noted by Halliday are that SFL views language as a systematic resource for expressing meaning in both

context and linguistics, therefore, as Halliday summed it up; SFL then becomes the study of how people exchange meanings through the use of language.

Nonetheless, this research will focus on Appraisal theory an offshoot of SFL, the theory is relevant to our study as juxtaposed to SFL as it helps us analyse and contextualise emotions at play from the day of the presentation of speeches. The theory was developed by Peter White and Jim Martin. The theory is used to analyse how the speaker or writer values people and things within a text. Appraisal theories of emotion are theories that state that emotions result from people's interpretations and explanations of their circumstances even in the absence of physiological arousal (Aronson, 2005).

Appraisal theory has three main components which are 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 enable writers to express their attitude 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 metafunctions of the Appraisal theory, special mention will be on the Engagement part of the theory. Under Engagement there is a system called Judgment which prompted the choice because it evaluates human behavior. This research has used this metafunction because the aspect of judgment serves in the assessment of human behavioral patterns as noted by Zhang (2011).

This researcher preferred to use Appraisal theory to the study of the speeches in question as it is the best theory which captures emotions. Other theories of emotion cannot account for the sum total of utterances under study for instance the Stimulus theory and the Behavioral theory which view emotion as undifferentiated. 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 is focusing on the attitudinal meaning of judgment in the analysis of the speeches by the political principals on the occasion of the signing of the GPA to explore detailed features in the use of Judgment resources.

2.3 CONCLUSION

This chapter reviewed relevant literature to our study so as to justify the uniqueness of this research. From the above discussion it can be noted that though some previous researches have dwelt on appraisal theory and the analysis of speech no has ever made an investigation on the appraisal of the three political principals. Again an appraisal of political speeches from differing political orientations remained a virgin land prior to this research.

The chapter also dwelt on the theoretical framework of the research. It also justified the choice of choosing appraisal theory ahead of other theories of emotions for this study.

CHAPTER THREE

3.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter serves to outline processes used to collect data and information. The methodology employed for the present research is a qualitative one which, Bryman (2012) says the research approach emphasises on the use of words. Hence, the choice of the research method as it is applicable for the purposes of this research, which is the analysis of the speeches by the political principals.

The researcher does not assume to know everything but deals with the perceived meaning of the utterances under study. This section focuses on the sampling methods for the collection of data. Purposive sampling has been chosen as it is non-probability in nature. The section also outlines methods of data gathering which are document analysis and textual analysis.

Three speeches were chosen for this research for purposes of manageability though there was an option of choosing the speech by the SADC mandated broker president Thabo Mbeki for contextualisation.

The current research is a qualitative research whose purpose is to unearth a qualitative account of speech occurrences on the occasion of the signing of the GPA. It is in light of this situation that the core principles and characteristics of qualitative research will be discussed in detail below.

3.1 QUALITATIVE RESEARCH

Qualitative research, as an approach, can be understood by its objectives which seek recount to aspects of understanding the social life, with samples of words for data collection. With the objectives of examining strategies used by politicians in their rhetoric to consolidate support and gain political mileage. Taking into account the prevailing political climate in the country and

abroad which led to the signing of the GPA using the qualitative research as research technique best captures the intended purpose of understanding contents of the speeches beyond ordinary imagination of pedestrian thinking.

The three political principals were coming from different backgrounds and their speeches were influenced by differing sectarian interest and the research technique is vital in accounting for motivations of the contents of the speeches. Therefore In line with the core objectives of the study of ascertaining the rationale of the comments made by the principals on the occasion of the signing of the GPA in as far as how they would spark reaction from the electorate in favour of the individual political principal in the public court of opinion, a qualitative research fully satisfies the object of trying to account for the utterances made by the political principals on the occasion of the signing of the Global Political Agreement.

Several scholars in qualitative research are agreeable to the general notion that qualitative research is aimed at deeply exploring understanding and interpreting social phenomenon. By using a qualitative researcher methodology, researchers want to collect richer information and get more detailed picture of issues, cases or events (Arora and Stoner 2009). It is again in line of this study that it is paramount to understand that whatever was uttered by the principals was not coming from a vacuum and such a result can only be guaranteed by the use of this research technique which accounts for the collection of exhaustive knowledge of the subject matter.

Bryman (2012) notes that there are three features which are worth note taking when looking at qualitative research. The first one 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 position

described as an interpretivist who emphasises on the understanding of the social world through the examination of its participants. And an ontological position described which implies that social properties are outcomes of the interactions between individuals.

It is however, be suicidal to think that qualitative research methodology does not have its imperfections in data collection. General criticisms leveled on qualitative research championed by (Patton and Cochran 2002) are that samples tend to be minimum and do not necessarily represent the entire population and the research technique tend to generalise results which at times might be misleading. They also noted that the findings are not exhaustive. The other important contribution is that findings might be based on the researcher's opinion.

Despite the above noted criticism on qualitative research methodology, the approach remains the best for purposes of this study guided by the aims of cumulative

3.2 SAMPLING PROCEDURES FOR DATA COLLECTION

Sampling is a very broad phenomenon and there are many types of sampling techniques that can be employed in a research. Sampling techniques include probability sampling, convenience sampling, comparative sampling and purposive sampling, among others. Ritchie, Lewis and Elam, 2003 note that samples in qualitative research tend to be small.

3.2.1 PURPOSIVE SAMPLING

This type of sampling is also referred to as the judgmental sample and is selected with the knowledge of the population under study and the purpose of the study. This type of sampling is very useful when you want to quickly reach the targeted sample. Non probability samples are useful when units under investigation are based on the judgment of the researcher as in the case the perceived utterance of meaning by the political principals is under scrutiny.

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 studies 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. Purposive sampling is fundamentally to do with units which in the case of this research will be documents that is speeches being interrogated here. Ideally the research question gives the researcher guidance as to what needs to be sampled.

Purposive sampling has many types. Patton (1990) identified sixteen types of this kind of sampling and explained them. Though most of them are not relevant for purposes of this research Patton noted that it can be used on sampling politically significant cases which involve sampling politically responsive sites which might pencil in consideration to the investigation and its conclusions as a result of escalating the study's impact. Nonetheless, the argument here is that the researcher needs to ask themselves what exactly they need to achieve in their study and that will help them in coming up with an appropriate sampling strategy.

Purposive sampling can be used with a number of techniques in data gathering (Godambe, 1982). A study may be started with a survey, then purposive sampling done based on the survey (Brown, 2005). In light with the current research it can be noted that the study might start with textual analysis then revert back to purposive sampling and that the researcher is not using the same techniques in the collection of data.

After successfully collecting the intended data in qualitative research the data needs to be analysed. Grbich (2007) states that the majority qualitative studies involve two influential stages, that is preliminary data analysis and post data collection analysis. Grbich describes the former as the phase of being engaged with the data, whereby the investigator aims to have an in-depth knowhow of the subject matter. With the latter being a period where the researcher is having a clear picture of issues being raised and this is where thematic investigation starts.

