

**ANALYSIS OF STATE OF AFFAIRS IN ZANU PF
FEBRUARY 2008**

The unfolding events in Zanu PF have generated considerable debate given that the ruling party that has been refuting allegations of internal factionalism for the last five years. The existence of factionalism has also been confirmed by Simba Makoni's announcement of his intention to challenge President Robert Mugabe in the harmonised elections on 29 March 2008.

Primary elections in Zanu PF have widened the divisions in the ruling party. When the nomination court sat on 15 February it became obvious that in some constituencies more than one candidate had filed papers to represent the ruling party. In addition, some party heavy weights lost in the primary elections and there has been a noticeable increase in the number of independent candidates, some of whom lost in the Zanu PF primary elections.

The Situation

In what has left many people wondering, all Zanu PF heavyweights in Matabeleland have chosen not to stand in next month's elections, feeding speculation that they have ditched President Robert Mugabe for new presidential aspirant, Simba Makoni.

In addition, the dynamics in both Masvingo and Manicaland Provinces are notably different from previous pre-electoral contexts as some Zanu PF cadres who were defeated in the primary elections went on to submit their nomination papers as Zanu PF candidates despite the fact that the party had endorsed other official candidates.

The following bullets highlight what has been reportedly taking place in the ruling Party.

- Vice President Joseph Msika, Zanu PF National Chairman John Nkomo, former Home Affairs Minister Dumiso Dabengwa, former minister Angeline Masuku, former ambassador and Governor Cain Mathema and former minister Callistus Ndlovu are all not taking part in the elections. Party sources said the old guard in Matabeleland did not want to "embarrass themselves again" by losing once more in the polls.¹
- In contrast, senior Zanu PF officials in other areas are participating in the polls and these include Vice President Joyce Mujuru, Didymus Mutasa, Nicholas Goche, Emerson Mnangagwa, and Patrick Chinamasa.
- The senior Zanu PF officials who filed papers in Matabeleland were perennial losers Sikhanyiso Ndlovu (Pelandaba-Mpopoma/House of Assembly), Joshua Malinga (Khumalo/Senate), Sithembiso Nyoni (Nkayi North/Senate), and the incumbent Obert Mpofu (Umguza/House of Assembly).²
- In Matabeleland North, there are new names like Esau Dube, Anglos Mankayi, Tshata Mguni, Alice Dube, Zenzo Sibanda, Enock Sibanda, Reeds Dube and Girls Ndlovu among others who will battle it out with the MDC and the Independent candidates.

¹ Ibid

² "Dumiso Dabengwa not running for parliament", *Newzimbabwe.com*, 18 February 2008

- In Matabeleland South, the newcomers include Metrin Mudawu, Margarine Khumalo, Siquza Ndlovu, Orders Mlilo, Nicholas Nkomo, Japhet Dube and Temba Mathuthu among others.³
- In Masvingo Province, notable politicians filed their papers in the name of Zanu PF and yet their names were not among Zanu PF's official list. These included Samuel Mumbengegwi, Dzikamai Mavhaire, Henrieta Rushwaya, Eddison Zvobgo Junior and Clifford Mumbengegwi who is contesting the official Zanu PF candidate, Trainos Huruva.
- In Manicaland Province, there are two Zanu PF aspirants in Makoni North, Bongai Nemaire and Sheilla Mahere while in Makoni West, Joseph Made is contesting on the same Zanu PF ticket with Nation Madongorere (a former CIO Operative and businessman).⁴
- In Manicaland, almost all Zanu PF bigwigs are being contested by independent and MDC candidates (both factions). These include Didymus Mutasa, Patrick Chinamasa, Chris Mushowe and Oppah Muchinguri.
- In Mashonaland East Province, there are two "rebel" War Veterans, Abel Marimo and Wilfred Marimo who submitted their nomination papers as independent candidates for the Marondera Central and Marondera East House of Assembly polls, claiming allegiance to Dr Makoni.⁵
- In Harare Province, there are numerous independent candidates that have filed their papers but there are few significant political names. A new player, Professor Rudo Gaidzanwa (an academic) has entered the political race for the Chisipite Senatorial Constituency as an independent and there are possibilities that she is linked to Dr Ibbo Mandaza. And for the first time, Dr Fay Chung, a Zanu PF stalwart is going to contest as an independent. This could illustrate that there are larger political games at play.