There are also a number approaches to the analysis of qualitative data and these include conversational analysis, interpretive phenomenological analysis, framework analysis and discourse analysis. With the objectives of my research in mind of explaining the extent to which politicians affect public sentiment on certain issues, in this case, the political questions that surrounded the GPA through their speeches. The approach of discourse analysis in qualitative data analysis with the aim of making a textual analysis of the speeches will be taken under consideration, theorist like Willig (2003) argue that there is need to take into account the context of any form of speech. It moves beyond understanding the exact data presented to understanding the rationale of presenting such data, in line with the unfolding research it will be imperative to understand the rationale beyond the contents of the words in the respective speeches.

The research technique employed here provide the researcher with the armory to make generalisations of similar instances, and for the purposes of this study these findings will be critical in future as they will be used to critic other political speeches.

3.3 LIMITATIONS OF METHODOLOGY

Purposive sampling are exceedingly prone to preconceived notion, the idea that purposive sampling is fashioned based on the researcher's judgment is a huge hindrance to doubt the findings as they are guided by the perceptions of the researcher. The researcher uses his or her own judgment to select the units to sampled and this does not mean to say the selected units are appropriate. Again if diverse units are selected to be studied in a more or less similar research the results are likely to be different.

Despite the limitations outlined of the research methodology being employed in this study, the qualitative research methodology remains the most relevant to this study. The ongoing research is qualitative in nature it is neither scientific nor arithmetic in nature hence we cannot use the quantitative research technique. The sampling techniques being employed here are the best to achieve to our desired outcome of a qualitative research.

CHAPTER FOUR

4.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents, interprets and analyses the speeches made by the GPA principals. It analyses, independently, each of the three speeches by the political principals to explore how each of the principals managed consolidate support for their political orientations and to pacify their supporters who had strong apprehensions about the settlement, in spite of the fact that the forum did not cater for electioneering and mudslinging. The researcher begins by contextualising the GPA as well as each principal in order to help reveal the motivations of the speeches and to have a brief background of the politics at play as they go to the podium to present the speeches under study here. This is done using the Appraisal theory as a tool of analyzing the speeches by the political principals.

The process of the analysis involves, identifying a few choice quotations that best serve as illustrations for each aspect of the Appraisal Theory that will be addressed in line with the demands of the research.

4.1 DATA PRESENTATION AND INTERPRETATION

a) CONTEXT OF THE GLOBAL POLITICAL AGREEMENT

Mlambo and Raftopoulos (2010) argue that the Zimbabwean crisis has long been in waiting following a history of colonial inequalities and they further argue that the situation came to a head during the economic meltdown that followed as the colonial legacy had continued under a new African identity as the gulf in earnings and lifestyle between the rich and the common man had become criminal. They further note that the formation of the MDC in 1999 and its formidable challenge to ZANU PF created panic within the ruling party leading to them employ

violent tendencies to nullify the threat being posed by the opposition and by so doing the association between ZANU-PF and MDC was characterised by brutal rivalry which culminated in awful socio-economic consequence, as noted by Mutisi (2011).

As a way of repelling the challenges being posed by the MDC, the ruling party resorted to address a fast track land question under the banner of the Third Chimurenga. Land reform had always been a secondary issue prior to the genesis of the MDC, with the government making reforms by way of the willing- buyer – willing – seller system, presumably not wanting to upset the former colonial master, (Mlambo, 2005). This seemed to change almost overnight when suddenly land became the political trump card of the day, especially when the ZANU-PF regime revealed sensational claims of the opposition being supposedly a creation of the British government. The land question was not satisfactorily dealt with since independence, (Mlambo, 2005). The panic address to the land situation disturbed production in farms previously owned by white commercial farmers. Mlambo and Raftopoulos (2010) remark that, faced with the mounting pressure from political foes President Mugabe in October 1997 sanctioned unbudgeted for pay outs of Z\$50 000 gratuities and monthly pensions of Z\$2 000 to each War Veteran as a way of soothing the souls of the mourning liberation fighters whom he had always wanted to associate with, such a populist policy strained the economy. The land question, the third Chimurenga and the unbudgeted payouts to war veterans are among a plethora of the causes of the economic meltdown. By 2008 the time of the signing of the GPA the country had endured its worst economic challenges of all time with inflation rates being estimated in percentage of hundreds of millions. On the second of December 2008 Reuters reports some astonishing figures to show the depth of the economic collapse:

...by 2007, per capita GDP was estimated at \$200, compared to \$900 in 1990, while over 80% of the Zimbabwean population was reported in 2005 to be living on less than \$2 a day. Exports, which in 1997 had accounted for 33.5% of the country's GDP were worth only 9.9% of the GDP in 2007. Unemployment at 2008 stood at 90%, while once the breadbasket of the entire region, Zimbabwe was now importing basic foodstuffs to feed its population.

The World Bank described Zimbabwe as having the fastest shrinking economy of a country outside war, Tarisayi (n.d). Musemwa (2010) notes that citizens confronted the meltdown directly with deteriorating social infrastructure which also led to a disastrous cholera outbreak in 2008 mainly caused by the lack of clean and regulated water supplies.

Maphosa (2003) notes also the brain drain in the country saying the country's once world acclaimed health and education services had crumbled by 2008. The multidimensional challenges the country now finds itself in at this stage also led to the mass exodus of citizens outside Zimbabwe in search of greener pastures.

4.1.1 ROBERT GABRIEL MUGABE'S SPEECH

a) CONTEXT

Mugabe and ZANU PF's power in government at this stage of the signing of the GPA has been curtailed from autocratic governance to having to come to terms with the idea of having to share power with the opposition. This is a feat which was never before achieved in the country since independence. Several analysts tried to account for the operational modalities that would be expected to typify the operation of the Unity government. Mutisi (2011) weighs in with the assertion that this government had a gradual allocation of both practical and personnel from ZANU PF to other political parties.

ZANU PF, on the other hand, is convinced that their shortcomings in government have been a result of western interference targeted at undermining the leadership of ZANU PF so as to

impose their 'self' controlled government, the regime never wavered from this point making relentless and concerted campaigns in the state media, with the slogan “Zimbabwe will never be a colony again” becoming the mantra of ZANU-PF events.

Mugabe to this end is in a state of despair that the Zimbabwean populace has lost confidence in his leadership and is determined to recover his tattered image in a new political dispensation.

Mugabe has no choice but to come to the negotiating table with his rivals as his mandate to lead the country was not recognised by regional leaders. So the inclusion of his rivals in government was sought of legitimising his presidency.

b) ANALYSIS

In line with the major constituents that make up the Appraisal theory of ATTITUDE, ENGAGEMENT and GRADUATION, the analysis will make use of these three components to account for Mugabe's preferred rhetoric. Although these metafunctions have their own sub – parts, with some sub – parts having their own other sub – parts in some instances, it is only those aspects that are relevant to the research that will be made reference to. Of particular interest here will be the use of negative (-ve) and positive (+ve) valuations of JUDGEMENT under the category of ATTITUDE to then account for the collective summation of the sum total of the gist behind each individual speaker's ATTITUDE.

These positive and negative valuations are going to refer exclusively to two aspects which are relevant to the set aims of the research, that is, tenacity; which is reference to the level of determination, commitment or motivation and veracity, which makes reference to the level of honesty and straightforwardness in the rhetoric.

Therefore the key; (-ve ten) and (+ve ten) will be utilised to make reference to negative and positive tenacity respectively, whilst (-ve ver) and (+v ver) will also be utilised for instances of negative and positive veracity respectively.

ATTITUDE

The aspect of ATTITUDE, which is relative to the emotional inclination being stirred up by a particular piece of rhetoric and therefore in reality, a matter of subjective semantic appreciation of the text as a whole is one that is crucial in trying to account for the rhetoric from Mugabe. In this case sentiment of optimism, hope and reconciliation is dominant.

- (a) “This gathering is a re-enactment, in my view, of that togetherness and partnership ... (in) co-operation” (+ve ten)
- (b) “I don't see any British among them (opposition)! African problems must be solved by Africans.” (+ve ten)
- (c) “Whatever happened is history, let us look into the future.” (-ve ver)
- (d) “Let us be allies. People will want to see if what we promise is indeed what we strive to do ... We are committed, I am committed, let us all be committed.” (+ve ten)

The diagram below is a tabulation of the results obtained in the JUDGEMENT analysis of the four key statements that have bearing on the aspect of ATTITUDE and JUDGEMENT in PARTICULAR

JUDGEMENT				
TENACITY			VERACITY	
NEG	POS		POS	NEG
	+ve	Statement (a)		
	+ve	Statement (b)		
		Statement (c)		-ve
	+ve	Statement (d)		

These choice citations highlighted that best capture the crux of ATTITUDE in Mugabe’s speech show a peculiar pattern. Firstly, as far as tenacity is concerned, Mugabe is unflinchingly upbeat about the entire arrangement and rallies on his would be colleagues to make the arrangement work in very clear language as shown by parts of the citations which are highlighted under the banner of (+ve ten).

The reasons for this overly overt state of commitment may be that Mugabe is trying by all means to whip up sentiment of reassurance of the workability of the arrangement to fight for his own claim to relevance as it was his electoral “defeat” of arch rival Tsvangirai that lacked all credibility and therefore any sentiment to the contrary would be placing himself in a very precarious position as it was him who had no legitimate claim to power and therefore had no real choice but to express staunch commitment.

However, his truth index (veracity) has been calibrated in the negative because of the shady and dismissive nature of his statement, epitomised by the phrase “Whatever happened ...” The fact that it was mostly state apparatus unleashing unprecedented violence of barbaric proportions, he

deliberately tries to hide his and his regimes role in the bloody purges of opposition supporters, both known and perceived. It is therefore this unwillingness to admit guilt and that quantifies his statements to be lacking in veracity.

The explanation for this ambiguity of matters to do with the factors that led African leaders to denounce legitimacy of the runoff election may be due to the fact admitting to having overseen state violence on defenseless civilians would be tantamount to political suicide. For a man who had always fashioned himself to be the epitome of democratic ideals and philosophy, standing before the world and admit to violence would only entrench the perception of the octogenarian leader as a ruthless dictator.

The citations above all have one aspect in common, which is a rallying call towards unison in the effort to build the country's economy. This is epitomised by the repeated use of the collective "us" as a means of reinforcing the area of partnership that was soon to dominate the Zimbabwe political landscape. At this juncture the aspect of AFFECT, which seeks to account for the implied nature of emotion inherent in a piece of rhetoric becomes relevant as even though Mugabe himself never explicitly makes reference to his own happiness at the arrangement, the sum total of his comments regarding the arrangement exhibit contentment, if not outright happiness.

ENGAGEMENT

This is perhaps the most intricate part of the analysis as it seeks to analyse the different opinions contained in the discourse, the nature of their interaction and how they are woven together. In this instance, Mugabe employs various devices to incorporate aspects of selflessness on his part to be part of an arrangement against so-called "agents of the British". In the same instance, he

tries to deflect attention from the orgy of violence, murder and intimidation perpetrated by mostly state apparatus that made his “win” in the Presidential run-off to be discredited.

(a) “...Yesterday, as we of Zimbabwe sought to liberate ourselves...”

(b) “...This gathering is a re-enactment, in my view... of our countries attaining their Independence...”

(c) I had accepted and my brother here (Tsvangirai) had said 'no'

(d) We are a sovereign people with a right of self determination

(e) There are a lot of things in the agreement that I did not like and still do not like ... Let us be allies...”

Mugabe's emphasis on the historical background of the country in (a) and (b) reveals a strategy of constantly referring to historical events is because he has documented success of that era. He was one of the leaders who led a successful fight against the white colonial masters under the stewardship of Ian Douglas Smith, perhaps a measure of laying a guilt trap on African leaders gathered, reorienting himself as a veteran campaigner of African liberation, and not the desperate dictator he had come to be regarded.

Statements (c), (d) and (e) are a combination of masked self praise and veiled attacks on the opposition and further attacks on “interference” by western powers. He does not leave the stage without assuring those who have kept faith in his leadership that the arrangement is not the best choice for him this implies that to him it is a compromise arrangement that he has done in order to avoid further conflicts, fashioning himself to be a selfless leader who negated his own interests for national interest.

GRADUATION

Mugabe seizes the opportunity he has in through his speech by making sure he remains in touch with his sectarian interest by continuing the to denounce the opposition that they are an agenda of the West to instill regime change though this is said indirectly. He again advances his campaign to the generality of the Zimbabwean electorate that the challenges they now find their country in are not a result of his making but rather the continued interference of former colonial masters into the politics of the country.

- (a) Zimbabwe is a sovereign state and only the people of Zimbabwe have the fundamental right to govern it.
- (b) They alone (Zimbabweans) will change those governments, no-one else has the right to decide on regime change
- (c) We are a sovereign people with a right of self determination

The citations above, which are taken from a single paragraph, are the illustration of an intensity of perception in a very blunt and direct manner. The repetition of “sovereign” and all aspects associated with it reveals the core of the discourse.

Though Mugabe has gone to great lengths to speak of unity, African brotherhood and supremacy of national interest, it is this aspect of self determination whose efficacy that is clearly far above any other aspect. Mugabe is clearly still bitter with the British whom he claimed were at the centre of a ‘regime change’ agenda and therefore can be surmised that Mugabe’s speech in reality, was not necessarily addressed to the delegates gathered but to the British, whom he obviously blamed for his near exit from power.

4.1.2 MORGAN RICHARD TSVANGIRAI'S SPEECH

a) CONTEXT

Tsvangirai came into politics as the voice and advocate of the common man, a former Trade Unionist who had risen through the ranks from humble beginnings to becoming the Secretary General of the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU) where he waged a spirited push for improvement of workers welfare. He therefore came into this arrangement seeking to carve a niche for himself as a pro-people leader, who would champion the cause of the common man and possibly re orient government to those policies that favoured the majority.

The Tsvangirai-led MDC is supremely self assured by events on the ground that the country has been plagued into turmoil ranging from political to economic in nature as a result of mal administration. Political analysts gave credence to this aspect and fully expressed the sentiment that, Mutisi (2011) says the MDC is certain that poor plans by the ruling party led to the socio-economic and political complexities in facing the country.

To this end the MDC-T is itching to be in government and show the generality of Zimbabwe's population that they can deliver and initiate a much needed economic recovery and a new political transformation even given half a chance in this case the unity government: quotation still needs introduction, Mutusi (2011) again says the MDC is enthusiastic in demonstrating that the patronage politics by ZANU PF had become tired and the MDC has emerged to bring a new neo-liberal democracy.