The party's commissariat and election directorate wrote to provincial chairpersons where double nominations had been made, announcing the official candidates and ordering a rerun of the Chivi-Mwenezi Senate constituency where Cde Josiah Hungwe and Finance Minister Cde Samuel Mumbengegwi will battle it out once more. In relation to other reruns, the following instructions have been given:

- Cde Joseph Made remains the House of Assembly official candidate for Makoni West and Cde Nation Madongorere, has to withdraw his candidature. Latest reports state that Nation Madongorere has stood his ground and will go ahead and contest in the name of the ruling party in Makoni West Constituency, though Joseph Made has been endorsed as the "official" party candidate.⁶
- Cde Vongai Nemaire has been chosen ahead of Cde Sheila Mahere as the party's House of Assembly official candidate for Makoni North Constituency.
- Cde Noel Mandebvu is now the party's official House of Assembly candidate for Gutu West after Cde Mutero Masanganise was asked to step down.
- Zifa boss Cde Henrieta Rushwaya, who was bidding for the Gutu South House of Assembly seat, will have to step aside in favour of the incumbent, Cde Shuvai Mahofa.
- Cde Nyaradzo Tachiona is the official House of Assembly candidate for Zaka Central while her rival, Cde Paradzai Chakona, has been ordered to withdraw.
- In Chivi North House of Assembly constituency, Cde Clifford Mumbengegwi will step aside in favour of Cde Trainos Huruva while Cde Eddison Zvobgo (Jnr), who had his eye on the

³ bid

⁴ "Zanu-PF expels independents", *Thezimbabwean.com*, 19 February 2008

⁵ "We've nothing to do with Makoni: Kaukonde" *The Herald*, 19 February 2008

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Masvingo Central House of Assembly seat, has to withdraw in favour of Cde Edmund Mhere.

In the last week of February, Harare provincial chairman Cde Amos Midzi said he was still waiting for communication from Cde Manyika on whether there would be reruns or official candidates had been announced. Political lightweights Cdes Sabina Mangwende and Martha Monderwa are both contesting in the Glen View North House of Assembly constituency while Cdes Edward Chataika and Thomas Machisa are vying for the Sunningdale House of Assembly seat.⁷ Though the national party commissariat and election directorate is yet to comment, not much fireworks is anticipated since some of them, like Sabina Mangwende, are perennial losers and Zanu PF may not expect much in these urban Constituencies.

Analysis and Comments

What is not very clear as yet is if most of the independent candidates that have filed their papers with the nomination courts are former Zanu PF and MDC-Tsvangirai members who felt cheated in the primaries or are some of the “nameless and faceless” backers of Simba Makoni.

A number of “unofficial” Zanu PF cadres have filed their nomination papers particularly in Masvingo Province and Elliot Manyika (the party’s National Commissar) had this to say, “Given the large number of cases, we will meet as a party and deliberate on how best we can handle that. But one available option we have in some constituencies is to order a rerun in deserving cases under properly supervised conditions and ask losing candidates to withdraw.”⁸ What will be interesting is what happens in cases where the “unofficial” candidates win in the re-runs.

Manyika’s statement concurred with those of the Secretary for Administration, Didymus Mutasa, “one available option we have in some constituencies is to order a rerun in deserving cases under properly supervised conditions and ask the losing candidate to withdraw. Indiscipline can even be seen among senior party members and that cannot be accepted.”⁹ This all clearly shows that Zanu PF’s internal cracks can no longer be ignored, as is the case with the opposition MDC.

In sharp contrast to the pronouncements made by Manyika and Mutasa, Zanu-PF spokesman Nathan Shamuyarira told *The Zimbabwe Times* that the ruling party would not re-admit the rebels (all cadres that have defied party rules by either registering as independent or as Zanu PF candidates) even if they won in the elections. “There is no such thing as an independent Zanu-PF candidate. All those standing as independents will never be re-admitted into the party whether they win or lose.”¹⁰

Other sections of the media reported that Zanu-PF will expel the 10 members of the party who lost in the primaries and are contesting next month’s general elections as independent candidates. In related reports it is on record that 11 candidates have registered as independents in Masvingo Province alone and numbers for other provinces are not yet known. The question remains: are all the

⁷ “Zanu-PF acts on double nominations” *The Herald*, 22 February 2008

⁸ “926 eye Parly, Senate seats” *The Herald*, 19 February 2008

⁹ “Mugabe faces defiance as officials haggle over seats”, *New Zimbabwe*, 18 February 2008

¹⁰ “Zanu-PF expels independents”, *Thezimbabwetimes.com*, 19 February 2008

independent candidates that have filed their nomination papers the “many” that Simba Makoni claimed to have “widely consulted” and is working with in his project?