It also needs to be noted that prior to this signing on ceremony Tsvangirai was under pressure from his supporters to enter this compromise arrangement so that he help kick start an economic recovery

b) ANALYSIS

ATTITUDE

With the nation, and indeed the entire continent waiting to hear what message the new Premiere had in store for a nation which was at a complete loss for hope, inspiration and desire to soldier on for the national cause therefore ATTITUDE, mostly in terms of AFFECT as matters of how he would handle emotional luggage in his speech to not only revitalize national feeling towards recovery but to also instill confidence in his ability to deliver.

- (a) I have signed this agreement because my hope for the future is stronger than the grief I feel for the needless suffering of the past years. (+ve ten)
- (b) The world has too many examples of what happens when people are driven by past wrongs rather than the hope of future glories (+ve ten)
- (c) The policies of the past years have made Zimbabwe a nation where the healthy flee and the sickly die. (+ve ver)
- (d) The agreement we sign today is a product of painful compromise.(+ve ver)

The diagram below is a tabulation of the results obtained in the JUDGEMENT analysis of the four key statements that have bearing on the aspect of ATTITUDE and JUDGEMENT in particular

JUDGEMENT				
TENACITY			VERACITY	
NEG	POS		POS	NEG
	+ve	Statement (a)		
	+ve	Statement (b)		
		Statement (c)	+ve	
		Statement (d)	+ve	

Close scrutiny of the evaluation of the JUDGEMENT of Tsvangirai’s speech exposes the different ground that he and Mugabe were standing on. Firstly, in terms of tenacity, Tsvangirai and Mugabe are on the same page as Tsvangirai is fixated on his and the people’s hope of rising from deeply entrenched problems facing the economy to return to being a flourishing economy once again. In total, the word hope is repeated thirteen times throughout the entire speech, the AFFECT in this instance being that of bringing just that, hope to the downtrodden people of Zimbabwe who, in a UN Happy People Index (HPI) had been declared as the unhappiest people in the world. This would naturally be the first step in inspiring confidence back in the economy. By so doing, Tsvangirai, as the “new kid on the block’ as far as Zimbabwe governance was concerned was indirectly fashioning himself to be the bearer of the hope that set to catapult the nation out of the depths of economic ruin.

But however, in terms of veracity, this is where Tsvangirai and Mugabe cross paths. Unlike Mugabe’s attempts to conveniently discard “whatever happened” to the very periphery of national thought and recollection, Tsvangirai’s truth index shows a great degree of candidness as he presents undertones of anger at the past situation where Zimbabwe was akin to a sinking ship

where the fit flee and the sickly die, this accurately captures the situation at that time as emigration, legal and illegal had reached levels never before realised in the history of the nation.

Also, his admittance of the aspect of the GNU being the product of a “painful compromise” is a candid show of being an unwilling bedfellow of Mugabe and Mutambara in a coalition arrangement, indirectly telling the nation that he had put national interest first ahead of his own apprehensions about the arrangement.

The reason of the this blunt honesty may be that he wanted to once again show just how much the Mugabe led Zanu-PF regime had destroyed a once vibrant economy, at one point the second biggest economy in the whole of Africa to the worst performing economy in the world outside conflict nations, according to the International Monetary Fund. By also stressing on how he was “pained” by the arrangement, he is positioning himself as the voice of the people, as popular sentiment of the day, was that Tsvangirai had clearly out polled the veteran leader and his was a sole mandate to form a new government, this therefore was further an attempt to paint Mugabe, once again in bad light.

ENGAGEMENT

For Tsvangirai to put together his message which as earlier noted was to be premised on hope and operational modalities of a union with an individual who he had challenged in an infamous statement at a rally at Rufaro Stadium where he charged, “...Please go peacefully or we will remove you violently!” He now also had a responsibility to the body of African leadership who had stood by him and duly brokered the power sharing agreement to show maturity and selflessness in the effort to rescue the country’s shambolic economy. He also had a duty to the opposition supporters also who had bore the brunt of extreme violence which caused the death of

so many to expose the crimes perpetrated by the ZANU (PF) regime to reassure them that he had also not forgotten their sacrifice.

- (a) This does not mean we must forget about the past decades of hardship and struggles ...
Only through a public acknowledgement of past wrongs can we begin the process of national healing.
- (b) The agreement we sign today is a product of painful compromise.
- (c) The agreement we are signing today creates a transitional authority that will govern Zimbabwe until a new democratic constitution can be put in place and genuinely free and fair elections can be held
- (d) The policies of the past years have made Zimbabwe a nation where the healthy flee and the sickly die.

Citations (a) and (b) echo similar sentiment expressed by Mugabe, that of the need to rise above past differences if the arrangement had any hope of getting off the ground, though , however the compromise was a bitter pill, Tsvangirai goes on to add another dimension, that of “public acknowledgement” of past wrongs.

Here Tsvangirai is trying to show how he will not be caught up in the euphoria of reconciliation, to neglect justice for the wronged. By this, he tries to show focus and solidarity with his constituents that he would fight for their justice.

Citations (c) and (d) can be said to be at the core of his message as, by pointing out how the GNU was a forerunner to a true democratic dispensation where free and fair elections could be realized is a testament to his party’s mantra, that of democratic change which he felt was completely nonexistent during the ZANU (PF) regime. This is a veiled attack on Mugabe and his

party. Tsvangirai intensifies his dissatisfaction at the state of the economy with use of out rightly frightening imagery where Zimbabwe is described as a land where "... the healthy flee and the sickly die". . Such a negative JUDGEMENT implies that the country was being managed badly all this while to catastrophic proportions which had reached a point which could not be ignored. In the same process he positions himself as the panacea to the crisis.

GRADUATION

Tsvangirai's speech is an intricate balancing act of, reassuring the SADC facilitators that he would do everything possible to make the arrangement work to gain credibility with African leaders, consolidate his support amongst the rank and file of the opposition at the same time reaching out to borderline ZANU (PF) supporters that he was the right tonic for Zimbabwe to increase his share of the electorate.

- (a) "This negotiated settlement can only be a temporary measure, a candle in a dark dungeon that enables our people to see the way forward to the bright sunshine of freedom and prosperity."
- (b) , I sign this agreement and enter a new government and a way forward to new era of prosperity and democracy for all Zimbabweans
- (c) The hand with which I sign this agreement is the hand I extend to President Robert Mugabe - for the well-being of our nation - in my pledge to work with all the leaders of Zimbabwe to bring our nation back to life.

Tsvangirai gives credence to the general apprehension about the practicability of the arrangement whilst positioning himself as a modern day Moses, having to engage with Pharaoh in the process of leading the way to the Promised Land. At this point in his speech

Tsvangirai had already presented himself as the panacea to the Zimbabwean crisis, but here he has carefully structured his utterances to make sure he tells his audience that he will only give them a snippet of what he can offer once in government. The rationale is to convince the electorate to give him the mandate to lead the country alone so that he can move full throttle in his efforts to retain Zimbabwe to the position of an economic giant.

4.1.3) ARTHUR GUSENI OLIVER MUTAMBARA'S SPEECH

a) CONTEXT

Mutambara comes to this arrangement with a rather subdued background in the recent politics of the country. He never contested a presidential election in his entire life but now is regarded as a political principal. Mutambara contested the 2008 parliamentary elections and lost but the party he was leading, the other faction of the MDC attained ten parliamentary seats legitimising his presence on the panel since no party had the required majority. Such an agreement was the only viable scenario for him to be in government hence he had to make the most to seize the opportunity awarded to him by the negotiated settlement. During the late 1980s Mutambara had fashioned himself as one of the most vocal opposition voices in the country when he was a notorious student activist and was one of the first to lead a violent protest against the ZANU PF government but had since become of little significance in the present politics.

b) ANALYSIS

ATTITUDE

Being a political nonentity, Mutambara was in a queer situation in which his major task was to make himself relevant as general sentiment of the entire occasion was never focused around him though his designation was that of Political Principal, theoretically at par with Mugabe and Tsvangirai. This is why he tried to exude confidence, and also instill hope that change for the better was in the offing by making an impromptu speech where he tried to position himself firmly within the “greater schemes of things.”

- (a) ‘Yes, the agreement has flaws, warts and all. However, it is the best short-term answer required to extricate our country from its worst situation.’ (+ve ten)
- (b) “... we must emphasise that today is just but the beginning. The work has just started.” (+ve ver)
- (c) “We are not contended with just having economic stabilisation and recovery...” (+ve ten)
- (d) it is important that we appreciate the challenges we are going to face as we try to implement this power-sharing agreement. (+ve ver)

The diagram below is a tabulation of the results obtained in the JUDGEMENT analysis of the four key statements that have bearing on the aspect of ATTITUDE and JUDGEMENT in particular.

JUDGEMENT				
TENACITY			VERACITY	
NEG	POS		POS	NEG
	+ve	Statement (a)		
		Statement (b)	+ve	
	+ve	Statement (c)		
		Statement (d)	+ve	

Mutambara`s rhetoric, as a person of little interest with the masses during the event sought to be hard hitting, saying the brutal truth as it is, to show a great level of appreciation of the extent of the problems bedeviling the nation, partly to show Zimbabweans that years in the diaspora had not left him out of touch with the reality of the country and partly to grab attention with hard hitting facts. This is perhaps why he is also in the positive in his tenacity and veracity JUDGEMENT.

He first stresses that the arrangement was the “best ever” arrangement that could salvage the economy from disaster but in the same vein also stresses how the new government would not only be satisfied with economic stabilisation only but expected growth. Such positive energy from the professor was undoubtedly a measure to place himself as part of the solution, a key component of the super structure supposed to oversee the country`s resurgence as an economic powerhouse.

Like Tsvangirai, he does not hold back with the brutal truth concerning the challenges that lay ahead, that the road was bound to be long and arduous. Therefore his +ve veracity in his

statements present JUDGEMENT on his rhetoric as that which sought to inspire the nations confidence in his ability and appreciation of the task at hand, forever fighting for relevance as he was the political principal who got in through the back door and still largely an unknown entity in the nation`s politics

Therefore ATTITUDE in this case, which was based on confidence, is that which seeks to stir up sentiment of hope and inspiration in what the arrangement was capable of achieving, not short of the collective “we” which again locate him within the framework of the restoration process.

ENGAGEMENT

In his attempt to gain some measure of attention, Mutambara went to great lengths to the point of over emphasising just why this arrangement was so important, therefore indirectly giving himself a measure of confidence as a key member of the coalition. He does this by explaining the state of the Zimbabwe economy and society at large in very grim detail.

(a) As we celebrate and absorb this great occasion in our country, it is important that we appreciate the challenges we are going to face as we try to implement this power-sharing agreement.

(b) We have the jailed and jailers in the same government. We are people who used to be enemies to each other.

(c) Tough and courageous decisions have to be made in order to drive the Zimbabwean economy

Mutambara is fully aware that had it not been for a negotiated government he would not be talking about a position in government because of the small following of his political orientation evidenced by the voting patterns. He however savours this moment and his language is a testimony of a man who has achieved “As we celebrate...” this sums up that Mutambara is

satisfied with what has been achieved by the arrangement and repeated use of the collective “we” throughout the entire speech is a measure of placing himself firmly in the bosom of all those who had fought for the cause of change since the genesis of opposition politics thereby deflecting attention from the fact that he was a virtual political nonentity last seen as a student activist in the eighties whose political credentials were highly suspect

GRADUATION

The sum total of Mutambara’s speech is to endeavour to indirectly proposing to make the coalition arrangement a permanent one, fully knowing how he needed a political “host” one way or the other to maintain his political life, which was what the GNU exactly was, he went about to proposition Zimbabwe to take it as a more permanent scenario.

- (a) “Therefore, my challenge to the people of Zimbabwe is that the time has come for you to form a new opposition party against us!”
- (b) “... there is no longer such a thing as an opposition party or ruling party...”

It is there for everyone to see that this arrangement is temporary and the two other principals noted that in their speeches but Mutambara here once to portray the arrangement as permanent, which has brought parties together.

This shows emphasis in this merger by Mutambara and his commitment to it, the sincerity of this commitment is subject to great skepticism as he went on record repeatedly during his campaign that both Mugabe and Tsvangirai were spent forces who had nothing good to offer the nation. One can therefore surmise that this was a desperate measure of a political “wannabe” who was wise enough to realize that he was only guaranteed political office within the realms of negotiated settlements like the GNU and not through the ballot. Judgment on Mutambara may be

concluded that he was a “political store away'only interested on what he could personally gain from his involvement in the negotiated government bereft of any true guiding political philosophy.

CHAPTER FIVE

5.0 SUMMARY OF THE STUDY

The study sought to account for the sum total of utterances in the speeches by the political principals of the GPA. The study is groundbreaking as the unity government of such a nature had never before been witnessed in the country. The study is aimed at analysing the rhetoric contained in the speeches to unearth the in depth politicking and hidden political jousting that dominates political discourse, especially for such an occasion as of that of the signing of the GNU where “political territory” was being marked out, be it covertly.

One of the major objectives of this study was to examine the strategies used by politicians in their rhetoric to consolidate support and gain political mileage. This was done by analysing the speeches of the political principals on the occasion of the signing of the GPA.

The literature review section of the study involves works which have been done using the Appraisal Theory were reviewed. There are also other works which were reviewed that have studied speeches by these political principals though the speeches were not the same as the ones under consideration here.

The theoretical framework gave an in-depth appreciation of what Appraisal Theory is all about the theory used is used as a tool for critiquing the speeches. There was also the justification of why the researcher opted to use the Appraisal Theory as a tool of critiquing the respective political speeches.

The current research is a qualitative study and sampling methods were used for data collection. Methods of gathering data revolved around purposive sampling.

5.1 CONCLUSIONS OF THE STUDY

The research concluded that politicians in their speeches make sure that they remain in touch with their sectarian interests. They go on to campaign even if the forum does not cater for electioneering and the mudslinging that comes along with it.

The study particularly unearthed that politicians of the GPA presented their credentials of leading the country even if at this stage of the signing of the GPA it was clear that they were ushering in a new way of governance. In a way, battle lines were already being drawn at a platform that was ostensibly meant for laying the groundwork for reconciliation and further cooperation. The trio aimed at outwitting each other though it was done in a subtle way.

Mugabe's power in government had been dwindled by the ushering in of this new political dispensation. Hence he aligned his rhetoric on the recovery path of his image by concentrating on the success he had scored in previous years like waging a successful fight against the former colonial masters. As for Tsvangirai he was coming from a position of an opposition leader to an executive post and sought to reassure his supporters and detractors alike that they will enjoy his leadership. Mutambara aimed at showing his strength of character and candidness to the Zimbabwean populace that he can be a viable option to lead though he never contested a presidential election and was virtually a political nonentity coming into the fray.