Special mention should be given to the rerun in Masvingo Province which has been one of the hot beds of Zanu PF factionalism since the late 80s. There have been two main factions, one led by the late Vice President, Simon Muzenda and the other led by the late Ex Minister Edson Zvobgo. It appears that Cde Samuel Mumbengegwi belongs to the group aligned to Zvobgo while Silas Hungwe is aligned to the other, hence close to Mugabe. Earlier reports were that in the first primary election in Chivi Mwenezi Senate Constituency, Mumbengegwi had won but a rerun was ordered by the party just because Hungwe had lost. What is not clear is whether Mumbengegwi is one of those suspected of quietly supporting Makoni. The same also goes to Masvingo Central House of Assembly Constituency where Edson Zvobgo Jr is challenging Cde Edward Mhere. What people are waiting to see is what the losers and all those that have been ordered by the party to make way for certain individuals will do; withdraw their candidacy or join Makoni.

In Manicaland, Simba Makoni’s home province, Zanu PF heavyweights like Oppah Muchinguri, Mike Nyambuya, Patrick Chinamasa, Kumbirai Kangai, and Mandy Chimene among others, have not issued statements concerning Makoni’s challenge. Though there were pronouncements from Tinaye Chigudu (Zanu PF Provincial Chairman) and Christopher Mushowe who publicly said they are worried about the number of politicians from the province who have openly challenged President Robert Mugabe. These challengers have included Abel Muzorewa, Ndabangini Sithole, Edgar Tekere, Margaret Dongo and Morgan Tsvangirai.

With the exception of Samuel Mumbengegwi, other Zanu PF political heavyweights that lost the primary elections, including David Chapfika, Rugare Gumbo, Chigwedere Eaneas, Mutiwekuziwa Kenneth, Morris Sakabuya, and Vivian Mwashita have not fought for the right to contest. Allegations have been made to the effect that Chapfika is aligned to Solomon Mujuru as well as former minister of Finance, Herbert Murerwa who was dropped from Cabinet last year. It is not yet clear if Rugare Gumbo, Mutiwekuziwa, and Mwashita have simply fallen out of favour with the proMugabe faction or are suspected of being in support of Simba Makoni.

However, Zanu PF is using double standards in the way it is treating the undisciplined cadres. When Simba Makoni announced his intention to contest, he was fired from the party but nothing is being done to those who have gone on to “challenge official” party candidates. The re-arrest of Henrietta Rushwaya this week could have been instigated by her challenging Shuvai Mahofa, an “official” party candidate. But, what is not immediately clear is how the results of any new ZANU-PF primary elections would be accommodated since nominations closed on 15 February 2008.

While the ruling party has faced its own challenges in coming up with candidates for the forthcoming elections, there is similar confusion in the opposition forces. . The MDC (Mutambara Faction) is supporting Simba Makoni in his presidential bid, but they are still going to have to battle for seats against those independent candidates that are believed to be behind Makoni and candidates from the MDC (Tsvangirai Faction). It is not clear what opposition politicians have discussed behind the

scenes but it would seem evident that the only sure way to defeat Zanu PF is for all opposition forces to form a strong coalition and fight concertedly against the ruling party. If they are unable to develop such a coalition, the current situation suggests a resounding victory for the ruling party as the number of opposition candidates will split the votes and that will definitely give the ruling party an advantage.

In conclusion, the evident factionalism in Zanu PF has only been exacerbated by Simba Makoni's decision to contest the Presidential election. While some politicians have hastened to publicly distance themselves from Makoni, it is not easy to speculate on the allegiance of those who have remained silent, particularly former PF Zapu political heavyweights from Bulawayo and Matabeleland Provinces. It is worth noting that the number of independent candidates is relatively large. However, here again, it is not clear whether they are rallying behind the independent presidential candidate or they are merely pursuing individual agendas. What is clear is that the division in the opposition forces can only be advantageous to the ruling Zanu PF.

NB. *Refer to the attached provisional list of Independent Candidates.*