5.2 RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE STUDY

a) LINGUISTIC FRATENITY

Recommendations to the linguistic fraternity is that when you are studying political speeches you need to keep in mind the cultural as well as political factors revolving around the subject under

investigation. That will help to have a deeper understanding in the analysis of the rhetoric contained as well as the emphasis of certain utterances if any.

Another factor often underestimated is the aspect of character and how it shapes the delivery of messages by different individuals, for instance, in this particular research, Robert Mugabe had a reputation of being wily, crafty and cunning character. He was notoriously good for talking himself past sticky areas and these character attributes were clearly present in his speech where he uttered the infamous phrase, “whatever happened...” where he sought to sweep under the rug the orgy of violence his party unleashed on civilians to make them submit to Zanu-PF culminating in his “resounding victory” in the runoff.

Tsvangirai on the other hand came into the situation with a reputation of being a hard man who seemingly had no bounds when it came to matters of sacrificing himself for the people’s cause who was unflinching in matters regarding principles as he was at one point, in the aftermath of an ill fated Save Zimbabwe Prayer rally he was arrested and almost murdered in police custody with a savage beating which drew international condemnation. It is within keeping with this character of sacrifice that he aptly noted how the GNU was “... a product of painful compromise” to consolidate his position of someone who was willing to sup with the devil himself for the benefit of the masses.

Mutambara was probably the only one who did not have an established character reputation, but sought to draw on his obscure reputation of a feisty student activist during his days at the University of Zimbabwe which was however almost irrelevant as his involvement in such activism was known to the precious few who had the privilege of attending university those days. This is probably why he took a more cavalier approach; impromptu speech with sometimes

shocking declarations, for example, "... there is now no opposition party in Zimbabwe ... you now have to form an opposition party against us!", which was all meant to draw attention to himself as a force in the system.

b) TO POLITICIANS

The conclusion of this study is that politicians whenever they are given a platform to talk they make sure that they remain in touch with their sectarian interest and by so doing they tend to try and outwit each other as well as undermine their political foes.

The recommendations here are that politicians are people who occupy public office and should put national interest first before their own or their respective political orientations. Politicians must desist from sloganeering and electioneering when the event does not cater for that.

Thus therefore, politicians are recommended to align their speeches with the demands of the occasions other than the interest of their respective political parties and also exhibit sincerity when tackling national issues to truly galvanise the nation into one unit pulling in the same direction instead of taking 'cheap shots' at each other where the occasion clearly doesn't permit..

c) FOR FURTHER STUDY

My research did not touch on what then transpired in the Unity Government proper. The politicians who came into this arrangement used to have a violent rivalry towards each and that history of acrimony needs to be researched by other researchers to see if it did not compromise the discharge of duty of the respective politicians once they were in government.

The research did also not touch on the ramifications of the compromise arrangement both on the domestic and international front. The country was facing its worst economic tribulations prior to

this arrangement and further researchers might look on the results of the agreement. On the international front the country had a bad image before this arrangement to such an extent that Zimbabweans were ashamed to identify with the country of their origin because of the multifaceted hardships and it is an area that might need further study as to what were the changes of the image of the country abroad if any.

The other area that might require further investigation is the effects of the Unity Government on the respective principals' political orientations did it has negative or positive effects to their support.

Finally there might be need to asses if it was a wise decision to enter into such a political arrangement. If yes who did it benefit and if not whose interest were compromised.

5.3 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The study's main limitation is that it only scrutinised, speeches made by the principals on the occasion of the signing of the GPA itself and did not take into account other speeches either prior or after this occasion in question of which would have most probably enhanced appreciation of the subject speeches. Taking into account speeches by the principals prior to this agreement will have equipped researchers with the general know how of how the respective principals align their rhetoric.

Historical events which had a bearing on the culmination of the GPA were interrogated but only as enhancements to the orature contained in the speeches. The events that unfolded in the negotiated government will have been vital to so as to justify or dismiss our findings that is it will have been paramount to ascertain if they were indeed electioneering in their speeches or if they remained true and obliged to their promises.

The research also did not take into account the effect of both regional and international pressure working on the principals, which was probably the most vital factor in the creation of the GNU as the international community had demanded compromise on all parties and therefore he who remained adamant risked being relegated to the realms of political obscurity.

Linguistics can only go so far in bringing about the most appropriate account of the messages contained and sometimes interviews may have been necessary but they did not have provision within the study.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

Mugabe's speech at the signing ceremony

<http://www.zimonline.co.za>

by Robert Mugabe Tuesday 16 September 2008

President Thabo Mbeki Chairman of SADC and our heroic facilitator Your Excellencies:

Presidents of SADC countries here present and representatives of their Excellencies who have not been able to be present today at this very important and historic event,

His Excellency Mr Jean Ping, chairman of the Commission of the AU, Mr Meinkeries representing the Secretary General of the United Nations, My brothers and partners Cdes Professor Mutambara and Mr Morgan Tsvangirai of MDC formation,

Leaders of the parties involved and represented by us as we negotiated this deal, ZANU PF and the two MDC formations and those of you who are here and those of you who are not here whom you represent,

Those representing other groups who are here and have been invited as guests to attend this event,

The various chief representatives of business sectors, representatives of the agriculture sector,

farmers and others,

Ladies and gentlemen, comrades and friends.

This gathering is a re-enactment, in my view, of that togetherness and partnership the co-operation that has seen processes taking place here leading to a number of our countries attaining their Independence.

Yesterday, as we of Zimbabwe sought to liberate ourselves and the fight that was between us the people of Zimbabwe and oppressors, it was the front line states whom, together with us, shaped this trouble that led to our liberation and independence. It was that front line state forum that later transformed as countries became free and liberated in this region to what we now see as SADC.

But the process of our Independence here was a Zimbabwean question process foremost.

We the Zimbabweans decided that it was not right and proper, never just at all, for a people like ourselves to bear the yoke of colonialism and oppression for that long. We decided through our leaders of the time that we must form a movement that would liberate us. But we realised that we were,

although united as time went on as people went on as people of Zimbabwe, although united in terms of our vision and in terms of our commitment, we were not the only ones who sought that liberation. ??After all, we were and still are part of Africa. We were part of Southern Africa. Our

problem was also our neighbours' problem, so, Mozambique, Zambia, Tanzania – the problem of your brother is your problem and so they united with us.

They provided us not only the venues by hosting us on their territories and the venues we needed, but also the means - even their commitment - and they made enormous sacrifices. The enemy did not just point his guns at us, the Zimbabweans, no, he aimed his guns also at our neighbours. Botswana was attacked, Zambia was attacked, and Tanzania also was attacked. Eventually Mozambique, as it became free and hosted us, it also became free and hosted us, it also a target.

And today, as we who were faced and confronted by an intractable foe, here we are once again. They (the Front Line States) are with us.

I don't see any British among them! African problems must be solved by Africans.

?The problem that we have now is a problem that has been created by a former colonial power wanting to continue to interfere in our domestic affairs. Zimbabwe's land belongs to Zimbabweans

They interfered with our processes; they wanted to reverse them and still want to reverse them. They (Britain) spoke of regime change and they are still speaking of it. They imposed sanctions. We had not attacked Britain, we had not done anything to Britain. We had not attacked America. Why, why, why the hand of the Americans here? Let us ask that.

. Let us not ignore the truth as we move forward. We must accept reality. As we move forward from now on, certain principles have to guide us because if this unity is going to last, those salient principles must be observed along the way.

Zimbabwe is a sovereign state and only the people of Zimbabwe have the fundamental right to govern it. They alone will set up governments. They alone will change those governments, no-one else has the right to decide on regime change. We are a sovereign people with a right of self determination. Having said that, we also recognize that as part of Africa, we cooperate within various frameworks. We must resist those who want to impose their own will on us.

We have (President Ian) Khama (Botswana) here, yes lots of things have been said, criticism has been written about him but the whole way I said nothing. Botswana, Botswana, Botswana!

Ooooooh! I said I will never ever attack an African leader in public, never ever! In our forum of SADC we will tell

each other about what we think of each other. I will get my day!

He is quite a very close friend, and a relative even. Whatever happened is history, let us look into the future.

I thought I knew him (President Mbeki) before. But I think I now know him thoroughly. He is a man who will not allow a problem to defeat him. He is a man who will never accept 'no' for an answer. He is a man also who will, using his gifted intellect, devise various ways and formulae by way of suggestions.

This suggestion, does it work? No? He varies it in that tactical and tactful way. Then it becomes

a suggestion that you are finally able to accept. I thought by the time we went to SADC and Professor Mutambara and I had accepted and my brother here (Tsvangirai) had said 'no'. Had he said no to the king?

I thought that was the end and President Thabo Mbeki would not move forward. But he would not accept his 'no' for an answer. I wish I was young again and proposing to girls. I would say, give me some tips. He never accepts no for an answer.

We sat down with him (Tsvangirai). We tried to explain. What he wanted, (and that which) we didn't want also. Finally we found areas of agreement and areas of disagreement.

There are a lot of things in the agreement that I did not like and still do not like.

Let us be allies. People will want to see if what we promise is indeed what we strive to do ... We are committed, I am committed, let us all be committed.

We will do our best. We know that for the two MDCs, its the first time that you are coming into government. You don't start from nothing. You start from experience. Certain things may have well done, that's experience. Certain things may not have been done well, that's experience." -

ZimOnline

APPENDIX 2

Tsvangirai's speech at the signing ceremony

<http://www.zimonline.co.za>

by Morgan Tsvangirai Tuesday 16 September 2008

SPEECH -- President Mbeki, Heads of State and Government, Your Excellencies, Members of the Diplomatic Corps, President Mugabe, Professor Mutambara, Mr Speaker of Parliament, Madam President of the Senate, Senators and Parliamentarians, Distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen.

Today, I want to thank all those whose tireless work has brought us to the signing of this agreement.

I salute President Thabo Mbeki, facilitator of the negotiations, for his efforts to find a solution to the Zimbabwe crisis that is acceptable to all parties.

I applaud the role played by SADC in working with all parties involved to resolve this crisis. I would like to pay particular tribute to the late Zambian President Levy Mwanawasa, who worked tirelessly towards this agreement and it will serve as an enduring part of his legacy.

I thank Jakaya Kikwete, president of Tanzania and Chairman of the African Union, and Jean

Ping, Chairman of the Commission of the Africa Union for understanding how important resolving the Zimbabwe crisis was to our entire continent.

I recognise United Nations Secretary General Ban Ki-Moon, who acknowledged that the world cannot stand idle while a member nation slides into famine and chaos.

I thank the democratically elected Members of Parliament - all of them, ZANU PF, members of the MDC and the independent parliamentarian.

Already you have shown a willingness to work across party lines to get things done. You are a model for the executive branch created out of today's agreement to follow.

Lastly, and most importantly, I would like to thank the people of Zimbabwe, for adhering to the principles of peaceful, democratic change and for not wavering from these principles even in the face of hardship. I salute you

Our nation looks towards us, the leadership, to deliver on the commitments contained in this agreement. We had two options: To put aside our differences and unite in order to give our people real hope, or continue to let the impasse plunge our country in to the abyss of a failed state.

People may ask how we, who have been opponents for so long, can possibly work together in government. On this I ask all Zimbabweans to hear these words.

I have signed this agreement because I believe it represents the best opportunity for us to build a

peaceful, prosperous, democratic Zimbabwe. I have signed this agreement because my belief in Zimbabwe and its peoples runs deeper than the scars I bear from the struggle. I have signed this agreement because my hope for the future is stronger than the grief I feel for the needless suffering of the past years.

Today, every one of us has a decision to make. Shall we be driven by the feelings we have towards those we blame for the suffering we have endured, or shall we be driven by the hope of a new, better, brighter country. The hope of a new beginning.

The world has too many examples of what happens when people are driven by past wrongs rather than the hope of future glories.

I have chosen to be guided by hope and if you join me in this, we will not fail to witness the rebirth of our nation.

This does not mean we must forget about the past decades of hardship and struggles. It is essential that we remember the sacrifices made by our comrades, colleagues, families and friends, from the time of our liberation struggle until today, that have made this historic opportunity possible. Only through a public acknowledgement of past wrongs can we begin the process of national healing.

Looking back provides me with the energy to move forward. Looking back, I am filled with enormous pride over the way we Zimbabweans have conducted ourselves. We deserve to stand tall and be proud of what we have achieved and be excited about what we can now achieve.

The agreement we sign today is a product of painful compromise. It does not provide an instant cure for the ills that pervade our society and our country. The road ahead is long and will not be easy. Indeed, the partners in this new, inclusive government cannot alone provide the solutions to the problems facing the country. All we can do, and we will do, is to work together to establish the environment where every Zimbabwean has the opportunity to contribute to solving the problems we face.

This agreement sees the return of hope to all our lives. We have been motivated in our struggle by the belief that we deserve democracy, that we deserve a better life, that we deserve to live free from fear, hunger, poverty and oppression.

It is this hope that provides the foundation of this agreement that we sign today. It is this hope that will provide us with the belief that we can achieve a New Zimbabwe. It is this hope that will provide us with the energy to build a New Zimbabwe. It is this hope that must unite all Zimbabweans as we move forward.

But hope alone will not deliver our New Zimbabwe. In this we all have an essential role to play. In this new struggle for a new beginning, we will require the support, perseverance and patience of the people.

In turn, I pledge that this new inclusive government will introduce a new way of governing, where we serve the people and respond to the needs of the people. I acknowledge the debt that

we owe to the courage and support of the people and I commit myself and this new, inclusive government to honour that debt.

As Prime Minister of Zimbabwe, I call on the supporters of both ZANU PF and the MDC to unite with all Zimbabweans, to put the interests of our nation and our people first and to work together for a New Zimbabwe. Divisions, polarisation and hatred belong to the past.

With the commitment of this new government to build a better country, with the commitment of all Zimbabweans to work together for a brighter future our success is guaranteed.

However, a new beginning will be built more quickly with support from the international community. We are grateful for the support you have shown us over the past nine years and we appeal to our regional neighbors, our African brothers and sisters and the international community, to assist us in rebuilding our nation. To assist us to address the problems facing our society, our education and health care systems and our economy.

As a sovereign, peaceful state we ask that you work with us to return Zimbabwe to its rightful place as a proud, democratic, prosperous member of the family of nations.

The agreement we are signing today creates a transitional authority that will govern Zimbabwe until a new democratic constitution can be put in place and genuinely free and fair elections can be held. We do not today set a date for those future elections. But we must not use the current

crisis, desperate as it is, to delay the lasting solution to our underlying problem.

This negotiated settlement can only be a temporary measure, a candle in a dark dungeon that enables our people to see the way forward to the bright sunshine of freedom and prosperity.

ZANU PF and MDC are brands rich with meaning and proud history.

ZANU PF is the party of our national liberation; the party of the creation of the modern Zimbabwe; the mother party of many liberation movements across the whole continent of Africa.

The MDC is a people's party. Born from a people's convention, drawing people from all walks of life, but representing those for whom life every day is a struggle; and who look for something better for their future, and their children's future.

For too long we have allowed the differences between these two parties to divide us, to the detriment of our nation, rather than unite us, for the betterment of our nation.

Party divisions and party brands no longer matter to the people of Zimbabwe. We must all unite to solve to the problems facing the nation.

Our new Government recognises the hardships faced by the people today and addressing these will be our main priority.

First we will stop the devastating food shortages.

The policies of the past years have made Zimbabwe a nation where the healthy flee and the sickly die.

Warm-hearted and generous people from around the globe have come to Zimbabwe to bring food to our starving people - And they found our door was locked.

The first priority of the government is to unlock the food already in our country and distribute it to our people.

We need doctors and medicines back in our hospitals; teachers back in our schools. We need businesses that can grow and provide jobs to the people. We need electricity again to power our businesses and homes. We need water that is safe and accessible. We need affordable food in our shops, crops in our fields, and petrol back in our vehicles. We need to be able to access our own cash from our banks.

We need to stabilise our economy and restore value to our currency.

Peace and safety must be restored to our communities. Our State institutions must serve the needs of all the people, not just ZANU PF or the MDC.

Under my leadership, this unity government will let business flourish so our people can work and provide for their families with pride.

With the signing of this deal the door to freedom and democracy has been unlocked. The transformation of our lives begins now. How quickly and how successfully that happens will depend on the commitment of every Zimbabwean as an agent for positive change.

The hand with which I sign this agreement is the hand I extend to President Robert Mugabe - for the well-being of our nation - in my pledge to work with all the leaders of Zimbabwe to bring our nation back to life. Let us not be divided by our past, but united by our hope for the future.

And so, in the sight of the world, with the hopes of our people, praying for the wisdom from almighty God, I sign this agreement and enter a new government and a way forward to new era of prosperity and democracy for all Zimbabweans. – ZimOnline

APPENDIX 3

EXCERPTS OF ARTHUR MUTAMBARA'S SPEECH DURING THE SIGNING OF A POWER SHARING DEAL BETWEEN PRESIDENT MUGABE'S ZANU PF PARTY AND THE TWO MDC FACTIONS ON SEPTEMBER 15, 2008:

Your Majesty, King Mswati III, who is also the Chairman of the SADC organ on politics, security and defence; Your Excellency, the SADC chairman, President Mbeki, who is the dialogue facilitator; Your Excellency, the AU Chairman, President Kikwete; Your Excellencies, Heads of State and Government; members of the diplomatic corps; ladies and gentlemen; fellow Africans; fellow citizens; allow me this opportunity to say a few words on this great day in our country.

My starting point is to thank those that made today a reality. President Mbeki must be praised for his patience and tenacity. We must thank SADC and the AU as institutions. Then there are the negotiators themselves, they executed their tasks judiciously.

The three political parties must be congratulated for their commitment to the dialogue; Zanu PF, the MDC led by my colleague here Morgan Tsvangirai, and the MDC that I lead. We must all thank these institutions and individuals for a job well done.

It is important that we appreciate the meaning and context of this power sharing agreement.

What we have here is a compromise document. It is a product of putting national interest before partisan and personal interests.

Yes, the agreement has flaws, warts and all. However, it is the best short-term answer required to extricate our country from its worst situation. It is a document achieved by Zimbabweans, working together as Zimbabweans under the guidance of our African brothers. It is a victory for the philosophy of African solutions to African problems. Nevertheless, we must emphasise that today is just but the beginning. The work has just started.

As we celebrate and absorb this great occasion in our country, it is important that we appreciate the challenges we are going to face as we try to implement this power-sharing agreement. The first challenge is that we have, in this inclusive government, protagonists who used to detain and fight each other. We have the jailed and jailers in the same government. We are people who used to be enemies to each other. We are coming out of a history of extreme polarisation, divisions and acrimony. How do you get these former enemies to work together with cohesion?

The second challenge is that this government has to make very painful decisions. Tough and courageous decisions have to be made in order to drive the Zimbabwean economy. How do you effectively make these decisions in an inclusive government without one leader or the other passing the buck or avoiding taking responsibility? There is a danger of leaders trying to posture as the good guy or lady, and not wanting to identify with the tough actions to be taken.

Leadership is about leading from the front. Leadership is about making unpopular decisions popular. Are we ready to lead?

Another challenge is national healing. How do you make sure that the healing process is cascaded from the top to every village and every urban street? It is not enough for the political leaders to heal among ourselves, there has to be a broader national healing process. Are we going to be able to do this?

The very nature of the humanitarian, political and economic crisis we are confronting presents a tall order in terms of the work to be done. Creating a society where freedoms of association, assembly and expression are respected and cherished demands a lot of effort. These are the challenges before us. Ladies and Gentlemen, our work is cut out for us.

The first point in addressing these challenges is to say that these three political parties represented on this podium must work together as cooperating partners in an effective and inclusive government. On this stage upfront, there is no longer such a thing as an opposition party or a ruling party. We are now working together as a united and cohesive governing coalition. We are going to fail or succeed together. Therefore, my challenge to the people of Zimbabwe is that the time has come for you to form a new opposition party against us!

Without proper and planned execution, this agreement is worthless. What is important is effective implementation of this agreement. We need to carry out stabilisation of our economy. We need an economic recovery plan. And more importantly, we need to transform Zimbabwe into a globally competitive economy.

We are not contented with just having economic stabilisation and recovery. We want to economically empower our people through manufacturing, and local processing of all our minerals. We are sick and tired of being sick and tired of being producers of raw materials. Our natural resources, human capital and infrastructure must benefit Zimbabweans and Zimbabwe. We have to move up the global value chains and become net exporters.

We need a paradigm shift from aid to investment. This is the message to Western countries, to SADC, to Africa and to the entire globe. Humanitarian assistance, economic stabilisation and recovery are not enough. We want radical economic transformation.

Sustainability of our economic revolution depends on investment-driven economic development and not charity and hand-outs. We are also keen on a regional and Pan-African mindset. We must succeed as SADC, we must succeed as Africa. This is our agenda. These are our aspirations.

In conclusion, I want to say to my fellow principals President Mugabe and President Tsvangirai; we came, we fought viciously among ourselves, and we finally signed the power-sharing agreement.

Now is the time to walk the talk and deliver on the promise of the dialogue outcome. People of Zimbabwe demand results and performance. We have to dramatically improve the material conditions of our people. This is a clarion call for an economic revolution in our country. We must deliver on the promise of this power sharing agreement. This is our charge.

I thank you.